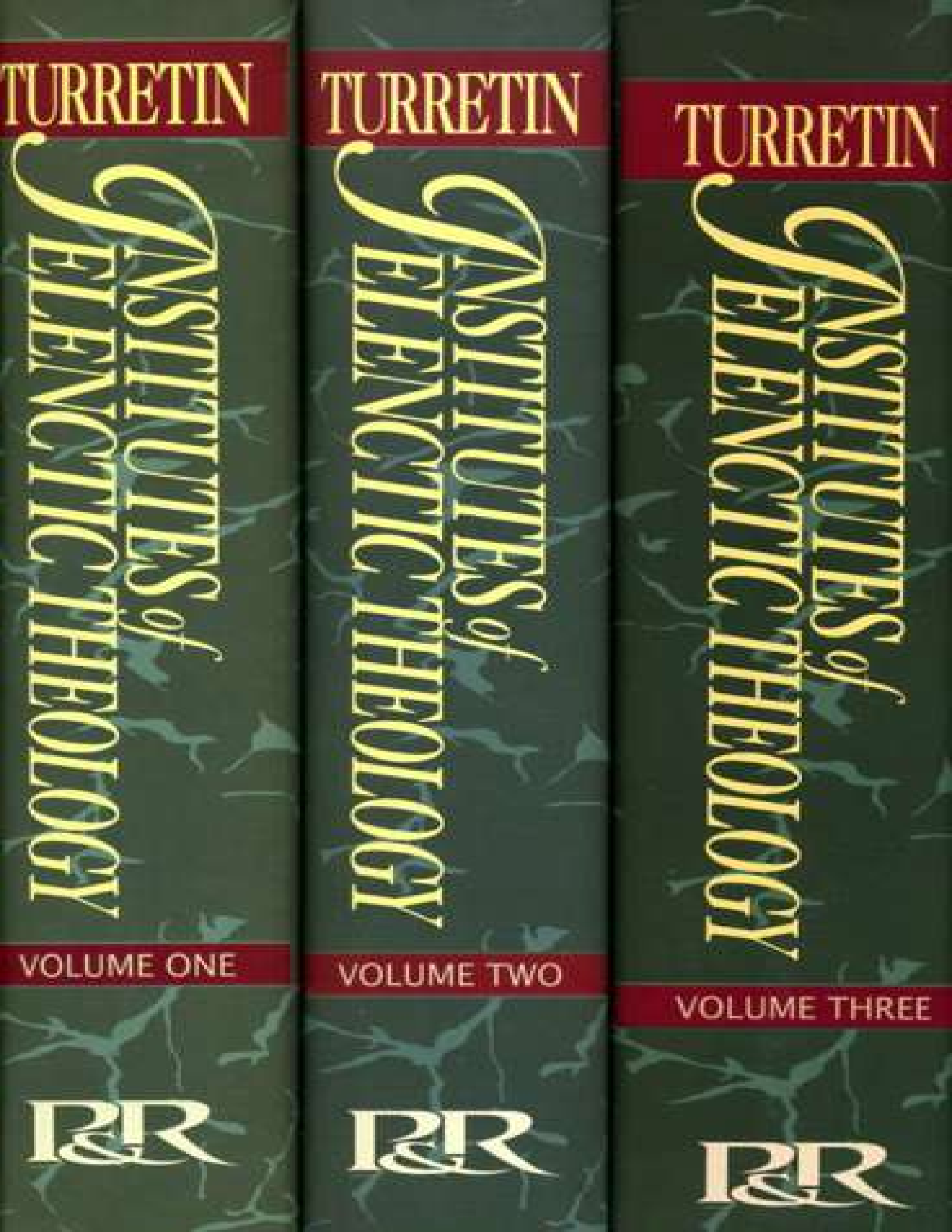

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FRANCIS TURRETIN

INSTITUTES of ELENCTIC THEOLOGY

Translated by
George Musgrave Giger
Edited by
James T. Dennison, Jr.

VOLUME ONE: FIRST THROUGH TENTH TOPICS

INSTITUTES OF ELENCTIC THEOLOGY

BY

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VOLUME 1

FIRST THROUGH TENTH TOPICS

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Hesiod. Translated by Hugh G. Evelyn-White. 1914.

Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*. Translated by H. Rackham. 1972.

———. *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinitatione*. Translated by William A. Falconer. 1971.

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FRANCIS TURRETIN

FRANCIS TURRETIN

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To

SHARON LYNN

Quam pulchra es amica mea!
Quam pulchra es!

Quam pulchra es, et quam decora,
Carissima, in deliciis!

Primogenito filio, J. T.
et
Primogenitae filiae, Kristin

Laudemus novissimum Agnum!

Meo filio, Bryan
et
Meae filiae, Autumn

Laudemus novissimum Pastorem!

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Question I. Should the word "theology" be used in the Christian schools, and in how many ways can it be understood?
II. Whether there is a theology and its divisions
III. Whether natural theology may be granted
IV. Is natural theology sufficient for salvation; or is there a common religion by which all promiscuously may be saved? We deny against the Socinians and Remonstrants

THE OBJECT OF THEOLOGY

V. Are God and divine things the objects of theology? We affirm

THE GENUS OF THEOLOGY

VI. What is the genus of theology?
VII. Is theology theoretical or practical?
VIII. Is human reason the principle and rule by which the doctrines of the Christian religion and theology (which are the objects of faith) ought to be measured? We deny against the Socinians
IX. Does any judgment belong to reason in matters of faith? Or is there no use at all for it?
X. May the judgment of contradiction be allowed to human reason in matters of faith? We affirm

XI. Is there any use of the testimony of the senses in mysteries of faith; or ought it to be entirely rejected? We affirm the former and deny the latter

THE USE OF CONSEQUENCES

XII. Are the doctrines of faith and practice to be proved only by the express word of God? May they not also be legitimately proved by consequences drawn from Scripture? We affirm the latter

XIII. Is there any use of philosophy in theology? We affirm

FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES AND ERRORS

XIV. Are some theological topics fundamental, others not; and how can they be mutually distinguished?

Second Topic: The Holy Scriptures

THE WORD OF GOD

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THE NECESSITY OF SCRIPTURE

II. Was it necessary for the word of God to be committed to writing? We affirm

III. Were the sacred Scriptures written only occasionally and without the divine command? We deny against the papists

THE AUTHORITY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

IV. Are the holy Scriptures truly authentic and divine? We affirm

V. Do real contradictions occur in Scripture? Or are there any inexplicable (*alyta*) passages which cannot be explained and made to harmonize? We deny

VI. From what source does the divine authority of the Scriptures become known to us? Does it depend upon the testimony of the church either as to itself or as to us? We deny against the papists

THE CANON

VII. Has any canonical book perished? We deny

VIII. Are the books of the Old Testament still a part of the canon of faith and rule of practice in the church of the New Testament? We affirm against the Anabaptists

THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS

IX. Ought Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, the two first books of the Maccabees, Baruch, the additions to Esther and Daniel to be numbered among the canonical books? We deny against the papists

THE PURITY OF THE SOURCES

X. Have the original texts of the Old and New Testaments come down to us pure and uncorrupted? We affirm against the papists

THE AUTHENTIC VERSION

XI. Are the Hebrew version of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New the only authentic versions? We affirm against the papists

XII. Is the present Hebrew text in things as well as words so authentic and inspired (*theopneustos*) in such a sense that all the extant versions are to be referred to it as a rule and, wherever they vary, to be corrected by it? Or may we desert the reading it supplies, if judged less appropriate, and correct it either by a comparison of ancient translators or by suitable (*stochastikē*) judgment and conjecture and follow another more suitable reading? We affirm the former and deny the latter

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XIII. Are versions necessary, and what ought to be their use and authority in the church?

THE SEPTUAGINT

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THE VULGATE

XV. Is the Vulgate authentic? We deny against the papists

THE PERFECTION OF THE SCRIPTURES

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THE PERSPICUITY OF THE SCRIPTURES

XVII. Are the Scriptures so perspicuous in things necessary to salvation that they can be understood by believers without the external help of oral (*agraphou*) tradition or ecclesiastical authority? We affirm against the papists

THE READING OF THE SCRIPTURES

XVIII. Can the Scriptures be profitably read by any believer, and ought he to read them without permission? We affirm against the papists

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V. Can the divine attributes be really distinguished from the divine essence? We deny against the Socinians

VI. Is the distinction of attributes into communicable and incommunicable a good one? We affirm

THE SIMPLICITY OF GOD

VII. Is God most simple and free from all composition? We affirm against Socinus and Vorstius

THE INFINITY OF GOD

VIII. Is God infinite in essence? We affirm against Socinus and Vorstius

THE IMMENSITY OF GOD

IX. Is God immense and omnipresent as to essence? We affirm against Socinus and Vorstius

THE ETERNITY OF GOD

X. Does the eternity of God exclude succession according to priority and posteriority? We affirm against the Socinians

THE IMMUTABILITY OF GOD

XI. Is God immutable both in essence and will? We affirm

THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD

XII. Do all things fall under the knowledge of God, both singulars and future contingencies? We affirm against Socinus

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XIII. Is there a middle knowledge in God between the natural and the free? We deny against the Jesuits, Socinians and Remonstrants

THE WILL OF GOD

XIV. Does God will some things necessarily and others freely? We affirm

XV. May the will be properly distinguished into the will of decree and of precept, good purpose (*eudokias*) and good pleasure (*euarestias*), signified, secret and revealed? We affirm

XVI. May the will be properly distinguished into antecedent and consequent, efficacious and inefficacious, conditional and absolute? We deny

XVII. Can any cause be assigned for the will of God? We deny

XVIII. Is the will of God the primary rule of justice? We distinguish

THE JUSTICE OF GOD

XIX. Is vindictive justice natural to God? We affirm against the Socinians

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THE DOMINION AND SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD

XXII. What is the dominion of God, and of how many kinds? May an absolute and ordinate right be granted?

THE HOLY TRINITY

XXIII. What are the meanings of the words “essence,” “substance,” “subsistence,” “person,” “Trinity,” *homoousion* in this mystery; and may the church properly use them?

XXIV. Is the mystery of the Trinity a fundamental article of faith? We affirm against the Socinians and Remonstrants

XXV. In the one divine essence are there three distinct persons: the Father, Son and Holy Spirit? We affirm against the Socinians

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THE ETERNAL GENERATION OF THE SON

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THE DEITY OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

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III. Are there conditional decrees? We deny against the Socinians, Remonstrants and Jesuits

IV. Does the decree necessitate future things? We affirm

THE END OF LIFE

V. Is the fixed and immovable end of the life of each man with all its circumstances so determined by the decree of God, that he cannot die in another moment of time or by another kind of

death than that in which he does die? We affirm against the Socinians and Remonstrants

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VII. In what sense are the words "predestination," *prognōseōs, eklogēs* and *protheseōs* used in this mystery?

THE PREDESTINATION OF ANGELS

VIII. Was there a predestination of angels, and was it of the same kind and order with the predestination of men? The former we affirm; the latter we deny

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IX. Whether the object of predestination was man creatable, or capable of falling; or whether as created and fallen. The former we deny; the latter we affirm

THE CAUSE OF ELECTION

X. Is Christ the cause and foundation of election? We deny against the Arminians and Lutherans

XI. Is election made from the foresight of faith, or works; or from the grace of God alone? The former we deny; the latter we affirm

THE CERTAINTY OF ELECTION

XII. Is the election of certain men to salvation constant and immutable? We affirm against the Remonstrants

XIII. Can the believer be certain of his own election with a certainty not only conjectural and moral, but infallible and of faith? We affirm against the papists and Remonstrants

REPROBATION

XIV. Is the decree of reprobation absolute, depending upon the good pleasure (*eudokia*) of God alone; or is sin its proper cause? We distinguish

XV. Is infidelity, or unbelief of the gospel, presupposed as a cause of reprobation? We deny against the Remonstrants

XVI. Is the will of God to save persevering believers and condemn the unbelieving, the whole decree of reprobation? We deny against the Remonstrants

XVII. Can there be attributed to God any conditional will, or universal purpose of pitying the whole human race fallen in sin, of destinating Christ as Mediator to each and all, and of calling them all to a saving participation of his benefits? We deny

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III. Was the world from eternity, or at least could it have been? We deny

IV. In what season of the year was the world created? In the spring, or in autumn?

V. Was the world created in a moment, or in six days? And, were the particular works of each of the six days created without motion and succession of time, or did God employ a whole day in the production of each thing?

VI. In what order were the works of creation produced by God in the six days?

VII. From the use of the luminaries posited by Moses can judiciary astrology be built up? We deny against the astrologers and planetarians

VIII. Was Adam the first of mortals, or did men exist before him? And is the epoch of the created world and of men's deeds to be referred much farther back than Adam? The former we affirm; the latter we deny, against the Preadamites

THE CREATION OF MAN

IX. Was man created *in puris naturalibus*, or could he have been so created? We deny against the Pelagians and Scholastics

X. In what consisted the image of God in which man was created?

XI. Was original righteousness natural or supernatural? The former we affirm, the latter we deny against the Romanists

XII. Did the first man before his fall possess immortality, or was he mortal in nature and condition? The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the Socinians

THE ORIGIN OF THE SOUL

XIII. Are souls created by God, or are they propagated? We affirm the former and deny the latter

THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

XIV. Is the soul immortal in virtue of its intrinsic construction? We affirm

Sixth Topic: The Actual Providence of God

Question I. Is there a providence? We affirm

II. Is the providence of God rightly called "fate," and is a fatal necessity properly ascribed to it? We distinguish

THE OBJECT OF PROVIDENCE

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THE ACTS OF PROVIDENCE

IV. Is providence occupied only in the conversation and sustentation of things; or also in their government (through which God himself acts and efficaciously concurs with them by a concourse not general and indifferent, but particular, specific and immediate)? We deny the former and affirm the latter, against the Jesuits, Socinians and Remonstrants

THE CONCOURSE OF GOD

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VI. How can the concourse of God be reconciled with the contingency and liberty of second causes—especially of the will of man?

THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD IN EVIL

VII. Do sins fall under providence, and how is it applied to them?

VIII. Whether it follows and can be elicited by legitimate consequence from our doctrine that we make God the author of sin. We deny against the Romanists, Socinians, Remonstrants and Lutherans

IX. Is there a use and an abuse of the doctrine of providence?

Seventh Topic: Angels

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II. Are angels spiritual and incorporeal substances? We affirm

ANGELIC KNOWLEDGE

III. What is the mode and what is the object of angelic knowledge?

IV. What is the will and the free will of angels? Do affections belong to them?

V. What is the power of the angels?

THE APPARITIONS OF ANGELS

VI. What were the apparitions of angels, and what bodies did they assume?

THE ORDERS OF ANGELS

VII. Is there any order among the angels and are there distinct hierarchies among them? The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the Jews and Romanists

THE MINISTRY OF ANGELS

VIII. Why and for what does God use the ministry of angels? Is a particular angel assigned as a perpetual guardian to each believer? We deny

THE INTERCESSION AND WORSHIP OF ANGELS

IX. Are angels our intercessors with God, and is any religious worship due to them? We deny against the Romanists

Eighth Topic: The State of Man Before the Fall and the Covenant of Nature

Question I. What was the liberty of Adam in his state of innocence?

II. Did Adam have the power to believe in Christ?

THE COVENANT OF NATURE

III. Whether God made any covenant with Adam, and what kind it was

THE TREE OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOOD AND EVIL

IV. Why is it called the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and why did God give Adam a law about not tasting it?

THE TREE OF LIFE

V. Why was it called the tree of life?

VI. Whether Adam had the promise of eternal and heavenly life so that (his course of obedience being finished) he would have been carried to heaven. We affirm

PARADISE

VII. Does the earthly paradise still exist? We deny

Ninth Topic: Sin in General and in Particular

Question I. Whether the formal reason of sin may rightly be said to consist in illegality (*anomia*). We affirm

II. Whether the *hekousion* or voluntary (inasmuch as it is of him who knowingly and willingly does anything) is of the essence of sin? We deny against the papists and Socinians

III. Whether guilt is the formal of sin, or its inseparable adjunct, or only its effect. And whether it may well be distinguished into guilt of culpability and of punishment

VENIAL AND MORTAL SIN

IV. Whether all sins are of themselves and in their own nature mortal. Or whether any venial sin can be granted. The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the papists

THE FALL OF THE ANGELS

V. What was the sin of the angels by which they are said to have rebelled against God?

THE FALL OF ADAM

VI. What was the first sin of man—unbelief or pride?

VII. How could a holy man fall, and what was the true cause of his fall?

VIII. Whether Adam by his fall lost the image of God. We affirm

IX. Whether the actual disobedience of Adam is imputed by an immediate and antecedent imputation to all his posterity springing from him by natural generation. We affirm

ORIGINAL SIN

X. Whether any original sin or inherent stain and depravity may be granted, propagated to us by generation. We affirm against the Pelagians and Socinians

XI. Whether original sin has corrupted the very essence of the soul. Also whether it is a mere privation or a certain positive quality too

THE PROPAGATION OF SIN

XII. How is original sin propagated from parents to their children?

XIII. Actual sin and its various divisions

XIV. In what consists the formal reason of the sin against the Holy Spirit? Also why is it unpardonable?

XV. Whether sin can be the punishment of sin. We affirm

Tenth Topic: The Free Will of Man in a State of Sin

Question I. Whether the term "free will" or self-determining power (*autexousiou*) should be retained in the Christian schools. And to what faculty of the soul does it properly belong—the intellect or will?

II. Whether every necessity is repugnant to freedom of will. We deny against the papists and Remonstrants

III. Whether the formal reason of free will consists in indifference or in rational spontaneity. The former we deny; the latter we affirm against papists, Socinians and Remonstrants

IV. Whether the free will in a state of sin is so a servant of and enslaved by sin that it can do nothing but sin; or whether it still has the power to incline itself to good, not only civil and externally moral, but internal and spiritual, answering accurately to the will of God prescribed in the law. The former we affirm; the latter we deny, against the papists, Socinians and Remonstrants

THE VIRTUES OF THE HEATHEN

V. Whether the virtues of the heathen were good works from which the power of free will to good can be inferred. We deny against the papists

Tables of Abbreviations and Transliteration

General Abbreviations

* Corrected citation

\+ Citation cannot be identified or located as cited by Turretin

AA Josephus, *Against Apion*. Translated by H.St.J. Thackeray. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.

ACW *Ancient Christian Writers*. New York: Newman Press, 1946–.

AJ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*. Translated by H.St.J. Thackeray, R. Marcus and L.H. Feldman. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928–31.

ANF Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1969–73.

BT I. Epstein, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud*. London: Soncino Press, 1935–52.

CCSL *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*. Turnholt: Brepols, 1953–.

CG Augustine, *City of God*. Translated by Demetrius B. Zema and Gerald G. Walsh. New York: Fathers of the Church, 1950–54.

CI Augustine, *Christian Instruction*. Translated by John J. Gavigan. New York: Cima Publishing Co., 1947.

CR *Corpus Reformatorum*. Berlin: C.A. Schwetschke, 1834–.

CSCO *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. Paris: Reipublicae, n.d.

Cochrane A.C. Cochrane, *Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966.

FC *Fathers of the Church*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press.

Hefele Charles J. Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church*. 5 vols. New York: AMS Press, 1883/1972.

ICR John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. 2 vols. Edited by John T. McNeill. Translated by Ford L. Battles. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960.

JW Josephus, *The Jewish War*. Translated by H.St.J. Thackeray. Cambridge University Press, 1926–29.

LCC John Baillie, John T. McNeill and Henry P. Van Dusen, eds. *Library of Christian Classics*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953–66.

Lauchert Friedrich Lauchert, *Die Kanones der Wichtigsten Altkirchlichen Concilien*. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1896/1961.

Mansi Giovan D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*. Paris: H. Welter, 1901–27.

NPNF1 Philip Schaff, ed. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.

NPNF2 Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1952.

PG Jacques Paul Migne. *Patrologiae ... series Graeca*. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857–87.

PL Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae ... series Latina*. Paris: Garnieri Fratres, 1878.

ST Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*. 3 vols. New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1947–48.

Schaff Philip Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*. 3 vols. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1931.

Schroeder *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*. Translated by Henry J. Schroeder. St. Louis: Herder, 1941.

VD Robert Bellarmine, “De Controversiis: Prima Controversia Generalis—De Verbo Dei,” in *Opera Omnia*. Vol. 1. Neapoli: Josephum Giuliano, 1856.

HEBREW TRANSLITERATION TABLE

א	’
ב	bh
בּ	b
ג	gh
גּ	g
ד	dh
דּ	d
ה	h
ו	v
ז	z
ח	ch
ט	t
י	y
כ	kh
כּ	k
ל	l

מ	m
נ	n
ס	s
ע	‘
פ	ph
פּ	p
צ	ts
ק	q
ר	r
שׂ	s
שׁ	sh
ת	th
תּ	t

Greek Transliteration Table

α	a
β	b
γ	g
δ	d
ε	e
ζ	z
η	ē
θ	th
ι	i
κ	k
λ	l
μ	m
ν	n
ξ	x
o	o
π	p

ρ	r
σ, ς	s
τ	t
υ	y
φ	ph
χ	ch
ψ	ps
ω	ō
ῥ	rh
῾	h
γγ	ng
γκ	nk
γξ	nx
γχ	nch
αυ	au
ευ	eu
ου	ou
υι	yi

Scripture Abbreviations

Old Testament

Genesis Gen.
Exodus Ex.
Leviticus Lev.
Numbers Num.
Deuteronomy Dt.
Joshua Jos.
Judges Jdg.
Ruth Ruth
1 Samuel 1 S.
2 Samuel 2 S.
1 Kings 1 K.
2 Kings 2 K.
1 Chronicles 1 Ch.
2 Chronicles 2 Ch.
Ezra Ezr.
Nehemiah Neh.
Esther Est.
Job Job
Psalms Ps.
Proverbs Prov.
Ecclesiastes Ecc.
Song of Solomon Cant.
Isaiah Is.
Jeremiah Jer.
Lamentations Lam.
Ezekiel Ezk.
Daniel Dan.
Hosea Hos.
Joel Joel

Amos Am.
Obadiah Ob.
Jonah Jon.
Micah Mic.
Nahum Nah.
Habakkuk Hab.
Zephaniah Zeph.
Haggai Hag.
Zechariah Zech.
Malachi Mal.

Apocrypha

Tobit Tob.
Judith Jud.
Wisdom of Solomon Wis. Sol.
Baruch Bar.
1 Maccabees 1 Mac.
2 Maccabees 2 Mac.

New Testament

Matthew Mt.
Mark Mk.
Luke Lk.
John Jn.
Acts Acts
Romans Rom.
1 Corinthians 1 Cor.
2 Corinthians 2 Cor.
Galatians Gal.
Ephesians Eph.
Philippians Phil.
Colossians Col.
1 Thessalonians 1 Thess.
2 Thessalonians 2 Thess.

1 Timothy 1 Tim.
2 Timothy 2 Tim.
Titus Tit.
Philemon Philem.
Hebrews Heb.
James Jam.
1 Peter 1 Pet.
2 Peter 2 Pet.
1 John 1 Jn.
2 John 2 Jn.
3 John 3 Jn.
Jude Jd.
Revelation Rev.

Editor's Preface

George Musgrave Giger's translation of Francis Turretin's *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* was a labor of love. In response to a request from his friend Professor Charles Hodge of Princeton Theological Seminary, Giger wrote out an English translation of the *Institutio* which spanned eight thousand handwritten pages. Giger had served as classics professor at Princeton University (College of New Jersey) from 1847 to 1865. Here he labored in Greek and Latin. His Turretin manuscript was placed at the desk in the library of the seminary in order for students to examine the appropriate pages assigned in Dr. Hodge's systematic theology classes. Portions of the Giger translation have appeared in typescript previously. Yet the entire translation has never been printed, although numerous persons have pleaded this cause over the years. The present project is an attempt to give Giger his due.

Giger's translation is quite literal and faithful to the original. The strength of his work is the strict adherence to Turretin's style. There is not much periphrastic translating here. The scholastic style with its awkward phrasing, bulky subordinate clauses and stilted form is evident in Giger's rendition. For readers who wish to explore scholastic Latin terms as an aid to understanding Turretin's technical vocabulary, I heartily recommend Richard A. Muller, *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms: Drawn Principally from Protestant Scholastic Theology* (Baker, 1985) and the "Glossary" compiled by Richard McKeon, *Selections From Medieval Philosophers* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), 2:422–506. Turretin was fond of using sentence fragments particularly when summarizing a series of points or subdividing several explanations of a main thought. Hence the reader should expect incomplete sentences throughout the translation. My editorial work on Giger's manuscript has attempted to preserve the fidelity of his translation while, at the same time, improving upon its readability. To that end, sentences have been shortened where possible, parentheses have

been used (for what appear to be obvious asides in Turretin's arguments), some archaic phrases have been revised and more modern terms chosen. The reader must understand that some of the tinkering is subjective, based on my judgment of readability. However, I have always attempted to remain faithful to both the spirit of Giger's English and Turretin's Latin.

In the course of editing the English version, it became obvious that several matters needed to be addressed. First, the version Giger was using was the 1847 Edinburgh/New York edition. This was a reprint of the 1688–90 version with corrections in a few Scripture citations. So far as I have been able to determine, the text of this nineteenth-century version does not differ from the 1696 printing (which, in turn, was a reprint of the 1679–85 original version in three volumes), except in the matter of a few Scripture citations (this is also valid for the 1688–90 version which I have been able to examine). The 1679–85 version was reprinted in 1680–86 (also in three volumes). A "new edition checked for accuracy and enlarged in many places" appeared in 1682–88 (three volumes). This corrected and enlarged version was reprinted in three volumes in 1688–90. The 1696 reprint of the 1679–85 version was the first to include the *encomium* of Melchoir Leydekker and the ode of Adrian Reeland. This version was again reprinted in 1701 (three volumes). There was another printing in 1734: a three-volume set of the *Institutio* and a four-volume set which added Turretin's *Disputationes* (as volume 4) in order to make up an *Opera*. This *Opera* was the basis of the complete Edinburgh/New York printing—volume 4 being released in 1848.

The version you are holding represents corrections and additions of various kinds to the 1847 edition. All Scripture quotations have been checked and corrected where necessary (* indicates a correction to the 1847 edition). In addition, Turretin frequently cites Scripture passages by chapter only. Hence, I have attempted to provide the appropriate verses of the chapter from the context of Turretin's remarks. Scripture quotations are based on the King James Version.

The second major consideration was the matter of Turretin's quotations from other authors. In view of Turretin's voluminous knowledge of classical authors, early church fathers, medieval Scholastics, Reformation authors, Arminians, Socinians and counter-Reformation Roman Catholic polemicists, it seemed wise to attempt to examine his citations and provide

full bibliographical data for his sources. I felt that this would make Turretin even more useful to the reader who wishes to pursue the great Genevan's argument by means of the references cited.

Consequently, I have attempted to identify, verify, correct and fully cite all quotations (and some allusions) Turretin makes from other authors. The process of identification has generated a dictionary catalogue of personalities which numbers more than one thousand individuals. This dictionary, which will be included in volume 3 of our set, contains first name, last name, alternate names (if any), dates of birth and death, and reference to a dictionary or encyclopedia which contains an article on the career of that individual.

Verification of Turretin's quotations has necessitated extensive use of on-line bibliographical databases (i.e., the Library of Congress via OCLC), indexes and concordances (especially the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* [TLG] produced by the University of California at Irvine and the Latin language database developed by the Packard Humanities Institute of Los Altos, California) and the cooperation of numerous libraries. In the process of examining his citations, it became evident that Turretin sometimes paraphrased his source or perhaps quoted the source from memory. Hence, a minority of the citations are not literal quotations from the work cited. This has led to some problematic identifications on my part (noted with a ? in the citation).

Where possible, I have cited Turretin's sources with English editions of the work. For citations from the church fathers, the appropriate section of Migne's *Patrologiae Graecae* (PG) or *Patrologiae Latinae* (PL) have been provided. As per the original, citations have been incorporated into the body of the text, not relegated to footnotes. Corrections of Turretin's citations are indicated by an *. No doubt, many of these errors are due to typesetting mistakes, i.e., the result of transposition, misreading or outright error on the part of the original typesetter(s).

Citations have been entered in a way which accurately locates Turretin's quotation. Sometimes I have provided more information about book, chapter and section than he does, thus enabling the reader to find the precise location of the quotation. Greek and Hebrew words and phrases have been transliterated according to the table in the front of this volume. Turretin used only unpointed Hebrew expressions. I have followed his custom in this

regard and have not attempted to supply vowel points. Abbreviations for series, frequently cited works, books of the Bible, etc. will be found in the table of abbreviations.

About 4 percent of the citations have not been identified (indicated by a + beside Turretin's allusion). In some cases, I have not been able even to identify the work Turretin is citing from standard American, British and foreign union catalogues (i.e., National Union Catalogue, British Museum Catalogue, etc.). In other cases, I have not been able to locate the words he is citing (or a reasonable paraphrase thereof) in the place he indicates. In these cases, I have inserted the citation exactly as it is found in the 1847 edition. If any of my readers discovers sources (or corrections) for these citations, please contact me at Westminster Theological Seminary, 1725 Bear Valley Parkway, Escondido, CA 92027.

The publication of the *Institutio* will take three volumes. We will be following the divisions of the 1847 edition: topics 1–10 (volume 1), topics 11–17 (volume 2), topics 18–20 (volume 3). The third volume will also include indexes of subjects, Scripture, Hebrew, Greek, and proper names, as well as a translation of Benedict Pictet's "Funeral Oration"—one of the primary sources of information on the life of Turretin. I also plan to add a sketch of Turretin's remarkable career with comments on his influence. Finally, a complete bibliography of works cited by Turretin will be included together with OCLC numbers for ease of location. In this way, what Hodge, Giger and old Princeton found to be so useful may, by the grace of God, be made all the more so to the church and academy today.

Anno Domini 1992 *Dei Gratia*

Acknowledgments

First mention is due Dr. John H. Gerstner. While I was a student at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, Dr. Gerstner introduced me to Francis Turretin. The excerpts from the *Institutio* which Dr. Gerstner had prepared for his course on Turretin were sufficient to whet my appetite. It took many years for plans for the present project to mature and come together in the providence of God. Sharon Taylor, at the time Assistant to the Librarian at Princeton Theological Seminary, arranged for a photocopy of the Giger translation. Judy Ashcraft first labored to reduce the handwritten version to typescript via word processor. Anna Whitten completed the task and has continued to input corrections and additions. The Board and Faculty of Westminster Theological Seminary in California granted a study leave in 1988 enabling me to make significant progress in preparing the manuscript for publication. Bryce Craig and Thom Notaro of Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company have provided encouragement, equipment and needed advice. Catherine Drown has given her time in order to help with proofreading.

But a very special lady has aided in ways which can never be fully estimated. Grace Mullen, Archivist and Acting Director of the Montgomery Library of Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, has provided answers, searched through reference collections, sent books and microfilm and done numerous other chores cheerfully and accurately. I have appropriately dubbed her America's equivalent to Sherlock Holmes. Thanks so much, Gracie!

Many others have given their time and energy to this project. I shall attempt to acknowledge them more fully in the index volume to this set (projected to be volume 3).

SOLI DEO GLORIA!

Turretin's Dedication

Most magnificent, noble and honored men of the consul and all the Senate of the celebrated Republic of Geneva, health and all happiness is desired for you from Francis Turretin.

As often as I think of the state of this republic, at whose helm God has stationed you, most distinguished nobles, so many great miracles occur to me by which it has become famous that what the divine poet formerly sung concerning Jerusalem, no one will deny can be predicated not undeservedly concerning it: "Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God." Small indeed, I confess, and scarcely another less among the thousands of Judah, if the advantages of nature are regarded; great, however, and scarcely another greater if the gifts of God are attended to. But although the blessings are innumerable which God, with a liberal hand, has thus far poured out and this day pours out upon it; yet there are two illustrious above the others which commend its dignity: religion, than which nothing is more holy, and liberty, than which nothing is sweeter. This is, as it were, another Goshen, which the rays of the sun of righteousness illumine, while the Egypt of the world is covered with the more than Cimmerian darkness of errors; another Tsohar, small, but secure, in which the pious find a pleasing asylum, while the destructive fire of the divine judgment burns and feeds upon many other regions of the world; a true Bethshemesh and Heliopolis, house and city of the sun, where that visible sun is no longer worshipped (which is reported to have been done here in Gentilism by a tradition no less constant than concordant).

But the divine dayspring from on high is adored, Christ the Lord, who is our sun and shield; the sun of every blessing, asserting the glory of religion; the shield of the most safe protection, affording an invincible and inexpugnable guard to liberty. Both of these (the greatest glories of Geneva) supply the most just argument for celebrating the admirable providence of God towards us. For who is not amazed that in those most serious

convulsions of almost the whole of Europe in which scarcely any region has been free from war (none of which has not felt its most dreadful effects), yet we thus far almost alone in this corner of the earth enjoying a halcyon peace have remained untouched and unrestrained. Meanwhile others are compelled with deepest grief to behold devastated fields, cities taken and sacked, villages burned, provinces cut off and other lamentable, direful and dreadful concomitants of war. Torn away from their paternal habitations they miserably wander as exiles and stragglers. Under our own vine and fig tree, we tranquilly eat our bread and enjoy the profoundest peace.

Truly we would be the most ungrateful of mortals did we not consider this liberty and peace to be the pure blessing of God, who watches for our salvation. He alone has produced and produces this ease for us. He who was first the author of so great a gift, willed afterwards to be the supporter and conservator of the same. For who else could have unveiled the artifices of so many conspirators and traitors beyond all expectation of men? Who else could have expelled and frustrated so many incursions and nefarious attempts? The lovers of hieroglyphics, when about to represent providence sustaining all things, were accustomed ingenuously to paint a city supported by no prop, pendulous in mid air, sustained by a large arm stretched out of heaven. Our Geneva, not shadowy and emblematically but truly, is that city sustained by the hand of God alone; not by human means or assistance: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord" (Zech. 4:6).

But far greater and more illustrious ought that other benefit to be regarded which is the principal foundation of the divine protection under whose shade we thus far safely repose (viz., heavenly truth and the deposit of a purer religion with which inestimable gift God willed to bless us). Through it—the tyranny of the Roman Antichrist having been cast down, error triumphed over, superstition put to flight, idols overthrown, darkness scattered—that saving light which even long ago was hoped for after the darkness, has happily arisen upon those who were lying in the darkness of the shadow of death. Happy hills which God has loved so much as to place the golden candlestick of truth—from these the rays of divine truth diffused in every direction have lit up a great part of the world; favored state and church which Christ has thought worthy of so great honor as to consecrate it for the resting place of the ark, the seat of the gospel and the sanctuary of his name. However hated by the world, she may perceive the fury and rage

of the devil and of Antichrist more and more excited against her. Yet beloved by God and dear to him as the pupil of his eye, she sweetly takes refuge under the shadow of his wings, joyfully rejoicing not only in her own good things, but imparting these favors to many others also so that she deserved the appellation of either the mother or the nurse of these who professed that they owed to this our state after God their own origin or increase. But in this respect she is most especially happy—that by the special favor of God she always enjoys the wonderful privilege of the Reformation and has preserved thus far unimpaired the most precious of religion (*keimēlion*) committed to her. This is our glory, this our crown, by which we are well distinguished above many other people of the earth to whom he has denied similar grace: we are marked by the glorious name of the property of God and the Holy Lion.

Since, in truth, nothing should be more important to us than the constant and faithful custody of so great a benefit (with a grateful commemoration of it towards God the bestower), it was, most distinguished nobles, the unwearied desire of your pious ancestors, who, as the best nurses of the church, always held it among their first cares to support strenuously the cause of religion no less than that of liberty, that it might be preserved pure and free from all contagion of errors: most wisely judging it to be not so much the palladium in which Troy nor the heaven descended (*ouranopetes*) shield in which Rome formerly gloried, as the ark of the covenant, the indubitable pledge of God's presence (upon the retention and conservation of which the security and happiness of the republic as well as of the church depend).

It would be a long story to recount with what monstrous errors that most base enemy of the human race, in a former age, strove to obscure and at the same time to extinguish the light of the renascent gospel—not only by sworn foes of the Reformation, who endeavored to draw it back under the pristine yoke of Anti-Christian bondage, but also by perfidious Sinons, who, living in its bosom under the plausible but false pretext of cherishing and illustrating religion, attempted to introduce into doctrine the faith of deadly opinions. With wonderful felicity by the vigilance of your ancestors, the Lord liberated it. Your annals testify by what numerous and great stratagems the divine work of the Reformation was attacked almost from its cradle; with what rage of profane and factious persons the holy discipline of

morals was besieged and how often the purity of evangelical truth was assailed.

At one time, this was attempted by the fanatical rabble of the Anabaptists, who in the year 1536, immediately after the commencement of the Reformation, made a disturbance here. Afterwards it was the deceitful arts (more changeable than Proteus) and most iniquitous calamities of Peter Caroli, the impudent Sophist. Then again the destructive corruptions of the word of God and orthodox doctrine by Sebastian Castellio, the leader of modern semi-Pelagians; by the most base contrivances of Gruet, a turbulent man, throwing together into the same hodgepodge of errors Samosatenianism with Manichaeism. After that, in the year 1551, by the impiety of Jerome Bolsec who labored to corrupt the sacred doctrine of predestination and saving grace with Pelagian poison. At length, it was attempted by the horrible blasphemies of Michael Servetus, not a man, but a monster of all wickedness, in reference to the adorable mystery of the holy Trinity. This most abandoned man, although often warned, did not cease disgorging the most pestiferous poison among the common people, which he had already scattered for many years in the celebrated places of Europe. At length being thrown into prison and persevering in his diabolical obstinacy, he suffered the most just punishment of execrable impiety in the year 1553. Still Satan (so often vanquished) did not cease to renew the strife and to excite new masters of impiety afterwards: such as Valentine Gentilis, Paul Alciatus and other disciples of the same fraternity with the most impure Servetus. In the year 1558, these joined together the error of the Tritheists with Samosatenianism and Arianism (i.e., monsters with monsters). These the authority of your predecessors firmly restrained and happily put to flight, so that always with great praise, they approved themselves to be “strenuous and hearty defenders of the cause of piety,” the honorable utterance which that most distinguished man of God, Calvin, formerly used concerning them.

That this is also your principal care, most watchful fathers of your country, your zeal and piety do not suffer us to doubt. For indeed you have remembered that dominion is strengthened by piety and righteousness according to the oracle of the wisest of kings; and that your rule never could be happy and well ordered unless you took care that by the word of God, his authority should always avail with you and that Christ himself should

reign through you. You have remembered that here might be not so much an aristocracy as a theocracy, having God always for its president and ruler; and that the safety of the republic, which should always be the supreme law, could not be better consulted than by defending those two impregnable ramparts—the culture of pure religion and the pious care of nurturing the church, which God has committed to the protection of your wings. This has been so accomplished thus far by you that not only has religion remained here uncontaminated by any corruption of error and superstition through the special favor of God, but nothing besides has been changed in the purer doctrine once received here, which you have bound yourselves always religiously to be retained. Go on, Lords, constantly in this sacred purpose and cause, by your pious and unwearied vigilance, these good things to be perpetual to us; so that under your auspices this republic may always be happy and flourishing in piety even to the latest posterity. This undoubtedly you can hope from God, who has promised to be a guard of those cities which would be the seats of truth and the refuge of the pious as long as you will always be solicitous about religiously worshipping and retaining him and promoting his glory above all things; as long as you will take care that among your citizens piety and justice, the love of religion and of country, love and the holy concord of souls shall flourish, and vices (too many in this most corrupt age even in the growing church) be severely repressed; as long as by our zeal this city shall truly correspond to her name "Reformed," as much with respect to integrity of morals as to purity of doctrine (and, that I may speak the word, the "city of God" and true *chptsybhh*, in which shall be the good pleasure of God).

However because this care belongs not only to the rulers of the republic and the chief men, but more closely touches those who minister in sacred things (whom the supreme arbiter of things employs for his work), we cannot sufficiently admire his provident care over us in choosing here for himself a seat of truth. So he never forsook his own work, sending faithful and energetic laborers into his harvest who, furnished with eminent gifts, should begin courageously the divine work of purging religion and when begun should carry it forward unto perfection. Everyone knows how much Geneva owes to the labors of those remarkable servants of God, William Farel and Peter Viret, whom God willed to use in laying the foundations of the Reformation; but especially to the most fervent zeal and indefatigable

diligence of that greatest and never-to-be-sufficiently-praised theologian, John Calvin. He was well known (*tou pany*) by his most ardent zeal and unwearied diligence. Furnished wonderfully with a heroic spirit, a most acute judgment and profound erudition, God unexpectedly called him to his work at Geneva in the most difficult times. God willed his labor to be happily expended in establishing a purer doctrine and discipline of morals (yet not without great contests).

Their followers, who held the lamp after them, always proposed this to themselves before other things, that "impure babblings" (*bebēlois kainophōniais*) and "erroneous teaching" (*heterodidaskaliais*) being rejected (which the apostle denounces) that most sacred trust (*parakatathēkēn*), which they have received unimpaired from their ancestors, they also might religiously preserve unimpaired and transmit to their successors. Since we, by the grace of God, even now enjoy this singular benefit, we could not escape the guilt of the heaviest crime if we should suffer this glory and crown to be snatched from us and if those who succeed to the labors of such men should not be solicitous to press faithfully in their footsteps. Indeed let me say something about myself.

From the time that God wished me by your remarkable favor to be elevated to the honorable position which I have occupied for about thirty years (although I always felt myself far unequal to such a burden, and the consciousness of my own feebleness easily persuaded me how inferior I was to those great men who preceded us here), yet I can solemnly testify before God that no other object was ever proposed to me than that I might always follow my predecessors, not with the same steps, but in the same way and according to my ability tread in their footsteps, though not with equal paces. Nor did I believe that I could better adorn the place which I have found and satisfy the conscience of the oath by which I was bound in the office entrusted to me than if I should strive solely for this—that the youth committed to me might be imbued with a purer theology and with the sober and solid doctrine here.

To this course (although of my own accord disposed), the domestic example of the two faithful servants of Christ connected with me by blood also impelled me. I mean the great theologian John Diodati, my maternal uncle, whose name (most celebrated through the whole world) and work on the sacred Scriptures (most praised and most worthy of the cedar, to

mention no other) demonstrate the illustrious man. Also Benedict Turretin, my most dear parent, of blessed and most beloved memory who, snatched away by a premature and most regretted death, obtained the praise of an accurate and solid theologian, as both fame (I being silent) proclaims and his writings testify. Excited by these more and more to duty, I have always considered that this one thing should be done by me—that vain and useless questions being dismissed (which feed curiosity, but do not minister to faith), I should compose all my works after the sacred cynosure of the word and set before the youth consecrated to God the "pure rational milk" (*logikon adolon gala*) by which they might advance every day in the truth which is according to piety and prepare themselves for the work of the ministry. Such is the object of this production, the first part of which comes into light. At first, it was intended for the use of our scholars and rudely sketched. I am not so much voluntarily moved as in certain measure compelled to give it to the public in order to satisfy the frequent and reiterated demands of those who supposed that some advantage would thus be given to the guardians of sacred things in the easier development of the controversies waged with our adversaries. Whether their expectation will be confirmed, the event in its own time (with the favor of God) will teach us.

In the meantime, I have determined with all suitable submission to present and to dedicate to you, most illustrious men, this work (such as it is). For although I hesitated not a little whether I ought to approach you with this slight gift (nor were there wanting various reasons to deter me from my purpose), yet the persuasions of your kindness and the consideration of my duty effected that (all fear being shaken off) I should not doubt to write your splendid names before this work of mine; that under your auspices it might come before the public more happily and safely, being persuaded that the argument would not be ungrateful to you, which contains the claims of saving doctrine (than which nothing ought to be dearer to us). Nor that you would deny your patronage to this little work which aims at nothing else than the promotion of the cause of God and heavenly truth, of which he has willed you to be the defenders against the vain inventions of men. Besides nothing was more just than to make these fruits (although poor) of my studies, yours. They were already yours by right, since they sprang up and were cultivated on your soil. Thus I might prove to you even from this specimen, my, if not erudition, at least fidelity

in the discharge of the office entrusted to me. Nor without the crime of ingratitude (*acharistias*) could that singular benevolence have suffered me to act otherwise, by which that most pious and most virtuous man, Francis Turretin, my grandfather, came here from the city of Lucca about a hundred years ago. All the blessings of a most sweet country being left, impelled by the sacred zeal of professing a purer religion, under the protection of the most renowned senate, he fixed his seat here with his family delighting in the enjoyment of the most desired light of the gospel with many neighbors and relatives of the Italian nation and other pious men whom the love of the truth and the sweet savor (*euōdia*) of Christ had attracted here. From the year 1552, an Italian church was founded by the efforts of John Calvin under the protection and authority of a Christian magistrate, which even now at this day by the singular grace of God is preserved under your protection. The memory of this kindness, as it will remain fixed in our minds for ever, so it demands that in testification of a grateful mind it should be declared unto all.

And on this account you have not ceased to give not obscure proofs of the same favor towards me chiefly, whom you have honored with many distinctions; not only by committing to me above all my merit the sacred office which I perform both in the church and in the academy, but also by always cherishing me in a kind manner and approving thus far all my attempts. Thus often being invited elsewhere, although thinking nothing less than about the change of my position (and especially some years before being honorably called by the most noble and mighty senators both of confederated Belgium and of Holland to the theological profession in the most flourishing Athanaeum in Batavian Lugdunum [Leiden]) with a benevolent affection towards me you wish to retain me here. This being done you have so more and more bound my faith and service to you (already devoted) that I would deservedly acquire a bad name if, while I could not discharge the debt, I would not at least ingenuously acknowledge it; nor take care that some constant monument of my regard for you and of a grateful mind should always exist. Accept therefore with serene countenance, most distinguished nobles, this little pledge, not of a little but of my most devout respect and most ardent zeal towards this your seat of gospel light. And proceed to favor him as he willingly acknowledges that he is now under the highest obligations to you; so he professes and promises to

be wholly yours by service and reverence. As to what remains, as a suppliant, I entreat the most good and most great God, by whom kings reign that he may always be propitious to you, eminent rulers. May he preserve safe the republic as long as possible and enrich you with all manner of blessings, so governing you by his leading (*hēgemonikō*) spirit of wisdom and strength, of piety and justice, that all your counsels may contribute to the glory of his most holy name, the advantage of the republic and the happiness of the church. Amen.

Geneva, February 10th, A.D. 1679.

Turretin's Preface to the Reader

Kind reader, I cannot avoid briefly stating to you here at the threshold, my reasons and design in publishing this work, lest you should think erroneously of it or ascribe to me in relation to it something from which I have always been free. For since so many highly approved writings of this sort have been published by theologians (the abundance of which often confuses the studious, uncertain to whom they ought most especially to devote themselves), I hardly seem to have been able to avoid the mark of foolhardiness and imprudence. Meanwhile I (who ought to be compared with them in neither talent nor teaching) recognize that I am unprepared from all these things which require of such a work that it ought to be executed with excellence (*cum laude*). Yet I would dare to put forth my efforts for the public in this kind of writing, as if I could brighten the light of the sun or as if I desire to write an Iliad after Homer. It was not from private choice, but from deference to what was judged a public call. But besides the fact that the obligation arising from the office imposed upon me could alone sufficiently and more than sufficiently defend me here, it prescribes the duty of assisting the studies of the youth consecrated to God by teaching or by writing. As in erecting the tabernacle of the Lord, their diligence was also praiseworthy who, not being able to contribute gold, silver, scarlet and other more precious things, at least did not hesitate to offer brass and iron and the cheaper things in their possession; yea, even skins and the hairs of goats, God not estimating the gifts according to their price, but according to the affection of their mind. The very occasion of the undertaken work, not sought but offered (yea thrust upon me) will abundantly testify what has been done by me and my intention. For while I was endeavoring according to my strength to inform the youth from the requisitions of the entrusted office (not only publicly but also privately), among other things I proposed for their investigation the *Decades* of the most celebrated Maresius. And that this might be to them a more useful

exercise, I thought that the state and foundation of the controversies treated there should be explained in a few words (some distinctions and observations also being added) by which the *prōton pseudos* ("principal falsehoods") of opponents might be revealed and the principal objections solved. Nor content with the living word, I wished these to be committed also to writing that they might be fixed more deeply in the memory.

Thus the work gradually grew; nor was it consulted without some fruit by the studious. I proposed to myself only this scope of my labor and never would have thought of publishing the hurried work, had not both the prayers of the studious and the wishes of friends and the well-founded rumors reached my ears concerning the design entertained by others of publishing it without my knowledge (not so much obtained as extorted from me). Therefore, that a rude and unformed production (defiled by many blemishes and errors) might not be sent forth, I at length determined ("willing yet with an unwilling mind," *hekōn aekonti ge thymō*) to yield to the wishes of those demanding this of me and to publish this little work whatever it may be, reviewed and increased with a little more diligent care and digested into a more accurate method (as though not able to prove my erudition, I might at least prove to all regard for friends and my desire to defend the truth). Hence if anyone desires more in these pages and calls this a crude and immature foetus, he will have me confessing the same (who professed it first). I add this also—that it ought rather to be kept back, than to be published.

Thus also as to the name, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*. Let no one think that a full and accurate system of theology is delivered here. For this was not indeed the design proposed to me, but only to explain the importance of the principal controversies which lie between us and our adversaries (ancient and modern) and supply to the young the thread of Ariadne, by the help of which they may more easily extricate themselves from their labyrinth. For since in this fond-of-wrangling age it becomes the man of God not only to be imbued with a deeper knowledge of truth for rightly dividing the word of God (*pros to orthotomein ton logon tou theou*), but also to be equipped with the powerful armor of righteousness and especially with the shield of faith, to convict antagonists (*pros to tous antilegontas elenchein*), to quench the fiery darts of Satan and destroy the fortification and reasonings opposed to the knowledge of God, so that every

thought may be brought captive in obedience to Christ—the progress of the studious cannot be better provided for than by teaching them to handle the sword with the trowel (which sacred history tells us the Jerusalem builders formerly did); that is, with instruction (*paideia*) in the truth, upon which faith may be built, to join the conviction (*elenchon*) of the false by which the errors (either directly or indirectly impugning it) may be solidly refuted, so that they can be successful in setting right the many and weighty controversies which at this day and to our grief prevail extensively among Christians and miserably lacerate the church of the Lord.

But because it is evident dangerous errors are concerned and occur chiefly and most frequently about the state of the controversy, which being unknown, it happens that the contest (*astochōs*) is unhappily carried on with masks and at random like blinded gladiation. I have given attention to this above all things, that discarding everything irrelevant I might diligently bring out (*exagōnia*) and explain as far as possible the state and main hinge of the questions according to the opinion of the parties. Thus this being once rightly posited and explored, the way might be rendered easy to the rest, whether the truth was to be constructively (*kataskeuastikōs*) erected or error to be destroyed (*anaskeuēn*) by refutation. These two additional things I proposed to accomplish, not that I might laboriously bring together all the reasons usually adduced for the confirmation of the truth (because here we must contend not so much by number as by weight), but that I might select with judgment the better and more solid by which it can be supported, strength also being added to them where there was need and the principal objections (*exceptionibus*) of adversaries (*tōn ex enantias*) answered. To these I thought sources of solution (*fontes solutionum*) should be subjoined so that the prolix series of arguments being dismissed, distinctions might be present briefly and as it were at one glance by which the weapons of the adversaries might be blunted and the nerves of the principal objections be easily cut.

All this I have endeavored to execute with brevity and perspicuity so that neither too great conciseness should produce obscurity, nor too great prolixity tedium. Hence content with a bare and simple exposition of things, a wearisome citation of testimonies which might have been heaped together being omitted and all parade of emotion avoided, I have thought it sufficient to indicate by brief references what I might otherwise have drawn out in a

just handling of the argument. But no one ought to be surprised either at my touching upon various common questions because I here desire to profit not the erudite and the intractable (*epoptais*) who have no need of these writings, but catechumens (*tois katēchoumenois*) and initiates who wish to be instructed. For their education, we ought to accommodate the word in speaking as also the style in writing. I leave others untouched which in common places (*loci communibus*) mention is often wont to be made. For our theology already labors with too great a mass of controversies, and our theology is overwhelmed (of which not a few are less necessary, many also rashly agitated by unwise man). These persons, either by an unhappy curiosity, disdaining the open things in the Scriptures, search into the sealed and closed heaven and strive to break into the secret recesses of God (*embateuontes eis ha mē heōrakasi*, cf. Col. 2:18). By a liberal gathering of straws (*karphologia*), they follow up the inane apices of words, and seek to know a bulrush (i.e., find difficulties where there are none). For the most part I have thought it always to be important for the progress of learners and the increase of piety, to diminish rather than to increase the questions, as much as the truth would admit. Therefore I wished to select those which seemed either of greater moment or more necessary at this time, others being dismissed which are either too difficult and curious or inane and jejune, which the apostle calls *zētēseis mōras kai aperantous* (cf. 2 Tim. 2:23—"but foolish and unlearned questions avoid") which neither hurt those ignorant of them nor profit those who know them. As the golden rule of the apostle always maintains: "to know in order to be wise" (*phronein eis to sōphronein*). And so I judged that the profane caprice of crafty men for the new and curious interests of the prurient ought to be carefully avoided, and I did nothing more zealously than that I should not turn away from the form of sensible speech as well as from the simplicity and purity (*eilikrineia*) of the pristine faith which our pious predecessors after Christ and the apostles passed down to us and which was constantly maintained here as much as ever could be preserved by me undefiled.

Of course, I am aware that this will by no means suit the taste of many people who think that this age is so fertile; to whom old truths appear worthless and who esteem nothing but mysterious and modern thinking; who are "wise in their own conceit" (*idiognōmones*) and "cherish their own opinion" (*dokēsisophoi*) as if this were the standard of truth. Under the front

of greater light and of a deeper dragnet for truth displayed before the ignorant, the traditions are cast down, the good constitutions are destroyed, "their own interpretations and their own decisions are esteemed" (*idias epilyseis* and *kurias doxas*, cf. 2 Pet. 1:20). They take care to take on the resemblance of prophecies and just as if they were in good mind they do not blush to proclaim that those who differ with them are empty-headed, ignorant and slavishly addicted to old forms.

But whatever they ascribe or judge to be foolish because of this vice, I consider it with true, heartfelt praise and judge this fact to be special evidence of commendation. For since each of the oldest things is most true, no description of better stamp can be given especially in sacred argument than that something has less novelty. Old is best here and that which goes back to earliest antiquity. It was discovered through much sad experience that they always dangerously go astray who spurn the well-known and well-worn paths in order to cut new ones which lead off as much as possible into the pathless heights and precipices.

I admit that we ought not to despise the diligence of those who recently have done justice to their brilliant gifts from God powerfully displaying a special genius for acumen honorably taken up with examination of the Scriptures and in bringing the truth to light. And it would be sheer ingratitude against God, the author of such great gifts, to willfully defraud them of their due praise or to refuse to profit from them. But they are indeed rejected under that old, pernicious pretense, and novel doctrines are introduced into the church as if those who preceded us lived in a fog and in shadows until now, and they were unable to purge religion from their own errors. This certainly is injurious to the reputation of such great men and harmful to religion—it ought not to be tolerated by pious ears!

Let other books, then, be commended by their novelty. I do not want this statement to justify mine. I avoided it most diligently lest it should contain anything new, a stranger from the word of God and from the public forms received in our churches, and nothing is built up there that is not confirmed by the vote of our most proven theologians of highest reputation.

I do not expect or ask for any praise in the future from my little work, but I will consider my labor to be well satisfying if you soberly and favorably regard that this work of mine, such as it is, renders service to the church of God. If any fruit is returned from hence, it will come through

divine blessing for illumination of the truth and edification of the saints. But if this main portion of my labor be neither unhelpful for you nor clearly useless—which I alone have reluctantly brought into the light—were I to perceive this to be the case, I would proceed to another part more eagerly and act with the aid of a good God if he would see fit to bestow to me strength and life that I might more swiftly deliver the faith once given.

Meanwhile, since I am a man (and I do not suppose that I am free from any human limitations), if anything would be said by me here that would correspond little with Scripture united with the rule of our faith, not only do I want it to be unsaid, but even to be stricken out.

You then, dear reader, when you kindly express appreciation and are lenient toward my errors: "If you know something better than these precepts, pass it on, my good fellow. If not, join me in following these" (Horace, *Epistles* 1.6.67–68 [Loeb, 290–91]).

May the God of truth and of peace cause us to walk always in truth and charity; may we grow every day in him who is the head, until we all arrive at the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, perfected in power and to the measure of the maturity of Christ. Amen.

FIRST TOPIC

THEOLOGY

FIRST QUESTION

Should the word "theology" be used in the Christian schools, and in how many ways can it be understood?

The word "theology" is rightly used.

I. Since, according to the laws of accurate method, the use and true sense of terms (*prōton exetazein ta onomata*) are first to be explained (as the Philosopher [Aristotle]* has it), for words are the types (*typoi*) of things, some things must be premised concerning the word "theology" before we come to the thing itself. But although the proposed question may seem hardly necessary (in the common sense and in that received by almost all who think it should be retained as a technical [*technikon*] word properly and emphatically declaring its subject), yet we must meet the opinion of those who dislike it because it does not occur in Scripture and is used to denote the false system of the heathen and who judge that it would be more suitable to use other words drawn from Scripture.

II. Although the word "theology" is not in so many words in-written (*engraphos autolexei*), yet it is not altogether un-written (*agraphos*). The simple words of which it is composed often occur there: *as logos tou theou* ("word of God") and *logia tou theou* ("words of God"; cf. Rom. 3:2; 1 Pet. 4:11*; Heb. 5:12). Therefore it is one thing to be in Scripture as to sound and syllables (or formally and in the abstract); another to be in it as to sense and the thing signified (or materially in the concrete). Theology does not occur in Scripture in the former manner, but in the latter.

III. Although it is not lawful to form any doctrines not in Scripture, yet it is lawful sometimes to use words which are not found there if they are such as will enable us either to explain divine things or to avoid errors. For this

purpose, the words “triad,” *homoousiou*, “original sin” and the like have been used by theologians.

IV. Although the heathen often abused this word to designate their false system, yet this does not prevent applying to our true and saving science what was wrongly given by them (falsely and falsely so-called [*pseudōnymō*]) the name of theology. Just as the word “God” (which among the Gentiles denoted a false and fictitious god), and the word “church” (which was applied to a secular assembly) are used in the Scriptures in a sounder sense for the true God and the assembly of the saints. The word “theology” (of Greek origin) was transferred from the schools of the Gentiles to sacred uses, just as the vessels of the Egyptians were appropriated to sacred purposes by the Israelites.

V. We do not deny that there are various synonyms in the Scriptures by which the heavenly science might be designated; as when it is called “wisdom in a mystery” (1 Cor. 2:7), the “form of sound words” (2 Tim. 1:13), the “acknowledging of the truth which is after godliness” (Tit. 1:1), “doctrine” (Tit. 1:9) and is expressed by other like words. But nevertheless this name can and ought to be retained because it has been used so long and is the most appropriate for expressing this saving science.

VI. It is evident that the word “theology” was used by the Gentiles. For they who discoursed sublimely of God, or settled the worship of the gods, or set forth their birthdays, marriages, offspring, dominion and achievements were called “theologians” and their science “theology” (see Lactantius, *The Wrath of God* 2 [FC 54:85–88]; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 3.3 [ANF 2:384; PG 8.1119–20]; Isidore, *Etymologarium* 8*.6.18 [PL 82.307]; Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 3.4.9 [Loeb, 1:126–27]).

Use of the word.

VII. Among Christians, the word “theology” is used either inadequately (with reference to the efficient to mean a discourse of God [*Theou Logon*], and with reference to the object, a discourse about God [*logon peri tou Theou*]) or adequately inasmuch as it denotes both a discourse of God and a discourse about God. These two must be joined together because we cannot speak concerning God without God; so that it may be termed the science which is originally from God, objectively treats concerning and

terminatively flows into and leads to him, which Thomas Aquinas aptly expresses, *Theologia a Deo docetur, Deum docet, et ad Deum ducit* ("Theology is taught by God, teaches God and leads to him," ST, 1, Q. 1, Art. 7+—not in Thomas, but a medieval scholastic adage). So this nomenclature embraces the twofold principle of theology: one of being, which is God; the other of knowing, which is his word.

VIII. Again it is used by authors in three ways: (1) broadly; (2) strictly; (3) according to the true extent of its signification. In the first way, it is accommodated to metaphysics, and in this sense Aristotle calls the first philosophy "theology" (*Metaphysics* 6.1.10–11 [Loeb, 1:296–97] and 11*.7.8–9 [Loeb, 2:86–89]). He divides theoretical philosophy into three parts: physical (*physikēn*), mathematical (*mathēmatikēn*) and theological (*theologikēn*). In the second way, the fathers designate particularly that part of the Christian science which treats of the divinity of Christ by the word "theology." In this sense, John is with emphasis styled "Theologian" because he boldly asserted the deity of the Word (*tēn tou logou theotēta*, cf. Rev. 1:2). The other fathers applied to Gregory Nazianzus the name of "Theologian" because he demonstrated the divinity of Christ in various orations. Hence a distinction was made by them between theology (*theologias*) and economy (*oikonomias*). By the former, they meant the doctrine of the divinity of Christ; by the latter, the doctrine of his incarnation. *Theologein lēsoun* is with them to discourse of the divinity of Christ (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.28 [FC 19:343; PG 20.512]; Basil the Great, *Adversus Eunomium* 2 [PG 29.601]; Gregory Nazianzus, Oration 31*.26, "On the Holy Spirit" [NPNF2, 7:326; PG 36.161] and Oration 38*.8, "On the Theophany" [NPNF2, 7:347; PG 36.320]). In the third and most proper sense, it denotes "a system or body of doctrine concerning God and divine things revealed by him for his own glory and the salvation of men." In this sense, we use it here.

IX. The use of the word "theology" is either equivocal and abusive (when it is applied to the false theology of the heathen and heretics); or, less properly, when it is referred to the original and infinite wisdom which we conceive to be in God knowing himself in an unspeakable and most perfect manner (for the word cannot reach the dignity of the thing itself); or to the theology of Christ and to angelic theology; or, more properly, when it is

applied to the theology of men on earth which (as we shall see hereafter) is divided into natural and supernatural.

Second Question

Whether there is a theology and its divisions

Theology is proved to be.

I. Many things prove that there is a theology. (1) The nature and goodness of God who, since he is the best, is most communicative of himself. He cannot communicate himself more suitably to a rational creature and in a manner more fitting to human nature than by the knowledge and love of himself. (2) The consent of people and the universal, innate desire to know God which must be for some purpose. For although they have shamefully wandered from true theology, yet the very fact of their seeking it proves the existence of such a theology. Hence no nation has ever been found so barbarous as not to have its hierophants engaged in gaining the knowledge of and in teaching divine things. (3) The design of creation; for God made rational creatures with this intention—that he might be recognized and worshipped by them, which cannot be done without theology. (4) The nature of the thing because the two things requisite for the making up of a system (the *to gnōston* or knowable object, and the *to gnōstikon* or knowing subject) are found here (viz., God, the most capable of being known of knowable things [*tōn epistētōn epistētotaton*], and rational creatures endowed with intellects capable of gaining the knowledge of him). (5) The necessity of salvation; for as man is appointed for a supernatural end, he must necessarily have presented to him supernatural means for reaching that end. Now this is no other than faith which absolutely requires the knowledge of God.

II. All entities discussed in philosophical systems are not discussed with reference to all that can possibly be known of them, but only with reference to that which can naturally be perceived of them. Hence from the extent of the object of philosophy no prejudice can justly be occasioned to supernatural theology which treats certain entities not as they are known by nature, but by revelation. (2) Although all natural entities form the subjects

of the inferior sciences, this does not take away the necessity of theology, where different supernatural mysteries are taught and to which no human science has ever extended.

III. The senses do not stand in need of any supernatural knowledge in order to their perfection. It would be wrong to infer from this that the intellect does not need it because the intellect is ordained to a supernatural end, surpassing the comprehension of the reason. This is not by any means the case with the senses. But although this need of the intellect is a mark of imperfection with regard to an end not as yet attained and as denoting the absence of the end, yet it indicates perfection with regard to its capacity for reaching that end.

IV. Metaphysics is the highest of all sciences in the natural order, but acknowledges the superiority of theology in the supernatural order. The expression of philosophers—that sciences are distinguished by their greater or lesser abstraction and therefore the science which has least to do with matter as metaphysics is superior to all—must be understood of sciences merely theoretical, occupied with universal things only and belonging to the natural order. For these form their own objects by an abstraction of the mind, and their superiority is regulated by the degree of abstraction. However, this cannot apply to theology, being partly theoretical and partly practical and therefore superior to all in the natural order and not forming its own object by any abstraction, but receiving it from revelation already formed and distinct.

Different kinds of theology.

V. Theology is wont to be distinguished in diverse ways into true and false. The false and equivocally so-called (applied to an erroneous system concerning God and his worship) is of various kinds. First, that of the Gentiles which evidently has been manifold. Thus Plato (*The Republic* 2+) makes it twofold: symbolical (*symbolikēn*) or mythical (*mythikēn*) (consisting of things wrapped up in a covering of signs under which the Gentiles and especially the Egyptians were accustomed to teach divine mysteries); and philosophical (*philosophikēn*) or demonstrative (*apodeiktikēn*) (occupying itself in the contemplation of divine things). Marcus Varro makes it threefold: mythical (*mythikēn*) or fabulous (of the

poets, which was intended for the stage and theaters); political (*politikēn*) or civil (of the priests and people, which was publicly used in the temples according to the rites of each city and nation); and physical (*physikēn*) or natural (of the philosophers, which was taught in the schools; cf. Augustine, CG 6.5 and 8.1 [FC 8:314–17 and 14:21–22]). Thus both the poets (on account of their fabulous discussions on the nature of god and divine things [*theologoumenous mythous*]) and the philosophers and priests are called "theologians" by Justin Martyr (*Hortatory to the Greeks* 3 [ANF 1:274; PG 6.247–48]) and Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 5.8 [ANF 2:454–57]). However the principal part of their theology was a setting forth of the generation of the gods (*theogonias*) because they believed that the gods were generated. Second, that of infidels and heretics who either openly rejected Christ (as the Jews, Mohammedans, etc.), or who, while they retain the name of Christ, are in fundamentals at variance with the word of God (as the theology of papists, Socinians and other like heretics). For although their theology may contain some truth, yet because the greater part is false and the errors fundamental, it is properly called "false" (the denomination being taken from the larger part).

VI. True theology is divided into: (1) infinite and uncreated, which is God's essential knowledge of himself (Mt. 11:27) in which he alone is at the same time the object known (*epistēton*), the knowledge (*epistēmōn*), and the knower (*epistēmē*), and that which he decreed to reveal to us concerning himself which is commonly called archetypal; and (2) finite and created, which is the image and ectype (*ektypon*) of the infinite and archetypal (*prōtotypou*) (viz., the ideas which creatures possess concerning God and divine things, taking form from that supreme knowledge and communicated to intelligent creatures, either by hypostatical union with the soul of Christ [whence arises "the theology of union"]; or by beatific vision to the angels and saints who walk by sight, not by faith, which is called "the theology of vision"; or by revelation, which is made to travellers [viz., to those who have not yet reached the goal and is called "the theology of revelation"] or the stadium).

VII. Second, the theology of revelation is again divided into natural and supernatural. The natural, occupied with that which may be known of God (*to gnōston tou Theou*), is both innate (from the common notions implanted in each one) and acquired (which creatures gain discursively). This was

exquisite in Adam before his fall, but is highly disordered in corrupted man. The supernatural (which transcends our reason and is communicated to us by God by the new light of grace so that we may obtain the enjoyment of the highest good, which was revealed to the patriarchs before as well as after the flood, and through Moses delivered by God to the people of Israel, and is called the Old Testament or the New Testament, which is called by way of eminence "Christian" because it has Christ for its author and object) is from Christ (Jn. 1:18) and speaks of him (Acts 1:1; 1 Cor. 2:2). It is strictly called "revealed" because its first principle is divine revelation strictly taken and made through the word, not through creatures.

VIII. Supernatural theology may be considered either systematically, as denoting the system of saving doctrine concerning God and divine things drawn from the Scriptures (the doctrines with their subdivisions being arranged in a certain order which is called both abstractive and objective); or habitually and after the manner of a habit residing in the intellect, and is called "concretive" and "subjective." Again, habitual theology is either the habit of principles (by which each believer perceives things foreign to and remote from reason) or the habit of conclusions (by which from principles known by the light of faith we unfold and confirm the saving doctrine).

IX. As there is a threefold school of God (that of nature, grace and glory), and a threefold book (of the creature, of Scripture and of life), so theology has usually been divided into three parts: the first of which is natural, the second supernatural and the third beatific; the first from the light of reason, the second from the light of faith, the third from the light of glory. The first belongs to men in the world, the second to believers in the church and the last to the saints in heaven.

The unity of theology.

X. Although theology treats diverse things and those pertaining to different sciences, it does not cease to be one because it considers them under the same formal aspect, inasmuch as they are divine things revealed to us by the word of God. Now unity of doctrine depends upon the unity of the object considered not materially, but formally. Hence if other sciences discuss various things contained in theology, they do not handle them in the same manner or under the same formal aspect. For theology discusses them

as they are revealed to us by the word of God. Again, it considers them in relation to remote causes (viz., the first efficient from which they flow and the ultimate end to which they are referred) and not however in relation to the proximate causes; and according to supernatural, not natural accidents.

XI. It is one thing for theology to be one as to substance and kind of doctrine; quite another to be one as to manner of treatment. In the latter sense, it can be called "multiple" according to the various modes of teaching (*paideias tropon*). Thus it is divided into didactic, problematic, elenctic, casuistic, etc. But in the former sense it neither is nor can be multiplex because it always contains one and the same kind of doctrine.

XII. Hence it is evident that it can differ as to more and less in relation to the different degrees of revelation (as it was more obscure under the Old Testament or clearer under the New); either more perfect or imperfect with regard to the subjects. But it does not follow that it differs as to kind because the same substance of doctrine is retained in both, Christ being the same yesterday, today and forever (Heb. 13:8).

XIII. Theology does not lose its unity although it may be called partly theoretical, partly practical. Any science is called one not by a simple and absolute unity (that is, a numerical and individual as if it were one and a simple quality like whiteness in a wall), but by an aggregative unity which is termed the unity of collection (inasmuch as many special habits are brought together and arranged so as to make up one total habit of science). Thus the image of God is one although it embraces newness of mind and of the affections; and free will is one, although it resides in the intellect and will.

THIRD QUESTION

Whether natural theology may be granted

Statement of the question.

I. The question does not concern theology in general, but natural theology in particular. Nor does it concern this as it was in Adam before the fall (for that it was in him is sufficiently evident from the image of God after which he was made); rather it concerns this as it remained after the fall.

II. The question is not whether natural theology (which is such by act as soon as a man is born, as the act of life in one living or of sense in one perceiving as soon as he breathes) may be granted. For it is certain that no actual knowledge is born with us and that, in this respect, man is like a smooth tablet (*tabulae rasae*). Rather the question is whether such can be granted at least with regard to principle and potency; or whether such a natural faculty implanted in man may be granted as will put forth its strength of its own accord, and spontaneously in all adults endowed with reason, which embraces not only the capability of understanding, but also the natural first principles of knowledge from which conclusions both theoretical and practical are deduced (which we maintain).

III. The question is not whether this knowledge is perfect and saving (for we confess that after the entrance of sin it was so much obscured as to be rendered altogether insufficient for salvation), but only whether any knowledge of God remains in man sufficient to lead him to believe that God exists and must be religiously worshipped.

IV. Our controversy here is with the Socinians who deny the existence of any such natural theology or knowledge of God and hold that what may appear to be such has flowed partly from tradition handed down from Adam, and partly from revelations made at different times (Faustus Socinus, *Praelectiones theologicae* 2 [1627], pp. 3–7; Christopher Ostorodt, *Unterrichtung ... hauptpuncten der Christlichen Religion* 3 [1612], pp. 23–28). The orthodox, on the contrary, uniformly teach that there is a natural theology, partly innate (derived from the book of conscience by means of common notions [*koinas ennoias*]) and partly acquired (drawn from the book of creatures discursively). And they prove it by the following arguments.

Natural theology is proved by Rom. 2:14.

V. We find in man a natural law written upon each one's conscience excusing and accusing them in good and bad actions, which therefore necessarily implies the knowledge of God, the legislator, by whose authority it binds men to obedience and proposes rewards or punishments. "The Gentiles, which have not the law" (i.e., the law of Moses) "do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law

unto themselves: which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another" (Rom. 2:14, 15). This could not be said if conscience did not dictate to each one that there is a deity who approves of good actions and disapproves and punishes evil deeds. Nor are these objections of force: (1) the work of the law and not the law itself is said to be inscribed because with the apostle these are synonymous—"to be a law unto themselves" (v. 14) and "to have the work of the law written in their hearts" (v. 15). Also the nature of the thing proves it because such a work of the law is meant by whose instinct man not only distinguishes between good and evil, but is prompted to perform the one and avoid the other. (2) The law is not said to be innate but inscribed (i.e., known), as the law of Moses was made known to the Jews by revelation. For the inscription implies a natural revelation of that law to the conscience opposed to the external revelation made to the Jews by the writing upon stony tables. Hence it is expressed by the conscience which exerts itself both in observation (*syntērēsei*) and in consciousness (*syneidēsei*) (v. 15).

VI. God has given to man both an innate and acquired knowledge of himself as the following passages prove: Ps. 19:1; Acts 14:15–17; 17:23; Rom. 1:19, 20. Nor can the bold corruption of Socinus be tolerated who refers the words of Paul to the second creation made by Christ, as if the apostle meant to say that the things which had been invisible and unknown to men even from the creation were now clearly seen and understood by the works of God and divine men (viz., of Christ and his apostles). For the words of Paul and the entire context loudly declare that he speaks of the first creation (as he wishes to prove that the wicked against whom the wrath of God is revealed from heaven [v. 18] hold the truth in unrighteousness, viz., the true notions of God contained in the natural revelation, which is shown by v. 19 where he says "that which may be known of God is manifest in them [*en autois*], for God hath shewed it unto them"—partly in their hearts and partly in the works of creation). (2) The design of Paul teaches the same things. He wants to demonstrate that neither the Gentiles by nature (chap. 1) nor the Jews by the law (chap. 2) could be justified (because all are sinners), but only by the gospel revealed by Christ. (3) *Poiēmata* here cannot be applied to the miracles performed by the apostles because they are never so called in Scripture, nor were they known to the

Gentiles of whom he speaks. *Poiēmata* refers to the works of the creation of the world because the invisible things of God are said to be made manifest in them from the creation of the world (*apo ktiseōs kosmou*).

From universal experience.

VII. Universal experience confirms it. For what is commonly and immutably in all men without exception must be in them naturally because natural things agree in all and are immutable. But the knowledge of the deity is immutably in all because there is no nation so barbarous upon whom this persuasion of deity does not rest (Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 1.23 [Loeb, 19:61]). So that rather than have no god, they have worshipped almost anything, even the filthy Devil himself. And none have been able to shake off this impression, the fear of God still returning (especially in adversity), although for a time they may seem to have divested themselves of it.

By the institution of religions.

VIII. The institution of religions in the world most clearly proves natural theology. For whence that hidden propensity of men towards religion which induced Plato to call man the most religious animal (*zōon theosebestaton*, *Timaeus* 41 [Loeb, 9:90–91]), unless from the sense of a deity whom they ought to worship. Nor would the people have been disposed to embrace idolatry even in its most shocking forms and to receive so readily false and counterfeit religions which impostors by political contrivance devised to keep men under subjection, unless they had been impelled by some natural instinct to religion and the worship of some deity. Nor can it be said that the Gentiles did this not so much by instinct as by imitation. If there had been no natural instinct, man (a creature of glory) would never have bowed down to the most debased creatures, that he might not be thought to be destitute of any sense of deity; nor could what arises only from imitation be so common and universal.

Sources of solution.

IX. Although there may be some nations so savage as to appear to have no sense of deity, yet they are not destitute of all knowledge of him. There can indeed be barren seeds of religion lying dormant in them (on account of their gross blindness and lust) by which they seem to resemble beasts and brutes, but yet they do remain in them (as in the Americans and Brazilians adduced here by Socinus). Although Jean de Lery (of Burgundy) observes that no gods are acknowledged among them, yet he not obscurely intimates that there are traces of the deity in them, when he informs us that they have their caribs or priests whom they believe to be able to impart warlike bravery and to produce all fruits from the earth; by their supposed intercourse with spirits; and by their holding that the souls of the virtuous (after flying over lofty mountains) would lead a joyful life with perpetual delights in the most pleasant gardens, while, on the contrary, those of the wicked would be snatched way to Stigna [Aygnan] (their name for the Devil) and live with him in eternal torments (*History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil* 16 [ed. J. Whately, 1990], p. 136). The same author in *Historia Navigationis in Brasiliam* 6+ (1594) narrates that the supreme being of the Mexicans is Hoizili Pochtli. Joseph Acosta (*Natural and Moral History of the Indies* 5.3* [ed. C. R. Markham, 1880], 2:301) says that the Peruvians have their gods, and among them their Piracocha whom they call Pachacamak, creator of heaven and earth. Similar accounts occur in Girolamo Benzoni (*History of the New World* [trans. W.H. Smyth, 1857]) and Bartolo de las Casas and others.

X. It is not repugnant that one and the same thing in a different relation should both be known by the light of nature and believed by the light of faith; as what is gathered from the one only obscurely, may be held more certainly from the other. Thus we know that God is, both from nature and from faith (Heb. 11*:6); from the former obscurely, but from the latter more surely. The special knowledge of true faith (by which believers please God and have access to him, of which Paul speaks) does not exclude, but supposes the general knowledge from nature.

XI. The mind of man is a *tabula rasa* not absolutely, but relatively as to discursion and dianoetical knowledge (which is acquired necessarily by inferring one thing from another); but not as to apprehensive and intuitive knowledge. For even according to Paul, the work of the law is in such a manner written in the hearts of the Gentiles that they do by nature the things

contained in the law. Hence is a twofold inscription upon the heart of man: the one of God in the remains of his image and the natural law; the other of the Devil by sin.

XII. What is natural, subjectively and constitutively, always exists in the same manner, but not what is such qualitatively and consecutively (for qualities admit of increase and diminution). Natural theology is so called not in the first, but in the second sense. Hence it is not surprising that it should vary as to degree in relation to its subjects, who differ in intellectual acumen.

XIII. Although we do not deny that natural theology depends also upon the institution of men, yet certainly that mode would have been insufficient, if the natural knowledge of God (both innate and acquired) had not been supplied.

XIV. Although the knowledge of God is natural, it does not follow that no mortal can deny his existence. For if any have denied him, they have done so not so much through ignorance as through perverseness, their own consciences convicting them (as David testifies of the atheists who poured contempt upon the people of God [Ps. 14:4, 5], and Paul asserts of philosophers [Rom. 1:18, 19], teaching that they held the truth [viz., the true notions of God] in unrighteousness). Therefore the reason for the denial was not so much an absolute ignorance of God as their corruption and wickedness choking the implanted knowledge and all but destroying it in order that they might sin more freely.

Fourth Question

Is natural theology sufficient for salvation; or is there a common religion by which all promiscuously may be saved? We deny against the Socinians and Remonstrants

Occasion of the question.

I. The impious doctrine of the Pelagians that everyone well grounded in whatsoever religion will be saved gave occasion to this question. Not only the Libertines, David-Jorists and the like (who, content with an honest and civil life, hold religion to be a matter of indifference) retain it, but also the

Socinians of the present day approve it. They do this in part directly, teaching that those who worship God according to the light of nature as a kind of more hidden word, appease and are pleasing to him and find him their rewarder (Socinus, *Praelectiones theologica* 2 [1627], pp. 3–7); in part indirectly and obliquely, reducing the doctrines of religion absolutely necessary to salvation to the very lowest number and making these common to all in their mode and degree (of which hereafter). The Remonstrants evidently agree with them: some more openly as Curcellaeus and Adolphus Venator (Adolf de Jager) who, in his defense against the ministers of Dort (cf. *Een besonder Tractaet ... der Predicanten der Stadt Dordrecht* [1612]), expressly denies the proposition "no one can be saved who is not placed in Christ by true faith"; others more cautiously, as Arminius, Corvinus, Episcopius (who, not immediately indeed, but mediately), admit the Gentiles and others to salvation, holding that by a right use of the light of nature, the light of grace can be obtained and by grace admission to glory (Arminius, "The Apology or Defence of James Arminius Against Certain Theological Articles," 15, 16, 17 in *The Writings of James Arminius* [1956], 1:322–29; and Arnoldus [Johannes Arnoldus Corvinus], *Defensio sententiae ... I. Arminii* [1613] against Tilenus). Many of the papists hold the same error, scrupling not to defend the salvation of the heathen without the knowledge of Christ; as Abulensis, Durandus, Capreolus, Andradius, Vega, Soto, Erasmus and others.

II. On the other hand, the orthodox constantly maintain that the theology or true religion by which salvation can come to man after the fall is only one (i.e., that revealed in the word of the law and gospel), and that all other religions except this one are either impious and idolatrous or false and erroneous. Although retaining some obscure and imperfect notions of the law and that which may be known of God (*tou gnōstou Theou*), yet these false and erroneous religions are of no further use than to render men inexcusable (*anapologēton*).

III. The question is not Are the certain first principles of religion common to all men? For we grant that in natural theology by the light of nature some such do exist upon which supernatural theology is built (for example, that there is a God, that he must be worshipped, etc.). Rather the question is Are first principles (adequate and proper to true religion) held among all? This we deny.

Statement of the question.

IV. The question is not whether natural theology is useful to men, for we acknowledge its various ends and uses: (1) as a witness of the goodness of God towards sinners unworthy even of these remains of light (Acts 14:16, 17; Jn. 1:5); (2) as a bond of external discipline among men to prevent the world from becoming utterly corrupt (Rom. 2:14, 15); (3) as a subjective condition in man for the admission of the light of grace because God does not appeal to brutes and stocks, but to rational creatures; (4) as an incitement to the search for this more illustrious revelation (Acts 14:27); (5) to render men inexcusable (Rom. 1:20) both in this life, in the judgment of an accusing conscience (Rom. 2:15) and, in the future life, in the judgment which God shall judge concerning the secrets of men (Rom. 2:16). Rather the question is Is it by itself sufficient for salvation, and was the design of God in that revelation the salvation of those to whom it is made? This we deny.

Proof that natural theology is insufficient to salvation.

V. The reasons are various. (1) There can be no saving religion without Christ and faith in him (Jn. 3:16; 17:3; Acts 4:11, 12; 1 Cor. 3:11; Heb. 11:6). But Christ is revealed nowhere except in the gospel; nor is faith given without the word, since it comes by hearing (Rom. 10:17). Nor is it a valid objection that it merely follows from this that the Christian religion is the only ordinary way of salvation, and not that God could not extraordinarily grant salvation to those who might live in a holy manner according to the law of nature, although they had never heard of Christ. For since the Scriptures testify that Christ is the only way of salvation (without whom no one can come to the Father), it is criminal to suppose an extraordinary way without him. (2) The state of the Gentiles and all those destitute of the word of Christ is called the “time of ignorance” (Acts 17:30), when God as it were winked at them, suffering them to walk in their own ways (Acts 14:16), and when they worshipped the unknown God (Acts 17:23) and were without God (Eph. 2:12) in the world (which could not be said if the natural

revelation was sufficient for salvation). (3) If salvation could have been obtained by a common religion, there would have been no need of the gospel and the preaching of the word. However Paul testifies, "After that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching [i.e., by the word of the gospel which is foolishness to the wicked] to save them that believe" (1 Cor. 1:21).

Sources of solution.

VI. It is one thing to allow some knowledge of God as Creator and preserver however imperfect, corrupt and obscure; another to have a full, entire and clear knowledge of God as Redeemer and of the lawful worship due to him. Natural theology has the former in that which may be known of God (*gnōstō tou Theou*). Revelation alone has the latter in the faith (*tō pistō*) which is gained only from the word. Nor (if God has not left himself without witness [*amartyron*] in nature by doing good to men as to temporal things [*ta biotika*, Acts 14:17] which he often bestows upon those whom he hates and has devoted to destruction) does it follow that the external calling is objectively sufficient for salvation because it is said "he suffered the nations to walk in their own ways" (v. 16) and it is called that "time of ignorance" (Acts 17:30, referring plainly to a defect in the external calling because he opposes it to the time of the New Testament in which he calls men to repentance by the word).

VII. It is one thing to seek the favor and grace of God revealed through his word in virtue of his promises in Christ; another to seek an unknown god in the works of nature and providence, if haply by feeling after they may find him. The latter is properly applied to the Gentiles (Acts 17:26, 27), but not the former. Nor (if elsewhere in the Scriptures the phrase "to seek God" signifies to fly to his faith and to seek the guardianship of his grace, and "to find him" denotes to obtain the protection sought and to experience the propitious presence of his most holy deity) does it follow that it must be understood in the same sense here; both because the objects are different and the manner of seeking manifestly so. The other passages adduced refer to the covenanted people of God, but this only to those who were strangers from the covenants of promise. The former to those who knew God by the word and detested idols; the latter to idolators ignorant of

God. The former to seeking and finding God known favorably through Christ; the latter to seeking an unknown God through the works of nature and providence so that he might be known and be distinguished from idols. Finally, in the former it is simply and absolutely said that believers ought to seek God that they may find him for salvation, but in this that God had given in the creation and government of the world such proofs of his power and divinity as that by them they might be induced to seek the Creator of all things in that manner (viz., if by "feeling after" they might find him). No one will say this applies to those saints mentioned in the Old Testament who were accustomed to approach him relying on his most sure promises in Christ.

VIII. Rom. 1:19, 20 (concerning that which may be known of God, *gnōstō tou Theou*) does not favor a common religion by which all may be saved and which is sufficient for salvation. (1) Only that which may be known (*gnōstō*) is there spoken of and not that which is to be believed (*pistō*), which alone is saving. (2) Paul says the knowledge (*to gnōston*) of God is manifest in the Gentiles, but not all knowledge (*pan gnōston*) (viz., what may be learned from the book of nature, but not all that may be known of him from his word and which must be known in order to salvation, such as the mystery of the Trinity, and of Christ the Redeemer, etc.). (3) This knowledge (*gnōston*) which is restricted by the apostle to his "power and godhead" (i.e., to the knowledge of his existence and of those attributes which strike our senses in the works of creation and providence) is usually referred to natural theology; but is not extended to the knowledge of his will and mercy in Christ which can be derived only from his word, and not at all from his works and without which there can be no salvation. (4) This knowledge (*gnōston*) is only such as to render men inexcusable (Rom. 1:20). Nor should the words *eis to* here be understood only eventually to denote that the thing turns out so accidentally, but also intentionally as to the purpose of God because this event must have been intended by him since it refers to a work which he performed by his decree, not to that which he commands only by the law.

IX. That which is sufficient to render inexcusable does not therefore suffice for salvation if used properly; for more things are requisite for the obtainment of salvation than for incurring damnation justly and without excuse (*anapologētōs*). For evil arises from some defect, but the good

requires a whole cause. For example, he who offends in one point is guilty of all (Jam. 2:10); but not, therefore, he who does well in one point is just in all. The commission of one sin can render a man inexcusable, but the performance of one good work is not sufficient to save him. Thus the Gentiles were inexcusable because they substituted gods without number in place of that one God whom they could know from the light of nature; but we cannot infer from this that the knowledge of the one God is sufficient absolutely for salvation. Thus this inexcusableness must be restricted to the subject matter of which the apostle treats (viz., to idolatry), which was sufficient for their condemnation, although the avoidance of it would not suffice for their salvation.

X. It is one thing for a man to be excusable or excused; another to be savable or saved, if he is excusable only from a part and not from the whole (which would be the case with the heathen if they would use aright the light of nature, which is impossible). Although they might properly regulate their external actions by abstaining from subsequent sins, still they could not obtain the pardon of previous and especially of original sin, and change their corrupt state and nature. For the actions which they would perform would be only external and good as to substance, not also as to the manner and source (being destitute of the Holy Spirit); and, if profitable, would be so only as to the present or future, but not as to the past in removing former guilt (without which, however, no one can be saved).

XI. It is falsely asserted that in that which may be known of God (*gnōstō tou Theou*) there is given objectively a revelation of grace, and a Redeemer sufficient for salvation, if not clear and explicit, at least obscure and implied, inasmuch as in it God is known as merciful and therefore, in a certain although confused manner, as a Redeemer who will accept a satisfaction, may call to repentance and promise remission of sin. For in the first place, to be able to know God as merciful by a general mercy tending to some temporal good and the delay of punishment is far different from being able to know him as merciful by a mercy special and saving in Christ after a satisfaction has been made. To be able to know him as placable and benign is different from being able to know him as actually appeased or certainly to be appeased. We grant that the heathen could have the former from the light of nature, but not the latter which nevertheless is necessarily required to tranquilize the conscience. For what advantage would there be

in knowing that God could be appeased unless it was evident that he was willing to be appeased and the means of such a propitiation were well ascertained? For when the conscience is weighed down by the guilt of sin and a sense of the divine justice, it could never be tranquilized unless both the goodwill of God, and the manner of satisfying his justice became known. Now who will say that this could be derived from the book of nature where God manifests himself only as the Creator and preserver? On the contrary, who does not confess that it can be sought for only in the word of the gospel, which reveals to us the mercy of God in Christ? Otherwise why should Paul call this a mystery which was kept secret since the world began (Rom. 16:25)? Why should he say that the Gentiles were strangers from the covenants and without Christ (Eph. 2:12), if they had always been in some manner under the covenant of grace and professed a certain (although a confused and implied) knowledge of saving mercy in Christ?

XII. No better do they disentangle themselves who seek another incrustation and distinguish between a mediate and an immediate sufficiency. As if the Gentiles who could not have a revelation immediately sufficient might yet have one mediately sufficient, inasmuch as they suppose that if anyone had made a good use of the light of nature, God would have superadded the light of grace (since this is agreeable to his mercy and can be gathered from the saying of Christ, "Whosoever hath, to him shall be given," Mt. 13:12*). For besides the absurdity of calling a revelation sufficient which requires another additional revelation (in which sense we strongly ridicule the opinion of the papists who maintain that the Scriptures may be called mediately sufficient because, although they do not contain all things, they refer us to tradition from which they can be gained), the very thing to be proved is here taken for granted—that God would superadd the light of grace to one making a good use of the light of nature as if he had bound himself to anyone or owed something to man, or as if this connection could be proved from some passage of Scripture. Indeed this seems to have been drawn from the fountains of Pelagians who held that "God would not withhold grace from one who did what he could." Mt. 13:12* cannot be adduced here because it refers to the gifts of grace which God is accustomed to crown with new gifts, not to the gifts of nature.

XIII. Rom. 2:4 (*to chrēston tou Theou eis metanoian agein*, "the goodness of God leadeth to repentance") does not apply here because Paul

is not speaking of the Gentiles, but of the Jews, whom in this chapter he wishes to convict of sin, as in chapter 1 he had proved the Gentiles to be guilty. This appears: (1) from the things which he attributes to the person addressed which properly belong to none but a Jew, as that he judges others in those things which he does himself, etc.; (2) from v. 17, where he mentions the Jew by name as the very man with whom he speaks, "behold, thou art called a Jew." These words are not the beginning of a new discourse to a person different from the preceding, but the continuation of the former discourse with a clearer designation of the person. Therefore the goodness (*chrēstotēs*) here spoken of denotes the revelation made to the Jews and the benefits bestowed upon them, and has no reference to the works of general providence.

XIV. Although the conscience of the Gentiles may be said to excuse them sometimes (Rom. 2:14, 15), it does not follow that they can, in that state, enjoy true and solid peace, and the perfect salvation which follows it. It is one thing to excuse in some things or from a part, which it does; another, to excuse in everything and from the whole, which it cannot possibly do. It is also one thing to excuse from the more serious crimes (comparatively to others more iniquitous), and quite another to bestow upon us that sure and lasting peace flowing from a sense of the love of God and of our reconciliation with him, which the Gentiles do not have.

XV. A difference exists between a furnished and destitute state. The one is of the law considered in itself and its own nature; the other, in relation to us. The law was given to man in the beginning (before the fall) for life and by itself also led to life according to the sanction "do this and thou shalt live" (cf. Rom. 2:13). But after the fall, being destitute of strength through the flesh, it is not given for life, but for a mirror of sin and misery to render the sinner inexcusable (Rom. 3:19, 20).

XVI. The work of the law is used in two senses: either formally for that which the law itself does; or imperatively for that which it enjoins upon man. The former is the work or duty of the law with regard to men in teaching, promising, forbidding and threatening. The latter is the work of man in reference to the law. The former is the proposition and revelation of the law; the latter its observance and fulfillment. The Gentiles are said to do the things "contained in the law" (Rom. 2:14) not in the latter, but in the former sense; not by complying with the law's demands, but by doing what

the law itself does—prescribing the good and forbidding the bad. This is evident: (1) from the general scope of Paul which is to prove that the Gentiles are exposed to death by the natural law even without the written law; (2) from the exegetical (*exēgētika*) words which follow because these, "having not the law" are "a law unto themselves." Therefore to do the things contained in the law is equivalent to being a law unto themselves.

XVII. Although some of the heathen (comparatively considered and in relation to each other) may have been better than others; although their works civilly and morally speaking may be called virtues, and so followed by the double reward of a well-regulated life, both positive (as productive of some temporal good and peace of conscience in this world) and negative (as making their punishment more tolerable), nevertheless (theologically speaking and relatively to God) their works best in form were nothing else than more splendid sins and in the sight of God worthy of no reward.

XVIII. The examples of Melchizedek, Job, the centurion and the like adduced here are not to the point because they all did the things for which they are praised in the Scriptures by the aid of special grace and revelation, not by the mere light of nature.

XIX. Although a Gentile by birth, Cornelius, was yet a proselyte by religion. Although he could not believe that the Messiah had come and was that Jesus whom Peter preached, yet he could believe with the Jews from the oracles of the prophets that he would come. Thus he is not to be reckoned among the Gentiles, but among the patriarchs who looked for salvation from a Redeemer not yet manifested. Hence by the advent of Peter, he did not receive a beginning, but an increase of faith.

XX. The two articles mentioned in Heb. 11:6 must not be understood physically, as if they could be perceived by the light of reason, but hyperphysically and theologically, to denote their manifestation to us by a saving knowledge, assuring us not only that God is, and is the omnipotent Creator of all things, but who he is (Father, Son and Holy Spirit), and after the fall a Redeemer and a rewarder not only of those seeking him legally by merit, but of those seeking him by grace evangelically through faith in the Mediator. The following arguments prove that this is the meaning of the apostle: (1) the adjunct of saving faith, which he sets forth throughout the whole chapter; (2) the examples of the saints mentioned there, so that the faith in God of which the apostle speaks is not the general knowledge of

God diffusing his goodness in any way, but the knowledge of the true God bestowing heavenly blessings on account of Christ. By "approaching to God" the apostle means nothing else than to obtain communion with him in Christ (as everywhere else in the same epistle, Heb. 4:16; 7:25; 10:22). Hence Curcellaeus makes a false distinction between faith in God and faith in Christ, making the former absolutely necessary to salvation, the latter so only after a divine revelation. For no faith in God can be true and saving which is not connected with faith in Christ (Jn. 14:1), since we cannot believe in God except through Christ.

XXI. We do not deny that some of the fathers cherished a hope of the salvation of those Gentiles and philosophers who regulated their lives in accordance with reason (as Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 6.5, 17 [ANF 2:490, 517–18; PG 9.264, 392]; Justin Martyr, *First* Apology* 46 [FC 6:83–84; PG 6.397]; John Chrysostom, "Sermon 36 [37]," *Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew* [NPNF1, 10:241; PG 57.416] and others cited by Isaac Casaubon, *De rebus sacris et ... exercitationes ... Baronii* 1* [1614], pp. 2–4). But the error of those who could speak more safely before the rise of Pelagianism is less to be wondered at than that of many of the Scholastics who struck upon the same rock, after the strong defense of the necessity of grace in Christ made by Augustine and his followers.

XXII. Zwingli assigned a place in heaven to Hercules, Theseus, Numa, Aristides, Socrates and similar distinguished men ("A Short and Clear Exposition of the Christian Faith," 12 in *On Providence and Other Essays: Ulrich Zwingli* [1922/1983], p. 272). In this work (after mentioning the saints of the Old and New Testament in his description of the heavenly hosts), he adds, "Here you will see Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, Aristides, Numa, etc. Here you will see your predecessors and as many of your ancestors as have departed this life in faith." Besides not being approved by us, it is certain that he erred rather in fact than in right, not as if he thought the gate of salvation stood open without Christ and faith, but because he hoped that divine mercy had (in a manner hidden from us, but known to himself) wrought faith in some of those whom he had so illustriously endowed with heroic virtues. This is evident from his speaking expressly of those who departed in faith, which ought not to be restricted to the ancestors of the king, but extended to all those of whom he had just spoken. That this was his opinion, we gather from his declaration concerning

original sin to Urbanus Rhegius where, after saying that they erred who adjudged to condemnation all whom we call Gentiles, he adds, "Who knows how much faith the hand of God had written upon each of their hearts?" (*De peccato originali declaratio, ad Urbanum Rhegium [1526]*, CR 92.379).

XXIII. The various sacrifices of the Gentiles do not prove that they had a knowledge of God's mercy in Christ. For they were not offered so much to obtain his saving grace (which cannot become known to man without a revelation since its exercise is altogether free) as to appease his justice (which is known by nature and its exercise necessary).

Fifth Question: The Object of Theology

Are God and divine things the objects of theology? We affirm

The object of theology.

I. The object of any science is everything specially treated of in it, and to which all its conclusions relate; but it may be viewed either materially (as to the thing considered) or formally (as to the mode of considering).

God and divine things.

II. Although theologians differ as to the object of theology, the more common and true opinion is that of those who refer it to God and divine things (God as the primary and divine things the secondary, whether done by God or to be believed and done by men), i.e., God directly and indirectly (viz., God and the things of him [as his works] and subject to him [as creatures] and tending to him [as the duties of man]). Thus that all things are discussed in theology either because they deal with God himself or have a relation (*schesin*) to him as the first principle and ultimate end.

III. That God is the object of theology is evident both from the very name (*theologias* and *theosebeias*), and from Scripture which recognizes no other principal object. It is also evident from the conditions of an object which are found in him. (1) It must be something uncompounded. (2) Certain things may be predicated of it denominatively, such as affections

and properties. (3) Everything belonging to the system should have a relation to it for God is an uncompounded and most simple being. Certain things are predicated of him denominatively such as his attributes. To him all things are referred and have the relation of origin, preservation and dependence.

God as revealed and covenanted.

IV. But when God is set forth as the object of theology, he is not to be regarded simply as God in himself (for thus he is incomprehensible [*akatalēptos*] to us), but as revealed and as he has been pleased to manifest himself to us in his word, so that divine revelation is the formal relation which comes to be considered in this object. Nor is he to be considered exclusively under the relation of deity (according to the opinion of Thomas Aquinas and many Scholastics after him, for in this manner the knowledge of him could not be saving but deadly to sinners), but as he is our God (i.e., covenanted in Christ as he has revealed himself to us in his word not only as the object of knowledge, but also of worship). True religion (which theology teaches) consists of these two things.

Sources of solution.

V. The unity of a science and its distinction from any other is not always taken from the unity of the material object (or thing considered), but from the unity of the formal object (or mode of considering). Although physics, ethics and medicine treat of the same subject, they do not cease to be distinct sciences because they consider man in different relations: physics as a species of natural body; ethics as capacious of virtue and happiness; medicine as curable from diseases and restorable to health. Thus although theology treats of the same things with metaphysics, physics and ethics, yet the mode of considering is far different. It treats of God not like metaphysics as a being or as he can be known from the light of nature, but as the Creator and Redeemer made known by revelation. It treats of creatures not as things of nature, but of God (i.e., as holding a relation and order to God as their Creator, preserver and Redeemer) and that too

according to the revelation made by him. This mode of considering, the other sciences either do not know or do not assume.

VI. Theology labors to prove the existence of God not from a primary and proper intention, but, as it were, incidentally from an adventitious necessity (viz., for the purpose of confuting the profane and atheists who without shame and with seared consciences deny it). (2) The axiom —"science does not prove its subject, but takes it for granted"—is true in human and inferior sciences, but not in theology. Theology is of a higher order for it extends itself to the proof of all things which can be proved by the means peculiar to itself (viz., by divine revelation). It does this, not instrumentally, but authoritatively.

VII. It is not necessary for the habit of a science so to comprehend its object as to have a perfect knowledge of whatever belongs to it. It is sufficient if it knows many things concerning it and can draw deductions from its principles. Therefore, a science need not necessarily be equal to its subject by an exact and arithmetical equality. It suffices if it is equal according to some proportion of equality which is found in theology. For theology treats of God and his infinite perfections, not as knowing them in an infinite but in a finite manner; nor absolutely as much as they can be known in themselves, but as much as he has been pleased to reveal them. So theology may be properly said to equal its object according to the formal relation of revelation, not by equalling God himself, but only the revelation given by him.

VIII. The common saying—"science is not of particulars, but of universals"—must be received with limitation. For metaphysics, physics, etc. are sciences and yet they treat not the less on that account of singulars, of God and the world. Therefore the axiom must be understood as singulars composed of matter and constituted under the lowest species. For if theology treats of such (as of Adam, Noah and others), it does this not principally, but only to unfold the origin of things or for an example of life and a testimony to divine providence (and therefore on account of general causes). But if any singular, immaterial and in the pure act is presented, science can undoubtedly appropriate it because being is an object of intellect. Therefore the more perfect a being is, the more can he be known and apprehended; and he is the more perfect, the more he is in act and the less in potency. God can with great propriety be reckoned among universals

for he is universal in causation, since he is the universal cause of all things also in predication; not indeed directly, but indirectly for though all things are not God, they are nevertheless of God, or to or from him. Accordingly every relation of universality is not wanting in this part in the subject of theology.

IX. In the lower sciences, the principles differ from the subject as demonstrating the qualities and properties of the subject by proper principles because as the subject of every human science is of a finite essence and power, there must necessarily be certain principles from which it may flow or be constituted. But in theology (which is of a higher order), the subject is truly divine and infinite in nature and potency, and accordingly before everything, so that it can have no relation of dependence. Hence, by reason of this infinity, it contains at the same time these two relations: it is both the subject concerning which theology treats and also at the same time its principle.

X. Theology treats of sin not as belonging to God, but as holding a certain relation (*schesin*) to him (either that of opposite and contrary or as coming under his providence and justice); just as medicine treats of diseases and their remedies although its principal subject is man as curable.

Sixth Question: The Genus of Theology

What is the genus of theology?

The genus of systematic theology.

I. Theology may be considered either systematically and objectively (with regard to that which is taught) or habitually and subjectively (with reference to a habit residing in the intellect). In the first sense, no other genus than doctrine can be more accurately assigned to it because it is taught by God and learned in the church. But doctrine (literally such) is far superior to every human doctrine, both in origin and matter and form and end. So it is described in Scripture by *didachēn* (Jn. 7:17; 1 Tim. 4:6; 6:3); by form of doctrine (*typon didachēs*, Rom. 6:17), as in the Old Testament *thvrh* denotes the whole doctrine of salvation. In the latter sense, it is properly described by a certain habit of mind.

What habit should be assigned to it?

II. In order to understand better what habit of mind should be assigned to it, we remark that every habit of mind is either a habit of knowing or believing or supposing. These answer the three assents of the mind: the act of knowing, believing and supposing. For every assent of the mind is founded either upon testimony or reasoning. If upon testimony, it is faith; if upon reason sure and solid, it is knowledge; if upon reason only probable, it is opinion.

Whence arose the fivefold distinction of habits?

III. The habit of knowing, in contradistinction to that of believing and supposing, embraces the five intellectual habits enumerated by Aristotle—intelligence, knowledge, wisdom, prudence, art (*Nichomachaen Ethics* 6 [Loeb, 325–73]). It is then taken in a general sense for every kind of certain and evident habitual knowledge, whether of things necessary and speculative or contingent and practical. Now this fivefold distinction arises from the fivefold variety of objects about which the mind may be occupied. For it may be occupied with things necessary which are either principles to which we at once give assent without demonstration (the knowledge of these is called "intelligence"); or conclusions to which we assent when demonstrated (which constitute knowledge); or conclusions connected with principles (which signify wisdom); or about contingent things which, again, are either things to be done (*prakta*, whose sole end is good conduct), *eupragian* (about which prudence is occupied), or things to be made (*poiēta*, which have for their end the production with which art is concerned).

It cannot be referred to any of the habits properly.

IV. None of the intellectual habits (treated in ethics and mutually contradistinguished) can constitute the true and proper genus of theology because they are all habits of knowing and theology is not a habit of knowing, but of believing. (2) They are natural habits, invented and improved by the ingenuity of men, while theology (whose principle is not

human reason, but divine revelation) is supernatural and God-given (*theosdotos*). (3) They are all either theoretical or practical simply, while theology is of a mixed genus partly theoretical and partly practical.

V. As to the species, theology cannot be intelligence because this is only the knowledge of principles and not of conclusions. Theology is the knowledge of both. Again, the former is concerned with principles known by nature and clear by its own light, but theology is concerned with principles revealed in the word of God. It is not knowledge because it is not founded upon the evidence of reason, but only upon testimony. It does not rest in mere knowledge, but directs and ordains it to operation. It is not wisdom because all the parts of wisdom are denied it (viz., the intelligence of principles known per se and the knowledge of conclusions). It is not prudence because it relates not only to things to be done, but also to things to be believed and is a power directive of spiritual not civil actions. Finally, it is not art because it is not an effective habit belonging to those which are terminated out of the efficient on some work.

Still it embraces them all eminently.

VI. Although theology can properly and strictly receive its denomination from no one of these habits, yet it may well be said eminently to include them all. For inasmuch as it treats of God as the first cause, it is like wisdom. Inasmuch as it contains first principles, it is like intelligence. Inasmuch as it demonstrates conclusions, it is like knowledge. Inasmuch as it directs actions, it is like prudence. Inasmuch as it is edifying to the church, it is like art. Hence in Scripture these terms are promiscuously applied to it: “intelligence” (Ps. 119:34, ?73*), “knowledge” (Ps. 119:66; Is. 5:13), “wisdom” (1 Cor. 2:6, 7), “prudence” (Ps. 119:98*). And frequently in the book of Proverbs (chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5), it is called “art” since the doctrine of faith is called a work and building upon which we ought to labor (1 Cor. 3:11; 2 Cor. 6:1).

Of all these, wisdom comes nearest to it.

VII. If any genus of these habits must be attributed to theology, wisdom is most analogous to it and approaches its nature the nearest. Not exactly in

the Aristotelian sense because it does not differ much from intelligence and knowledge, but rather in the Stoical sense, as a collection of all habits, intellectual as well as moral (Stobae, Sermon 1, "De Virtute," *Ioannis Stobaei Sententiae* [1609], pp. 1–29). Hence Suidas says that wisdom is "the learning and the skillful use of contemplation, knowledge and recognition" (*hapantōn mathēsin kai tēn technēn kai phronēsin, kai epistēmēn kai noun, Suidae Lexicon: Graece et Latine* [repr. 1986], 4:835). Thus the doctrine of faith is often designated in Scripture by the name of "wisdom" (as in the book of Proverbs and 1 Cor. 2:6, 7). Reason also confirms this because: (1) Wisdom is the knowledge of things most excellent. Now theology treats of God and his works, and our eternal happiness (things important above all others). These it treats of in the most excellent manner, not according to reason but from divine revelation. (2) Wisdom is an architectonic system commanding and directing all others. Now this is most peculiar to theology, which is so far the arbiter and mistress of all sciences that it judges of them and cannot itself be judged by another. For all other systems must be referred to it as a standard, and whatever does not agree with theology must be rejected from them. So although it does not prescribe to other systems principles and objects, yet it so far rules over them (because it establishes their limits) that they neither dare to hold any object opposed to theology, nor to use their principles against it. And also with respect to the ultimate end (viz., the glory of God) which although they do not immediately attain, yet they are bound to have such a direction.

VIII. If theology takes some things from other systems, it is not as an inferior from superiors, but as an superior from inferiors (as a mistress freely using her handmaids). Theology does not so much take from others, as presupposes certain previously known things upon which it builds revelation.

Seventh Question

Is theology theoretical or practical?

Origin of the question.

I. The Scholastics first broached this question, among whom it was formerly agitated a great deal and for a long time. Some maintained that theology is simply speculative (as Henry of Ghent, *Summae Quaestionum Ordinarium*, Art. 8, Q. 3 [1520/1953], l:fol. lxv; Durandus, "Prologi Sententiarum Quaestio Sexta," in *Sententias Theologicas Petri Lombardi Commentariorum libri quatuor* [1556], pp. 9–10; Joannes Rada, *Controversariarum theologicarum* 3 [1620], pp. 62–93). Others maintained that it is simply practical, as Scotus and his followers. Others maintained that it is neither theoretical nor practical, but rather affective or dilective (viz., higher than theoretical and practical systems) since its end is love, which does not come under practice (as Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus, Aegidius Romanus). Finally, others maintained that it is mixed (viz., speculative and practical at the same time), but more speculative (as the Thomists) or more practical (as Thomas de Argentina).

II. The question is necessary not only for the understanding of the true nature of theology, but also on account of the controversies of this time; especially with the Socinians and Remonstrants who say that theology is so strictly practical that nothing in it is positively necessary to salvation, unless it is that which pertains to moral precepts and promises. Hence (resting in obedience to the precepts and confidence in the promises) they let go the whole of religion as to fundamentals, the knowledge of mysteries being excluded. Evidently their object is this: to take away the necessity of the knowledge of the doctrines of the Trinity, incarnation, etc. and thus more easily to pave the way to a common religion (i.e., to atheism) by which all promiscuously may be saved. Among the orthodox, some hold it to be merely practical, more hold that it is of a mixed nature; but some hold that it is more speculative, others that it is more practical. We consider theology to be neither simply theoretical nor simply practical, but partly theoretical, partly practical, as that which at the same time connects the theory of the true with the practice of the good. Yet it is more practical than theoretical.

Definition of a theoretical and a practical system.

III. A theoretical system is that which is occupied in contemplation alone and has no other object than knowledge. A practical system is that which does not consist in the knowledge of a thing alone, but in its very nature and

by itself goes forth into practice and has operation for its object. Again, knowledge can be directed to operation as an object in two ways: either absolutely and by itself or relatively and accidentally. That knowledge is by itself directed to practice which is referred to operation according to the nature of that system to which it belongs. The knowledge of ethics is practical because the nature of ethics demands that whatever things are treated of in it should be referred to operation and use. That knowledge is accidentally referred to operation which is not practical according to the nature of the system to which it belongs, but only with regard to the end which he who is possessed of this knowledge proposes to himself. Thus physics is practical accidentally, when he who is furnished with this knowledge directs it to operation and use. Theology is called practical in the former and not in the latter sense.

IV. A science practical per se is not only that which is concerned with an operable thing and is regulative and directive of some operation. Otherwise that part of medicine which considers the parts of the human body and their diseases (and the signs and causes of diseases) would be speculative and not practical, which is absurd. For the ultimate and principal object of that branch of medicine is not the knowledge but the cure of diseases. Also that which is either impulsive to operation (as the knowledge of the good or evil consequences which follow virtue or vice), impels to right actions or is prerequisite to a better operation and action, as pathology (*pathologikē*) in medicine. Theology is called practical not only in the first sense, but also in the second and third. There is no mystery proposed to our contemplation as an object of faith which does not excite us to the worship of God or which is not prerequisite for its proper performance.

V. The arguments which prove that theology is either theoretical or practical (if they are understood exclusively of one or the other) fail and restrict it too much, but if they are understood inclusively are equally true. Theology is not of a simple kind (i.e., either only theoretical or only practical) as physics and ethics in philosophy, but of a mixed kind including both relations (*schesin*).

Theology is theoreticopractical.

VI. That theology is mixed (i.e., partly theoretical and partly practical) the following proofs may be given. (1) The object to be known and worshipped as the first truth and the highest good is God. (2) Man is the subject to be made perfect in the knowledge of the truth (by which his understanding may be enlightened), and in the love of good (by which the will may be adorned); in faith (which is extended to the credible [*pista*]); and in love (to practical [*prakta*] things). (3) The principle is both external (the word of God which embraces the law and the gospel—the former setting forth the things to be done, the latter those to be known and believed, hence called the "mystery of godliness" and "the word of life")—and internal (the Spirit who is a Spirit of truth and sanctification, of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord, Is. 11:2). (4) The form embraces the essence of true religion, and demands the knowledge and worship of God which are connected together inseparably (as in the sun, light and heat can never be separated from each other). So neither can that knowledge of God be true unless attended by practice (Jn. 13:17; 1 Jn. 2:5). Nor can that practice be right and saving which is not directed by knowledge (Jn. 17:3). Hence Lactantius says, "Religion should not be received without wisdom, nor is wisdom without religion to be approved" (Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 1.1 [FC 49:20; PL 6.119]; and "all the wisdom of man is in this one thing, that he may know and worship God" (ibid., 3.30* [FC 49:243; PL 6.444]); and "religion cannot be separated from wisdom nor wisdom from religion because it is the same God who ought both to be known (which is wisdom) and to be worshipped (which is religion); but wisdom precedes and religion follows because we must first know God in order to worship him. So in the two words there is the same force, although they may seem to be different; for the one is placed in the sense, the other in acts, yet they are like two streams flowing from one fountain" (ibid., 4.4 [FC 49:251–52; PL 6.456–57]). (5) The end is the happiness of man which consists partly in the vision and partly in the fruition of God, from each of which arises assimilation to him (Jn. 13:17).

Sources of explanation.

VII. That any science may be merely practical, it is requisite for its object to be practicable (*prakton*) and operable. That it may be theoretical-practical,

it is sufficient not that the object should lead to practice, but that the practice should operate about it. So God is not indeed practicable (*praktos*), but practice should be occupied about the love and worship of him. Again, although a material object is not practicable (*prakton*), yet a formal object (viz., God as supernaturally revealed in his word) may be called partly theoretical (*theōrētos*) and partly practical (*praktos*) because he is revealed as an object both to be known and to be worshipped.

VIII. The speculative and practical can be specific differences of the lower sciences to which the natural faculty of the understanding can pertain. Thus the object cannot be determinative both to contemplation and to practice at the same time. But since theology is of a higher and more excellent order, it is not confined within these narrow limits of nature, but can easily embrace the speculative and practical (as the common sense perfectly contains the specific differences of the external sense, and the rational life the vegetative and sensitive life in man).

IX. When life eternal is said to consist in the knowledge of God (Jn. 17:3) and happiness in his vision, this indeed shows that theology is also speculative, as having many theoretical (*theōrēta*) objects. But we cannot from this infer that it is merely speculative because this knowledge itself is not only theoretical but practical (1 Jn. 2:5). Vision denotes not only knowledge but also enjoyment (according to Scripture usage).

X. A system may be called practical either with respect to its ultimate end (because it is directed to some operation as its end) or also with respect to its object (because it is occupied with a practical [*prakton*] object falling within the will and action of man). In the former sense, theology may be called practical, not in the latter. For besides matters merely practical, it has also many theoretical matters which constitute the doctrines of faith.

XI. Although the knowledge of God and his attributes is not strictly practical (when we understand by practical that which is regulative of some operation so that the thing known may be done—as the knowledge of the law is the rule of obedience and of acts morally good); yet it is practical so far as practical means that which both excites and impels to action, so that if the thing known is not done, yet it incites to moral action. For this very reason, God has made himself known to us that we may worship him. Therefore he has manifested to us his power (that we may stand in awe of it) and his goodness (that we may love it).

XII. Theology may be considered either abstractly in the object or concretely in the subject. Although an impious theologian does not carry his system into practice, it does not cease to be practical in itself because the abuse of the subject does not overthrow the legitimate use of the object.

XIII. The theology of the saints in heaven cannot be termed merely theoretical because their happiness embraces not only an apprehension of the highest good by vision (which is in the intellect), but also an enjoyment of it by love (which is an act of the will).

XIV. Theology is so far theoretical-practical that it cannot be called merely practical, but also theoretical, as the knowledge of mysteries is an essential part of it. (1) For God commands and enjoins upon us the knowledge of the truth no less than obedience to the precepts (Jer. 31:34). Even life eternal is placed in the knowledge of God (Jn. 17:3). Nor can it be said with Schlichtingius that this has reference to a knowledge of his will manifested by Christ in the gospel and not to a knowledge of his nature. John 17:3 teaches us that it refers not only to his will, but especially to his nature: "that they may know thee" (viz., to be the true God, which denotes the nature, not the will). (2) From knowledge arises faith on which religion depends (Rom. 10:17). (3) The Apostles' Creed which, according to the Socinians, contains a compendium on religion and its articles, treats only of things to be believed, not of those to be done. (4) The knowledge of God is put for his whole worship in Jer. 31:34; Is. 53:11; 1 Jn. 2:3.

XV. Nevertheless, that theology is more practical than speculative is evident from the ultimate end, which is practice. For although all mysteries are not regulative of operation, they are impulsive to operation. For there is none so theoretical (*theōrēton*) and removed from practice that it does not incite to the love and worship of God. Nor is any theory saving which does not lead to practice (Jn. 13:17; 1 Cor. 13:2; Tit. 1:1; 1 Jn. 2:3, 4; Tit. 2:12).

Eighth Question

Is human reason the principle and rule by which the doctrines of the Christian religion and theology (which are the objects of faith) ought to be measured? We deny against the Socinians

Statement of the question.

I. That the state of the question may be perceived more clearly, before all things, the terms must be explained, and some previous principles laid down. (1) Human reason is taken either subjectively for that faculty of the rational soul by which man understands and judges between intelligible things presented to him (natural and supernatural, divine and human); or objectively for the natural light both externally presented and internally impressed upon the mind by which reason is disposed to the forming of certain conceptions and the eliciting of conclusions concerning God and divine things. Again, reason can be viewed in two aspects: either as sound and whole before the fall or as corrupt and blind after it. The principle which here comes into question should be the first and self-evident (*autopiston*) from which all the truths and articles of faith are primarily drawn, and into which they are at last resolved. As in all the arts, those are the principles by which they are erected and demonstrated, and upon which it is not lawful for them to rise. The object of faith (meant here) is formal, not presupposed (i.e., the articles of saving faith, peculiar [*oikeioi*], properly and strictly so called); not the presupposed which are common to natural theology and sound reason such as these: that God exists; that he is just, wise, good; that the soul is immortal; etc.

II. In this controversy, there is an error on both extremes. They err in excess who attribute to reason in matters of faith more than its due (as the Socinians). They err in defect who underrate it (as the Anabaptists, Lutherans and papists). Here we dispute against the first; afterwards we will engage the others.

III. The question is not whether reason has any use in theology. For we confess that its use is manifold both for illustration (by making clear divine mysteries from human and earthly things); for comparison (by comparing old things with new, versions with their sources, opinions of doctors and decrees of councils with the rule of the divine word); for inference (by drawing conclusions); and for argumentation (by drawing forth reasons to support orthodoxy [*orthodoxian*] and overthrow heterodoxy [*heterodoxian*]). But the question is simply whether it bears the relation of a principle and rule in whose scale the greatest mysteries of religion should be weighed, so that nothing should be held which is not agreeable to it,

which is not founded upon and cannot be elicited from reason. This we deny against the Socinians who, the more easily to reject the mysteries of the Trinity, incarnation and the satisfaction of Christ (and others of the same kind clearly revealed in Scripture), contend that reason is the rule of religion of things to be believed, and that those things are not to be believed which seem to the mind to be impossible (Ostorodt, *Unterrichtung ... hauptpuncten der Christlichen Religion* 6 [1612], p. 42, "Man is not bound to believe what reason dictates to be false"; and Smaltzius: "If religion should be opposed to reason, by that very thing it would not be religion, for religion is the highest reason; yea, even reason itself," *Refutatio Thesium D. Wolfgangi Frantzii*, Disp. IV [1614], p. 137).

IV. The question is not whether reason is the instrument by which or the medium through which we can be drawn to faith. For we acknowledge that reason can be both: the former indeed always and everywhere; the latter with regard to presupposed articles. Rather the question is whether it is the first principle from which the doctrines of faith are proved; or the foundation upon which they are built, so that we must hold to be false in things of faith what the natural light or human reason cannot comprehend. This we deny.

Reason is not the principle of faith.

V. The reasons are: (1) The reason of an unregenerate man is blinded with respect to the law (Eph. 4:17, 18; Rom. 1:27, 28; 8:7). With respect to the gospel, it is evidently blind and mere darkness (Eph. 5:8; 1 Cor. 2:14). Therefore, it must be taken captive that it may be subjected to faith, not exalted that it may rule it (2 Cor. 10:3–5*). (2) The mysteries of faith are beyond the sphere of reason to which the unregenerate man cannot rise; and, as the senses do not attempt to judge of those things which are out of their sphere, so neither does reason in those things which are above it and supernatural. (3) Faith is not referred ultimately to reason, so that I ought to believe because I so understand and comprehend; but to the word because God so speaks in the Scriptures. (4) The Holy Spirit directs us to the word alone (Dt. 4:1; Is. 8:20; Jn. 5:39; 2 Tim. 3:15, 16; 2 Pet. 1:19). (5) If reason is the principle of faith, then first it would follow that all religion is natural and demonstrable by natural reason and natural light. Thus nature and

grace, natural and supernatural revelation would be confounded. Second, it would follow that reason is nowhere to be made captive and to be denied, against the express passages of Scripture; and that those possessed of a more ready mind and a more cultivated genius can better perceive and judge the mysteries of faith against universal experience (1 Cor. 1:19, 20; Mt. 11:25). (6) Reason cannot be the rule of religion; neither as corrupted because it is not only below faith, but also opposed to it (Rom. 8:7; 1 Cor. 2:14; Mt. 16:17); nor as sound because this is not found in corrupt man, nor in an uncontaminated man could it be the rule of supernatural mysteries. Nor now when it is corrected by the Spirit must it be judged according to itself, but according to the first principle which illuminated reason now admits (viz., the Scriptures).

Sources of explanation.

VI. A ministerial and organic relation is quite different from a principal and despotic. Reason holds the former relation to theology, not the latter. It is the Hagar (the bondmaid which should be in subjection to Scripture); not the Sarah (the mistress which presides over Scripture). It ought to compare the things proposed to be believed with the sacred Scriptures, the inflexible rule of truth. As when we refer the things we wish to measure to the public standard with the hand and eye. But reason itself neither can nor ought to be constituted the rule of belief.

VII. We must observe the distinction between an instrument of faith and the foundation of faith. It is one thing to introduce something to be believed and another to educe what may be understood and explained from the words; not by forcing a sense on a passage, but by unfolding that which seems involved. Reason is the instrument which the believer uses, but it is not the foundation and principle upon which faith rests. If in various passages of Scripture the use of reason is mentioned, this is not to make it the foundation of faith (as if I ought to act according to reason as a rule), but its office only is designated that believers may work conformably with and by it, as an instrument.

VIII. Rational worship is used in two senses: either originally, from reason as its origin and principle; or subjectively and organically, in reason as its subject and working by reason as an instrument. In Rom. 12:1, Paul

does not use the reasonable service which he prescribes to believers in the first sense, for this would be to approve of will worship (*ethelothrēskeias*, which he elsewhere condemns); but in the second, for that which is founded on reason and is exercised by reason. That is, Paul uses that which is spiritual and inward, not carnal and outward, by antithesis to the Levitical and Old Testament ceremonial service which was carnal in the offering up of beasts; whereas God now no more requires brutes, but rational and spiritual sacrifices, as Peter calls them (1 Pet. 2:5).

IX. Christ's teaching may be called rational either as to the kind of doctrine or as to the mode of teaching. If we take it in the first sense (which is the question here), it is false; yea, he introduced a doctrine opposed and unknown to blind reason (Mt. 16:17). But the second sense has no pertinence here, since we confess that reason stands in the relation of an instrument.

X. There is a difference between deriving a doctrine from nature, and illustrating in a certain manner a doctrine already known; or to seize from nature the opportunity of teaching. The latter we recognize in the parables of our Lord, but not the former. For he did not expressly prove his mysteries by parables, but only illustrated them that under these representations they might be more easily understood.

XI. There is a difference between the "truth of propositions" and the "truth of conclusions," as Augustine remarks (CI 2.32 [FC 2:104–5; PL 34.59]). The former answers to the axiomatic judgment, the latter to the discursive (dianoetic). Divine revelation dictates axioms or sentences of faith to us in the Scriptures. Therefore, when these are beyond our comprehension, we ought simply to believe them on the authority of that infallible master of sentences whose *ipse dixit* (*autos epha*) is in all things sufficient. But right reason apprehends the truth of conclusions, and of itself determines what may be inferred from some other thing.

XII. To ascertain the reason of a consequence is different from ascertaining the consequent itself. Often the reason of a consequence is perceived when neither the antecedent is discerned nor the consequent comprehended. It is only understood that this thing follows from that. Faith perceives the consequent, but reason the consequence. To reason belongs the perception of the reason of a consequence, whether it be right and necessary or otherwise. Nor does it follow from this that faith which

perceives the consequent is founded upon reason because reason is not an argument here, but an instrument. As when faith is said to be by hearing, hearing is not an argument of faith, but an instrument because reason does not put upon the text a sense which was not there, but brings forth by legitimate consequence something which was concealed in it and thus was taught implicitly by it.

XIII. In matters of faith reason stands not only in the relation of an instrument by which, but also sometimes from a means and argument from which the theologian argues (viz., when from his own treasury he draws arguments for the faith; or contends for principles by showing their credibility to those who do not acknowledge it; or treats from principles by drawing arguments from nature either to prove or confirm theological conclusion). Hence the same conclusion may be of faith (inasmuch as it is proved from Scripture) and of knowledge (inasmuch as it is demonstrated by reason). Yet we must not from this infer that reason is the principle and rule by which doctrines of faith should be measured.

Mixed syllogisms are of faith.

XIV. In mixed syllogisms (where one proposition is of faith, another of reason) reason is not the foundation and rule upon which the conclusion rests, but only the means and instrument by whose aid the truth virtually concealed in the other premise is elicited. Therefore in syllogisms of this kind the middle term is not taken from reason, but from Scripture. The connection however of the middle with the major extreme when it is denied by the adversary is shown by the principles of reason not to strengthen the truth of the mean, but of the connection. For example, I deny that the glorified body of Christ is everywhere, having taken from Scripture this mean, that it is a real body. But the major (that no body is everywhere) is drawn from reason. Hence in such arguments the theological conclusion follows from the mean inferring, and the logical from reason which connects the consequence. One of the premises which is of faith communicating its force to the conclusion rests (as to the matter of consequent) upon revelation alone; although (as to the form and mode of consequence) it depends upon reason.

XV. It should not be replied here that the conclusion always follows the weaker part (i.e., reason which is weaker than divine revelation). For (1) that axiom must not be pressed beyond quantity and quality, so that if one of the premises is universal, the other particular, one affirmative, the other negative, the conclusion should always be particular and negative. (2) According to many, the conclusion ought to follow the weaker part, while it follows revelation which is inevident (at least philosophically speaking), where a proposition founded upon authority is considered weaker and more evident than one founded upon reason because it is farther removed from a scientific demonstration.

XVI. Hence we may safely infer that in mixed syllogisms of this kind the conclusion is theological and of faith because every proposition takes its denomination from the subject, not from the predicate. Therefore, since the subject is theological, the proposition is theological, although it may have a predicate philosophical or from the light of nature. Hence the assent given to conclusions of this kind is the assent of faith rather than of knowledge because the assent follows the nature of the proposition to which it is given. Therefore if the proposition is philosophical, it has an evident assent to which the mind is moved by the light of reason and knowledge. But if it is theological, it has the assent of faith to which it is moved by the light of revelation. Therefore although the assent to the conclusion may come from each proposition, yet because the weight of the proposition derived from theology is greater than that from philosophy, the assent itself may be said to belong simply to theology and not to philosophy.

XVII. Reason is taken either materially for the kind of doctrine derived from the light of reason, or formally for the manner of delivering it which is commonly called the mode of instruction (*tropos paideias*). But in neither sense can it be called the principle of theology; not in the former sense because theology is neither built upon reason nor resolvable into it; not in the latter sense because although it is in this sense an instrument (as has been said), yet it cannot be considered as the principle.

XVIII. For a thing to be contrary to reason is different from its being above and beyond it; to be overthrown by reason and to be unknown to it. The mysteries of faith are indeed contrary to corrupt reason and are assailed by it, but they are only above and beyond right reason and are not taught by it. So in neither of these senses can it be called their principle.

XIX. Although things of faith agree with reason and doctrine can be at variance with sound enlightened reason, it does not follow that they agree with corrupted and blind reason, or that even sound reason is its principle. For not only agreement, but also dependence constitutes a principle, such as exists between cause and effect.

XX. The proper rule of things to be believed and disbelieved is not the apprehension of their possibility or impossibility, but the word of God. Nor are those things only possible to God which seem so to men, for he can do above all that we can think (Eph. 3:20; Mt. 19:26), and it would be impious for a finite mind to circumscribe within narrow limits the infinite power of God.

XXI. Although light is not contrary to light, and natural and revealed truths are not at variance with each other, yet natural truth itself is often not what human reason dictates, which is often mistaken by an abuse of natural and revealed light. Therefore revealed truth can be opposed to ratiocination and human conceptions, although it may agree with natural truth which reason often does not see or apprehend. Thus here the first principles of nature (known of themselves) must be distinguished from the conclusions and conceptions of reason which are deduced from those principles. The former are true and sure; the latter obscure, often erroneous and fallible.

XXII. A small and a great light may differ in degree and species: in degree, as to a natural object; in species, as to a supernatural. Reason may be a small light; but in things civil and natural, not in things supernatural.

XXIII. Although reason is not the principle of faith, it does not follow that atheists cannot be converted. The manner of dealing with them can be either theological (by arguments founded on Scripture) or philosophical, so that by the principles of reason the prejudices against the Christian religion drawn from corrupt reason may be removed.

XXIV. The Lutherans falsely object to us that we hold reason to be the principle and rule of demonstration in controversies because we sometimes draw arguments from reason, and argue from reason against the ubiquity of Christ's body. For we assign to reason only a ministerial and instrumental, not a principal office. And if, in compound questions, we use reason for the purpose of proof, it bears the relation not of a principle but of a means from which the theologian argues; and they are not with us primary arguments, but only secondary and auxiliary forces. Besides, while the theologian uses

arguments drawn from reason, he does it rather as a philosopher than as a theologian. As to the ubiquity of the body of Christ, we reject this doctrine, both philosophically and theologically, because it is absurd and contradicts the first principles of theology and philosophy.

Ninth Question

Does any judgment belong to reason in matters of faith? Or is there no use at all for it?

Statement of the question.

I. We must avoid two extremes here: the one of those who sin in excess attributing too much to reason, and regarding it as the rule of religion and faith (which the Socinians do against whom we argued in the preceding question); the other of those who err in defect, who (lest they might appear to consider reason as the rule of faith) attribute little or nothing to it. Of this way of thinking are not only the Anabaptists and Weigelians, but also the Lutherans and papists. These hold that the testimony of reason is not to be heard when it judges of certain mysteries of faith. For example, when it refuses to admit the doctrine of transubstantiation or ubiquity because it is repugnant to the light of right reason. And because we do not repudiate entirely the use of reason, they write about us as if we made ourselves the judges and final arbiters in matters of faith, and thus deceive the world by a fair pretence, while we glory in acknowledging Scripture as the only judge.

II. The question does not concern the judgment of decision by which controversies are publicly determined. No one of us attributes this to reason, but either to God alone speaking in the Scriptures (if we speak of the supreme) or to pastors appointed in the church (if we treat of the subordinate judgment). Rather the question concerns the judgment of private discretion by which truth is distinguished from falsehood and this we think should be attributed to reason rightly instructed. (2) In a judgment we must distinguish between the subject (or intellectual power) and the rule (or law and foundation upon which the intellect rests) in order to judge from its prescriptions. (3) The rule with regard to the object to be judged,

respects the truth either of sentences or of conclusions. Again, sentences are of things known either by nature or known only by supernatural revelation.

III. Having established this point, I say that to reason belongs the judgment of discretion in matters of faith, both subjectively (because it belongs to the intellect alone to know and distinguish these matters of faith) and normally; and indeed with respect to the truth of conclusions in all propositions (whether known by nature or by revelation), but with respect to the truth of propositions only in those known by nature and even then with this threefold caution. (1) That the judgment of reason not be considered as necessary, as if theology could not do without it. (2) That the word of God (where also these truths are revealed) be considered always as the primary rule and reason as the secondary. (3) That when the word adds something unknown to nature to a thing known by nature, then we should not judge of it by nature or reason, but by the word (not that the word and reason are at variance, but because reason is perfected by the word). But in things known only by revelation (as the mystery of the Trinity, of the incarnation, etc.), the only rule is the word of God, beyond or above which we must not be wise.

IV. The question is not whether the mysteries of faith are above reason or whether reason can reach them. For we readily grant that there are things which far surpass the comprehension not only of men, but even of angels the disclosure of which was a work of supernatural revelation. We also grant that reason is not only incapable of discovering them without a revelation; not only weak in comprehending them after being revealed; but also slippery and fallible (readily pursuing falsehood for truth and truth for falsehood), and never believing the word of God and its mysteries unless enlightened by the grace of the Spirit. Rather the question is—Is there no use at all for it, and should we entirely reject the testimony of reason, as often as the truth or falsity of any doctrine is to be judged? This our opponents hold and we deny.

V. Although the human understanding is very dark, yet there still remains in it some rays of natural light and certain first principles, the truth of which is unquestionable: such as, the whole is greater than its part, an effect supposes a cause, to be and not to be at the same time are incompatible (*asystatous*), etc. If this were not the case, there could be no science, nor art, nor certainty in the nature of things. (2) These first

principles are true not only in nature, but also in grace and the mysteries of faith. Faith, so far from destroying, on the contrary borrows them from reason and uses them to strengthen its own doctrines. (3) Although reason and faith are of different classes (the one natural, the other supernatural), they are not however opposed, but hold a certain relation and are subordinate to each other. Reason is perfected by faith and faith supposes reason, upon which to found the mysteries of grace.

VI. Reason cannot and should not draw mysteries from its own treasury. The word of God alone has this right. Unless derived from this source, they are on that very account to be discarded (Gal. 1:8). (2) Reason must not be listened to when it complains of not being able to comprehend the mysteries of faith. For how can the infinite be comprehended by the finite? Therefore the wish to reject mysteries because they cannot be comprehended by reason is a sin not only against faith but also against reason which acknowledges itself to be finite and far inferior to those sublime mysteries. (3) It must not be heard when it wishes, by overturning the questionable truth of the first principles of natural religion, to establish its own errors under the pretext of their being mysteries of faith (either as to things merely natural or supernatural or mixed) which grace borrows from nature for its own use. Hence right reason ought to reject these fictions as incompatible (*asystata*) with the indubitable first principles of natural religion.

The use of reason proved.

VII. That the use of reason is manifold was seen before (viz., for illustration, comparison, inference and proof). It may be further proved: (1) by 1 Cor. 10:15 where the apostle appeals to the judgment of the Corinthians, both of the common people and wise men; (2) from the examples of Christ, the apostles and prophets who always employed reason in teaching the mysteries of faith. Nor should it be considered unfair to argue from those inspired (*theopneustoi*) persons to ourselves who are fallible because the force of reasoning does not depend upon the infallibility of the person using it, but upon the evidence of the thing. (3) From 1 Jn. 4:1 where we are commanded “to try the spirits,” which could not be done without the help of reason. (4) The testimony of the senses is not to be

entirely rejected in matters of faith (as we shall hereafter prove); therefore neither is reason because the senses are far inferior to reason.

Sources of explanation.

VIII. There is a difference between knowing the meaning of a proposition and knowing its truth. In the former manner, the gospel is regarded simply as the word, but in the latter, as the divine and infallible word. Reason is occupied with the former, but faith alone with the latter.

IX. An incomprehensible thing (which cannot be grasped) is different from an incompossible (which cannot be conceived). The mysteries of the Trinity, incarnation and predestination are incomprehensible, as we have only an obscure and imperfect knowledge of them. But the fiction of transubstantiation or of ubiquity cannot be conceived, on account of the natural repugnance of our intellect to the conception of a thing altogether impossible.

X. Reason as corrupt and in the concrete may be at variance with theology, but not reason as sound and in the abstract (which possibly may be ignorant of mysteries and may not teach them, but must not therefore be considered as denying them). As you would improperly gather that the physician is at variance with the lawyer because he does not quote laws, so neither does the philosopher contradict the theologian, although he does not treat of his mysteries, and acknowledges them to be out of his sphere.

XI. Those are called human things which either spring from carnal corruption (in which sense Christ opposes human to divine things, Mt. 16:17) or are the remains of the image of God, and so are not repugnant but subordinated. Nor does light oppose light, nor truth oppose truth because God is the author of both.

XII. Although we allow the judgment of discretion to reason enlightened by the Holy Spirit, we do not by this constitute ourselves the ultimate arbiters and judges in controversies of faith or take away from Scripture the supreme and decisive judgment (for these are subordinate, not contrary). Reason in this sense always judges according to Scripture as the first and infallible standard.

XIII. Because the mysteries of faith surpass the comprehension of reason, it follows that it should not be used as the first principle and

foundation for exhibiting the truth of axioms of faith. But it does not follow that it cannot be used to exhibit the truth or falsity of conclusions in controversies of faith. For the truth of conclusions is perpetual in the nature of things and can be learned in those schools also which are out of the church, as Augustine frequently tells us (CI 2.31.49 [FC 2:104]).

XIV. When we allow a certain judgment to reason in things of faith, we do not mean reason as blind and corrupted by sin (in which sense we confess the natural man cannot receive the things of God [1 Cor. 2:14] and that "the carnal mind [*phronēma*] is enmity against God," Rom. 8:7), but we speak of reason as sound and healed by grace (in which sense "the spiritual man is said to judge all things" [1 Cor. 2:15], and Paul often appeals to the judgment of believers, 1 Cor. 10:15; 11:13; Heb. 5:13, 14).

XV. The "captivity of thought" which the apostle recommends (2 Cor. 10:5) does not exclude all liberty of judgment, but only the desire of contradiction when it exalts itself against Christ and his gospel. Not that reason cannot discern, but that it ought not to oppose (although the mysteries proposed do surpass its comprehension and cannot be reached by it). He does not therefore mean to take away reason entirely because grace does not destroy, but perfects nature. He only wishes it to serve and be a handmaid to faith and as such to obey, not to govern it as a mistress; that it may be in subjection and not entirely discarded, that it may be not the foundation, but the defender of faith and embrace, contend for and adorn the faith already established.

XVI. To deny or oppose an article of faith because it does not seem to agree with reason is different from opposing erroneous opinions respecting it and false expositions of Scripture. Not because philosophical rules do not admit of them, but because they are contrary to the word of God to which the natural truth of conclusions conforms.

XVII. Although we use reason and its principles in theological controversies, it does not follow that we make a mixture of philosophy with theology and of human with divine things. They are not used as the foundation and principle of faith (from which we prove these mysteries), but only as instruments of knowledge (as when with the eye of the body and the light of the sun we see any visible object, there is no mixture of the eye with the sun because they do not concur in the same, but in a different manner).

XVIII. The transition from a genus to a genus then occurs when that which belongs to one system is taken to demonstrate the conclusion of another. But this is by no means our method in this subject because the middle term is not drawn from philosophy to prove a conclusion of faith, but from Scripture. (2) The principles or axioms drawn from reason or philosophy in order to prove some article of faith are not so peculiar to philosophy as that they cannot be supposed to belong also to natural theology (which ought to come before supernatural and revealed). Thus they can be said to have a reference to articles of faith, if not formal at least presupposed.

Tenth Question

May the judgment of contradiction be allowed to human reason in matters of faith? We affirm

Origin of the question.

I. This controversy is conducted by our party against the Lutherans (especially the Ubiquitarians) who (when we say that their opinion about Christ's body being in many places [*polytopia*] or everywhere [*pantachousia*] is contradictory) usually reply that the judgment of contradiction in matters of faith does not belong to reason, but to the sacred Scriptures (Lucas Osiander [the elder], *Enchiridion controversiarum ... Calvinianus* 1.3 [1608], pp. 25–45; Balthasar Mentzer, *Elencheus errorum Antonii Sadeelis*, Arg. 6 [1609], pp. 75–76; Josua Stegmann, *Photinianismus hoc est succincta refutatio errorum Photiniarum* [1643], disp. 2, q. 3, pp. 17–19). Hence Balthasar Meisner says that this axiom ("contradictory things are therefore impossible because for the same thing to be and not to be is impossible [*adynaton*]") is extremely dangerous in divine things (*quaest. metaph*. 3. *contra Calvin*.+). For a proper knowledge of the state of the question, three things must here be distinguished: the reason judging, the principle from which the judgment is formed, and the rule of consequence by which it is formed. (1) Reason here does not mean that which is blind and corrupted by sin, but that which is restored and enlightened by the Holy Spirit. (2) The principles are axioms not known by

nature or founded upon human authority, but given in the Scriptures. (3) The rule by which reason directed and strengthened in tracing and applying the truths of Scripture is the rule of just consequence impressed upon the rational creature by God. This rule is not the rule of the truth itself (which is the word of God alone and the first normal truth), but only the rule of consequence by the assistance of which we may know and discern with greater certainty what follows from a truth and what does not.

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not whether reason can of itself reach into the mysteries of faith (for no one doubts that many of them far surpass the comprehension of reason), but whether it can judge of the contradiction of propositions (which can be discerned only by the laws of nature and reason). (2) The question does not concern the absolute and unlimited judgment of decision, but concerns the judgment of discretion which is bound and limited by the word and must always be proved by it (1 Thess. 5:21; 1 Jn. 4:1). This, if not always producing conviction in others, nevertheless suffices for our own.

III. Thus we decide that the judgment of contradiction belongs to reason; but (1) a revelation always being supposed, and its truth worthy of faith per se; (2) organically and ministerially, not despotically and authoritatively; (3) with conformity to Scripture itself which clearly interprets itself and requires no other interpreter to establish its sense. Thus reason enlightened by the Holy Spirit through the word is able to consider and to judge from the word (according to the rules of good and necessary consequence) how the parts of a doctrine cohere, and what may or may not follow from them.

Proof that the judgment of contradiction belongs to reason.

IV. The reasons are: (1) the Scriptures frequently enjoin this judgment (Mt. 7:15; 16:6; Col. 2:8; 1 Thess. 5:21; Heb. 5:14); (2) the examples of the saints confirm it, as the Bereans (Acts 17:11) and the Corinthians (1 Cor. 10:15); (3) the design of Scripture teaches it (which is the perfection of the man of God in the knowledge of the truth and the conviction of gainsayers

[2* Tim. 3:16; Tit. 1:9], which cannot be accomplished without it); (4) the use of reason is a strong proof because as the knowledge of the affirmation and negation of propositions and the doctrine of contradiction belong to it, so also must such a judgment. And unless we allow this, the widest door will be thrown open to all kinds of heretics and fanatics for introducing their fictions and monstrous opinions and we can never use any true contradiction.

Sources of explanation.

V. Although this judgment is made subjectively by man, it must not be considered as human (formed in the manner of men originally from human reason and affections), but divine (proceeding from the light and influence of the Holy Spirit). In this sense, Paul says "he that is spiritual judgeth all things" (viz., spiritually) by the light of grace and not of natural reason (1 Cor. 2:15*).

VI. Reason cannot judge of the power of God from natural principles, but this is not to say that it cannot judge of it from the word (Mt. 19:26; 2 Tim. 1:12; Ps. 115:3). Thus the judgment of contradiction as to a perfectly blind reason is dangerous when the judgment is formed from corrupt principles. But we speak of enlightened reason giving its decisions from the word.

VII. Reason is to be brought into captivity (2 Cor. 10:5) when it exalts itself against Christ and his gospel, but it can be heard when it is obedient and judges from it.

VIII. The darkness of the human intellect does not hinder sound reason from judging of the truth of connections and so contradictions. We allow indeed that it cannot judge of the truth of propositions (as ignorant of it per se and which it must seek from the law and testimony). But it does not follow from this that it cannot judge of the contradiction of the expositions, opinions and interpretations which men give of these mysteries.

IX. Reason can judge not only of a direct and formal contradiction (containing in the same terms both an express affirmation and negation), but also of an indirect and implied (deduced by necessary consequence). Such are these: the blood of Christ cleanses us from all sin, therefore there is no purgatory; Christ ascended into heaven, therefore he is not everywhere.

X. It is not necessary in order to ascertain a contradiction to know distinctly the things themselves and their essence. It is sufficient if the truth of conclusions is known from which we can readily form a judgment of the contradiction of a proposition.

XI. Although many things may seem contradictory to a number of persons which are not really so, it does not follow that something of the kind ought to appear so which is not, to men rightly using reason and thought.

XII. It is one thing to speak of sound and renewed reason in the abstract; quite a different thing to speak of the same in the concrete and as it is in this or that corrupt subject. We allow a judgment to reason not in the latter, but only in the former sense.

XIII. To take away from reason every judgment and to maintain that we must not confide in it absolutely is different from maintaining not only that those things must be believed which reason knows, but that in a more perfect school those things are to be learned which reason cannot attain unto or teach. We do not hold the former, but the latter.

XIV. Although the judgment of contradiction is allowed to reason in matters of faith, it does not follow that the human intellect becomes the rule of divine power (as if God could not do more things than human reason can conceive). God's being able to do something above nature and human conception (which is said with truth in Eph. 3:20) is different from his being able to do something contrary to nature and the principles of natural religion (which is most false). Nor is the power of God in this manner limited by the rule of our intellect, but our mind judges from the word what (according to the nature of a thing established by God) may be called possible or impossible.

XV. Reason cannot judge of the power of God so as to comprehend it most perfectly, or to think those things impossible which are above nature, or to introduce something into theology under the pretext of divine power unless it has gathered it beforehand from the word; much less that when the word of God certainly and clearly establishes anything can it have recourse to the omnipotence of God to overthrow it. But so far it judges well of the power of God when it estimates it according to the nature of things and his word, so as to call that impossible and contradictory to this or that person,

but which is really such because it opposes the nature of the thing and the truth revealed in the word.

XVI. It is one thing for reason to be able to be a judge of what is false, contradictory and repugnant both to the universal principles of reason and thus revelation (for instance in the subjects of transubstantiation, ubiquity, the adoration of creatures and the like); another thing that reason ought to be the judge and the standard too of a revealed and mysterious (*mystēriōdous*) truth which is infinitely exalted above its sphere and delivered by God whose thoughts (how immense!) are far above human thoughts and who wishes reason to be brought into captivity to the obedience of faith (2 Cor. 10:5). This we deny, but that we affirm.

Eleventh Question

Is there any use of the testimony of the senses in mysteries of faith; or ought it to be entirely rejected? We affirm the former and deny the latter

Statement of the question.

I. This question is put forth against us by papists who (to weaken the argument which we draw from the testimony of the senses to overthrow the fiction of transubstantiation and of the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist and establish the reality of the substance of the bread and wine because the senses see, touch and taste nothing but bread and wine) have gone so far as to say that the testimony of the senses is not to be regarded in mysteries of faith because mysteries are above the senses, and faith must consist in believing what we do not see.

II. Although the orthodox are unwilling that the testimony of the senses should be heard in all mysteries, they nevertheless maintain that a proper regard should be paid to their testimony when the discussion concerns sensible and corporeal things which come within the sphere of their activity.

III. As to the state of the question, it must be noted that as there are three kinds of things which may be known (viz., those known by faith [*pistai*], by the senses [*noētai*] and by the intellect [*aisthētai*]), so there are three faculties answering to them (viz., the senses, reason and faith); and that the

senses perceive sensible things, reason intelligible things, and faith spiritual and supernatural things. But as the senses do not claim for themselves the judgment of things which are the objects of reason, so much less can reason and the senses judge of things of faith; but each faculty is occupied with its own objects, and as they ought not to be confounded, so they ought not to be mutually opposed.

IV. The question is not therefore whether the testimony of the senses is in every case to be regarded, so that we should grant nothing except what the senses can seize. For we grant there are many mysteries to which reason and much less the senses cannot rise, such as the mysteries of the Trinity, of the incarnation, etc. Rather the question is when the senses judge of an object belonging to them and do not go beyond their proper sphere, must their testimony be rejected or admitted? The question is whether faith may be opposed to a well-directed judgment of the senses and overthrow it. This we deny.

V. Some mysteries are entirely spiritual and placed far beyond our comprehension; such as the mysteries of the Trinity, of the incarnation, etc. But others are placed in sensible and corporeal things (i.e., whether God uses them as instruments and means for carrying out his purposes, or wishes to lead us along by them to a clearer knowledge of more sublime mysteries, such as the miracles of Christ, the types and figures of the Old Testament and the sacraments of the New). The former are properly the objects of our faith and in no way strike the senses. But as to the latter (in which a spiritual is joined with a corporeal thing) the spiritual thing always remains an object of faith, but the corporeal an object of sense. Therefore the question is whether faith may use the testimony of the senses in corporeal things. For instance, when it judges of the substance of the bread and wine in the Eucharist, and the absence of the body of Christ, must we reject it?

The testimony of the senses proved.

VI. That the testimony of the sense should not be rejected is proved: (1) by the example of Christ who, to prove the reality of his body after the resurrection, appeals to the senses—"handle me and see" (Lk. 24:39). This he would never have done if their testimony was false and uncertain. Thus the angel uses this argument: "He is not here; for he is risen, as he said.

Come, see the place where the Lord lay" (Mt. 28:6*). In Acts 1:11, the apostles used the same proof when they promised that Christ should come in like manner as they had seen him go; so in 1 Jn. 1:1, 2 and 2 Pet. 1:17, they found the principal proof of the truth and divinity of the gospel upon the testimony of the senses. (2) God makes use of the preaching of the word and the contemplation of his works to lead us to faith. Now these means unquestionably presuppose not only the use of the senses (without which both the word and works of God would be unknown), but also the fidelity and truth of their testimony. For if the senses can be deceived, what certainty could be produced in us either by the word or works of God? (3) The Holy Spirit employs the exercises of the senses in describing intellectual actions (as seeing, hearing, tasting, etc.) which could not be done unless their testimony were certain and not slippery. (4) The faithfulness of God will not suffer us to believe that he wished to trifle with men by referring them to a testimony which could deceive and be false.

Sources of explanation.

VII. Although the senses are not absolutely infallible, it does not follow that their testimony is worth nothing. For there are certain conditions in which (being answered) they are not deceived: (1) that the object be at a proper distance; (2) that the medium be pure and free from everything which could distort the image; (3) that the organ be rightly disposed; (4) that all the senses (at least those which can take cognizance of the particular object) be consulted and make the same judgment; (5) that the senses act carefully and not hastily, otherwise they might be deceived; (6) that the fancy be free and without fevers or delirium, otherwise we would often think we saw and heard things which we did not see or hear. If we pay attention to all these conditions, it will be evident that they all so concur in testimony about the reality of the bread and wine in the Eucharist that it can by no possibility be fallacious or doubtful.

VIII. The senses were not deceived in the case of Mary Magdalene who supposed Christ to be the gardener (Jn. 20:15) because she was deceived by a precipitancy of judgment which she immediately corrected when (her ears assisting the eyes) she recognized the Savior by his voice; or in the case of the disciples at Emmaus who did not know Christ (Lk. 24:31). This passage

testifies that their knowledge was imperfect and obscure, but not false, since they believed him to be a real man who walked with them, but did not think he was Christ. Or in the case of the angels' appearing in human form; for although they were not true men, yet they were true bodies and not phantasms in which they appeared, and something supernatural was always connected with them. Hence persons could tell that they were not mere men; rather there was something supernatural, such as the light which surrounded the angel announcing the birth of Christ, and the shining garments in which the angels who witnessed the resurrection of Christ appeared. Hence it was not difficult for the senses and reason to form a correct judgment of them. If some were deceived (as possibly sometimes happened) the error was not on the part of the object which clearly showed itself, but on the part of the subject and the principle of judgment of the senses.

IX. For a person to be struck with blindness by God so as to be unable to see any object properly and clearly is different from the senses (well ordered) being deceived in the testimony which they (rightly disposed) give concerning an object in their own sphere. The former is said of the Sodomites who could not find the door of Lot's house (Gen. 19:11) and of the Syrian soldiers who could not see the city of Samaria (2 K. 6:18), but not the latter.

X. If Christ passed through the midst of the crowd which wished to cast him headlong from the hill (Lk. 4:30), we are not therefore to believe that he made his body invisible and imperceptible to the senses; rather he hid himself in the crowd that he might escape their fury, or struck them with blindness, or suddenly quieted or repressed their excitement, as Ambrose (*Expositio Evangeli ... Lucam* 4.56 [PL 15.1713] on Lk. 4:30) and Bede (*In Lucae Evangelium Expositio* [PL 92.378] on Lk. 4:30) think.

Twelfth Question: The Use of Consequences

Are the doctrines of faith and practice to be proved only by the express word of God? May they not also be legitimately proved by consequences drawn from Scripture? We affirm the latter

Statement of the question.

I. This question owes its rise to the new method of disputing peculiar to the jugglers and mountebanks among the papists who, in order to evade with greater ease the arguments by which we invincibly established from Scripture our opinion and confuted their errors, supposed that they had no better way of getting out of the difficulty than by compelling us to prove that all our doctrines are contained in so many words in Scripture, all use of consequences being rejected. Cardinal Perronius appears to have devised this method first (*Reply of the ... Cardinall of Perron to the Answeare of the ... King of Great Britaine* [1630/1975]). Many others of the same worthless class followed him—Gontery, Cotton, Arnoldus (Arnoux) and especially Veron who caused a peculiar method of disputing to be called "Veronian" from him. To these the Wallenburgian Brethren in Germany joined themselves and other light-shunning missionaries. But other heretics darkened the world before these, for the Arians often used this argument to overthrow the *homoousion*. The Macedonians also denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit just because it is nowhere in Scripture expressly said that the Holy Spirit is God (see Gregory Nazianzus, Oration 31 [5], "On the Holy Spirit," 1.1 [NPNF2, 7:318]). Maximus, the monk, testifies that the Apollinarians and Monophysites used the same weapons (in his twenty orations+ which are commonly, but falsely, ascribed to Athanasius).

II. The fifth article of the French Confession (whence they wish it to appear that they have drawn the sentence which they fix upon us) asserts indeed the perfection of Scripture when it says that "it is the rule of all truth and comprehends whatever is required for the glory of God and our salvation, so that it is lawful neither for men nor even for angels to add anything to, or take away from it" (Cochrane, 145). But it does not maintain that nothing is to be received which we do not find in so many words in Scripture; yea, by mentioning near the end that three creeds are received by us (the Apostles', the Nicene and Athanasian) it sufficiently intimates that we do not seek for the very letters, but the truth of doctrines and worship (ibid., 146). It therefore means that the word of God alone should be adhered to exclusive of all traditions, but does not restrict us to the express word exclusive of consequences.

III. In order to understand the question, we must recollect that a thing may be said to be in Scripture in two ways: either *kata lexin* (expressly and in so many words); or *kata dianoian* (implicitly and as to the sense). We say that all things are contained in Scripture not in the first way, but in the second.

IV. Consequences may be considered either materially (to denote the doctrines themselves drawn out by consequence), or formally (for the connection itself of the terms). Augustine distinguishes between "the truth of propositions and the truth of conclusions" (CI 2.32 [50] [FC 2:105; PL 34.59]). Again some are innate and educed from Scripture, being virtually contained in it; others implied and carried into it. Some are proximate, necessary and plain; others are remote, probable and obscure. We speak here of the former, not of the latter.

V. The solid proof of a thing is such either in itself or in relation to this or that man. The one consists in the evidence of the thing; the other in the conviction of man. The former is always present in a sound reasoning by consequences, not so the latter.

VI. The articles of faith which should be proved from Scripture are either positive and affirmative (containing some doctrine to be believed), or negative and exclusive (rejecting errors introduced by heretics). The former ought to be proved clearly and certainly from Scripture because they are the proper objects of faith; but as to the latter it is not requisite that any mention should be made of them, but only of general principles by which their falsity can be shown. Hence our opponents trifle when they ask us to prove by so many words in Scripture that there is no purgatory, that the pope is not the head of the church, that the Mass is not a sacrifice, etc. (1) The affirmative is bound to prove, not the negative. (2) These doctrines are not positive, but negative with us. Therefore it is sufficient for us to teach that they are not contained in Scripture and that other things (which plainly refute them) are.

VII. The sufficiency and perfection of the Scriptures does not consist in their condemning all errors and heresies by name, but only in their announcing all positive doctrines clearly. For as the right is the touchstone of itself and of obligation (all necessary truth being clearly established), the errors opposed to it are rejected.

VIII. The question therefore is brought within these limits: whether, besides the express word of God, evident and necessary consequences are admissible in theology; or whether the doctrines of faith and practice may be lawfully proved by them. We affirm; our opponents deny. Not all however, for Bellarmine agrees with us here. "Nothing," says he, "is of faith, except what God has revealed by the apostles and prophets, or what may be plainly deduced from them" (VD 4.9, pp. 131–32; cf. "De Justificatione," 3.8 in *Opera* [1858], 4:542–44). Cano ("De Locis Theologicis," 12.6 in *Opera* [1605], pp. 586–97), Salmeron (*Commentarii in evangelicam historiam* [1612], vol. 1, Prolegomenon 9, Canon 7, p. 95), Torquemada, (*Summa de Ecclesia* 4, Pt. II.8 [1561], pp. 380–81) and many others agree with him. These maintain that to be of faith which by necessary and legitimate consequence can be derived from Scripture.

The use of consequences proved from the design of Scripture.

IX. Many things establish the use of consequences in things of faith. (1) The design of Scripture, which is to serve for doctrine (*didaskalia*), for reproof (*elenchos*), for correction (*panorthōsis*), for instruction (*paideia*) and comfort (*paraklēsis*) (2 Tim. 3:16; Rom. 15:4) which could not be answered without them because no thesis could be transferred to its hypothesis, nor could any application of Scripture to theological or practical uses ever be made. (2) The nature of man to whom the mysteries of religion are committed, who is not a trunk or a brute, but a rational creature and (being capable of reasoning) bound to search the Scriptures (Jn. 5:39) and not to be satisfied with the shell of the words but to penetrate to the very kernel and sense that he may gather from what he has read something which he has not read (as Augustine well remarks, *Contra Maximinum Hereticum Arianorum Episcopum* 2*.3 [PL 42.760]). (3) The wisdom of God; for as when a wise man speaks, he wishes everything which can lawfully be gathered from his words to be understood as being said by him; thus being infinitely wise and foreseeing all that could be deduced from the word, God so spoke that whatever could be lawfully gathered from what he said should be considered as his word. (4) The practice of heretics, who the better to

defend their errors against the orthodox, have entirely repudiated the use of consequences. The Arians denied the *homoousion* just because it was not contained in Scripture in so many words (*autolexei*). Hence they are called "syllable-catchers" by Basil. Gregory Nazianzus calls the contender against the divinity of the Holy Spirit who uses this artifice, an A.B.C. Sophist and a pettifogger of words (*sykophantēn tōn onomatōn*, Oration 31*.24, "On the Holy Spirit" [NPNF2, 7:325; PG 36.160]). (5) The usage of papists who prove by consequences many of their doctrines concerning the primacy and infallibility of the pope, transubstantiation, purgatory and the like. (6) The example of Christ and the apostles who often used consequences; as when Christ proved against the Sadducees the resurrection of the dead from the formula of the covenant (Mt. 22:32) which says nothing expressly about the resurrection; and when the apostles proved that Jesus of Nazareth was the true Messiah promised in the Old Testament, although nothing is there said of him in so many words (*autolexei*). Nor should it be replied that the authority of Christ and the apostles is infallible and therefore that their consequences also are of undoubted truth, while ours are not. For although the consequences of Christ are infallible in themselves from the authority of the speaker, yet they had not their force with the Sadducees from the authority of the speaker (which they did not acknowledge), but from the nature of what was said. Otherwise, how could Christ by this proof have stopped the mouths of his enemies who did not acknowledge his authority?

X. Although the inferences of Christ as to us may pass into the word of God for the simple reason that they come from Christ and may be made lawfully objects of faith, yet it is false that these were esteemed actually by the Sadducees, the enemies of Christ. Nay for this sole reason, they were admitted because they had a foundation in the words of Moses quoted by Christ. They were therefore recognized as such by them, regard being paid to the words and not the speaker.

XI. The *Logismoi*, against which the weapons of our warfare are directed (2 Cor. 10:4, 5*), are not all kinds of reasoning, but as we read there *logismoi epairomenoi kata tēs gnōseōs tou Theou* (viz., exalting themselves against, not acting as handmaids; opposing the gospel, not lending their assistance to it). The former are deservedly to be destroyed because they are incompatible (*asystatoi*) with faith; but not so legitimate reasonings, being

in subjection to revelation and properly used both for its explication and application.

XII. The foundation upon which a thing rests is different from the instrument which we use for the knowledge of the thing itself. That which has a fallible foundation cannot be infallible because the effect cannot be greater in every respect than its cause. Reason here however is not the foundation, but the instrument.

XIII. Although the intellect which educes consequences is fallible, it does not follow that the consequences themselves are false and uncertain. (1) The possibility of being deceived is different from being actually deceived; the being at fault sometimes from being so always. A power which is of itself and always fallible in every exercise cannot give foundation to infallible certainty. But such is not the intellect because it is fallible not in itself but accidentally; nor in all, but only in some things. Otherwise if the argument held good universally and if (because reason is sometimes deceived) no reliance must ever be placed upon it, it would follow that all true knowledge and certainty had been removed from the world, and Pyrrhonism and incomprehensibleness (*akatalēpsian*) introduced. In like manner all certainty of the senses would be taken away because they are sometimes deceived, which everyone sees to be in the highest degree absurd. For the power of fallibility is not necessarily connected with each act. Nay it can by the use of legitimate means be hindered from flowing into the act. Therefore as the senses must be freed from all obstacles inhibiting their certainty (existing either in the object, the medium or the organ), so the intellect must be freed from the prejudices which stand in the way of right reason, and then it will not go wrong. Now we speak here of a sound and rightly constituted intellect.

XIV. To apprehend the reason of a consequence is different from apprehending the consequent itself. Faith apprehends the consequent; reason the consequence. And it does not follow from this that faith (by which the consequent is believed) is founded upon reason because reason is not an argument here on account of which I believe, but the instrument through which I believe. Now the instrument does not introduce into the text what was not there before, but educes by legitimate consequences what was concealed in it. Hence the theological conclusion results from the inferred mean, but the logical from reason or the instrument eliciting

consequences. The consequence, as to its materiality, is founded upon the word; as to its formality, upon reason.

XV. Although reason concurs in educing consequences, it does not follow that faith is established by reason; as, although faith cometh by hearing, yet the senses are not the foundation of faith; faith uses reason, is not built upon it. It uses it as an instrument of application and mode of knowledge, but is not built upon it as a foundation and rule of things to be believed.

XVI. Mixed syllogisms (in which one of the premises belongs to natural, the other to revealed religion) do not cease to be of faith. (1) Every proposition receives its denomination from the subject and not from the predicate. (2) A proposition of revealed religion virtually contains that which is drawn from the light of nature to prove it and thus communicates its own force to it. (3) To prove a conclusion of faith, the middle term must be taken not from nature, but from the Scriptures; but where the connection of the mean with the major extreme is denied by the adversary, it must be assisted by the principles of reason, not in order to prove the truth of the mean, but of the connection. For example, I deny that the bread becomes the body of Christ in the Supper (this mean term having been assumed that it has the accidents of bread). But if the connection of the mean with the major extreme is denied (viz., that is true bread which has the properties of bread), it must then be proved from reason because it is not contained in Scripture formally, but only virtually.

XVII. The agency of reason is so far from making faith doubtful that it rather greatly assists and establishes the knowledge and certainty of it. Only distinguish between reason in the abstract and in the concrete: reason illuminates in the believer or is darkness in the unregenerate. It is true that the blind and false reason does make a doubtful faith, but we deny it concerning sound and enlightened reason.

XVIII. Although the divine may have a more perfect knowledge of consequences, yet this is no reason why an ignorant person may not have the same according to his capacity, although he may be unacquainted with logic and metaphysics because the light of reason and natural logic suffice to enable him to perceive natural consequences.

XIX. In this kind of reasoning where something is adduced by consequence, it is requisite: (1) that one of the premises, or both,

immediately or mediately, be contained in proper or figurative words in the Scriptures; (2) that the consequence or inference be necessary and evident (necessary not only by a formal, but also by a material and consequential necessity, as when a consequent is deduced from an antecedent, a species from a genus, an effect from a cause); (3) that it be evident on account of assent so that on account of the evidence of inference we may assent no less to the conclusion than to the premises.

XX. It is one thing to speak of reasonings drawn from Scripture and according to it and subordinated to and resolvable into it; another to speak of those which are opposed to it. Because heretics use the latter to prove their errors, it does not follow that the former are inadmissible. For the legitimate use of a thing ought not to be taken away on account of its abuse.

XXI. The use of consequences is not at variance with the simplicity of the disciples of Christ for although it becomes the sheep of Christ to be simple, they ought not to be brutes, but rational creatures. Nor if we are bound to listen to Christ's voice alone, ought the use of consequences therefore to be rejected provided we employ them with lawful moderation. Yea it is because the voice of Christ is to be heard that we must search the Scriptures so as to distinguish his voice from others, which cannot be done without the use of reason. So far from departing from Scripture or adding to it by reasonings drawn by consequences from Scripture, we are thus able rather to trace out and reduce to practice only those things which the Scriptures contain.

XXII. Although Scripture is said to be perfect (as a foundation of things to be believed and done inasmuch as it contains all the doctrines and precepts of life necessary to salvation) this is not to deny the necessity of explication and application. For a rule is perfect, and yet we have to apply it. Nor does that application detract from the perfection of the rule, but rather proves and declares it.

XXIII. The *mataiologia* or "vain jangling" which the apostle condemns (1 Tim. 1:6) is not sound reasoning by consequences from Scripture, but a curious and troublesome discussion of unimportant things which he calls fables and endless genealogies (*mythous kai genealogias aperantous*, v. 4) such as the fables of the Gentiles concerning the gods and their generation

(*theogonia*) and also the dreams of the Jews concerning Lilith, Behemoth, Leviathan and other silly trifles of the Talmud.

XXIV. The abuse of reasonings is not to be confounded with their use, nor is a thing considered in the abstract to be condemned on account of its perverse application in the concrete. Thus many are deceived in their perception of objects of sound and sight. Still, on that account, we are not to say that all things are uncertain which are apprehended by the senses. So if they err, who use consequences to establish the false doctrines of transubstantiation or of consubstantiation because they are forced and illegitimate, those who use them lawfully ought not to be condemned. Otherwise it would follow that the use of the Scriptures themselves must be condemned because many heretics have made an improper use of them.

XXV. To listen to a person as a framer of doctrines (in which character Moses, the prophets and Christ alone are to be heard both as to the things taught and as to the manner of teaching) is different from listening to a maker of instruments suitable for explaining and applying these doctrines (in which character men using consequences are to be heard).

XXVI. There is a difference between the principles of doctrines and of the truth of propositions and the principles of the truth of inferences. The former are drawn from Scripture; the latter from reason. And because the truth of propositions is more important, it is principally regarded in arguments, and from it the judgment ought to be made concerning the conclusion. Hence the conclusion of the argument will be theological because the principle of the doctrines is such. But reason is not the principle of the thing, but of the knowledge of the thing; nor so much the principle as the instrument by which the thing to be proved is known.

XXVII. The consequence is a work of reason (considered formally and organically) because it is elicited by reason, but not as considered originally and materially for the doctrine elicited by consequence. Thus consequences are not of faith on the part of the organ by which they are deduced (for I do not believe because I so reason, but because the word of God declares it); yet they are of faith on the part of the principle from which they are deduced (for as the premises, so must the conclusions thence be deduced).

XXVIII. We may consider a thing as coming from the Holy Spirit, either mediately and in branches (viz., that which is deduced from Scripture by the help of reason) or immediately and in the root (which is contained in it

in so many words). In the former sense, consequences are from the Holy Spirit, not in the latter.

XXIX. Although we must not regard as the doctrine of the Reformed those which can by any method be deduced from their confessions and be imputed to them; nor as the opinion of the Lutherans that which may be inferred from their doctrine—it does not follow that we must not consider as the word of God that which may be lawfully and plainly deduced from it. The cases are entirely different. For the Holy Spirit (who searches the deep things of God [*ta bathē tou Theou*, 1 Cor. 2:10] as he is omniscient) could foresee and intend whatever it was possible to gather rightly from his words. But men (who are neither omniscient nor infallible) were unable to know what might in after times be deduced from their words.

XXX. When Peter denies that Scripture is of private interpretation (2 Pet. 1:20), he does not use the word "private" subjectively—that which can be legitimately derived by any private person from a comparison of Scriptures. Otherwise the Holy Spirit would not command us to read and to search the Scriptures and compare spiritual things with spiritual (1 Cor. 2:13); to prophesy according to the proportion of faith (Rom. 12:6); and to apply them to conviction and correction (2 Tim. 3:16*). Rather he means interpretation as private originally and (as the text reads *idia epilysis*, i.e., one's own and individual) arising from the brain and pleasure of each man, and which the words of Scripture and the comparing of them do not furnish (such as the right which the pope claims for himself of interpreting Scripture at his pleasure according to that infallible spirit which he makes peculiar and private to himself).

XXXI. That Scripture may be explained by Scripture, it suffices that Scripture in the antecedents and consequents, in the parallels, scope, etc., supply to the interpreter the foundations and reasons by which he may deduce the genuine sense and demonstrate it to the consciences of others. But it is not necessary for the Scriptures to say in any place that this passage must be explained by another, nor that there should be read expressly in Scripture the consequences and interpretation which I propose; as when a lawyer comparing law with law and explaining one by another says that the emperor and legislator interpret each other. There is no need for the emperor to say anywhere expressly that this law must be explained by that and these words by those.

XXXII. Although Scripture judges not of the propriety of a consequence as to the truth of connection (because this depends upon the aid of reason), it does not cease to be the sole judge of controversies of faith as to the truth of propositions. As the law does not cease to be the judge of suits which arise in the state, although it does not declare that the consequences (which are deduced from it for acquitting one and condemning another) are good and well formed. Nor was it ever heard that the principles of the real sciences judged of the appropriateness of the consequences derived from them, although controversies may be decided by them, physical by physical, ethical by ethical.

XXXIII. As hearing does not make the sound and sight does not make the light (which it perceives by looking), so neither does the intellect make its own object (nor the truth and the word of God which it understands by reasoning); but in like manner it must have these things presented to it. But as the intellect by reasoning makes the truth and the word of God conclusive, so sight and hearing (by their exercise) give us the knowledge of light and sound.

XXXIV. Although that is plain and evident which is denied by no one and is immediately comprehended by all, it does not follow that a thing is not perspicuous which is not immediately comprehended by all. For often many things are obscure to many persons (which could and would be very plain to them) either because they did not give the proper attention or because they were blinded by prejudice. When we say that our consequences are evident, we do not mean in the former sense, as if they were denied by no one and could be readily comprehended by anyone without attention and examination; but that they are evident to those diligently attending and considering them in a proper manner, or such that he who does not see them cannot have a good conscience.

XXXV. If by formally revealed is meant that which is contained expressly in the word of God, we certainly cannot say that consequences are formally revealed. But if by it be meant that which is contained in so many or in equivalent words, or that which by evident and necessary consequence may be deduced from it, we cannot deny that they are formally revealed and therefore may with propriety be called the formal object of faith.

THIRTEENTH QUESTION

Is there any use of philosophy in theology? We affirm

The false apostles sinned in excess.

I. On this subject men run into two extremes. Those who confound philosophy with theology err on the side of excess. This the false apostles formerly did who incorporated various unsound philosophical opinions with the Christian doctrine and are on this account rebuked by the apostle (Col. 2:8). Some of the fathers, coming out from among the philosophers, still retained some of their erroneous opinions and endeavored to bring the Gentiles over to Christianity by a mixture of philosophical and theological doctrines: as Justin Martyr, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and the Scholastics, whose system is philosophical rather than theological since it depends more upon the reasonings of Aristotle and other philosophers than upon the testimonies of the prophets and apostles. The Socinians of this day strike against the same rock, placing philosophy in the citadel as the foundation of faith and interpreter of Scripture. *Paradoxus exercitator* strenuously contends for this in an impious treatise lately published concerning philosophy, the interpreter of Scripture (now known to be Ludwig Meyer, *Philosophia Sacrae Scripturae Interpres. Exercitatio paradoxa* [1666]). They sin in defect who hold that philosophy is opposed to theology and should therefore be altogether separated from it, not only as useless, but also as positively hurtful. The fanatics and enthusiasts of former ages held this view and the Anabaptists and Weigelians of the present day (who seem professedly to have proclaimed war against philosophy and the liberal arts) retain it.

II. The orthodox occupy a middle ground. They do not confound theology with sound philosophy as the parts of a whole; nor do they set them against each other as contraries, but subordinate and compound them as subordinates which are not at variance with, but mutually assist each other. Philo Judaeus and, after him, the fathers appropriately illustrated this by the allegory of Sarah and Hagar—the mistress and servant. Theology rules over philosophy, and this latter acts as a handmaid to and subserves

the former. They acknowledge that it has many and various uses in theology which must be accurately distinguished from its many abuses.

III. Although every truth cannot be demonstrated by reason (the boundaries of truth being much more widely extended than those of reason), yet no lie against the truth can be sheltered under the protection of true reason, nor can one truth be destroyed by another (although one may transcend and surpass the other) because whatever the one may be—whether below, according to or above reason, and apprehended by the senses, the intellect or faith—it has come from no other source than God, the parent of truth. So grace does not destroy nature, but makes it perfect. Nor does the supernatural revelation abrogate the natural, but makes it sure.

IV. Philosophy is used either properly and in the abstract for the knowledge of things human and divine (as far as they can be known by the light of nature), or improperly and in the concrete for a collection of various opinions at variance with each other (which the philosophers of different sects held). In this latter sense, we acknowledge that it contains many errors and that it is of no use but of the greatest harm. Thus Paul condemns it (Col. 2:8). But in the former sense, its uses are many. In passing, we give only the more general.

V. First, it serves as a means of convincing the Gentiles and preparing them for the Christian faith. Hence Clement of Alexandria says that "it prepares the way for the most royal doctrine" (*prokataskeuazein tēn hodon tē basilikōtatē didaskalia*, *Stromata 1.16* [ANF 2:318; PG 8.796]), as is plain from the sermons of Paul (Acts 14 and 17) and from the writings of the fathers against the Gentiles. Hence the expression of Julian the Apostate (when he saw that the errors of the Gentiles were scattered by the Christians who were assisted by philosophy and literature): "We are caught by our own wings" (*tois hautōn pterois haliskometha*, cf. Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.4 [NPNF2, 3:97]). So God wishes us to apply all the truths of the lower sciences to theology and after rescuing them from the Gentiles (as holders of a bad faith) to take and appropriate them to Christ who is the truth, for the building of the mystic temple; as formerly Moses enriched and adorned the tabernacle with Egyptian gold, and Solomon procured the assistance of the Sidonians and Syrians in building the temple. Second, it may be a testimony of consent in things known by nature, by which (as

from a twofold revelation) the truth and certainty of the things themselves may be better confirmed. Third, it may be an instrument of perceiving things clearly, and rightly distinguishing between them—judging concerning that which is true and false, consequent and inconsequent, according to the rules of good and necessary consequence impressed upon our rational nature by God after it has been illuminated by the light of the divine word (see above, Question X). For although reason receives the principles of religion from the light of faith, yet (this light preceding) it ought to judge from these principles how the parts of the heavenly doctrine cohere and mutually establish each other; what is consistent with and what is contrary to them. Fourth, the mind may be furnished and prepared by these inferior systems for the reception and management of a higher science. This must however be done so carefully that a too great love of philosophy may not captivate us and that we may not regard it as a mistress, but as a handmaid. Thus Clement of Alexandria: "Let philosophy submit to theology, as Hagar to Sarah, and suffer itself to be admonished and corrected; but if it will not be obedient, cast out the handmaid."

VI. Many abuses can also be reckoned up: (1) when those things which philosophy reports truly concerning things subject to it and of an inferior order are transferred to the mysteries of theology. For example, that from nothing nothing comes; from privation to a habit there is no return; a virgin cannot be a mother, etc. Here is a change to a different genus (*metabasis eis allo genos*), and what philosophy teaches must be understood of its own kingdom and of natural causes, not of the kingdom of grace and in a supernatural order. Therefore, they are at fault who use such arguments against the creation of the world, the incarnation and the resurrection of the dead because Scripture teaches us that these things were the results not of natural causes, but of the omnipotence of God. (2) When under the pretext of philosophy, false dogmas of philosophers are assumed, and from them errors are introduced into theology or defended, such as the opinion of Aristotle about the eternity of the world, of Plato about purgatorial fire, of the Stoics about fatal necessity, etc. But the errors of philosophers are not the dictates of philosophy, any more than the mistakes of artificers are to be imputed to the art itself. "Philosophy," says Clement of Alexandria, "is not to be called Stoic, nor Platonic, nor Epicurean, nor Aristotelian, but whatever has been properly spoken by these sects—this, gathered into one

whole, is to be called philosophy" (*Stromata* 1.7 [ANF 2:308; PG 8.731]). (3) When philosophy assumes to itself the office of a master in articles of faith, not content with that of a servant (as was done by the Scholastics who placed Aristotle upon the throne; and by the Socinians who would not admit the doctrines of the Trinity, of the incarnation, etc. because they did not seem to be in accordance with the principles of philosophy). (4) When more new distinctions and phrases than necessary are introduced from philosophy into theology under which (oftentimes) new and dangerous errors lie concealed.

VII. For a thing to be denied by philosophy is different from not being taught by it. We do not deny that various theological mysteries are not taught in philosophy, but it does not follow that they are denied by it because the limits of the two sciences must be kept distinct. The physician does not meddle with geometry, nor the lawyer with natural science. So philosophy should be kept within its proper bounds and not be allowed to thrust its pruning hook into a different field. Therefore, because it says nothing about the Trinity and the incarnation, we must not suppose that it denies these doctrines.

VIII. Paul does not condemn true philosophy considered in itself (Col. 2:8), but the vain and false philosophy held by the philosophers of that age by whom the doctrines of the gospel were corrupted. Such is always found in the concrete, when it is carried beyond its true bounds and takes upon itself the judgment of supernatural and divine things. The words of Prudentius are applicable here: "If the lesser nature seeks to strain its gaze too keenly and to penetrate the mysteries of God, who would question that its vision is beaten, its frail power flags, the working of the tired intellect is thrown out in little mind and is dulled and fails under its feeble efforts" (*A Reply to the Address of Symmachus*, II, 99–104 [Loeb, 2:14–15]). That Paul meant such a philosophy is evident: (1) from the description subjoined because he calls it vain deceit (*kenēn apatēn*); (2) from the example of the "worship of angels" (v. 18), which is not a doctrine of true philosophy, but a cancerous tumor; (3) from the similar case because Paul condemns enticing words (*pithanalogian*, v. 4); not all (since he himself often used them) but those which deceive (*paralogizousan*). So he does not condemn all philosophy, but only that which is unsound and deceptive; such as the false apostles endeavored to introduce that they might thus lead believers away

from the truth and simplicity of the gospel while, under the pretext of some hidden wisdom, they occupied themselves in pressing upon the Colossians new and erroneous doctrines concerning the worship of angels (probably fished up from the Platonic pools). Or by deceitful words (*paralogismois*) and sophisms, they labored to recommend the use and necessity of legal ceremonies and human traditions, and so by degrees to bring them from Christ back again to Moses.

IX. In Rom. 1:21, 22, the apostle does not condemn true philosophy, but only its abuse; nor does he speak of philosophy, but of philosophers who, puffed up with an empty opinion of their wisdom, became vain in their imaginations. So when he disputes at Athens (Acts 17:18) against the Stoics and Epicureans, he does not reject philosophy in itself, but only the doctrines of those philosophers who opposed the belief in the one true God, Jesus Christ and in the resurrection of the dead.

X. That because God is the author of philosophy and of natural reason, these should be the interpreters of Scripture is an absurd inference. For God is the author of the former by a natural enlightenment (*phanerōsin*) in the corrupt state of man so far as concerns truth known still by nature, but of the latter by a gracious revelation (*apokalypsin*) in a state restored by grace so far as concerns mysteries inaccessible to reason. Nor because God is the author of philosophy is he therefore the author of the interpretations which any philosopher may put upon it.

XI. The fathers sometimes spoke rather severely of philosophy: as Tertullian, where he says that "philosophers are the patriarchs of heretics" (*Treatise Against Hermogenes* 8 [ACW 24:37; PL 2.204]), and "What similarity exists between Athens and Jerusalem, what between the academy and the church, between heretics and Christians? Our doctrine is from the porch of Solomon, not of Zeus, they may see who have introduced a Stoic and Platonic and dialectic Christian. We have no need of curiosity after Jesus Christ, nor of searching after the gospel" (*Prescription Against Heretics* 7 [ANF 3:246; PL 2.20–21]). Cyprian (*Letter* 55, 16.1 [ACW 46:42]), Lactantius (*Divine Institutes* 3.13 [FC 49:194–97]) and others do not condemn true philosophy keeping within its bounds, but a false and rash philosophy (which dares to meddle with things above its comprehension), and the philosophers of that time who were most bitter enemies of the Christian faith.

XII. Although the apostles taught theology without the help of philosophy, it does not follow that we also can do it because the consequence from that extraordinary and immediate instruction of God (which was necessary in those first beginnings of the rising church) to the ordinary and mediate (which is given by the study and help of inferior sciences) does not hold good.

XIII. Although theology teaches many things which philosophy knows not, it does not follow that a thing may be false in philosophy which is true in theology because truth is not at variance with truth, nor is light opposed to light. But care must be taken that philosophical truths be not extended beyond their own sphere and the ordinary powers of nature to those things which are of supernatural revelation or power; that the physical be not confounded with the hyperphysical or human with divine things. For example, it is true in philosophy that a virgin cannot bring forth, that a heavy body is carried downwards, that fire burns matter placed in contact with it, that from nothing, nothing can come—the contraries of which theology maintains. But they are not on this account opposed to each other because these things are spoken of in different relations (*kat' allo kai allo*). In philosophy, they are denied with reference to the laws of nature, but in theology they are affirmed with reference to divine omnipotence and supernaturally.

XIV. Although the philosopher may be allowed to begin with a doubt in order to a safer investigation of natural things, yet this cannot be introduced into subjects of theology and faith. They are founded upon certain and indubitable principles and truths known per se, to doubt concerning which is impious (as concerning the existence of God) unless we wish to strip ourselves of conscience and the moral dependence on the Creator (which cannot be shaken off or for a moment rejected without crime) and thus to introduce philosophical doubt (*epochēn*) into religion and render the whole of theology sceptical.

Fourteenth Question: Fundamental Articles and Errors

Are some theological topics fundamental, others not; and how can they be mutually distinguished?

The Socinians err in defect.

I. The question concerning fundamental articles is difficult and important. It has been discussed by many who have erred both in defect and in excess. The Socinians err in defect who admit very few fundamentals (and those only practical, the theoretical being almost entirely set aside) so that they may teach that the settling of the differences in religion is easy since they relate more to theological conclusions and to the dogmas of the schools than to fundamental articles of faith (which are both few in number and held substantially by both sides). Under this pretext they take away from fundamentals the principal doctrines of faith: as the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, the person of Christ, the satisfaction, etc. To this class the Arminians evidently belong who reduce fundamentals to those heads which are placed beyond dispute among almost all Christians and are contained in these three: faith in the divine promises, obedience to the divine precepts and a due reverence for the Scriptures.

II. Those who err in excess are both the papists who are impudent enough often to declare as fundamental their own hay and stubble and whatever the Romish church teaches; and the more strict Lutherans who (to render a union with us more difficult) extend fundamentals more widely than is just, turn almost every error into a heresy and make necessary those things which are indifferent so as more easily to prove that we differ on fundamentals.

III. The orthodox hold the mean between both. As they necessarily build upon some fundamentals, so they neither restrict them too closely, nor extend them too far.

IV. As in a house that is the foundation which has such a position that the house can neither be erected nor stand without it, so in religion that is the foundation upon which the whole of religion depends and it standing, religion stands; removed, religion falls. It is used in two senses: either simply and personally (applied to Christ the foundation of all salvation upon which the church and religion are built as upon a firm and immovable rock, Mt. 16:18; 1 Pet. 2:6, 7; 1 Cor. 3:11—"for other foundation can no

man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ"); or comprehensively and naturally for the fundamental truth which all are required to believe and which is therefore called the foundation of faith. But this may be either widely extended to the first rudiments of the Christian religion (which were taught the catechumens for initiation and are called by the apostle the foundation [*themeliou*], or the principles [*archēs*]): such as repentance from dead works, faith toward God, the doctrine of baptisms, the laying on of hands, the resurrection of the dead and eternal judgment (Heb. 6:1, 2). These principles however have not an equal degree of necessity, some being necessary primarily and by themselves and others secondarily only and by reason of some other thing. In this sense, fundamental articles of religion belong to the decalogue, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the sacraments and the power of the keys because they contain the doctrine of salvation as necessary and fundamental without which we cannot receive the rest. Or strictly, it denotes the essential doctrines of Christianity of which the theory (*theōria*) and practice is necessary simply as to the thing itself; or which are simply and absolutely necessary to be believed by all Christians and cannot be unknown or denied without peril to salvation. In this sense, we now speak of fundamental articles.

All articles are not fundamental.

V. Although all the truths revealed in Scripture are necessary to be believed as divine and infallible, yet they are not all equally necessary and the amplitude and extension of faith must be accurately distinguished here from its necessity. Not everything which belongs to the amplitude of faith must therefore belong to its necessity. All truths are not of the same weight. Some have a greater, others a lesser degree of necessity. For example, some are necessary by the necessity of means; others only by the necessity of precept. Some relate to doctrines strictly so called, others only to rites and ceremonies. One relates to some article or doctrine as to substance (for instance that Christ suffered and died); another to the same considered only with reference to circumstances (for instance, that Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate and was crucified between two thieves). For we might be ignorant of the latter without peril to our salvation.

Proof of this from Scripture.

VI. Scripture plainly intimates such a difference between articles (1 Cor. 3:11–13). Here Paul distinguishes the foundation from the things built upon it. In Phil. 3:15, he teaches that there are some doctrines about which Christians may differ without destroying peace and love. If anyone touches the fundamentals, he is subjected to this anathema: "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed" (Gal. 1:8). In others there is room for Christian forbearance: "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye" (Rom. 14:1); and "Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. Nevertheless, whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing" (Phil. 3:15, 16). But as in faith there is a difference with respect to doctrines, so also in the law with respect to precepts there is a moral and a ceremonial necessity—the former is absolute and indispensable, the latter hypothetical and changeable.

VII. Hence some doctrines are necessary to be known simply for the existence of faith, others only relatively (*kata ti*) and for its well-being; some to the production of faith, others to its perfection (Heb. 6:1); some per se and absolutely to all whether babes (*nēpiois*) or perfect (*teleiois*) others accidentally only to these of full age (*teleiois*) and advanced (Heb. 5:13, 14). Some doctrines are relatively necessary to the instruction of others. This necessity again is to be taken in a certain degree of latitude according to the gifts, instruction, calling, sex and age, inasmuch as some belong to the flock, while others are pastors to whom are committed the oracles of God, whose duty it is to give instruction (*didaskein*) and to convince the gainsayers (*tous antilegontas elenchein*, Tit. 1:9).

VIII. Again as one object of faith is general and proportionate (viz., the whole word of God) and another special and peculiar (viz., the doctrine concerning Christ with the dependant articles and the promises of God), so some doctrines of faith are primary and immediate; as the articles concerning the Trinity, Christ the Mediator, justification, etc. Others are secondary and mediate (or consequent) hypotheses and conclusions springing from and deduced from the primary. Some are positive, affirming some true doctrine; as that Christ is the Son of God, that his death is a

ransom (*lytron*) for our sins. Others are negative, rejecting what is false; as that the Mass should not be celebrated, that there is no purgatory, etc. With regard to these doctrines, some are necessary to be believed publicly and formally, as the special and proper objects of faith (primary and immediate doctrines and positive articles concerning the principal head of faith); others only implicitly and virtually.

A threefold error, against the foundation, about it and beside it.

IX. What we have said about articles of faith may be said of the errors to which they are opposed. As all truths are not of the same necessity, so all the wounds which are inflicted upon the truth are not therefore deadly, nor is every error capital. Hence we distinguish errors into three kinds: (1) against the foundation; (2) about it; and (3) beside it. An error against the foundation is that which directly overturns one or more articles of faith (i.e., one which denies the divinity of Christ and the Trinity of persons). An error about the foundation is that which does not indeed directly deny a fundamental article, but yet maintains an opposition, which standing, the article indirectly and by necessary consequence is overthrown; as that which teaches the existence of God, but does not recognize his providence (because providence being removed, God is taken away). An error beside the foundation is one which either does not touch the foundation at all or has reference to it only by a remote and obscure consequence and is occupied about problematical and curious questions, neither revealed in the word nor necessary to be known. Such are the doctrines which Paul calls "hay and stubble" (1 Cor. 3:12*), which can stand with the true foundation. These will not hinder the one professing them from being saved, although he will suffer loss.

X. One error directly, at first and immediately overthrows the foundation; another, indirectly, secondarily and by consequence. The former is undoubtedly the greater of the two. Again, an error can overturn the foundation indirectly and by a proximate, evident, necessary consequence; or by a remote, evident and wrested consequence. The former is certainly a deadly error, not so the latter. Thus the papists do not directly attack the

sufficiency of the satisfaction of Christ and justification by faith and other like doctrines; but indirectly and by consequence (though evident and necessary) oppose it by their errors concerning the merit of works, their own satisfactions, the sacrifice of the Mass, purgatory, etc. They who quietly rest in the terms of an implied contradiction where there is opposition in apposition and a contradiction in the addition are to be regarded as overthrowing the foundation no less than those who directly attack it.

XI. An error which by inevident and violent consequence is deduced from any doctrine (or which they who hold the doctrine seriously and piously detest) cannot with justice be imputed to them. For instance, those with which the Reformers were charged (i.e., that they made God the author of sin, that they denied his omnipotence because they would not hold to the ubiquity of Christ's body, that they converted the sacraments into mere signs because they denied the bodily presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper), cannot be lawfully ascribed to them. These errors neither follow—but are only supposed to follow—nor are evident and innate consequences which may be deduced from the true doctrine of the Reformers, but are wrested against their intention and instead of being received are condemned and rejected by them.

XII. There is a verbal error (about phrases only) and a real error (about the doctrines themselves). The former cannot be fundamental because "it is heresy concerning the understanding, not concerning Scripture" (Hilary, *The Trinity* 2*.3 [FC 25:36; PL 10.51]). The sense, not the words, gives character to a fault. As Jerome says, "The gospel is not in words of the Scriptures, but in the sense, not on the surface, but in the marrow, not in the leaves of words, but in the root of reason" (*Commentariorum ... ad Galatas* 1 [PL 26.347] on Gal. 1:11, 12).

XIII. It is one thing to speak of doctrines and principles of theology; another to speak of their conclusions and consequences. The knowledge and assent to the latter is necessary indeed to theologians that they may have a richer knowledge of divine things for the confirmation (*kataskeuēn*) of the truth and the overthrow (*anaskeuēn*) of error. But they are not always necessary to Christians in general and can be unknown by them without endangering their salvation. But when we speak here of fundamental articles, we do not mean those which are explicitly necessary to be known

by the perfect man (the man of God) so as to fill up the measure of his duty and name; but exactly those which every believer and Christian must believe in order to salvation.

XIV. Some have only the necessity of means, others only that of precept. The former compose the foundation of themselves and primarily; the latter are secondarily built upon the foundation which strengthens and confirms them. The former are absolutely and always necessary; the latter relatively. Without those salvation cannot be obtained; but without these it can. Nor does a simple privation of these ensure condemnation, but only the contempt, such as the sacraments.

XV. We must distinguish between the body of substance of an article or doctrine and its mode and circumstances. The substance of a fundamental article neither can nor ought to be unknown and always remains the same, but it is otherwise in relation to the circumstance or mode, the ignorance of which is not, as a matter of course, damning. Hence an error is either about the substance of a thing or about the mode, circumstance or degree; either about the fact (*to hoti*) or about the how (*to pōs*) and the wherefore (*to dioti*). It is true that sometimes when the mode is altered the thing itself is taken away because the mode enters into the essence of the thing and forms a part of it; as in practice, he who takes away the mode of divine worship enjoined by God overthrows the worship itself (Mt. 15:9). He who takes away the mode of redemption by the ransom (*lytron*) of Christ (the mode of justification by faith) overthrows redemption itself and justification. But it is also true that an error as to the mode and circumstances may not be hurtful to the thing itself. For example, the Greeks were convicted of an error about the mode of the procession of the Holy Spirit; nevertheless they held to the doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of the Spirit.

XVI. Faith may be considered either according to the plenitude and degree of light or according to the multitude of things to be believed. In the former respect, faith could increase in proportion to the measure of revelation and be fuller under the New than under the Old Testament economy, but not in the latter because in this sense faith is unchangeable (Eph. 4:5) and "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, and today and forever" (Heb. 13:8).

XVII. The doctrine concerning Jesus, the son of Mary, the true Messiah, is not a new article of faith as to substance and *in thesi*, since they of old

believed that the Messiah would come. But it is only a special determination and application of the prophetic oracles in *hypothesi*.

XVIII. Some subjects are fundamental in themselves; others become so only accidentally when they run into some fundamental topic. For example, circumcision is not in itself fundamental, but it becomes so when it is made necessary for salvation and runs into the doctrine of justification. In this sense, the apostle inveighs against the false apostles (who wished to retain the use of circumcision) as holding a deadly error (Gal. 5:2, 3). So also the article concerning the Lord's Supper is not of itself fundamental, yet it is rendered such by the papists when they make it a propitiatory sacrifice for sins.

XIX. The following things must belong to fundamental articles: (1) that they be catholic, for the things necessary for the salvation of everyone are required for a universal faith (according to the Athanasian Creed "whoever wishes to be saved must above all things hold the catholic faith; for unless it is held entire and inviolate he will perish forever" [cf. Schaff, 2:66]); (2) that the belief of the catholic truths necessarily draws salvation after it; and the ignorance of them, the entire doubt of danger, the impious and heretical denial, is damnable; (3) that believers cherish a true consent to them, nor do some think differently from others because if anyone thinks or speaks otherwise he is subjected to the curse (Gal. 1:8). Hence where a difference in fundamentals exists, there cannot be union. (4) That all theological doctrines be reduced to them as to a rule which the apostle calls the analogy of faith (*analogian pisteōs*); (5) that they be primary and principal truths upon which all others are built as upon a foundation—and being removed, faith itself is overthrown; not secondary and less principal, by the removal of which faith is only shaken.

The criteria of fundamental articles are drawn from the nature of the doctrines.

XX. The criteria for distinguishing fundamental and non-fundamental articles can be derived from the nature and condition of the doctrines themselves (viz., those which contain the necessary causes and conditions of salvation, both the end and the means necessary to that end, since, if the

causes are denied, the effect is also taken away and the means being denied, the end cannot be obtained). Hence as the grace of God by which we are elected, the merit of Christ by which we are redeemed, and the Spirit by whom we are sanctified are the principal causes of salvation and faith the instrumental (Jn. 3:16, 17), repentance and conversion to God the necessary conditions (Heb. 6:1*; Mt. 3:2), we say that all these doctrines are fundamental.

XXI. Second, fundamental articles can be derived from the declaration of Scripture. For those would certainly be considered fundamental the knowledge of which is called necessary and saving, and the ignorance or denial deadly. Such are the articles concerning the one and triune God, both positively (Jn. 17:3) and negatively (1 Jn. 2:23); concerning sin (1 Jn. 1:10; Eph. 2:1); concerning the person, nature and offices of Christ (1 Cor. 3:11; Acts 4:12; 1 Jn. 4:3; Eph. 2:11, 12); concerning the gospel (Rom. 1:16, 17; Gal. 1:8, 9); concerning faith (Heb. 11:6; Mk. 16:16); concerning justification without works (Rom. 3:27; Gal. 2, 3); concerning sanctification and the worship of God (Eph. 2:10; Heb. 12:14); and concerning the resurrection and eternal life (1 Cor. 15:14; 2 Tim. 2:8; Rom. 10:9).

XXII. The third mark of fundamental articles can be drawn from the Apostles' Creed in which the ancients gathered together from the apostolic writings the substance of fundamental doctrines. Hence the name "Symbol" was given to it because it is as the mark or sign as it were of Christianity. We must however carefully note: (a) that it cannot be an exact mark of fundamental articles because it treats only of theoretical articles relating to faith, not of practical articles relating to worship; (b) that the things to be believed are not found here in so many words (*autolexei*) and explicitly, but implicitly by consequence and analogy: for example, although nothing is said about the grace of God and the satisfaction of Christ, nothing about providence, conservation and the like, yet they may easily be deduced from what is said; (c) that the Symbol is not to be considered only with regard to the words, but as to the sense (because, as Hilary says, "The Scriptures do not consist in the reading but in the understanding," *Ad Constantium Augustum*, II, 9 [PL 10.570]; and "fundamentals are not found in the words but in the sense," as Jerome says). Therefore although heretics may say that they receive the Symbol, yet they do not because they reject its true and genuine sense. So Sabellius, Arius, Macedonius and other anti-Trinitarians

formerly professed (to no purpose) in the words of the Symbol their faith in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, while they endeavored to overthrow this very doctrine not by secret attacks, but by open warfare. The Socinians of our day and their disciples are doing this. In vain do the papists profess their belief in it, who corrupt the meaning of the various articles concerning the sufferings and death of Christ, his descent to hell, the catholic church, the remission of sins and the like.

XXIII. Although theology is both theoretical and practical, yet the Socinians are wrong in saying that fundamental articles can be distinguished from non-fundamental by this one criterion alone—the obedience due to God and Christ or the seal for piety and good works (because not only are the commands of duty necessary to salvation, but also the doctrines of faith, as we learn from Jn. 20:31 and 2 Tim. 3:16). Hence, as there are practical fundamental articles, so there should also be theoretical.

XXIV. Although some of the orthodox hold to more, others to fewer articles of faith, they do not differ in reality, but only in the words and manner of proposing them. Some bring them into more general and summary classes; others classify them more particularly and as to parts (*kata merē*). Hence some limit the foundation of salvation to the sole truth concerning Jesus Christ as our crucified Redeemer from 1 Cor. 2:2; this however, embraces many others. Others limit it to the two concerning the knowledge of God and of Christ from Jn. 17:3. Others again extend them to four heads, theoretical as well as practical; others to six. But they all agree in these fundamental articles: the doctrines concerning the sacred Scriptures as inspired (*theopneustō*), being the only and perfect rule of faith; concerning the unity of God and the Trinity; concerning Christ, the Redeemer, and his most perfect satisfaction; concerning sin and its penalty —death; concerning the law and its inability to save; concerning justification by faith; concerning the necessity of grace and of good works, sanctification and the worship of God, the church, the resurrection of the dead, the final judgment and eternal life and such as are connected with these. All these are so strictly joined together that they mutually depend upon each other. One cannot be withdrawn without overthrowing all the rest.

The question concerning the number of fundamental articles is rash and useless.

XXV. The question concerning the number of fundamental articles which our adversaries have proposed, besides being rash (since Scripture says nothing definitely about it) is also useless and unnecessary because there is no need of our knowing particularly the number of such articles, if we can prove that they err fundamentally in one or more. And this can be done easily with regard to the papists, Socinians, Anabaptists and similar heretics.

XXVI. Nor does it follow from this that the perfection of Scripture in necessary things is detracted from, nor that the rule of ecclesiastical communion is wanting among us. For the Scriptures do not cease to contain most fully all things necessary to salvation, although their number is not accurately set forth. The truth of the fundamental articles (which should be to us in place of a rule) may be clearly deduced from the criteria mentioned above.

XXVII. When the orthodox sometimes maintain that the fundamental articles are few, this must not be understood absolutely and simply, but both as to the principal heads. Taken collectively (*syllēbdēn*), these are few in comparison with the papists (who largely increase them) making the canons of the church, the publicly received dicta of the schools and the traditions of the fathers into articles of faith, any departure from which involves one in the guilt of heresy.

SECOND TOPIC

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

FIRST QUESTION: THE WORD OF GOD

Was a verbal revelation necessary? We affirm

I. As the word of God is the sole principle of theology, so the question concerning its necessity deservedly comes before all things. Was it necessary for God to reveal himself to us by the word; or was the word of God necessary? For there were formerly (and are even at this day) various persons who believe that there is sufficient assistance in human reason to enable us to live well and happily. Hence they think that any revelation coming from heaven is not only needless, but also ridiculous because it is altogether very likely that nature had a prospective reference to man, no less than to other animals. Therefore they give as their opinion that reason (or the light of nature) is abundantly sufficient for the direction of life and the obtainment of happiness.

II. But the orthodox church has always believed far otherwise, maintaining the revelation of the word of God to man to be absolutely and simply necessary for salvation. It is the "seed" of which we are born again (1 Pet. 1:23), the "light" by which we are directed (Ps. 119:105), the "food" upon which we feed (Heb. 5:13, 14) and the "foundation" upon which we are built (Eph. 2:20).

The necessity of the word is proved by the goodness of God.

III. (1) The perfect goodness of God (communicative of itself) proves it. For when he had made man for himself (i.e., for a supernatural end and a

condition far more happy than this earthly), he was without doubt unwilling that he should be ignorant on this subject and has declared to him by the word, happiness itself and the way to reach it (of which reason was ignorant). (2) The most wretched blindness and corruption of man proves it. Although after sin, man may still have some remaining light to direct him in earthly and worldly things, yet in divine and heavenly things which have a relation to happiness, he is so blind and depraved that he can neither become acquainted with any truth, nor perform any good thing unless God leads the way (1 Cor. 2:14; Eph. 5:8). (3) It is proven by right reason which teaches that God can be savingly known and worshipped only by his light, just as the sun makes itself known to us only by its own light (Ps. 36:9*). Neither would impostors (in order to introduce new sacred rites) have feigned conferences with deities or angels (as Numa Pompilius with the nymph Egeria and Muhammad with Gabriel) unless all men were persuaded that the right method of worshipping the deity depended upon a revelation from himself. Hence all nations (even barbarous) agree that it is well for man to seek for some heavenly wisdom in addition to that reason which they call the guide of life. This has given rise to those different religious rites and ceremonies which prevail all over the world. Nor are they to be heard here who maintain that this is only an ingenious contrivance of men to keep the people in duty. For although it is true that cunning men have contrived many things in religion to inspire the common people with reverence and by this to hold their minds more obedient, yet they never could have gained their purpose unless there had already been in the human mind an inborn sense of its own ignorance and helplessness. By reason of this, men suffer themselves to be easily led about by such jugglers and deceivers.

By the twofold appetite of man.

IV. The twofold appetite naturally implanted in man proves this: one for truth, the other for immortality; one for knowing the truth, the other for enjoying the highest good that the intellect may be completed by the contemplation of truth and the will by the fruition of good in which a happy life consists. But since these appetites cannot be in vain, a revelation was necessary to show the first truth and the highest good and the way to each

(which nature could not do). Finally the glory of God and the salvation of men demanded it because the school of nature was not able either to lead us to a knowledge of the true God and to his lawful worship or to discover the plan of salvation by which men might escape from the misery of sin to a state of perfect happiness growing out of union with God. Therefore the higher school of grace was necessary in which God might teach us by word the true religion, by instructing us in his knowledge and worship and by raising us in communion with himself to the enjoyment of eternal salvation —where neither philosophy, nor reason, could ever rise.

V. Although in the works of creation and providence God had already clearly manifested himself so that the *to gnōston tou Theou* "is manifest in them, and the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen" (Rom. 1:19, 20), yet after the fall, this real revelation could not be sufficient for salvation, not only as to the subject (because the power of the Spirit did not accompany it by which the blindness and wickedness of man might be corrected), but also with regard to the object (because the mysteries of salvation and the mercy of God in Christ, without which there is no salvation [Acts 4:12], have no place there). God (as an object of knowledge, *to gnōston tou Theou*) indeed presents himself, but not as an object of faith (*to piston*); God the Creator, but not the Redeemer; the power and the Godhead (i.e., the existence of the deity and his infinite power may be derived from the work of creation), but not his saving grace and mercy. Therefore it was necessary that the defect of the former revelation (made useless and insufficient by sin) should be supplied by another more clear (not only as to degree, but also as to species), not only that God should use mute teachers, but that his sacred voice should also not only declare the excellence of his attributes, but open to us also the mystery of his will in order to our salvation.

VI. Although natural revelation may hand over different things concerning God and his attributes, will and works, yet it cannot teach us things sufficient for the saving knowledge of God without a supernatural verbal revelation. Indeed, it shows that God exists (*quod sit Deus*), and of what nature (*qualis*), both in unity of essence and as possessed of different attributes, but does not tell us who he is individually and with regard to the persons. This will (as contained in the law), it imperfectly and obscurely manifests (Rom. 2:14, 15), but the mystery of the gospel is entirely

concealed. It displays the works of creation and providence (Ps. 19:1–3; Acts 14:15–17; 17:23–28; Rom. 1:19, 20), but does not rise up to the works of redemption and grace which can become known to us by the word alone (Rom. 10:17; 16:25, 26).

Second Question: The Necessity of Scripture

Was it necessary for the word of God to be committed to writing? We affirm

I. As in the preceding question we have proved the necessity of the word, so in this we treat of the necessity of the Scriptures (or the written word) against papists. For as they endeavor studiously to weaken the authority of Scripture in order the more easily to establish their unwritten (*agraphous*) traditions and the supreme tribunal of the pope himself; so, for the same reason, they are accustomed in many ways to impair its necessity in order to prove it useful indeed to the church, but not necessary (as Bellarmine shows, VD 4.4, pp. 119–22). Yea Cardinal Hosius does not hesitate blasphemously to say, "Better would it be for the interests of the church had no Scripture ever existed"; and Valentia, "It would be better had it not been written."

Statement of the question.

II. As to the state of the question, keep in mind that the word "Scripture" is used in two senses: either materially, with regard to the doctrine delivered; or formally with regard to the writing and mode of delivery. In the former sense (as we said before), we hold it to be necessary simply and absolutely, so that the church can never spare it. But in the latter sense (which we are now discussing), we hold that it is not absolutely necessary with respect to God. For two thousand years before the time of Moses, he instructed his church by the spoken word alone; so he could (if he wished) have taught in the same manner afterwards, but only hypothetically (on account of the divine will) since God has seen fit for weighty reasons to commit his word to writing. Hence the divine ordination being established, it is made necessary to the church, so that it pertains not only to the well-being (*bene esse*) of the church, but also to its very existence (*esse*). Without it the

church could not now stand. So God indeed was not bound to the Scriptures, but he has bound us to them.

III. Therefore the question is not whether the writing of the word was absolutely and simply necessary, but relatively and hypothetically; not for every age, but now in this state of things; nor relatively to the power and liberty of God, but to his wisdom and economy as dealing with man. For as in the natural economy parents vary the mode of instruction according to the age of their children (that while infants may be taught at first by spoken word, then by the voice of a master and the reading of books and finally may derive instruction by themselves from books), so the heavenly Father who chasteneth his people as a man chasteneth his son (Dt. 8:5), instructs the church yet in infancy and lisping by the spoken word, the simplest mode of revelation. The church presently growing up and in the beginning of its youth constituted under the law, he teaches it both by spoken word (on account of the remains of its infancy) and by writing (on account of the beginnings of a more robust age in the time of the apostles). At length, as of full age under the gospel, he wishes it to be content with the most perfect mode of revelation (viz., with the light of the written word). So the Scriptures are made necessary not only by the necessity of command, but by the hypothesis of the divine economy which God wished to be various and manifold (*polypoikilon*) according to the different ages of the church (Eph. 3:10).

IV. Hence arose the distinction of the word into unwritten (*agraphon*) and written (*engraphon*), a division not of the genus into species (as the papists maintain, as if the unwritten word were different from the written), but a distinction of the subject into its accidents, because that it was formerly not written and now is written are accidents of the same word. It is therefore called "unwritten" (*agraphon*), not with respect to the present time, but to the past when God saw fit to instruct his church by spoken word alone and not by writing.

V. Although God "at sundry times and in divers manner" (*polymerōs kai polytropōs*) spoke in time past unto the fathers—(Heb. 1:1), now with a clear voice and a discourse delivered (*prophorikō*) in words, then with an internal afflatus (as if by a mental discourse [*endiathetō*], sometimes by sending dreams, at others by exhibiting visions; sometimes by an assumption of the human form, often by the ministry of angels and other

symbols of the divine presence)—yet the doctrine was always the same; nor has it been changed by the mode of revelation or delivery, nor by the mutations of time.

The necessity of the Scripture proved.

VI. Three things particularly prove the necessity of the Scripture: (1) the preservation of the word; (2) its vindication; (3) its propagation. It was necessary for a written word to be given to the church that the canon of true religious faith might be constant and unmoved; that it might easily be preserved pure and entire against the weakness of memory, the depravity of men and the shortness of life; that it might be more certainly defended from the frauds and corruptions of Satan; that it might more conveniently not only be sent to the absent and widely separated, but also be transmitted to posterity. For by "letters," as Vives well observes, "all the arts are preserved as in a treasury, so that they can never perish, while on the contrary, tradition by the hand is unhappy" (*De disciplinis ... de Corruptis Artibus* 1 [1636], p. 5). This is a divine and wonderful advantage of letters, as Quintilian says, "that they guard words and deliver them to readers as a sacred trust" (*Institutio Oratoria* 1.7.31 [Loeb, 1:144–45]). Nor for any other reason are the public laws, statutes and edicts of kings and the decrees of the commonality inscribed upon brass or committed to public tablets, except that this is the most sure method of preserving them uncorrupted and of propagating through many ages the remembrance of those things which it is important for the people to know.

Sources of explanation.

VII. Although the church before Moses did not have a written word, it does not follow that it can also do without it now. Then the church was still in its infancy and had not as yet been formed into a body politic, but now it is increased and more populous. Its position in former times was different from what it is now. In those times, the unwritten (*agraphon*) word could be more easily preserved on account of the longevity of the patriarchs, the fewness of the covenanted and the frequency of revelations (although it suffered not a few corruptions). But in other times when the life of man was

shortened, and the church was no longer comprehended within one or another family, but increased to a most numerous people and the divine oracles were more sparingly declared, another method of instruction became necessary so that this sacred republic might be governed not only by spoken word, but by written laws.

VIII. Although some particular churches might for a time be without the written word of God (especially when they were first built), yet they could not have been without that which was written (which undoubtedly sounded in their ears by the ministry of man), nor was the church in common then without the Scripture.

IX. The Holy Spirit (the supplier [*epichorēgia*] by whom believers should be God-taught [*theodidaktoi*], Jer. 31:34; Jn. 6:45*; 1 Jn. 2:27) does not render the Scripture less necessary. He is not given to us in order to introduce new revelations, but to impress the written word on our hearts; so that here the word must never be separated from the Spirit (Is. 59:21). The former works objectively, the latter efficiently; the former strikes the ears from without, the latter opens the heart within. The Spirit is the teacher; Scripture is the doctrine which he teaches us. (2) The words of Jer. 31:33, 34 and 1 Jn. 2:27 are not to be understood absolutely and simply (as if it was no longer necessary for believers under the New Testament dispensation to use the Scriptures, otherwise there would have been no use in John's writing to them), but relatively because on account of the more copious effusion of the Holy Spirit under the New Testament dispensation they are not to be so laboriously taught as under the Old by rude and imperfect elements. (3) The promise of Jeremiah will be fulfilled completely only in heaven where, on account of the clear vision of God, there will be no more need of the ministry of the Scriptures or of pastors, but each one will see God as he is face to face.

X. It is not true that the church was preserved during the Babylonian captivity without the Scripture. Daniel is said at the end of the seventy years to have understood by the books the number of years (Dan. 9:2), and it is said that Ezra brought the book of the law (Neh. 8:2). The passage in 2(4) Esdras 4:23, being apocryphal, proves nothing. But although Ezra collected the sacred books into one body and even corrected some mistakes made through the negligence of the scribes, it does not follow that the church was entirely destitute of the Scriptures.

XI. Bellarmine falsely affirms that after the time of Moses those of foreign countries who were brought over to the new religion used tradition alone and were without the Scriptures. For proselytes were diligently instructed in the doctrine of Moses and the prophets, as we learn even from the single example of the eunuch of Queen Candace (Acts 8:27–39). Nor were the Scriptures entirely unknown to the Gentiles, especially after they had been translated into Greek in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

XII. Christ is our only teacher (Mt. 23:8) in such a sense as that the ministry of the word is not thereby excluded, but necessarily included because now in it only he addresses us and by it instructs us. Christ is not set in opposition to the Scriptures; rather he is set in opposition to the false teachers of the Pharisees who ambitiously assumed the authority due to Christ alone.

XIII. Although the Scriptures formally are of no personal use to those who cannot read (*analphabētous*), yet materially they serve for their instruction and edification much as the doctrines preached in the church are drawn from this source.

Third Question

Were the sacred Scriptures written only occasionally and without the divine command? We deny against the papists

Statement of the question.

I. This question is agitated between us and the papists. In order to lessen the authority and perfection of the Scripture, they teach not only that it is not so very necessary and that the church could do without it, but also that it was not delivered to the church by the express command of God, but only in peculiar circumstances; that Christ neither commanded the apostles to write nor did the apostles think of writing the gospel with a primary intention, but only with a secondary and occasional intention (Bellarmine, VD 4.3, 4, pp. 116–22).

II. The question is not whether the sacred writers were impelled by certain occasions to write. For we do not deny that they often made use of the opportunities offered to commit to writing the mysteries of God. Rather

the question is whether they wrote so according to opportunities that they could not also write according to an express divine command. For we think these things should not be opposed to each other, but brought together. They could write both on the presentation of an opportunity and yet by a divine command and by divine inspiration. Yea, they must have written by the divine will because God alone could present such an occasion, for it was neither presented to them without design nor employed of their own accord.

III. A command may be implicit and general or explicit and special. Although all the sacred writers might not have had a special command to write (as many did have, Ex. 17:14; Dt. 31:19; Is. 8:1; Jer. 36:2; Hab. 2:2; Rev. 1:11*), yet they all had a general command. For the command to teach (Mt. 28:19) also includes the command to write, since persons at a distance and posterity can be taught only by writing. Hence preaching is sometimes said to be "in writing," at others "in deed" and again "in word." Further, immediate inspiration and the internal impulse of the Holy Spirit by which the writers were influenced was to them in the place of command. Hence Paul calls the Scriptures God-inspired (*theopneuston*, 2 Tim. 3:16) and Peter says that "prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (*hypo pneumatos hagiou pheromenous*, 2 Pet. 1:21). Now it would be absurd (*asystaton*) to say that the apostles wrote as God inspired and moved them and yet that he did not command them. A command is not more efficacious than the inspiration of the things to be written; nor does a faithful ambassador ever depart from his instructions.

IV. Although the apostles do not always make mention of a special command of Christ (which nevertheless they do, as John, Jude and others), they plainly give us to understand this when they: (1) profess to be the universal teachers of all nations; (2) call themselves faithful servants of Christ (and therefore particularly anxious to fulfill his commands); (3) say that they are influenced by the Spirit (2 Pet. 1:21). Hence Gregory the Great well remarks, "He himself wrote who dictated these things to be written; he himself wrote who was also the inspirer of the work" ("Preface" to the First Part, *Morals on the Book of Job* [1844], 1:15 [Praef. 1.2, PL 75.517]).

Sources of explanation.

V. Each apostle was not bound to write, although he was bound to preach. For as they committed themselves to divine inspiration in the exercise of preaching, so they were bound to wait for and to follow the same in writing. For the office was equal in those things which were essential to the apostleship that they all might be equally teachers inspired of God (*theopneustoi*), but it was not equal in the exercise of all the particular acts belonging to it. Hence it is not strange that (according to the pleasure of the Holy Spirit) some were employed both in writing and preaching, others only in preaching.

VI. A common book was not composed by all the apostles conjointly, both that they might not seem to have entered into a compact and that it might not appear of greater authority than that which would be written separately by each individual. This seems to have been the reason why Christ abstained from writing—that we might say that here is one who writes his epistle not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in the heart (2 Cor. 3:2). It was sufficient, therefore, for these things to be written by some and approved by the rest. Yea, it adds great weight and authority to the apostolic writings that they wrote in different places, for various reasons and on different occasions, in a different style and method to different persons and yet so consistent with each other.

VII. It was not necessary for the apostles to write a catechism so as to deliver their doctrines professedly. It was enough for them to hand down to us those doctrines in accordance with which all symbolical books and catechisms might be constructed. If they did not formally write a catechism, they did materially leave us either in the gospels or in the epistles those things by which we can be clearly taught the principles of religion (*katēcheisthai*).

VIII. As we ought not to impose a law upon the Holy Spirit and prescribe to him the method of revealing his will, so we ought not to doubt that the method of writing which they followed was the most suitable; not only because the custom of writing by epistles was at that time generally adopted (because this kind of writing was best adapted to disseminate the gospel speedily, which was the principal object of the apostles), but also

because this method of writing (simple and popular) suited all (the unlearned as well as the learned) and transmitted a theology not ideal and merely theoretical, but practical and real.

IX. The Apostles' Creed is so called, not efficiently (as delivered by the apostles), but materially (as it was drawn from the doctrines of the apostles and is the marrow and substance of them).

X. They who wrote when an opportunity was offered and by the necessity of it, could nevertheless write by command. Things subordinate are not opposed to each other. The command of Christ was the principal impelling cause and the occasion offered the secondary impelling cause (as it were less principal) which they knew how to use for the glory of God and the edification of men, just as the apostles preached both by command and by occasion.

XI. Although the apostles were bound to write because they were bound to teach, it does not follow that pastors of the present day are equally bound always to write as to teach because they stand in a different relation. Since the apostles were bound to teach all nations, they were ecumenical teachers; not so ordinary pastors who have a particular flock entrusted to them.

Fourth Question: The Authority of the Holy Scriptures

Are the holy Scriptures truly authentic and divine? We affirm

I. The authority of the Scriptures (which we have just discussed) depends on their origin. Just because they are from God, they must be authentic and divine. Hence arises the question concerning their authority which can be twofold: (1) with atheists and the heathen, who attribute no higher authority to the Scriptures than to any other books; (2) with those Christians who, while acknowledging its authority, nevertheless wish to make it depend (at least as far as we are concerned) upon the testimony of the church. As to the former class, the question is whether the Bible is truly credible of itself (*autopistos*) and divine. But as to the latter, the question is How do we know that it is such; or upon what testimony does the belief in the authenticity (*authentias*) of the Bible mainly rest? Here we take up the first question, not the second.

The authority of the Scriptures.

II. The first question may seem hardly necessary among Christians who should consider as an incontrovertible truth the fact that the Scriptures are inspired of God (*theopneuston*) as the primary foundation of faith. Yet even among Christians of this age, there are too many atheists and libertines who endeavor in every way to weaken this most sacred truth. Therefore it is of the greatest importance to our salvation that our faith should be in good time fortified against the diabolical cavils of these impious persons.

III. The authority of Scripture (concerning which we here inquire) is nothing else than the right and dignity of the sacred books, on account of which they are most worthy of faith with regard to those things which they propose to be believed and of our obedience in those things which they command us to omit or to do. The divine and infallible truth of these books (which have God for their author) is the foundation because he has the highest right to bind men to faith and duty. But this truth may be either intrinsic or extrinsic. The former is the credibility (*axiopistia*) in itself of the word which is always equal and consistent with itself, whether it has the testimony of men or not. The latter is the estimation or judgment of men in relation to the Scriptures, which is different as the subjects are different.

Of history and of rule.

IV. Again authenticity is either of history or of narrative; or in addition to this of truth and of rule. According to the former, whatever is narrated in Scripture is most true as it narrates either what is good or what is bad, whether it be true or false. But those things are said to have the latter which are so true in themselves that they are given as a rule of faith and practice. All things in Scripture do not have the authenticity of rule (as those things which the wicked and the Devil are reported to have said), but all do have historical authenticity.

Statement of the question.

V. The question is not whether the sacred writers (as men simply and in a divided sense) could err (for we readily grant this); or whether as holy men

influenced by the Holy Spirit and in a compound sense, they did in fact err (for I think no one of the adversaries, except a downright atheist, would dare to say this). Rather the question is whether in writing they were so acted upon and inspired by the Holy Spirit (both as to the things themselves and as to the words) as to be kept free from all error and that their writings are truly authentic and divine. Our adversaries deny this; we affirm it.

Scripture proves itself.

VI. The Bible proves itself divine, not only authoritatively and in the manner of an artless argument or testimony, when it proclaims itself God-inspired (*theopneuston*). Although this may be well used against those Christians who profess to believe it, yet it cannot be employed against others who reject it. The Bible also proves itself divine ratiocinatively by an argument artfully made (*artificiali*) from the marks which God has impressed upon the Scriptures and which furnish indubitable proof of divinity. For as the works of God exhibit visibly to our eyes by certain marks the incomparable excellence of the artificer himself and as the sun makes himself known by his own light, so he wished in the Bible (which is the emanation [*aporroē*] from the Father of lights and the Sun of righteousness) to send forth different rays of divinity by which he might make himself known.

By marks which are either:

VII. But these marks are either external or internal. The former, though not sufficient for a full demonstration of the thing, are of great importance in its confirmation and in the conviction of unbelievers. However, in the latter, the main strength of the argument consists.

External;

VIII. The external are: (1) with regard to the origin (the highest antiquity above all pagan monuments), for “that which is most ancient is most true,” as Tertullian says. (2) With regard to the duration; the wonderful preservation (even to this day) of the divine word by his providential care

against powerful and hostile enemies who have endeavored by fire and by sword to destroy it, while so many other books, against which nothing of this kind had ever been attempted, have wholly perished. (3) With regard to the instruments and amanuenses; the highest candor and sincerity in the writers, who do not conceal even their own faults (*hēttēmata*), but ingenuously confess them. (4) With regard to the adjuncts; the number, constancy and condition of the martyrs who sealed it with their blood. For since nothing is dearer to man than life, so many thousands of persons of both sexes, of every age and condition, would not (in defense of the Scriptures) so willingly have sought death (even the most cruel), unless thoroughly persuaded of its divinity. Nor would God have employed his omnipotence in working so many and such great miracles both under the law and the gospel, for the purpose of inducing a belief in the divinity of the Bible, if it had been a mere figment of the human brain. The testimony of the adversaries favors our side, as of the heathen concerning Moses, of Josephus and the Talmudists concerning Christ, and of Muhammad himself concerning both testaments (which may be seen in Vives, Plesseus, Grotius and others). Finally, the consent of all people who, although differing in customs (also in opinions about sacred things, worship, language and interest), have nevertheless received this word as a valuable treasury of divine truth and have regarded it as the foundation of religion and the worship of God. It is impossible to believe that God would have suffered so great a multitude of men, earnestly seeking him, to be so long deceived by lying books.

Or internal.

IX. The internal and the most powerful marks are also numerous. (1) With regard to the matter: the wonderful sublimity of the mysteries (which could have been discovered by no sharp-sightedness of reason) such as the Trinity, incarnation, the satisfaction of Christ, the resurrection of the dead and the like; the holiness and purity of the precepts regulating even the thoughts and the internal affections of the heart and adapted to render man perfect in every kind of virtue and worthy of his maker; the certainty of the prophecies concerning things even the most remote and hidden. For the foreseeing and foretelling of future things (dependent on the will of God

alone) is a prerogative of deity alone (Is. 41:23). (2) With regard to the style: the divine majesty, shining forth no less from the simplicity than the weight of expression and that consummate boldness in commanding all without distinction (*parrēsia*), both the highest and the lowest. (3) With regard to the form: the divine agreement and entire harmony (*panarmonia*) of doctrine, not only between both testaments in the fulfillment of predictions and types, but also between particular books of each testament; so much the more to be wondered at, as their writers both were many in number and wrote at different times and places so that they could not have an understanding among themselves as to what things should be written. (4) With regard to the end: the direction of all things to the glory of God alone and the holiness and salvation of men. (5) With regard to the effects: the light and efficacy of the divine doctrine which is so great that, sharper than any two-edged sword, it pierces to the soul itself, generates faith and piety in the minds of its hearers, as well as invincible firmness in its professors, and always victoriously triumphs over the kingdom of Satan and false religion. These criteria are such as cannot be found in any human writing (which always display proof of human weakness) and prove the Scriptures truly divine especially when, not each by itself, but all collectively (*athroōs*) are considered.

X. We must not suppose these marks shine equally and in the same degree in all the books of the Bible. For as one star differs from another star in light, so in this heaven of Scripture, some books send out brighter and richer rays of light; others far more feeble and fewer in proportion to their being more or less necessary to the church and as containing doctrines of greater or lesser importance. Thus the gospels and Paul's epistles shine with far greater splendor than the book of Ruth or Esther; but yet it is certain that in all are these arguments of truth and majesty, which by themselves prove a book divine and authentic (or at least that nothing can be found in them to make their authenticity [*authentian*] doubtful).

XI. Neither is it necessary that all these marks should occur in every chapter or verse of a canonical book to distinguish it from an apocryphal or in each part of Scripture detached from the whole. It is sufficient for them to be given in the divine writings considered collectively and as a totality.

XII. Although false religions usually claim for their doctrines these criteria, the true religion may appropriate these criteria to herself because

the vain and false opinions of men do not weaken the truth of the thing itself. The Turk may most falsely claim divinity for his Koran and the Jew for his Kabbalah (the contrary of which is evident from the fables and lies with which each of these books is filled). However, this is no reason why the believer should not truly predicate divinity of the sacred Scriptures because everywhere in them he sees the brightest rays of divine truth.

XIII. Although faith may be founded upon the authority of testimony and not upon scientific demonstration, it does not follow that it cannot be assisted by artificial arguments, especially in erecting the principles of faith. For before faith can believe, it must have the divinity of the witness to whom faith is to be given clearly established and certain true marks which are apprehended in it, otherwise it cannot believe. For where suitable reasons of believing anyone are lacking, the testimony of such a witness cannot be worthy of credence (*axiopiston*).

Authenticity of the testimony of the prophets and apostles who were not deceived.

XIV. The testimony of the prophets and apostles is unexceptionable and cannot reasonably be called in question by anyone. For if it were uncertain and fallacious, it would be questionable either because they themselves were deceived or because they deceived others; but neither can be said with truth. They were not deceived and could not be. For if they were deceived, they were deceived either by others or by themselves. The former cannot be said because they were deceived neither by God (who as he can be deceived by no one, so neither does he deceive any man); nor by the angels (who do not deceive); nor by wicked spirits because the whole of this system tends to the overthrow of Satan's kingdom. No more can the latter be said. For if a person is deceived in anything, it arises principally from this: either because he does not see it himself (but receives it upon the testimony of others); or because he has seen it only in passing and cursorily; or because the thing itself is obscure and too difficult to be comprehended by the mind of man; or because the subject is improperly disposed and prevented by some disease from making a proper judgment. But here there was no such thing. For (1) they profess to have received the things which they relate not

from an uncertain rumor and from others who had a partial acquaintance with them, but they had the most certain and definite knowledge, perceiving them with their eyes and ears and employing the greatest attention and study to investigate them. (2) Nor do they speak of things remote and distant, but of those which were done in the very places and time in which they wrote. Hence John says, "That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, of the Word of life, declare we unto you" (1 Jn. 1:1). (3) They do not discourse of things obscure and merely speculative (in which the ignorant and illiterate could easily have been deceived, not being able to rise to their sublimity), but of facts cognizable by the senses and before their eyes. For instance, of the resurrection of Christ (with whom they had been familiar before his death) who manifested himself to them after his resurrection, not momentarily, but for a long time; not only once, but often; not before one and then another, but before many of both sexes and all conditions. (4) Finally, it cannot be said that their faculties were impaired or in a diseased state. For besides the fact that they do not show any marks of corrupt imagination and mind (yea, their words and lives manifest wisdom and a well regulated mind), there is this to be said in addition—that not one or another, but many thought and gave utterance to the same thing. Hence it follows that there is no reason for saying that they were deceived.

Nor did they seek to impose on others.

XV. As they could not be imposed upon themselves, so neither did they seek to impose on others. For they who deceive and lie have in view some emolument, either that they may obtain glory, or conciliate the favor of men, or procure wealth and advantages. But as we hear their testimony, what desirable thing in life or after death was sought by the men of God? In life, indeed, are all those things by which men are usually deterred from lying—poverty, exile, tortures, the direst punishments—and after death, infamy and eternal suffering. And yet disregarding all these things, they did not hesitate in order to confirm their testimony, to expose themselves willingly to innumerable trials, to endure the vilest reproaches and to suffer the most cruel deaths. Therefore, who can for a moment suppose that they would suffer such things for that which they considered uncertain and false, when even for the most certain and indubitable things scarcely any man can

be found who would risk so much as his reputation or property, much less seek death? Indeed, no one can charge them with the guilt of so great a lie who does not at the same time prove them to have been most foolish and wicked. Most foolish because they would then have been willing to lie without any prospect of advantage, with the most certain calamity in view, against the very doctrines of the religion about which they wrote and which so strongly forbids lying. Most wicked because they would have wished to deceive the whole world by lies and to involve it in every evil for no earthly good.

Nor could they.

XVI. Finally, neither could they have imposed on others even if they wished. For they wrote not of things remote and distant (or done in ancient times, or secretly and in some corner as impostors generally do that they may not be convicted of falsehood), but they relate those things which happened in their own day publicly and in the face of the sun (in the very place in which they wrote and indeed in the presence of those to whom they wrote and who might easily have detected fraud and imposture if there had been any). Therefore, if they were not deceived themselves, nor deceived others, their testimony is undoubtedly divine and so all the doctrines depending on and formed upon it are authentic.

XVII. We cannot call in question the fact of the existence of the prophets and apostles and of their having written the books attributed to them without overthrowing the faith of all antiquity and introducing Pyrrhonism. The same doubt might with equal reason be shown over all the writings we possess; but since these books were undoubtedly written by credible authors, what man in his senses would not rather believe that they were written by those whose names they bear (as all Christian churches everywhere have firmly believed, about which no one either of the Jews or of the pagans had the least doubt and which was believed in the most ancient times when they had every opportunity of investigating the truth) than by some other persons?

The authenticity of the books of Moses is shown.

XVIII. Whatever is brought forward to weaken faith in the Mosaic history can easily be refuted by a thorough examination. For he who denies that Moses ever lived or that he was the author of the books attributed to him can be convinced without difficulty. For not only Jews and Christians make mention of him, but also many profane writers. Also this was firmly believed by a most numerous nation, nor is there any ground for doubt, unless we wish to destroy entirely belief in all histories and to deny that Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and others ever existed and wrote the books which bear their names (which no one but a fool would say). But this can be said with much less truth of Moses than of the others because no book could have been cast aside by the Jews with greater show of reason. For thus they would have freed themselves from the yoke of a most rigorous law. Yet none was received and preserved by them with greater zeal and eagerness; none ever obtained so suddenly such great authority as to be regarded as a divine law and rule of religion, for no other reason than from a persuasion of the truth contained in it.

XIX. Second, if (finding this position untenable) he flies to another and confesses indeed that Moses existed and wrote these books, but asserts that he was an imposter and a consummate fabler, who imposed upon the Israelites by empty lies and false prodigies in order to bring them into subjection to the law which he proposed (and so to himself), it can with as little difficulty be disproved. For besides the fact that the heathen themselves and the most bitter enemies of Christianity (as Porphyry, lib. 4+) give Moses the credit of being a truthful writer, it cannot easily be conceived how the great wisdom and remarkable virtue which shone in the whole life of Moses can be reconciled with so barefaced an imposture; or how he could devise and recommend by fraud and imposture so admirable a law from which all that is good in others has been borrowed and which had for its object the glory of God and the holiness of the people. Again, if he was an impostor, it is wonderful that he adopted a plan directly contrary to his object and by which his deception could easily be discovered. For if the account which he gives of the creation of the world is false, it would have been very easy to convict him of falsehood by the small number of generations which came between Adam and the flood and between the flood and the departure of the people from Egypt; since, in the time of Moses, many persons were still living who had seen Joseph, whose father

saw them, who for one hundred years of his life could have been with Methuselah, who saw Adam. Hence without trouble the truth or falsity of the thing could have been ascertained. (3) If Moses was an impostor and wished to deceive the Israelites, he undoubtedly hoped to make them believe his falsehoods and deceptions. But how could he for a moment suppose that he could make them believe so many and so great miracles reported to have been wrought either in Egypt or in the wilderness, if no such things had taken place—especially as he was writing to those who would have been ear-witnesses or eye-witnesses of them? The things of which he wrote are reported to have been done not many ages before, but in their very day; not secretly and in a corner, but openly and publicly before six hundred thousand men (and even before his most bitter enemies) who could have convicted him of falsehood. Could he hope that no one would be found among the people to doubt these things or to inquire of the Egyptians concerning their truth? Is it credible that of so great a number of men whom he constantly and severely upbraids as a rebellious and stubborn nation (yea, whom he several times afflicted with the severest punishments, visiting with sudden death not only hundreds, but also thousands and acting in such a manner as would with reason exasperate them against him), there was no one to bring the charge of fraud and imposture while they so often murmured and rebelled against him? Finally, if he acted as an impostor, he must undoubtedly have proposed to himself some advantage or glory or wealth, either that he might obtain the supreme authority for himself and his posterity, or to secure from men the praise of wisdom and heroic virtue; but how far removed from the desire of gain or of glory Moses was, both the thing itself clearly shows and the sincerity with which he so ingenuously confesses his own sins (and especially his incredulity) abundantly testifies.

XX. But perhaps the Israelites, aware of the falsity of the things which Moses relates, consented to the deception and imposture in order to glorify their nation. But who would believe that the Israelites were so utterly devoid of sense as willingly to consent to so great an imposture by which they were forced to come under the almost unendurable (*abastaktō*) yoke of the strictest law, if they had been altogether certain that this law was a mere fiction of Moses? Or can it be said with any shadow of truth, that of these six hundred thousand all to a man consented to this deception, so that not one was found to oppose it? (2) So far from their gaining glory and praise

from other nations, on the contrary, they would thus deservedly bring upon themselves the odium and contempt of all. For who would say that it was a nation's glory to have her murmurings and most heinous sins exposed to the view of men, to be rebuked as stiff-necked (*sklērotrachēloi*) and the most ungrateful of mortals, to have published to the world the severest punishments by which God avenges himself of their stubbornness and rebellion; yea who does not see that these would bring such a nation into everlasting disgrace? In one word, we cannot explain why a people so stiff-necked and devoted to pleasure (*philēdonos*) would so readily and voluntarily submit to the yoke of such a troublesome law and one severely punishing the smallest transgression, unless we believe that they were firmly persuaded of the divine calling of Moses and of the truth of his doctrines.

The conversion of the world proves the divinity of the Scripture.

XXI. The conversion of the world and the success of the gospel is a very clear proof of its divinity. For unless the apostles were men of God and delivered heavenly truth, it cannot be conceived how it happened that their doctrines (destitute of all those helps by which any doctrine of human origin can be recommended and propagated and most obstinately resisted by all those things by which doctrine could be resisted, viz., the authority of magistrates, the customs of the people, the favor of princes, the eloquence of orators, the subtlety of philosophers, accommodation to the morals and dispositions of men promulgated by a few illiterate and weak men, far removed not only from deception, but even from suspicion; endowed with no gifts of eloquence, schooled in no arts of flattery, rejected and despised) by persuasion alone (without any assistance of public authority and favor, without the help of arms, through innumerable trials and deaths often), in the shortest time, in almost every place, were so propagated as to break through all opposition and come forth victorious over the religions which were furnished with all these helps, so that whole nations and even kings themselves, leaving the religion of the country in which they had been born and brought up, without the hope of any advantage (yea, in sure expectation

of trials) embraced this which was absurd to reason and disagreeable to the flesh and which seemed to repel rather than allure.

XXII. Certainty can be threefold: (1) mathematical; (2) moral; (3) theological. Mathematical (or metaphysical) is that which belongs to first principles known by nature of themselves and to conclusions demonstrated by principles of this kind (as when the whole is said to be greater than any of its parts and that the same thing cannot both exist and not exist at the same time). (2) Moral certainty accompanies those truths which cannot indeed be demonstrated, but yet persuade by such marks and probable arguments that a sensible man cannot doubt them (as that the *Aeneid* was written by Virgil and the *History* of Livy by Livy). For although the thing does not carry its own evidence with it, yet it has been attended with such a constant testimony that no one, having a knowledge of things and of letters, can doubt it. (3) Theological certainty attends those things, which although they cannot be demonstrated or known of themselves and by nature, are nevertheless founded not only upon probable grounds and moral arguments, but upon truly theological and divine (viz., upon divine revelation). Therefore, this gives them not merely a moral and conjectural certainty, but a truly divine faith. The Scriptures do not possess metaphysical certainty; otherwise the assent which we give to them would bespeak knowledge, not faith. Neither do they possess simply a moral and probable certainty; otherwise our faith would not be more certain than any historical assent given to human writings. But they have a theological and infallible certainty, which cannot possibly deceive the true believer illuminated by the Spirit of God.

Sources of explanation.

XXIII. The prophets did not fall into mistakes in those things which they wrote as inspired men (*theopneustōs*) and as prophets, not even in the smallest particulars; otherwise faith in the whole of Scripture would be rendered doubtful. But they could err in other things as men (just as David erred in his letter concerning the killing of Uriah [which has historical authenticity but not normal]; and Nathan in the directions which he gave to David about building the temple without having consulted God, 2 S. 7:3) because the influence of the Holy Spirit was neither universal nor

uninterrupted, so that it might not be considered an ordinary excitation or merely an effect of nature (2 K. 2:17).

XXIV. The apostles were infallible in faith, not in practice; and the Spirit was to lead them into all truth so that they might not err, but not into all holiness that they might not sin because they were like us in all things. The dissimulation and hypocrisy of Peter (Gal. 2:12) was a sin of life, not an error of faith; a lapse in his morality from weakness and the fear of incurring the hatred of the Jews, but not an error of mind from an ignorance of Christian liberty, which he testified sufficiently to have known in his familiar intercourse with the Gentiles before the arrival of the Jews.

XXV. When Paul says, "I speak, not the Lord" (1 Cor. 7:12*), he does not deny the inspiration of the Lord (which he claims, 1 Cor. 7:40), but only that this precept or this law was expressly mentioned by the Lord before himself. Thus the meaning is, this controversy concerning willful desertion was not agitated in the time of Christ and there was no occasion for deciding it. Paul (now illuminated by the Spirit) does.

XXVI. Things in the law which seem to be trifling and useless are found (by the pious and devoted) to be of the greatest importance, i.e., to call forth their obedience, to overthrow idolatry, to the formation of their morals and (if they are rightly used) making known the Messiah. The genealogies and other things which seem to be superfluous are the testimonies of the rise, propagation and preservation of the church, and of the fulfillment of the promise concerning the Messiah's being born of the seed of Abraham and David.

XXVII. Hosea is not commanded to take a wife of whoredom, for then the children of such a connection could not be called children of whoredom as they are called in 1:2. But this must be taken allegorically to represent the foul idolatries of Israel.

Fifth Question

Do real contradictions occur in Scripture? Or are there any inexplicable (alyta) *passages which cannot be explained and made to harmonize? We deny*

I. Although when the divinity of the Scriptures is proved (as in the preceding question), its infallibility necessarily follows, yet the enemies of true religion and of Scripture in every age flatter themselves that they have found not a few contradictions (*enantiophanē*) in it and boast of their discoveries in order to overthrow its authenticity (*authentian*); as Porphyry, Lucian (of Samosata), Julian the Apostate and others formerly of the Gentiles, and many atheists of the present day who declare that they have met with many contradictions and difficulties (*apora*) in it which cannot in any way be reconciled. Thus there is the necessity of taking up this subject particularly in order that the integrity of the Scriptures may be preserved safe and entire against their wicked darts.

II. We have to deal here not only with declared atheists and Gentiles who do not receive the sacred Scriptures, but also with those who, seeming to receive them, indirectly oppose them. For instance, the Enthusiasts who allege the imperfection of the written word as a pretext for leading men away from it to their hidden word or private revelations; the papists, who while maintaining the divinity of the Scriptures against atheists, do not scruple with arms fitted to themselves to oppose as much as they can its own and so the entire cause of Christianity, and to deliver it up to the enemy by insisting upon the corruption of the original so as to bring authority to their Vulgate version. Lastly, many Libertines who, living in the bosom of the church, are constantly bringing forward these various difficulties (*apora*) and apparent contradictions (*enantiophanē*) in order to weaken the authority of the Scriptures.

III. The learned pursue different methods in answering them. Some think that they can get rid of all difficulties by saying that the sacred writers could slip in memory or err in smaller things; so Socinus, "De sacrae Scripturae auctoritate," *Opera omnia* (1656), 1:265–80; Castellio, *Dialogorum sacrorum* (1651) and others. But instead of being a defense against the atheists, this is a base abandonment of the cause. Others confess that the Hebrew and Greek originals are corrupted in some places by the wickedness of the Jews or of heretics, but that a remedy can easily be found in the Vulgate version and the infallible authority of the church. This opinion is held by many of the papists against whom we will argue when we speak of the purity of the sources. Others again think that a few very slight errors have crept into the Scriptures and even now exist which cannot

be corrected by any collation of manuscripts. These are not to be imputed however to the sacred writers themselves, but partly to the injuries of time, partly to the fault of copyists and librarians. Yet on this account, the authenticity (*authentia*) of the Scriptures cannot be weakened because they occur only in things less necessary and important (thus Scaliger, Capellus, Amamus, Vossius and others think). Finally others defend the integrity of the Scriptures and say that these various contradictions are only apparent, not real and true; that certain passages are hard to be understood (*dysnoēta*), but not altogether inexplicable (*alyta*). This is the more common opinion of the orthodox, which we follow as safer and truer.

Statement of the question.

IV. The question does not concern the irregular writing of words or the punctuation or the various readings (which all acknowledge do often occur); or whether the copies which we have so agree with the originals as to vary from them not even in a little point or letter. Rather the question is whether they so differ as to make the genuine corrupt and to hinder us from receiving the original text as a rule of faith and practice.

V. The question is not as to the particular corruption of some manuscripts or as to the errors which have crept into the books of particular editions through the negligence of copyists or printers. All acknowledge the existence of many such small corruptions. The question is whether there are universal corruptions and errors so diffused through all the copies (both manuscript and edited) as that they cannot be restored and corrected by any collation of various copies, or of Scripture itself and of parallel passages. Are there real and true, and not merely apparent, contradictions? We deny the former.

That Scripture is not corrupted is proved.

VI. The reasons are: (1) The Scriptures are inspired of God (*theopneustos*, 2 Tim. 3:16). The word of God cannot lie (Ps. 19:8, 9; Heb. 6:18); cannot pass away and be destroyed (Mt. 5:18); shall endure forever (1 Pet. 1:25); and is truth itself (Jn. 17:17). For how could such things be predicated of it, if it contained dangerous contradictions, and if God suffered either the

sacred writers to err and to slip in memory, or incurable blemishes to creep into it?

VII. (2) Unless unimpaired integrity characterize the Scriptures, they could not be regarded as the sole rule of faith and practice, and the door would be thrown wide open to atheists, libertines, enthusiasts and other profane persons like them for destroying its authenticity (*authentian*) and overthrowing the foundation of salvation. For since nothing false can be an object of faith, how could the Scriptures be held as authentic and reckoned divine if liable to contradictions and corruptions? Nor can it be said that these corruptions are only in smaller things which do not affect the foundation of faith. For if once the authenticity (*authentia*) of the Scriptures is taken away (which would result even from the incurable corruption of one passage), how could our faith rest on what remains? And if corruption is admitted in those of lesser importance, why not in others of greater? Who could assure me that no error or blemish had crept into fundamental passages? Or what reply could be given to a subtle atheist or heretic who should pertinaciously assert that this or that passage less in his favor had been corrupted? It will not do to say that divine providence wished to keep it free from serious corruptions, but not from minor. For besides the fact that this is gratuitous, it cannot be held without injury, as if lacking in the necessary things which are required for the full credibility (*autopistian*) of Scripture itself. Nor can we readily believe that God, who dictated and inspired each and every word to these inspired (*theopneustois*) men, would not take care of their entire preservation. If men use the utmost care diligently to preserve their words (especially if they are of any importance, as for example a testament or contract) in order that it may not be corrupted, how much more, must we suppose, would God take care of his word which he intended as a testament and seal of his covenant with us, so that it might not be corrupted; especially when he could easily foresee and prevent such corruptions in order to establish the faith of his church?

VIII. The principal arguments for the integrity of the Scriptures and the purity of the sources are four. (1) The chief of these is the providence of God (who as he wished to provide for our faith by inspiring the sacred writers as to what they should write, and by preserving the Scriptures against the attempts of enemies who have left nothing untried that they might destroy them), so he should keep them pure and uncorrupted in order

that our faith might always have a firm foundation. (2) The religion of the Jews who have always been careful even to the point of superstition concerning the faithful keeping of the sacred manuscripts. (3) The diligence of the Masoretes who placed their marks as a hedge around the law that it might not in any way be changed or corrupted. (4) The number and multitude of copies, so that even if some manuscripts could be corrupted, yet all could not.

Sources of explanation.

IX. The contradictions (*antilogia*) found in Scripture are apparent, not real; they are to be understood only with respect to us who cannot comprehend and perceive the agreement everywhere, but not in the thing itself. And if the laws of legitimate contradiction are attended to (that opposites should agree with the same thing [*tō autō*], in the same respect [*kata to auto*], with reference to the same thing [*pros to auto*] and in the same time [*tō autō chronō*]), these various apparent contradictions (*enantiophanē*) in Scripture might be easily reconciled. For the discourse does not concern the same thing, as when James ascribes justification to works, which Paul denies to them. For the former speaks of declarative justification of the effect *a posteriori*, but the latter of justification of the cause, *a priori*. Thus Luke enjoins mercy, "Be ye merciful" (Lk. 6:36) which Deuteronomy forbids, "Thou shalt not pity" (Dt. 19:13). The former refers to private persons, the latter to magistrates. Or they are not said in the same respect, as when Matthew denies the presence of Christ in the world, "Me ye have not always" (Mt. 26:11*); and yet it is promised, "I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Mt. 28:20). The former is said with regard to his human nature and bodily presence, but the latter with regard to his divine nature and spiritual presence. Or the statements are not made with reference to the same thing, as when something is said absolutely and another comparatively. "Honor thy father" (Ex. 20:12); "if any man hate not his father" (Lk. 14:26). The former must be understood absolutely, the latter comparatively for loving less and esteeming less than Christ. Or not in the same time, hence the expression "distinguish times and you will reconcile Scripture." Thus at one time circumcision is extolled as a great privilege of the Jews (Rom. 3:1*); at another it is spoken of as a worthless thing (Gal.

5:3). But the former refers to the Old Testament dispensation when it was an ordinary sacrament and a seal of the righteousness of faith, but the latter concerns the time of the gospel after the abrogation of the ceremonial law. At one time the apostles are sent to the Jews alone by a special mission before the passion of Christ and prohibited from going to the Gentiles ("Go not into the way of the Gentiles," Mt. 10:5); at another they are sent to all nations by a general mission after the resurrection (Mk. 16:15).

X. Although we give to the Scriptures absolute integrity, we do not therefore think that the copyists and printers were inspired (*theopneustous*), but only that the providence of God watched over the copying of the sacred books, so that although many errors might have crept in, it has not so happened (or they have not so crept into the manuscripts) but that they can be easily corrected by a collation of others (or with the Scriptures themselves). Therefore the foundation of the purity and integrity of the sources is not to be placed in the freedom from fault (*anamartēsia*) of men, but in the providence of God which (however men employed in transcribing the sacred books might possibly mingle various errors) always diligently took care to correct them, or that they might be corrected easily either from a comparison with Scripture itself or from more approved manuscripts. It was not necessary therefore to render all the scribes infallible, but only so to direct them that the true reading may always be found out. This book far surpasses all others in purity.

XI. Although we cannot find out immediately a plain reconciliation and one free from all difficulties between passages of Scripture (which treat either of names or of numerical and chronological subjects), they must not at once be placed among inexplicable things (*alyta*). Or if they are called inexplicable (*alyta*), they will be such only by the inability of the one endeavoring to explain (*tē adynamia tou lyontos*), not in themselves, so that here it will be wiser to acknowledge our own ignorance than to suppose any contradiction. For these histories are not written so in detail as to contain every circumstance. Many things were undoubtedly brought into a narrow compass; other things which did not appear to be so important were omitted. It could also happen that these places had various relations (*scheseis*) well known to the writers, although now unknown to us. Hence Peter Martyr well remarks on 2 K. 8:17: "Although there occur obscure places in chronology, we must not, to get over them, say that the sacred text

is false. For God, who of his own mercy wished the divine letters to be preserved for us, has given them to us entire and uncorrupted. Wherefore if it ever happens that we cannot explain the number of years, we must confess our ignorance and recollect that the sacred letters speak so concisely that the place where the calculation must be commenced does not readily appear. Therefore the Scriptures remain uncorrupted, which if weakened in one or another place, will also be suspected in others" (*Melachim id est, Regum Libri Duo* [1566], p. 259). And: "It often happens that in this history the number of years assigned to the kings appear to be at variance with each other. But doubts of this kind can be solved in many ways; for sometimes one and the same year is attributed to two persons because it had been completed and perfected by neither. Sometimes sons reigned some years with their parents, and these are assigned now to the reign of the parents and then to that of the children. There occurred also sometimes interregna, and the unoccupied time is attributed now to a former and then to a later king. There were also some years in which rulers were tyrannical and wicked, and therefore these are passed by and not reckoned with the other years of their reigns" (ibid., p. 127 on 1 K. 15:1).

Of Cainan.

XII. The passage in Lk. 3:36 concerning the younger Cainan (who is inserted between Arphaxad and Sala contrary to the truth of the Mosaic history, Gen. 11:13) is truly hard to be understood (*dysnoētos*) and has greatly exercised the ingenuity of the learned; yet it should not be considered entirely inexplicable (*alytos*) since various methods of solution can be given. Passing by other opinions, we think that to be the best which makes Cainan surreptitious (*hypobolimaion*) and spurious, having crept in from the version of the Septuagint in which the chronology of Demetrius (according to Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.17.419d [ed. Gifford, 1903], p. 451) testifies that it existed even before the time of Christ, either from the carelessness of copyists or from a certain pious zeal, that Luke might be consistent with the Septuagint which was then of great authority. This is plainly proved: (1) by the authority of Moses and of the books of Chronicles which, in the genealogical records formed in three places (Gen. 10:24; 11:13; 1 Ch. 1:18), make no mention of him; (2) the Chaldee

paraphrases which uniformly omit Cainan in the book of Genesis and Chronicles; (3) Josephus does not mention him, nor Berosus guided by him, nor Africanus whose words Eusebius quotes in his *Chronicorum* (cf. 1.16.13 [PG 19.153–54]); (4) the sacred chronology would thus be disturbed and brought into doubt in the history of Moses, if the years of Cainan are inserted between Arphaxad and Sala. Abraham would not be the tenth from Noah as Moses asserts, but the eleventh. (5) It does not exist in any of the Codices. Our Beza testifies that it is not found in his most ancient manuscript (*Annotationes maiores in Novum ... testamentum, Pars prior* [1594], p. 262 on Lk. 3:36). Ussher ("De Cainano Arphaxadi filio" in *Chronologia Sacra* 6; cf. *Whole Works* [1847–64], 11:558) asserts that he saw the book of Luke written in Greek-Latin on the most ancient vellum, in characters somewhat large without breathings and accents (which having been brought from Greece to France was laid up in the monastery of St. Irenaeus in the suburbs of Lyons; and being discovered in the year 1562 was afterward carried to England and presented to the University of Cambridge), and in it he could not find Cainan. Scaliger in his prologue to the chronicle of Eusebius ("Prolegomena," *Thesaurus temporum Eusebii ... chronicorum canonum* [1606/1968], 1:ii) affirms that Cainan is lacking in the most ancient copies of Luke. Whatever the case may be, even if this passage proves to be a mistake, the authenticity (*authentia*) of Luke's gospel cannot be called in question on that account: (a) because the corruption is not universal; (b) this error is of little consequence and a ready means of correcting it is furnished by Moses, so that there was no necessity for that learned man Vossius to throw doubts upon the purity of the Hebrew manuscript in order to establish the authenticity (*authentian*) of the Septuagint.

XIII. If a great variety occurs in the genealogy of Christ (which Matthew and Luke give both as to the persons and their number), it should not seem wonderful. For they are not the same, but different. Matthew gives the genealogy of Joseph, whose family he traces from David through Solomon; but Luke traces the pedigree of Mary upwards through Nathan (another son of David) to the same David. Matthew leaves the pedigree of the spouse to be sought for in the family of the husband according to the Hebrew custom. Luke wished to supply the omission by describing the origin of Mary, so that the genealogy of Christ from both parents might be preserved full and

entire, that there might be no ground for the scruples of the weak or the cavils of the enemies of the gospel (and that the former might be made certain and the latter convinced that Christ according to the ancient prophecies was the true and natural son of David, whether a regard should be had to the husband Joseph, into whose family he had passed by the marriage with Mary, or to Mary herself). Especially when we know that virgins (only daughters) who inherited (*epiklērous*) the entire fortunes of their parents (such as was the blessed virgin) were not permitted to marry out of their own tribe and family. But the genealogy is referred by Luke to Joseph and not to Mary because it was not the custom to trace genealogies through the female side (for they were reckoned either in the parents or in the brothers if unmarried or in their husbands if married). Hence the common saying of the Jews: "the family of a mother is no family" (*mshpchth'm l' mshpchth*).

XIV. Although Jacob is called the father of Joseph by Matthew (but Heli by Luke), there is nevertheless no contradiction because this is to be understood in different respects (*kat' allo kai allo*). First, there is nothing absurd in one son having two fathers considered differently: one natural (who begot the son from himself), the other legal (who adopted the same born from another according to law). Manasseh and Ephraim were the natural sons of Joseph alone, but the legal sons of Jacob by adoption. Obed, the grandfather of David, had one natural father (Boaz), but also a legal father, Mahlon, the former husband of his mother Ruth, to whom Boaz, the second husband, raised up a seed according to law. Thus Jacob was the natural father of Joseph, but Heli (who was the natural father of Mary) can be called the father of Joseph, either the legal (as Africanus thinks) because Heli having died without sons, Jacob married his wife according to the law (Dt. 25:5) and begat from her Joseph, the husband of Mary; or the civil, in relation to the marriage entered into with Mary his daughter by which he became his son-in-law, as Naomi calls her daughters-in-law "her daughters" (Ruth 1:11, 12, the common mode of speaking). Or it can be said that not Joseph but Christ is called the son of Heli, as these words *hōs enomizeto hyios Iōsēph* may be included in a parenthesis, the parenthesis not stopping as is commonly supposed, after the word *enomizeto*, in this sense, *ōn* (*hōs enomizeto hyios lōsēph*) *tou Hēli* (viz., Jesus being [as was supposed the son of Joseph], the son of Heli [i.e., the grandson by his daughter, the virgin

Mary]). This transition from grandfathers to grandsons is not unusual especially when the fathers are dead; and on this account the more here because Christ was without father (*apatōr*) as to his human nature.

XV. If it is asked why Mt. 1:8 says that Joram begat Uzziah when it is evident from 2 K. 8:24 (cf. 1 Ch. 3:11, 12) that Joram begat Ahaziah, Ahaziah Joash, Joash Amaziah, and so three kings are omitted, and a leap is made from Joram, the great-grandfather, to Uzziah, the great-grandchild's son: we can answer by saying that it is not unusual in Scripture for the descendants of ancestors from the highest antiquity to be called their sons and daughters—as the Jews call themselves the sons of Abraham (Jn. 8:39); Elizabeth is said to be of the daughters of Aaron (Lk. 1:5); Christ is called the son of David (Mt. 22:40–46). So it is said that Joram begat Uzziah by a mediate generation, on account of which the grandsons and great-grandsons descending from ancestors are called sons. But why these three kings are omitted and no others is not quite so clear, nor can the reasons given by various persons obtain our assent. It seems more likely that this was done for the sake of the round numbers because Matthew wished to reduce all these generations to fourteen, an abridgment to aid the memory. To obtain this he considered it of little importance to leap over some persons less remarkable, as other historians also have frequently done in giving a summary. But for a peculiar reason these three kings were omitted that the posterity of Ahab even to the third or fourth generation might be distinguished by this mark of the curse (1 K. 21:22), by erasing the kings who were of the posterity of Ahab, so that they might be regarded as never having lived or reigned. But Joram is not excluded because he did not spring from the cursed blood of Ahab nor his great-grandson Uzziah, although he was descended from Ahab because the divine curse did not usually extend beyond the third or fourth generation.

XVI. If it is asked how Josiah is said to have "begotten Jeconiah" (Mt. 1:11) when (from the books of Kings, 2 K. 24:6; 1 Ch. 3:15, 16) it is evident that Josiah had four sons of different names (*heterōnymous*)—Johanan or Jehoahaz; Jehoiakim or Eliakim; Zedekiah or Mattaniah; and Shallum—but that Jeconiah was the son of Jehoiakim, it can be answered in different ways: either that the text was corrupted by librarians and that *lacheim* should be supplied between Josiah and Jeconiah, Jehoiachim being the son of Josiah and the father of Jeconiah (which is proved by the

authority of the ancient manuscript which R. Stephanus and Henry his son used, with whom Stapulensis and Bucer agree); and so the restoration would stand more truly *lōsias de egennēse ton lacheim—lacheim egennēse ton lechonian*. Or that Josiah is called the father of Jeconiah mediately because he was his grandfather, and that Jehoiakim was omitted because, as he was not worthy of sorrow and of a burial with the kings of Judah (Jer. 22:18, 19), so he was not worthy of mention in the genealogy of Christ. Or that there were two Jeconiahs and that they are mentioned in Matthew 1:11, 12, the first Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah (who is also called Eliakim) and Jeconiah. This should not be wondered at since many of the Jewish kings had two names and even three; as Zedekiah is called also Mattaniah, Uzziah is called Azariah. The other Jeconiah properly (1 Ch. 3:16), or Jehoiakim, the grandson of Josiah mentioned in Matthew 1:12, is plainly distinguished from the former both by the mention of his brothers (whom the latter had not, Jer. 22:18, 19) and by the mention of Salathiel born of Jeconiah after the captivity (*meta metoikesian*, Mt. 1:12).

XVII. Although Salathiel is said to have begotten Zerubbabel (Mt. 1:12) and yet is called "the son of Pedaiah" (1 Ch. 3:17–19), there is no contradiction because Salathiel having died without children, Pedaiah his brother could raise up seed for him, and by law as a husband's brother had from his wife Zerubbabel. Hence he is called the son of Pedaiah (1 Ch. 3:19) because he was truly begotten by him; and of Salathiel (Mt. 1:12; Hag. 1:1) because he was raised up to him by his brother; or because Zerubbabel was the successor of Salathiel, Pedaiah having died before Salathiel the father, as he might have been the immediate son of Pedaiah and only the mediate of Salathiel his grandfather.

XVIII. There is no contradiction between 1 Ch. 3:19, Mt. 1:13 and Lk. 3:27 when the sons of Zerubbabel are said in Chronicles to be "Meshullam and Hananiah," but in Matthew "Abiud" and in Luke "Rhesa." This can be easily explained by saying that three different lines of Zerubbabel are meant: one in Chronicles of his oldest son Meshullam and of others whose progeny was distinguished, and from whom the rulers and chiefs were chosen to lead the Jewish nation back from Babylon; the second in Matthew, Abiud, from whom Joseph was descended; the third in Luke, Rhesa, from whom Mary was descended. These two were private men who led an obscure life and therefore seem to have been omitted in the

Chronicles. Or we might say with others that there were different Zerubbabels and Salathiels, and so we should not wonder at their posterity being different.

XIX. When it is said Josiah begat Jeconiah *epi tēs metoikesias*, these words are not to be translated literally (i.e., "in the carrying away") since it is evident from the particular divine promise that they did not live to see that evil and died some years before the captivity (2 Ch. 34:28; 35:24). But they are to be translated "at" or "about it" (viz., when the captivity threatened). Thus *epi* coincides with *heōs* (until the carrying away) as *meta* coincides with *apo* (Mt. 1:17). Then *epi* will denote the time in which the thing was done; taken however not strictly, but with some latitude (as Mk. 2:26; Lk. 3:2) being the same as *b* in Hebrew which often signifies "about" or "near" (Gen. 2:2; Ex. 12:15) and must be translated by "at" or "about" (viz., the carrying away being at hand). Or *epi* is not to be referred to the more remote word "begat," but to the nearer "his brethren" (*epi metoikesias* for *ek metoikesias*, by an enallage of the preposition which is very frequent, for *tous ek metoikesias* who were of the carrying away, i.e., "among those who were carried away to Babylon").

XX. Although it is said that Jeconiah begat Salathiel (Mt. 1:12) and that Salathiel was the "son of Neri" (Lk. 3:27), there is no contradiction. There were different Salathiels, one the son of Jeconiah (of whom Matthew speaks), the other the son of Neri (of whom Luke speaks); the former of the line of Solomon, the latter of that of Nathan. And since the ancestors of Salathiel even to David with Luke were entirely different from those of Salathiel with Matthew, it is probable that they speak of different persons. Nor is it any objection that both the Salathiel in Matthew and in Luke are said to be the father of Zerubbabel because there might be also two Zerubbabels, as there is a similar repetition of two or more succeeding each other in the same order (Lk. 3:24), Matthat and Levi (Lk. 3:29; 1 Ch. 6:7, 8), and the same thing is repeated concerning their four grandsons (1 Ch. 6:12).

XXI. Concerning *k'ry* (Ps. 22:17), the passage is not inextricable (*alytos*). For even if the common reading is retained, we must not therefore suppose there is a corruption, but only an anomaly of writing, where the aleph is added by epenthesis, as often elsewhere (*r'mh* for *rmh*, "it shall be lifted up"—Zech. 14:10) and waw is changed into yodh (letters which

might very easily be mistaken for each other); "they had taken," *ns'v* for *ns'y* (Ezr. 10:44). Marinus calls that letter not yodh, but waw diminutive, and thinks it is put to indicate clearly the marks of the nails of Christ (*Arca Noe* [1593], Pars I, p. 332 on *khrh*). Hence in the royal manuscripts it is written with the yodh pointed, as if it was yodh shurek (*k'ry*) instead of waw shurek as in Jer. 50:11. (2) It is confirmed by this—that the Masoretes tell us the word *k'ry* with kamets under the kaph occurs only twice in the Bible and then with a different signification. But Is. 38:13 (where it occurs once) cannot be rendered otherwise than "as a lion." Therefore it must be explained here with a different sense; and this since the connection (*allēlouchia*) of the words can be no other than that which is commonly given to it (viz., "they have pierced"). (3) In the great Masora a list is given of words in pairs, written alike, but differing in signification, among which is found that which occurs in Is. 38 and this. Hence the signification with the psalmist should be different from that with Isaiah. (4) The most ancient versions so render it. The Septuagint has *ōryxan*; so also the Arabic, Syriac and Ethiopic. (5) The scope of the psalm is to treat about the design of Christ's enemies in his crucifixion which is evident from the parting of garments and casting lots upon his vesture. But who can believe that the principal thing (and the most important of all) should be passed over in silence? (6) The connection of the words demands it; for if we read "as a lion," there would be a hiatus and no sense—"my hands and feet as a lion." There must be some word to complete the sentence and that word can be no other than *krv* ("they pierced") to which the prophecy of Zech. 12:10 has reference: "they shall look upon him whom they have pierced." (7) Even if we should grant that this passage has been tampered with by the Jews, it would not follow that the corruption is universal because the Masoretes testify that they found the word *k'rv* written in the more approved manuscripts (the marginal Masora to Num. 24:9). And Jacob Ben-Haiim, the collector of the work of the Venetian Masoretes, found written in some corrected copies (i.e., occurring in the text *k'rv*, but read [i.e., placed in the margin] *k'ry*). John Isaac, a converted Jew, testifies that in the Psaltery of his grandfather he found the same thing. This is confirmed by Capito (*? Institutionum Hebraicarum* 1.7* [1525], p. 22). We will believe the papists (who say that the Complutensian Bible has it) and Genebrardus (proved by the testimony of many Jews) that it was so read.

XXII. David is said to have bought from Araunah the threshing floor and the oxen for fifty shekels of silver (2 S. 24:24). But in 1 Ch. 21:25 mention is made of six hundred shekels of gold. The reconciliation is easy from the subject of the purchase. He gave fifty shekels for that part of the threshing floor on which at first he built an altar. After he knew from the fire which fell down from heaven that this was the place God had selected for building a house, not content now with that small threshing floor, he bought the whole field and mountain for six hundred shekels.

XXIII. In 2 S. 24:13, seven years of famine are mentioned by God to David as a divine punishment. But in 1 Ch. 21:12, there is mention of only three. But they may very easily be reconciled by saying either that God at first mentioned seven years which afterwards (David manifesting so much feeling) were reduced to three in answer to the prayer of God or of David (as in Gen. 18:24–32, the number of fifty just persons is reduced to ten). Or that in the number seven (mentioned in the book of Samuel) are included the three years of famine which had already passed by, having been sent to avenge the Gibeonites (which is treated of in 2 S. 21:1 together with the closing year). But in the book of Chronicles, mention is made only of the three years which were to come (so think Kimchi, Peter Martyr and Junius).

XXIV. Jehoiachin is said to have commenced his reign when he was eighteen years old (2 K. 24:8). But in 2 Ch. 36:9, it is said that he was only eight. That is, in this eighth year he began to reign with his father since it was the custom of the kings at that time (i.e., the fathers to associate their sons with them in office, so that the lawful heir to the throne might as early as possible be designated and acknowledged). But in the eighteenth year (at his father's death) his reign commenced. So Wolphius (cf. Peter Martyr, *Melachim ... Regum Libri duo* [1599], p. 409), Sanctius and others (following Kimchi) reconcile these passages. Abrabanel wishes the ten days which are added in the book of Chronicles to be taken for ten years (as often elsewhere). He thinks this is very probable for the following reason: otherwise the day in which kings reigned were not usually mentioned, but only the years or months.

XXV. Many think there is an insoluble contradiction between 2 Ch. 22:2 and 2 K. 8:26 where Jehoram, the father of Ahaziah is said to have begun his reign in the thirty-second year of his age (2 Ch. 21:5) and to have

reigned eight years, so that he died in the fortieth year of his age (v. 20). But Ahaziah is said to have begun to reign in his forty-second year (2 Ch. 22:2), and thus the son is made older than the father by two years. Again he is said to have begun to reign in his twenty-second and not in his forty-second year (2 K. 8:26). Yet this is not the opinion of all; nor are there wanting various methods of reconciling them. Some (as Junius and Tremellius, following Rabbi Levi ben Gerson) maintain that in the book of Kings the true year of Ahaziah's age (in which he began to reign, and the length of his life) is told. But in Chronicles not the duration of his own life, but of his mother Omri's family (from the time he began to reign even to his death which happened in this very year by a remarkable judgment of God, on account of the memory of this singular miracle or calculation) is given to Ahaziah who in the same year, with the rest of the family of Ahab and Omri, was slain by the sword of Jehu. For Omri reigned six years in Israel (1 K. 16:23), Ahab his son twenty-two years (1 K. 16:29); Ahaziah the son of Ahab two years, Joram his son twelve years—added together these amount to forty-two. But in the twelfth year of Joram, king of Israel, Ahaziah, king of Judah, began to reign (2 K. 8:25). Some of this same opinion think there is a transposition in 2 Ch. 22:1 and that they should stand thus: "his mother's name also was Athaliah, the daughter of Omri" (i.e., the granddaughter, being the daughter of Ahab, the son of Omri) "who was in her forty-second year when Ahaziah began to reign." But because this transposition appears rather forced and obscure, others think it would be better to refer the forty-two years not to Omri but to Athaliah herself and thus read: "his mother's name was Athaliah (the daughter of Omri) who was forty-two years old." For there was nothing which more closely concerned either Ahaziah or the state of the Jewish kingdom than the rise of the woman Athaliah, born for the destruction not only of her husband and children, but also for the whole kingdom and especially of the royal progeny. Others, to whom this reconciliation also appears rather forced, add another: Joram, the father of Ahaziah, in addition to the years of his reign and life mentioned in Scripture, lived and reigned twenty years more, but he may be said to have reigned only eight years *bhchzqthv* ("in his strength," i.e., well and happily). However from the time that he fell into the hands of the Arabians and was seized with a terrible disease (2 Ch. 21:16, 17, 19), he lived for some years which are not reckoned in his reign, but in that of his son

Ahaziah in the book of Kings because he lived ingloriously. Hence it is said that he departed without being desired and was not buried in the sepulchers of the kings (2 Ch. 21:20). But Ahaziah (who began to reign with his father in the twenty-second year of his age) after the death of his father in his forty-second year, reigned alone and only one year (2 Ch. 22:2). So Kimchi, Martyr, Vatablus, Lyranus and others explain it, and this is the opinion of Jerome (*Paralipomenon*, PL 28.1451–52). Others maintain that there is a mistake in the book of Chronicles, attributable not to the sacred writers but to copyists, which easily crept in by their carelessness in the abbreviated writing (*brachygraphia*) which often occurs in the recension of numbers, so that *mb* (which means forty-two) is put for *kb* (which denotes twenty-two). But they deny that on this account the passage is inexplicable (*alyton*) because the knot can be easily untied, and the true reading restored from a comparison of the book of Kings, which gives the number answering to the truth of history and of the years of Joram and Ahaziah. And it is evident that the different versions of the book of Chronicles retain the number twenty-two; as the Syriac, Arabic and many Greek manuscripts—the Oxford, Cambridge and Roman.

XXVI. In Ex. 12:40, it is said the sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt was four hundred and thirty years. Yet in Gen. 15:13, it is foretold that the posterity of Abraham should be afflicted by strangers four hundred years (which is confirmed in Acts 7:6). The answer is easy. Gen. 15 gives the round number instead of the odd, as is often done both by the sacred and by profane writers. Therefore although from the time at which this prophecy was given to Abraham (from which this number was to begin) 430 years ought in fact to roll around; yet only four hundred are mentioned, as a round number and the odd thirty are left out. Because if the Israelites are said to have dwelt in Egypt 430 years (Ex. 12:40), it does not follow that they remained for as many years in Egypt. It is evident that their stay was only 210 years, but the affliction of the Israelites is referred to Egypt because the beginning of it was from Gen. 12:10 and the end; or because it was of longer continuance, more severe, posterior and rendered remarkable by the reign of Joseph, the multiplication of the Hebrews, and their most weighty oppression and stupendous liberation.

XXVII. The servants of Solomon are said to have fetched from Ophir four hundred and twenty talents of gold (1 K. 9:28). But in 2 Ch. 8:18, four

hundred and fifty are mentioned. They can readily be reconciled if we say that he speaks not of the same but different removals because Solomon sent ships there every three years (1 K. 10:22); or because the thirty talents were not brought to the king, but appropriated to the fleet.

XXVIII. The prophecy concerning the thirty pieces of silver and the field bought with them is cited from Jeremiah (Mt. 27:9), which is certainly found in Zech. 11:12. From this some attribute universal falsehood and slips of the memory (*sphalma mnēmonikon*) to Matthew. But the difficulty can be cleared up in various ways. Some are of the opinion that the name Jeremiah (*leremiou*) has crept into the text from the ignorance of transcribers (since *zou* may have been written as an abbreviation of *Zachariou*), but that the error is one of small importance (viz., occurring in a proper name the correction of which is easily made from a comparison of the Old and New Testaments). Others (with better reason) maintain that there is here a blending (*synchysin*) of two prophetical passages from which this testimony is drawn, viz., from Jer. 32 and Zech. 11. Cases similar to this occur in: Mt. 21:5* from Is. 62:11 and Zech. 9:9; Mt. 21:13* from Is. 56:7 and Jer. 7:11; Acts 1:20 from Pss. 69:25* and 109:8; 1 Pet. 2:7, 8 from Ps. 118:22 and Is. 8:14. Nor is it an unusual thing (when the words or testimonies belong to two persons) to omit one and give only the name of the other (as Mk. 1:2, 3 where the first part is taken from Malachi, the latter from Isaiah, and yet Malachi is omitted and Isaiah alone mentioned). And this can be done with greater propriety when the one who is cited is either more ancient than the other, and the later has drawn many things from him (as is the case here). For Jeremiah was before Zechariah, and Zechariah borrowed many things from him and imitated (as it were) his addresses (as might easily be shown from Zech. 1:14 which is taken from Jer. 18:11 and 35:15; and Zech. 3:8 from Jer. 23:5). Hence the Jews were in the habit of saying, “the spirit of Jeremiah is in Zechariah.” To this it can be added that from the tradition of the Rabbi’s in the Babylonion Talmud (Baba Bathra, 14, cf. BT 1:70) which Rabbi David Kimchi quotes in his preface to the prophet Jeremiah, Jeremiah stands at the head of the prophets and is therefore named first (Mt. 16:14). Therefore Matthew (citing these words contained in the book of the prophets) could quote them only under his name because he held the first place there. So in Lk. 24:44, the book of holy writings (*Hagiographorum*) is mentioned under the name of the Psalms because this is the first of them.

Finally, Jeremiah alone might be mentioned here by Matthew because he wished to give an account, not so much of the thirty pieces of silver or of the price for which Christ was bought (about which Zechariah treats), as of the price of the bought field (about which Jeremiah treats). Therefore what is said here of the price is drawn from Zechariah, and what is said of the field from Jeremiah.

XXIX. A difficult and indeed an intricate knot arises from the collation of Gen. 11:26 with Acts 7:4. In untying this, Joseph Scaliger himself gives up in despair (*epechei*) and does not endeavor to explain it ("Animadversiones in Chronologica Eusebi," in *Thesaurus temporum* [1606/1968], 2:17). Jerome (*Liber Hebraicarum quaestionum in Genesim*, PL 23.1006) and Augustine (CG 16.15 [FC 14:516–19]) confess the difficulty to be insoluble. But there are not wanting fit methods of solution to satisfy humbly inquiring minds. The difficulty consists in this: that Moses says that Abram was born in the seventieth year of Terah (Gen. 11:26), and Stephen expressly asserts that Abraham removed from Haran to Canaan after the death of Terah (Acts 7:4). Now it is plain from Gen. 12:4 that Abraham departed from Haran in his seventy-fifth year, and his father Terah lived to the age of two hundred and five years (Gen. 11:32). Now if it is evident that Abraham was born in the seventieth year of Terah's age and went to Haran in the seventy-fifth year of his own age, he would not have departed after the death of his father (as Stephen said) but sixty years before (i.e., in the one hundred and forty-fifth year of Terah's age). Some suppose that there is here a slip of Stephen's memory in the computation of time, but that it does not impair the credibility (*autopiston*) of Luke's history because he was bound to relate faithfully the words of Stephen and was not anxious about correcting his error. But as it is certain that Stephen, being full of the Spirit, was also inspired (*theopneuston*), he cannot be convicted of error without impairing the credibility (*autopistia*) of the word. Others maintain that the birth of Abram must not be assigned exactly to the seventieth year of Terah's age, but to the hundred and thirtieth year; and that the contrary cannot be gathered from what is said in Gen. 11:26 ("Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran") because although he is placed first, this was not done on account of his age but on account of his importance (as in Gen. 5:32 it is said, "Noah in his five hundredth year begat Shem, Ham and Japheth," i.e., began to beget his three sons, the most

illustrious of whom was Shem, although born one or two years after Japheth, the elder). So Terah in his seventieth year began to beget his three sons, the most illustrious of whom was Abram. Therefore he is placed first, though not the firstborn. According to this opinion, Abram (born in the hundred and thirtieth year of Terah's age) lived with him partly in Chaldea, partly in Haran for seventy-five years, even until his death; after which (according to the command of God received in Chaldea) he departed with his family from Haran to Canaan. But others (to whom the postponing of the birth of Abraham to Terah's 130th year appears forced because the Bible says nothing about it and the whole genealogy of Abram would thus be rendered uncertain), in the face of Moses' particular care to have it right, solve the difficulty otherwise. They maintain that there were two calls of Abram: the first from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran, his father being alive and in his 145th year, and Abraham in his seventy-fifth (of which Moses speaks, Gen. 11:31*; 12:1). But the other (after the death of his father) from Haran to Canaan which appears to be intimated in Gen. 12:4, 5. Stephen indeed plainly refers to this when he says, "Abraham called of God came out of the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in Haran; and afterwards and from thence, when his father was dead, he removed him into Canaan" (Acts 7:4). Here God is said to have called him twice: first from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran; afterwards from Haran to Canaan. This seems to be a fit and easy solution of the difficulty. Finally, some think there is an error in the enumeration of the years of Terah's age, which did not reach to 205 years but only to 145, as the Samaritan Pentateuch reads. Eusebius (*Chronicorum* 1.16 [PG 19.157–58]) mentions this: *kata to Samarikon Hebraikon Tharra genomenos etōn o genna ton Abraam kai epezēsen etē oe mechris oe etous Abraam*, "When Terah was seventy years old he begat Abraham and lived afterwards seventy-five years, even to the seventy-fifth year of Abraham." They conjecture that the error arose from mistaking the letter mem, which denotes forty, for kaph, which means one hundred, giving rise to a difference of sixty years. But since it is the common opinion of both Jews and Christians that only the Hebrew Pentateuch and not the Samaritan is authentic, no one would be willing to say that the former should be corrected by the latter.

XXX. If it is asked how the passage where seventy Israelites are said to have gone down to Egypt (Gen. 46:27) can be reconciled with Acts 7:14

(where seventy-five are enumerated), different answers can be given. Some think there is no discrepancy because the places are not parallel, viz., that Moses gives the genealogy of Jacob; or only a catalogue of the posterity coming from his own loins and descending into Egypt with him, the wives of his sons being left out. Thus they are said to have been sixty-six (Gen. 46:26). From this number are to be excluded Joseph and his two sons (who did not go with him into Egypt because they were already there), and Er and Onan (who had died in Canaan) and Dinah, his daughter. Added for the whole number of the sons and grandsons of Jacob, these amounted to seventy-one, from which number if you take five, sixty-six will remain. But in v. 27, Moses gives the catalogue of the whole family, both of those who went down with him into Egypt and of those who were already there (i.e., Joseph and his sons) to whom if you add Jacob, the head of the family, you will have the number seventy. Now Stephen wished to show how many Joseph had called down to Egypt and therefore excluded Joseph with his two sons and the two grandsons of Judah, Hezron and Hamul (Gen. 46:12) who were born in Egypt. But he reckons Jacob by himself, distinguishing him from his relatives (*syngeneia*). So there remain eleven brothers (the sons of Jacob) with Dinah, their sister; fifty-two grandsons, to which are added the eleven wives of his sons (who belonged to his kindred, *tēn syngeneian*); thus we will have the number of seventy-five souls. Others maintain that the passage is corrupted, that Stephen did not say, nor Luke write, *pente*, but *pantes*, which word Moses also expresses in Gen. 46:27, "all the souls." Thus the passage should be translated "who all" (i.e., taken together, there were "seventy" souls) or *pantōs* ("altogether"). But from the carelessness of transcribers *pantes* might easily have been written instead of *pantōs* or *pantōs pente*, both by the Septuagint and by Luke and yet the authenticity of Scripture be preserved. From the comparison with other passages and from the analogy of faith, it could easily be emended and the faith of the doctrine and of the history remain no less safe on that account. Again, others suppose that Stephen did not follow the Hebrew text here, but the Septuagint as the more common and everywhere received—this has the number seventy-five—and that he did not think an attention to the number belonged to what he was speaking about and that the Septuagint collected this number from the five sons of Joseph added from 1 Ch. 7:14–27, whom Moses does not mention and who were born after going down into Egypt

(viz., Machir, Gilead, Shuthelah, Toben and Eden). But whether Stephen followed the Septuagint here or the error in the Septuagint and in Acts crept in through the carelessness of transcribers, it is nevertheless certain that the error is not incurable, since it is easily corrected from the Hebrew text. For Scripture ought to be explained by Scripture.

XXXI. Stephen speaks thus of the patriarchs: "And were carried over into Sychem, and laid in the sepulcher that Abraham bought for a sum of money of the sons of Emmor (*tou Sychem*)" (Acts 7:16). But from Gen. 23:9–10, it is plain that Abraham bought the sepulcher from Ephron near the city of Hebron. From Gen. 33:19 (cf. Jos. 24:32), it appears that not Abraham, but Jacob bought the field of the sons of Hamor, not for a sum of money but for an hundred lambs. Hence an inextricable difficulty seems to arise. Yet it can be cleared up easily, if we say that Stephen did not refer to the purchase of Abraham recorded in Gen. 23:9, but to that of Jacob: "And Jacob came safe to the city of Shechem and bought a parcel of a field at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, for an hundred lambs" (Gen. 33:19). This is where Joseph is said to have been buried (Jos. 24:32). Nor can it be objected to this that Stephen says Abraham bought the field and not Jacob. Either Abraham may here be the genitive so as to read *ho tou Abraam* (understand *ekgonos*); or Abraham is used patronymically for a descendant of Abraham (i.e., for Jacob, his grandson). Oftentimes the names of the fathers are put to designate their posterity even when there is a reference to individuals; as David is put for Rehoboam, his grandson ("What portion have we in David?" 1 K. 12:16); and Rehoboam for Abijah (1 K. 14:6*); and David for Christ (Jer. 30:9; Ezk. 34:23) (cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.660–662 [Loeb, 1:440–41], where Aeneas is called "Dardanus" for a descendant of Dardanus). Or with Beza, we must suppose the name Abraham to be a gloss, which having been written by a sciolist in the margin, afterwards crept into the text (*Annotationes maiores in novum ... Testamentum, Pars prior* [1594], p. 482 on Acts 7:16). Thus not Abraham, but Jacob is said to have bought this field. Nor can it be objected that the fathers are said to have been carried over into Sychem when only Joseph is said to have been buried there. For Moses mentions Joseph alone because he only was a prophet and foresaw the deliverance and sought by faith that his bones might be carried away to Canaan (Heb. 11:22), for which he also provided by an oath (Gen. 50:25). Hence it became him to record this

because in this way the Israelites freed themselves from this sacred charge (Ex. 13:19). Yet Stephen could speak in the plural by an enallage of number or by a synecdoche of the whole (as often occurs in Scripture). In Mt. 26:8, the disciples are said to have "indignation" which must be understood of Judas Iscariot alone (who alone was indignant at the pouring out of the ointment, as Jn. 12:4–6* explains it). In Mt. 27:44, the thieves are said to have cast the same in the teeth of Christ on the cross (which relates to only one of them, according to Luke 23:39). Again, although Moses does not expressly say so, yet it can easily be inferred that the other brothers of Joseph were buried in the same place because the Jews held all the patriarchs in equal regard and reverence. The same cause which moved Joseph to desire this, they all had (viz., faith in the promise of God, possessions in the land and the hope of resurrection). It is proper to bring in here what Jerome relates (*The Pilgrimage of the Holy Paula* [1887], p. 13; CCSL 55.322) that having turned aside to Shechem, she saw there the sepulchers of the twelve patriarchs. This testimony (being that of an eyewitness) is preferable to that of Josephus (AJ 2.199 [Loeb, 4:251]) who says that the patriarchs were buried at Hebron. Nor is it any objection that the father of Sychem is not in the text (as in Genesis 33:19*), but simply *tou Sychem*. For with propriety, the word "father" can be supplied, as is often the case elsewhere: Luke 24*:10, "Mary of James" (i.e., the mother of James); Herodotus, *Kyros ho Kambyseō*, "Cyrus the father of Cambyses" (Herodotus, 1.73 [Loeb, 1:88–89]); *Olympias hē Alexandrou*, "Olympia the mother of Alexander" (cf. Herodotus, 5*.22 [Loeb, 3:22–23]). Finally, it is no objection that Jacob is said to have bought the field for an hundred lambs according to Moses, but with Luke the field is said to have been bought for a sum of money. For the word *ksyth* denotes money as well as a lamb because coins were then stamped with the figure of a lamb; as in ancient times all money bore the figure of animals because before the use of coins merchandise was exchanged for cattle (see Rabbi David Kimchi on the word *ksyth*; Johannes Buxtorf [the elder], *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum* [1640], pp. 2159–60; Bochart, *Hierozoicon* [1663], p. 437).

XXXII. There is no contradiction between 2 Cor. 11:4 and Gal. 1:8 because in the latter it is not said that there is "another gospel" really and as to truth than that preached by the apostles; but in the former only by an

impossible supposition, not that it is really granted or can be granted, but to take away all excuse from the Corinthians for their readiness to receive false apostles. As if Paul had said, "If it could happen that coming to you, he could bring another Jesus and another gospel more perfectly, you would rightly receive and accept such a teacher and despise us. But since this is altogether impossible (as you yourselves acknowledge and the false apostles do not dare to deny), you have no excuse to offer."

XXXIII. It is said, "There was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone" (1 K. 8:9), and in Heb. 9:4 the apostle says there were other things in the same place when he writes "in it" (that is in the ark of which he had just spoken) "was the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant." There occurs no contradiction and the difficulty will be at once removed, if we say that *en hē* refers not to the nearest word *kibōton* ("the ark"), but to the more remote, *skēnēn*, (v. 3). We know that the relative is sometimes referred not to the nearest antecedent, but to the more remote; or that the preposition *en* does not here mean "in" (as if the manna and the rod of Aaron were in the ark itself), but "with" or "near" and "at"; and so answers to the Hebrew preposition *b*, which does not always imply that one thing is inside of another, but also that which is added to another and adheres to it. The latter sometimes means "with," as "thou shalt talk with (*bm*) them" (Dt. 6:7); "with bullocks" (*bprym*, 1 S. 1:24); "in," that is, "with the beasts" (Hos. 4:3); so "with the glory" (*en doxa*, Mt. 16:27); "in the voice, in the trump," for "with" (1 Thess. 4:16*); at others it means "at" or "near"; at Gibeon (Jos. 10:10); "in Kirjath-jearim" (Jdg. 18:12), i.e., near that place; "those that bought and sold" are said to have been "in the temple," i.e., in its porches (Mt. 21:12); as also Christ is said to have "walked in the temple," i.e., in Solomon's porch (Jn. 10:23); and elsewhere to have suffered "in Jerusalem" (i.e., near it). So it can well be translated "in" or "near" which ark were the urn and the rod to denote not the placing of them in, but near it; or "with which," i.e., to which ark the pot and rod and the tables of the covenant were joined, but in different ways: the tables indeed within, but the pot and rod without or by the side of the ark.

XXXIV. When Christ forbids us to swear *holōs* ("altogether," Mt. 5:34*), he does not intend absolutely and simply to condemn oaths which elsewhere are permitted and approved and even commanded by God (Ex.

22:8, 10, 11; Lev. 5:4; Num. 5:19, 20; Prov. 18:18[?]; Heb. 6:16). But only particular kinds of oaths are condemned by Christ as rash and unlawful (i.e., those which the Jews were in the habit of using, of which he speaks in the same place, viz., by "heaven, earth, Jerusalem," the head and other such created things). Universal terms are often restricted to a particular class "all that ever came before me are thieves" (Jn. 10:8), viz., all those not called or sent, or those saying that they, or some other person, were the door of the sheep. And "all things are lawful for me" (1 Cor. 10:23*); "I am made all things to all men" (1 Cor. 9:22), viz., in things lawful and indifferent—for evil and wicked things are not lawful to any person or at any time.

XXXV. Saul is said to have reigned forty years (Acts 13:21), but in 1 S. 13:1, only two years. The answer is that it is not said in 1 S. 13:1 that Saul reigned only two years, but that he had reigned only two years when he chose the three thousand men mentioned in the following verse. When he had reigned two years, he collected together these military men (his two years then being at an end as the Syrian and Arabian versions show).

XXXVI. From what has been said, it is evident that those different apparently contradictory (*enantiophanē*) passages adduced to destroy the authenticity (*authentian*) of the Scriptures and introduced by us as specimens (although difficult and hard to be understood [*dysnoēta*]) are not altogether inexplicable (*alyta*). There are also some others brought forward by papists to prove the corruption of the sources by Jews or heretics, but they will be satisfactorily disposed of when we speak of the authentic edition.

Sixth Question

From what source does the divine authority of the Scriptures become known to us? Does it depend upon the testimony of the church either as to itself or as to us? We deny against the papists

Occasion of the question.

I. The object of the papists in this and other controversies set forth by them concerning the Scriptures, is obvious, viz., to avoid the tribunal of Scripture (in which they do not find sufficient help for the defense of their errors) and

to appeal to the church (i.e., to the pope himself) and thus become judges in their own cause. Hence, as we treated before of the doctrine of Scripture (whether it agreed with itself or not), we must now inquire concerning the Scriptures themselves whether it is proper that religious controversies should be decided by their authority and testimony. For this purpose a sharp discussion has been kept up concerning its origin and necessity, its perfection and perspicuity, the integrity and purity of the canon and especially concerning its authority; if not entirely to destroy it, nevertheless to weaken it greatly. Thus what Irenaeus says concerning the heretics of his day is appropriate to them: "When they are convicted from Scripture, they turn round and accuse the Scripture, as being corrupt, and having no authority" (Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3.2 [ANF 1:415; PG 7.846]).

Some papists speak harshly; others more calmly.

II. But we must here observe that some speak roughly, others more calmly on this subject. For some (*gymnē tē kephalē*, without wish of concealment) altogether deny the authenticity (*authentian*) of Scripture in itself without the testimony of the church and think it worthy of no more belief (I shudder to relate) than the Koran, Titus Livy or the fables of Aesop. In a former age those who undertook to dispute with our men concerning the authority of Scripture belched forth these blasphemies. Such are the impious words of Hosius against Brentius ("Confutatio Prolegomenon Brentii," in *Opera* [1583], 1:530). He asserts that it can be said in a pious sense that "the Scriptures have only as much force as the fables of Aesop, if destitute of the authority of the church." Eck says that "the Scriptures are not authentic, except by authority of the church" (*Enchirdion of Commonplaces* 1 [trans. F.L. Battles, 1979], p. 13, "On the Church and her Authority"). Baile says that "without the authority of the church we should no more believe Matthew than Titus Livy" (cf. Andre Rivet, *Sommaire de toutes les controverses touchant la religion* [1615], p. 217). Andradius says, "There is nothing of divinity in the books in which the sacred mysteries are written and that there cannot be found in them anything to bind us to religion and to believe what they contain; but that the power and dignity of the church are so great as that no one without the greatest impiety can resist it" (*Defensio tridentinae fidei catholicae* 3+ [1580]). Stapleton says, "The church must be

considered in such a light, as that we ought not to believe the testimony in any other way than the apostles believed the testimony of Christ, and that God is not to be believed except on account of the church" (*adversus Whittak*., lib. i, c. 7+ [1620]). But because others saw that this was deservedly censured by our men as impious and blasphemous, they have spoken more cautiously in thus declaring their opinion. They confess the Scriptures absolutely and in themselves to be authentic and divine, as coming from God (the source of all truth), but yet they say that (relatively and as to us) they have not that authority except on account of the testimony of the church, through whose kindness they become known and are received by us as divine. Hence arose the distinction of authority ("as to itself" [absolute] and "as to us" [relative]) which Bellarmine ("De conciliis Auctoritate," 2.12 in *Opera* [1857], 2:61), Stapleton ("De Principiis fidei doctrinalibus controversia," Cont. 5*.1 in *Opera* [1620], 1:311–12 and "Authoritatis ecclesiasticae," 2.11 in *Opera* [1620], 1:1019–24) and others have advanced.

III. But in whatever manner they explain their opinion (if we properly consider the thing itself), we will find that this distinction has been framed to deceive and to remove the odium attaching to their impious doctrine rather than to unfold the truth of the thing itself. As authority belongs to the genus of things related *ek tōn pros ti*, it should not be considered absolutely but relatively. Therefore Scripture cannot be authentic in itself without being so as to us. For the same arguments which prove it authoritative in itself ought to induce us to assent to its authenticity as to us; but if its authority as to us is suspended upon the church as the formal reason for which I believe the Scriptures to be divine, it follows that its authority as to itself must also be suspended upon the same. Indeed others have more plainly confessed this. That this is really their opinion may be satisfactorily gathered from the other controversies in which they here engage. For how could they deny either its perfection or perspicuity or purity, if they believed it to be authentic in itself.

Statement of the question.

IV. To exhibit the state of the question, the question is not whether the Bible is authentic and divine, for this our opponents do not deny or at least wish

to appear to believe. Rather the question is Whence is it made known to us as such, or by what argument can this inspiration be proved to us? The papists suspend this authority upon the testimony of the church and maintain that the principal motive by which we are induced to believe the authenticity (*authentian*) of the Scriptures is the voice of the church. But although we do not deny that the testimony of the church has its own weight (as will afterwards be seen), yet we maintain that primarily and principally the Bible is believed by us to be divine on account of itself (or the marks impressed upon it), not on account of the church.

V. Second, it is not asked concerning the foundation or efficient cause of the faith by which we believe the divinity of the Scriptures (i.e., whether the Holy Spirit applies it to us or not). For this belongs to another question concerning free will, and our opponents acknowledge it with us (Stapleton, "Triplicatio inchoata adversus … Whitakerum," 9 in *Opera* [1620], 1:1166–71; Canus, "De Locis Theologicis," 2.8 in *Opera* [1605], pp. 41–53). Rather the question concerns the argument or principal motive which the Spirit uses in persuading us of its truth; whether it is the direct argument of the testimony of the church (as the papists say) or the rational, derived from the marks of the Scripture itself (which we hold).

VI. As a threefold cause can be granted for the manifestation of anything (an objective, efficient and instrumental or organic), so a threefold question can arise about the divinity of the Bible: the first, concerning the argument on account of which I believe; the second, concerning the principle or efficient cause from which I am led to believe; the third, concerning the means and instrument through which I believe. And to this triple question a triple reply can be given. For the Bible with its own marks is the argument on account of which I believe. The Holy Spirit is the efficient cause and principle from which I am induced to believe. But the church is the instrument and means through which I believe. Hence if the question is why, or on account of what, do I believe the Bible to be divine, I will answer that I do so on account of the Scripture itself which by its marks proves itself to be such. If it is asked whence or from what I believe, I will answer from the Holy Spirit who produces that belief in me. Finally, if I am asked by what means or instrument I believe it, I will answer through the church which God uses in delivering the Scriptures to me.

VII. Third, the question does not concern the motive or the introductory (*eisagōgikō*) and ministerial (*leitourgikō*) means, whose assistance the Holy Spirit uses in persuading us of the authority of the Scriptures. This we readily concede to the church. Rather the question concerns the principal argument and motive by which we are brought to faith (not human, but divine) which they place in the church. We believe it is not to be found out of Scripture itself.

VIII. Fourth, the question is not whether divine revelation is the formal reason (simply and absolutely) of our faith, for this our opponents acknowledge with us. Rather the question is What is that first and clearest revelation with respect to us which ought to be received through and on account of itself, and not on account of some other better known to us and therefore the most common and the first principle of faith by which all things ought to be proved, but itself by none prior to it whether that revelation is to be looked for in the Scriptures or in the church? We think that revelation to be contained in the Bible itself which is the first and infallible truth and rule of faith. But papists maintain that it must be sought in the voice and testimony of the church. Stapleton says, "Now therefore the voice of the church is the supreme external testimony on earth" ("Auctoritatis ecclesiasticae," 1.8 in *Opera* [1620], 1:893); and "God speaking by the church speaks not otherwise than if he spoke immediately by visions and dreams, or some other supernatural manner of revelation" (ibid., 1.9, p. 902); and "the whole formal reason of our faith is God revealing by the church" (ibid., 1.14.12, p. 926). Gretser says, "the testimony of the church alone is a fit answer to the question, whence do you know that the Scripture is divinely revealed?" (?"Tractatus de Quaestione, Unde scis scripturam cum generatim …," 7+ in *Opera Omnia* [1734–41], 8:961–1003). Bellarmine says, "It is true that we do not certainly know what God has revealed except from the testimony of the church" (VD 3.10, response to argument 13, p. 114); and "Catholics believe what they do because God has revealed it, and they believe that God revealed it because they hear the church so speaking and declaring" ("De gratia et libero arbitrio," 6.3 in *Opera* [1858], 4:435–36).

IX. The question then amounts to this—why, or on account of what, do we believe that the Bible is the word of God; or what argument does the Holy Spirit principally use to convince us of the inspiration of the

Scriptures? The testimony and voice of the church, or the marks impressed upon Scripture itself? Our opponents assert the former; we the latter.

The authority of the Scriptures does not depend upon the testimony of the church.

X. That the authority of the Scriptures either as to itself or as to us does not depend upon the testimony of the church is proved: (1) because the church is built upon the Scripture (Eph. 2:20) and borrows all authority from it. Our opponents cannot deny this since, when we ask them about the church, they quickly fly to the Scriptures to prove it. Therefore the church cannot recommend the authority of Scripture either as to itself or as to us, unless we wish to make the cause depend upon the effect, the principle upon that which derived from it and the foundation upon the edifice. Nor ought the objection to be brought up here (that both may be true) that the church borrows its authority from the Scriptures, and the Scriptures in turn from the church (just as John bore testimony to Christ who also himself gave testimony to John). For it is one thing to give testimony to someone as a minister, as John testified concerning Christ, that through him (*di'autou*), not on account of him (*di'auton*), the Jews might believe (Jn. 1:7). It is quite a different thing to give authority to him as a lord which Christ did to John. (2) The authority of the church would be prior to that of the Scriptures and so would be the first thing to be believed (upon which our faith at first would depend and into which it would finally be resolved), which our opponents, who make the authority of the church depend upon Scripture, would not admit. (3) A manifest circle would be made since the authority of the church is proved from Scripture, and in turn the authority of the Scripture from the church. (4) Our opponents are not yet agreed as to what is meant by the church—whether the modern or the ancient, the collective or the representative, a particular or the universal; or what is the act testifying concerning the authority of Scripture (whether enacted by some judicial sentence or exercised by a continuous and successive tradition). (5) A fallible and human testimony (as that of the church) cannot form the foundation of divine faith. And if God now speaks through the church, does it therefore follow that she is infallible because there is one kind of

inspiration which is special and extraordinary (such as made the apostles and prophets infallible [*anamartētous*], and of which Christ speaks properly when he says that the Holy Spirit would lead the apostles into all truth, Jn. 16:13*); another common and ordinary which does not make pastors inspired (*theopneustous*).

But is proved by itself.

XI. That the Scripture makes itself known to us is proved: (1) by the nature of the Scripture itself. For as a law does not derive its authority from the subordinate judges who interpret it or from the heralds who promulgate it, but from its author alone—as a will obtains its weight not from the notary to whom it is entrusted, but from the purpose of the testator; as a rule has the power of ruling from its own innate perfection, not from the artificer who uses it—so the Scripture which is the law of the supreme lawgiver, the will of our heavenly Father and the inflexible (*aklinēs*) rule of faith, cannot have authority even as to us from the church, but only from itself. (2) By the nature of the highest genera and of first principles; for those things are known by themselves and are not susceptible (*anapodeikta*) of proof which cannot be demonstrated by any other, otherwise the thing would go on to infinity. Hence Basil says "it is necessary that the first principles of every science should be self-evident" (*anankē hekastēs mathēseōs anexetastous einai tas archas, In Psalmum cxv homilia*, PG 30.104–5). Thus Scripture, which is the first principle in the supernatural order, is known by itself and has no need of arguments derived from without to prove and make itself known to us. If God has stamped such marks upon all first principles that they can be known at once by all men, we cannot doubt that he has placed them upon this sacred first principle (in the highest degree necessary to our salvation). (3) By comparison, as objects of the sense presented to faculties well disposed are immediately distinguished and known without any other external argument, on account of a secret adaptation and propensity of the faculty to the object. Light is immediately most certainly known to us by its own brightness; food by its peculiar sweetness; an odor by its peculiar fragrance without any additional testimony. Thus the Scripture, which is set forth to us in respect to the new man and spiritual senses, now under the symbol of a clear light (Ps. 119:105), then of the most sweetest food (Ps.

19:10; Is. 55:1, 2; Heb. 5:14) and again of the sweetest smelling savor (Cant. 1:3), may easily be distinguished of itself by the senses of the new man as soon as it is presented to them and makes itself known by its own light, sweetness and fragrance (*euōdia*); so that there is no need to seek elsewhere for proof that this is light, food or a sweet smelling savor. (4) By the testimony of our opponents who prove the inspiration of the Scriptures by its own marks; Bellarmine says, "Nothing is better known, nothing more certain than the sacred Scriptures contained in the writings of the prophets and apostles, so that he must be in the highest degree foolish who refuses to believe in them" (VD 1.2, p. 24); see Cano, "De Locis Theologicis," 2.8 in *Opera* (1605), pp. 41–53; Gregory de Valentia, *Analysis fidei catholicae* 1.15 (1585), pp. 51–53; (Peter) Soto, *Defensio Catholicae Confessionis* 47 (1557), pp. 56–58.

Sources of explanation.

XII. We do not deny that the church has many functions in relation to the Scriptures. She is: (1) the keeper of the oracles of God to whom they are committed and who preserves the authentic tables of the covenant of grace with the greatest fidelity, like a notary (Rom. 3:2); (2) the guide, to point out the Scriptures and lead us to them (Is. 30:21); (3) the defender, to vindicate and defend them by separating the genuine books from the spurious, in which sense she may be called the ground (*hedraiōma*) of the truth (1 Tim. 3:15*); (4) the herald who sets forth and promulgates them (2 Cor. 5:19; Rom. 10:16); (5) the interpreter inquiring into the unfolding of the true sense. But all these imply a ministerial only and not a magisterial power. Through her indeed, we believe, but not on account of her; as through John the Baptist the faithful believed in Christ, not on account of him (Jn. 1:7); and through the Samaritan woman Christ was known by the Samaritans, not on account of her (Jn. 4:39).

XIII. The resolution of faith objectively considered (as to the things to be believed) is different from its subjective or formal consideration (as to the act of believing). The former is in Scripture and the external testimony of the Holy Spirit expressed in Scripture; the latter in its internal testimony impressed upon the conscience and speaking in the heart. For as two things are necessary to the generating of faith (the presentation of truth in the word

and the application of it in the heart), the Holy Spirit operates in both (i.e., in the word and in the heart). Therefore he is said properly to testify in the word objectively after the manner of an argument on account of which we believe. In the heart, he is also said (but with less propriety) to testify efficiently and after the manner of a first principle, by the power of which we believe. In this sense, the Spirit (who is reckoned among the witnesses of the divinity of Christ and of the truth of the gospel) is said to "bear witness that the Spirit is truth" (1 Jn. 5:6), i.e., the Spirit working in the hearts of believers bears witness that the doctrine of the gospel delivered by the Spirit is true and divine.

XIV. Article 4 of the French Confession says, "We know that the books of Scripture are canonical, not so much from the common consent of the church, as from the internal testimony and persuasion of the Holy Spirit" (Cochrane, 145). Hence, we must understand by the Holy Spirit, the Spirit's speaking both in the word and in the heart. For the same Spirit who acts objectively in the word by presenting the truth, operates efficiently in the heart also by impressing that truth upon our minds. Thus he is very different from a Spirit of enthusiasm.

XV. The private judgment of the Spirit (which is such subjectively with regard to the subject in which it inheres) is different from that which is such originally because it depends upon man's own will. The former we allow here, but not the latter. For the Spirit that testifies in us concerning the inspiration of the Scriptures is not peculiar to individuals with regard to the principle and origin. Rather he is common to the whole church and so to all believers in whom he works the same faith, although he is such subjectively with regard to each individual because he is given separately to each believer.

XVI. Although the church is more ancient than the Scriptures formally considered (and as to the mode of writing), yet it cannot be called such with respect to the Scriptures materially considered (and as to the substance of doctrine) because the word of God is more ancient than the church itself, being its foundation and seed. The question does not concern the testimony of the ancient church of the patriarchs (which existed before the Scriptures), but of the Christian church, long after them.

XVII. Although believers are persuaded by the testimony of the Holy Spirit of the inspiration of the Scriptures, it does not therefore follow that

all who possess the Spirit should agree in receiving equally every book. Since he is not given to all in an equal measure, so neither does he furnish all with an equal knowledge both as to the principle of religion and as to its doctrines, nor move them to assent by an equal power. Hence some Protestants might doubt concerning one or another canonical book because they were not yet sufficiently enlightened by the Holy Spirit.

XVIII. It is not always necessary that a thing should be proved by something else. For there are some things which are self-evident according to the philosophers (as the highest categories of things, and ultimate differences and first principles) which are not susceptible of demonstration, but are evident by their own light and are taken for granted as certain and indubitable. If perchance anyone denies them, he is not to be met with arguments, but should be committed to the custody of his kinsmen (as a madman); or to be visited with punishment, as one (according to Aristotle) either lacking sense or needing punishment. Aristotle says there are certain axioms which do not have an external reason for their truth "which must necessarily be and appear to be such per se" (*ho anankē einai di' auto kai dokein anankē*, *Posterior Analytics* 1.10 [Loeb, 70–71]); i.e., they are not only credible (*autopiston*) of themselves, but cannot be seriously denied by anyone of a sound mind. Therefore since the Bible is the first principle and the primary and infallible truth, is it strange to say that it can be proved by itself? The Bible can prove itself either one part or another when all parts are not equally called into doubt (as when we convince the Jews from the Old Testament); or the whole proving the whole, not by a direct argument of testimony (because it declares itself divine), but by that made artfully (*artificiali*) and ratiocinative (because in it are discovered divine marks which are not found in the writings of men). Nor is this a begging of the question because these criteria are something distinct from the Scriptures; if not materially, yet formally as adjuncts and properties which are demonstrated with regard to the subject. Nor is one thing proved by another equally unknown because they are better known by us; as we properly prove a cause from its effects, a subject by its properties. The argument of the papists that Scripture cannot be proved by itself (because then it would be more known and more unknown than itself) can with much greater force be turned against the church.

XIX. If any deny the inspiration of the Scriptures, it is not because the object in itself is not known or understandable, but because they are destitute of a well-disposed faculty. To them the gospel is hid because Satan has blinded their eyes (2 Cor. 4:4); as some deny God (who is most capable of being known) because they are fools, or do not see the sun because they are blind; as the blind woman in Seneca complained that the sun did not rise. Yet notwithstanding this the sun always sends forth his rays, which are perceived per se by those who have eyes.

XX. It is one thing to discern and to declare the canon of Scripture; quite another to establish the canon itself and to make it authentic. The church cannot do the latter (as this belongs to God alone, the author of Scripture), but it does only the former, which belongs to it ministerially, not magisterially. As the goldsmith who separates the dross from the gold (or who proves it by a touchstone) distinguishes indeed the pure from the adulterated, but does not make it pure (either as to us or as to itself), so the church by its test distinguishes indeed canonical books from those which are not and from apocryphal, but does not make them such. Nor can the judgment of the church give authority to the books which they do not possess of themselves; rather she declares the already existing authority by arguments drawn from the books themselves.

XXI. The knowledge of a thing may be confused or distinct. The church can be known before the Scriptures by a confused knowledge, but a distinct knowledge of the Scriptures ought to precede because the truth of the church can be ascertained only from the Scriptures. The church can be apprehended by us before the Scriptures by a human faith, as an assembly of men using the same sacred things; yet it can be known and believed as an assembly of believers and the communion of saints by a divine faith, only after the marks of the church which Scripture supplies have become known.

XXII. When the apostle says that “faith is by hearing” (Rom. 10:17), he does indeed give us to understand that the ministry of the church ought to come in as the ordinary means of producing faith in adults. He does not teach, however, that the church is clearer and better known than the Scriptures.

XXIII. To inquire concerning the number, the authors, parts and single words of the sacred books is different from inquiring concerning the

fundamental doctrines contained in them. The latter knowledge pertains to every believer, but not the former. Nor will his salvation be in jeopardy who cannot tell who wrote the gospel of Matthew, provided he believes the book to be authentic and divine. The knowledge of the primary author of any book is one thing; that of the amanuensis is another. The latter belongs only to an historical faith, but the former to a divine.

XXIV. Since the circle (according to philosophers) is a sophistical argument (by which the same thing is proved by itself) and is occupied about the same kind of cause in a circuit coming back without end into itself, the circle cannot be charged upon us when we prove the Scriptures by the Spirit, and in turn the Spirit from the Scriptures. For here the question is diverse and the means or kind of cause is different. We prove the Scriptures by the Spirit as the efficient cause by which we believe. But we prove the Spirit from the Scriptures as the object and argument on account of which we believe. In the first, the answer is to the question Whence or by what power do you believe the Scriptures to be inspired? (viz., by the Spirit). But in the second, the answer is to the question Why or on account of what do you believe that the Spirit in you is the Holy Spirit? (viz., on account of the marks of the Holy Spirit which are in the Scriptures). But the papists (who charge the circle upon us) evidently run into it themselves in this question, when they prove the Scriptures by the church and the church by the Scriptures; for this is done by the same means and by the same kind of cause. If we ask why or on account of what they believe the Scriptures to be divine, they answer because the church says so. If we ask again, why they believe the church, they reply because the Scriptures ascribe infallibility to her when they call her the pillar and ground of the truth. If we press upon them whence they know this testimony of Scripture to be credible (*autopiston*), they add because the church assures us of it. Thus they are rolled back again to the commencement of the dispute and go on to infinity, never stopping in any first credible thing. Nor is the question here diverse. In both instances, the question concerns the reason and argument on account of which I believe; not the faculty or principle by which I believe.

XXV. The church is called "the pillar and ground of the truth" (*stylos kai hedraiōma tēs alētheias*, 1 Tim. 3:15) not because she supports and gives authority to the truth (since the truth is rather the foundation upon which the church is built, Eph. 2:20), but because it stands before the church as a

pillar and makes itself conspicuous to all. Therefore it is called a pillar, not in an architectural sense (as pillars are used for the support of buildings), but in a forensic and political sense (as the edicts of the emperor and the decrees and laws of the magistrates were usually posted against pillars before the court houses and praetoria and before the gates of the basilica so that all might be informed of them, as noted by Pliny, *Natural History*, lib. 6, c. 28+ and Josephus,? AJ 1.70–71 [Loeb, 4:32–33]). So the church is the pillar of the truth both by reason of promulgating and making it known (because she is bound to promulgate the law of God, and heavenly truth is attached to it so that it may become known to all) and by reason of guarding it. For she ought not only to set it forth, but also to vindicate and defend it. Therefore she is called not only a pillar (*stulos*), but also a stay (*hedraiōma*) by which the truth when known may be vindicated and preserved pure and entire against all corruptions. But she is not called a foundation (*themelion*), in the sense of giving to the truth itself its own substructure (*hypostasin*) and firmness. (2) Whatever is called the pillar and stay of the truth is not therefore infallible; for so the ancients called those who, either in the splendor of their doctrine or in the holiness of their lives or in unshaken constancy, excelled others and confirmed the doctrines of the gospel and the Christian faith by precept and example; as Eusebius says the believers in Lyons call Attalus the Martyr (*Ecclesiastical History* 5.1 [FC 19:276]); Basil distinguishes the orthodox bishops who opposed the Arian heresy by this name (*hoi styloi kai to hedraiōma tēs alētheias*, *Letter* 243 [70] [FC 28:188; PG 32.908]); and Gregory Nazianzus so calls Athanasius. In the same sense, judges in a pure and uncorrupted republic are called the pillars and stays of the laws. (3) This passage teaches the duty of the church, but not its infallible prerogative (i.e., what she is bound to do in the promulgation and defending of the truth against the corruptions of its enemies, but not what she can always do). In Mal. 2:7, the "priest's lips" are said to "keep knowledge" because he is bound to do it (although he does not always do it as v. 8 shows). (4) Whatever is here ascribed to the church belongs to the particular church at Ephesus to which, however, the papists are not willing to give the prerogative of infallibility. Again, it treats of the collective church of believers in which Timothy was to labor and exercise his ministry, not as the church representative of the pastors, much less of the pope (in whom alone they think infallibility [*anamartēsian*] resides). (5)

Paul alludes here both to the use of pillars in the temples of the Gentiles (to which were attached either images of the gods or the laws and moral precepts; yea, even oracles, as Pausanius and Athenaeus testify) that he may oppose these pillars of falsehood and error (on which nothing but fictions and the images of false gods were exhibited) to that mystical pillar of truth on which the true image of the invisible God is set forth (Col. 1:15) and the heavenly oracles of God made to appear; and to that remarkable pillar which Solomon caused to be erected in the temple (2 Ch. 6:13; 2 K. 11:14; 23:3) which kings ascended like a scaffold as often as they either addressed the people or performed any solemn service, and was therefore called by the Jews the "royal pillar." Thus truth sits like a queen upon the church; not that she may derive her authority from it (as Solomon did not get his from that pillar), but that on her, truth may be set forth and preserved.

The passage of Augustine.

XXVI. The passage of Augustine, "I would not believe the gospel if the authority of the church did not move me" (*Against the Epistle of Manichaeus Called Fundamental* 5 [NPNF1, 4:131; PL 42.176]) does not favor the papists. First, Augustine speaks of himself as still a Manichean and not yet a Christian. What he places in the imperfect is equivalent to the preterite pluperfect: "I would believe and it would move" for "I would have believed and it would have moved"—a very common usage with the Africans (as the learned observe); cf. Augustine, "If I would then love that fruit" for "I would have loved" (*Confessions* 2.8 [FC 21:46; PL 32.682]). Second, the authority of which he speaks is not that of right and power (which our opponents here pretend), as if he would have believed because the church so ordered; but that of worth, derived from the great and remarkable proofs of the providence of God (visible in the church) such as miracles, the agreement of people, the succession, etc. (Augustine, *Against the Epistle of Manichaeus Called Fundamental* 4 [NPNF1, 4:130]) which can lead to faith, although unable to produce it primarily. Third, the external motive to faith is here alluded to and not the infallible principle of believing which chap. 4 teaches us is to be sought in the truth alone. For he acknowledges that truth is to be preferred before everything else, if it is so perfectly exhibited as that it cannot be called into question. "Let us follow

those who invite us to believe; first, when we are not as yet able to understand, so that being made more able by the faith itself we may deserve to understand what we believe, having not now men, but God himself as the informer and illuminator of our minds within us" (ibid., 14 [NPNF1, 4:136; PL 42.183]). Thus, Peter d'Ailly (*Questiones super libros senteniarum* [1490/1968], Q. 1, in Sec. 1, Art. 3, [pp. 4–10]) understands it; Canus, "De Locis Theologicis," 2.8 in *Opera* [1605], pp. 41–53; Gerson, Driedo and Durandus refer it to the primitive and apostolic church, not to the present for whose authority it is here contended. See our "Disputatio Theologica de Scripturae Sacrae Authoritate" in *Francisci Turrettini Opera* (1848), 4:253–68.

Seventh Question: The Canon

Has any canonical book perished? We deny

The word "canon" is used widely or strictly.

I. The distinctions of the word "canon" must be premised so that the various questions concerning the canon of Scripture may be more satisfactorily answered. It is used either widely or strictly. In the former sense, it was used by the fathers for the ecclesiastical decrees and constitutions by which the councils and rulers of the churches usually defined the things pertaining to faith, practice and good order (*eutaxian*). Such are the various canons both of the universal church and of the African church; and the collection of canons of Burchard, Ivo, Gratian and the canonical law itself contained in the Code of the Canons, as distinguished from the divine law included in the code of the sacred Scriptures. In the latter sense, it is applied by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*) to the Scriptures alone because God has given it to us as a rule of faith and practice. In this sense, it is called by Irenaeus "the invariable rule of truth" (*Kanōn tēs alētheias aklinēs*, *Against Heresies* 1.9*.4 [ANF 1:330; PG 7.545]); and by Chrysostom, "the exact scale, standard and rule of all things" (*hapantōn akribēs zygos kai gnōmōn kai kanōn*, Homily 13, *On Second Corinthians* [NPNF1, 12:346; PG 61.496–97]).

The canon of doctrines and of books.

II. But as the word of God can be considered in a twofold aspect (either for the doctrine divinely revealed or for the sacred books in which it is contained), so there can be a twofold canon: one of the doctrines, embracing all the fundamental doctrines; and the other of the books, containing all the inspired (*theopneustous*) books. The Scriptures are called canonical for a double reason, both with regard to the doctrines (because they are the canon and standard of faith and practice, derived from the Hebrew *qnh*, which signifies a "reed" or surveyor's pen and is so used in Gal. 6:16 and Phil. 3:16) and with respect to the books (because it contains all the canonical books). In this sense, Athanasius (near the beginning of *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* [PG 28.283]), tells us that the books of the Christians are not infinite but finite and comprehended in a "certain canon."

Statement of the question.

III. The first question concerns the integrity of the canon, whether any canonical book has perished or whether the collection of Scripture is now destitute of any book which God introduced into the canon. About this both the orthodox and papists are divided into various parties. Most papists contend that many canonical books have been lost in order that thus they may prove the imperfection of Scripture and the necessity of tradition to supply its defects. Some of our men (as Musculus and Whitaker, following Chrysostom) assert the same, but with a twofold difference. First they affirm this only of some books of the Old Testament and not of the New, as the papists. Second they think nothing is taken from the perfection of Scripture by this circumstance (as the papists do) because they do not infer the integrity of the canon from the number of the sacred books (or their quantitative perfection), but from the fullness of the doctrines and the essential perfection of all things necessary to salvation which abundantly exists in those books which still remain. Yet the more common and sounder opinion is that of those who hold that no books truly canonical have perished, and if any have perished, they were not worthy of this character.

That no canonical book has perished is proved by the testimony of Christ.

IV. Proof is derived: (1) from the testimony of Christ—"it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail" (Lk. 16:17; cf. Mt. 5:18). But if not even one tittle (or the smallest letter) could fail, how could several canonical books perish? Although Christ speaks directly of the doctrine of the law and not of its books, yet it can be applied analogically to them, so as to imply their preservation and so much the more. Mention is made not only of the letters and points of which the Scripture is made up, but also that God wished this doctrine to be preserved in the written books. (2) From the declaration of Luke and Paul: neither could Luke have made mention of all the prophets and of all the Scriptures (Lk. 24:27), if any portions of them had perished; nor could Paul have asserted that "whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning" (Rom. 15:4), unless they supposed that all the writings of the Old Testament existed.

From the providence of God.

V. (3) From the providence of God perpetually keeping watch for the safety of the church (which cannot be conceived to have allowed her to suffer so great a loss). Otherwise what would become of the wisdom and goodness and power of God if he had willed that such a precious treasure should be shown to his church and then taken away; and that the body of Scripture should exist at this day mutilated and defective? (4) From the duty of the church which is religiously to preserve the oracles of God committed to her and to search them diligently. That she has not been careless to her charge is evident even from this—that neither Christ nor his apostles ever charged the Jews with this crime. This sacrilege they (who did not omit lesser things) would not have passed over in silence, if they had been really guilty. Yea, Paul commends this privilege of the Jews because unto them were committed the oracles of God (*logia tou Theou*, Rom. 3:2; 9:4). (5) From the purpose of the Scripture which was committed to writing as a canon of faith and practice even to the consummation of ages which could not be

obtained, if (by the loss of some canonical books) a mutilated and defective canon (or rather no canon at all) has been left to the church. (6) From the practice of the Jews; because no more canonical books of the Old Testament were acknowledged by them than by us, nor copied in their Targums, nor translated by the Septuagint.

Sources of explanation.

VI. All things which men of God have written are not therefore divine and inspired (*theopneusta*). For they could study and write some things as men with historical care (according to the richness of their knowledge), some things as prophets by divine inspiration (according to the authority of religion). The former can be judged with freedom; the latter ought to be believed necessarily (as Augustine, CG 18.38 [FC 24:145–46] well remarks). As not everything they said was canonical, so neither everything they wrote. If therefore Solomon did write many books of parables and songs (as concerning plants and animals, 1 K. 4:32, 33), it does not follow that they were canonical. They could have been prepared by human diligence to exhibit the extensive knowledge of things with which he was furnished, but not as a proof of divine and supernatural inspiration.

VII. The books which are supposed to be lost were either not sacred and canonical (such as the book of the wars of the Lord [Num. 21:14]; the book of Jasher [Jos. 10:13*; 2 S. 1:18*]; chronicles of the kings of Judah and Israel [1 K. 14:19, 20; 15:7]), containing no religious doctrines, but either political annals in which the achievements of the Israelites were recorded or tables of public acts and political statutes, as is evident from 1 K. 11:41. Or the books, supposed to be lost, still remain under different appellations; as the books of Nathan and Gad (1 Ch. 29:29); and of Iddo (2 Ch. 9:29); of Shemaiah and Iddo (2 Ch. 12:15). As the Jews teach, and some of the fathers testify, and many papists of reputation confess (as Sixtus Senensis, Paul Burgensis, Ludovicus de Tena, Sanctius and others), these form part of the books of Samuel and of Kings.

VIII. The book of the Lord (which Isaiah 34:16 mentions) is no other than the prophecy he wrote in the name of the Lord. Therefore he calls it the book of Jehovah. The book of the Lamentations of Jeremiah at the death

of King Josiah (mentioned in 2 Ch. 35:25) still remains in the Lamentations.

IX. It is not said in Col. 4:16 that there was any epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans because it speaks of an epistle "from" (*ek Laodikeias*) not "to" (*pros Laodikeian*) Laodicea (which may have been an epistle written from the Laodiceans to Paul). Since there were some things in it profitable for the Colossians to know, Paul wished it to be read by them with his own. Hence it is evident with how little reason Faber Stapulensis wished to force an epistle to the Laodiceans upon the Christian world (which the wiser papists have acknowledged).

X. Jude 14 does not mention the book of Enoch, but only his prophecy. He is said to have prophesied, not to have written. But this book (if it ever existed) was never contained in the canon. This is evident from the silence both of Josephus and of Jerome and from this—that Moses is reckoned as the first canonical writer in Lk 24:27. Indeed it appears from Augustine (CG 15.23 [FC 14:474]) that there existed in his time an apocryphal book falsely ascribed to Enoch as its author, a fragment of which we owe to Joseph Scaliger ("Animadversiones in Chronologica Eusebi," in *Thesaurus temporum* [1606/1968], 2:244–45).

XI. If some passages are quoted from the Old Testament by the apostles, not now to be found expressly in any canonical book, it does not therefore follow that any canonical book in which they were contained has been lost. Either they may be found implicitly as to the sense (*kata dianoian*), as when Matthew says concerning Christ, "He shall be called a Nazarene" (2:23), which is taken either from Is. 11:1* (according to Jerome)* where Christ is called a "root"; or by intention (from Jdg. 13:5, where it treats of Samson the type of Christ who it is said shall be a "Nazarite unto God" from the womb). Or in that which is said in 1 Cor. 5:9 concerning the epistle which Paul had written to them, there is no objection to our considering it as referring to the one he is writing. A little before, he had ordered them to excommunicate the incestuous person, as when this epistle is read (Col. 4:16), viz., the one he was then writing (*hē epistolē*). Or they are merely historical, as what Jd. 9 says of the altercation between Satan and Michael about the dead body of Moses, which he could have learned either from tradition (as some hold) or from some ecclesiastical book (not canonical) that is lost.

XII. Although the autographs of the law and of the prophets (kept in the ark) may have been burnt up with it when the city was overthrown and the temple burned in the time of the Babylonian captivity, it does not therefore follow that all the sacred books perished then (which were again restored within forty days by Ezra as by a second Moses) because many copies could have been in the possession of the faithful from which afterwards the worship of God might have been restored (Ezr. 6:18; Neh. 8:2). Nor is it very likely that Ezekiel and the pious priests (as also Jeremiah, Gedaliah and Baruch who received permission to remain in Judea) would have been without them, especially when the preservation and reading of the sacred books belonged to them; in Daniel's case this is plain (Dan. 9:2). The passage 2(4) Esdras 4:23 (cf. 14:21), whence its universal destruction is argued, proves nothing (as it is apocryphal to papists themselves) and is refuted by another apocryphal book which is esteemed canonical by papists, which says that the ark in which was deposited the book of the law (Dt. 31:26) was preserved by Jeremiah in a cave of Mt. Nebo (2* Mac. 2:5*). The deep silence of Scripture especially refutes this fiction (which would not have passed by so great a loss without mention of public mourning) seeing that it so bitterly weeps over the pollution of the sanctuary, the destruction of Jerusalem, the taking away of the sacred vessels, the overthrow of the temple and other things. Ezra could therefore have labored to collect, yea and even to correct and restore the copies which had been corrupted in the captivity (which he could best do being inspired of God [*theopneustos*]), but there was no necessity for his giving it to the church entirely new.

EIGHTH QUESTION

Are the books of the Old Testament still a part of the canon of faith and rule of practice in the church of the New Testament? We affirm against the Anabaptists

Statement of the question.

I. This question brings us into collision with the Anabaptists who reject the books of the Old Testament from the canon of faith, as if they had not the

least reference to Christians and as if they should not draw from them doctrines of faith and rules of life. The Mennonites in their Confession (Article 11) teach that "all Christians, in matters of faith, ought to have recourse necessarily only to the gospel of Christ" ("Belydenisse naer Godts heylig woort," Art. 11 [?1600] in *The Bloody Theater or Martyrs' Mirror* [comp. T.J. van Braght, 1837/1987], p. 382). This is confirmed in the Colloquy of Frankenthal (*Protocol ... de Gansche Handelinge des Gesprecks te Franckenthal ... Gaspar van der Heyden*, Art. 1:57 [1571], p. 73). On the contrary, the orthodox maintain that the Old Testament no less than the New pertains to Christians and that from both, the doctrines of faith and rules of life must be drawn (French Confession, Articles 4, 5; First Helvetic Confession, Art. 1—cf. Cochrane, 145, 100).

II. The question does not concern the Old Testament in relation to the Mosaic economy, for we grant that this was so abrogated by Christ that there is no place for it any longer in the economy of grace. Rather the question concerns the Old Testament as to doctrine, whether there is no further use for it in the New Testament as a rule of faith and practice.

III. The question is not whether Christ reformed the law given in the Old Testament by correcting and perfecting it under the New (for we will treat of this hereafter with the Socinians). The question is whether the Old Testament Scripture pertains to Christians, so that from it no less than from the New Testament the rule of faith and practice ought to be drawn; and that the religion of Christ is contained in Moses and the prophets as well as in the New Testament and can be demonstrated from them. This our adversaries deny; we assert.

IV. Nor is the question about the distinction between the Old and New Testament and the difference in the doctrine which occurs in both. For we do not deny that this is far clearer in the New than in the Old Testament, both on account of the types in which they are enveloped and on account of the predictions and prophecies which are given in it. Rather the question concerns the principle of the Christian religion; whether it is only the books of the New Testament or also those of the Old. We maintain the latter.

Proof that the Old Testament is canonical to Christians.

V. The reasons are: (1) because Christ recommends the Old Testament and enjoins upon believers the hearing of Moses and the prophets (Lk. 16:29). This was not said to the Jews exclusively because a general precept is here given embracing all who desire to escape eternal punishment. What is here proposed as a precept, Peter recommends to the practice of Christians: "We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts" (2 Pet. 1:19). It cannot be objected that a limitation is added by Peter, that this applies only until the time of the New Testament when the day should dawn. If it is understood of the New Testament, the use of the word of prophecy is not therefore restricted by this expression until the time of the New Testament because the *to eōs hou* ("even until") is not always so positive of the past as to be exclusive of the future (this is evidenced by many passages: Gen. 28:15; Mt. 28:20*; 1 Cor. 15:25). But if it is referred to the day of eternal life (and so the rising of the day star in the firmament of glory, which is truly the day by way of eminence [*kat' exochēn*], which is clearly evident, because he writes to believers who had obtained like precious faith [*isotimon*] and so in their hearts the day of grace, and the day star of the gospel had already risen) then the argument becomes more powerful, viz., take heed unto this word of prophecy until the end of the world, until that happy day arises (which is the true day), since it will be perpetual and never followed by any night.

VI. (2) The New Testament church is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles (Eph. 2:20), i.e., upon their doctrines. Nor can the New Testament prophets be meant here as in Eph. 3:5 and 1 Cor. 12:28 because he speaks of the perpetual foundation of the universal church. Now the gift of prophecy under the New Testament was temporary, and the order of collation does not of itself imply a priority or posteriority of time or duration; as in Eph. 4:11*, the prophets of the New Testament are placed before the evangelists, and yet they were not in fact prior to them.

VII. (3) "Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope" (Rom. 15:4). Now although all things in the Scriptures are not equally important as to matter and use, yet all are equally so as to their source and authenticity (*authentias*) and therefore given equally for the good and edification of the church.

VIII. (4) The canon of the Old Testament suffices for faith and practice, and those sacred writings in which Timothy was instructed from his childhood (when the New Testament canon was not complete) could make him wise (*sophisai*) unto salvation (2 Tim. 3:15, 16). And if "the man of God" (i.e., the minister of the gospel) may be thoroughly furnished by them unto every good work, much more are they useful and necessary to the faith of a private man and the direction of his life. And Paul does not refer here only to the time preceding the writing of the New Testament because he speaks in general of all Scripture given by inspiration (*theopneustō*) of God (v. 16).

IX. (5) Christ directs the Jews to search the Scriptures (Jn. 5:39) that from them they might have eternal life. This was not said to the Jews indicatively only, but also imperatively. The design of Christ was to lead the Jews to the reading of the Scriptures, as the means of bringing them to a knowledge of himself and as an unexceptionable witness of himself. Even if Christ had spoken indicatively, it would have amounted to the same thing because he approved that practice.

X. (6) The Old Testament contains the same doctrine in substance with the New, both in matters of faith and practice; nor is any other gospel now set forth to us than that which was promised before in the prophetic writings (Rom. 1:2*; 16:25, 26). Hence Paul, who declared the whole counsel of God concerning salvation to Christians (Acts 20:27*), professes to have said no other things than those which the prophets and Moses said (Acts 26:22). And no other law is prescribed for us than that which was formerly introduced by Moses, commanding us to love God and our neighbor (Mt. 22:37, 39*).

XI. (7) If the Old Testament is not important for Christians, it could not be unexceptionably proved against the Jews that Jesus Christ of Nazareth is the true Messiah. This can be done only by a collation of Scriptures and a comparison (*synkrisin*) of marks predicted in the Old Testament concerning the Messiah and of their fulfillment in our Jesus under the New. This was often done by Christ and his apostles (Lk. 24:27, 44; Acts 10:43; 17:11; 26:22; Rom. 3:21). Without it, the Jews could not be convinced of their error and brought to faith because they acknowledge no other standard.

XII. By the law and the prophets (who should continue until John, Mt. 11:13*) are not meant the books of the Old Testament and their

continuance, but the economy of the Old Testament compared with that of the New (of which the former was prophetical, the latter evangelical; the one shadowy and typical, promising a Messiah to come, the other clear and open, announcing the Messiah as already come). Christ in comparing these two modes of revelation together said the former by prophecy (*prophēteian*) continued only until John because as the Messiah had come, he should no longer be predicted as about to come, but the other by the gospel (*euangelismon*, which announced the advent of Christ) began from John.

XIII. When the apostles are called "ministers of the spirit and not of the letter" (2 Cor. 3:5, 6), by letter we must not understand the books of the Old Testament, as if there would be no further necessity for them (since they elsewhere often make use of them), but the legal economy in contradistinction to the evangelical (which is in many respects better than the former, not only in clearness and extent, but principally in efficacy because it not only orders and commands duty as the law, but also works by the Spirit in writing the law upon the heart).

XIV. It is one thing for an old covenant to become antiquated as to the mode of administration and the accidents or the external observation of appendages to it (which Paul asserts, Heb. 8:13). It is a very different thing for it to become so as to the thing administered and the substance or internal form of the covenant itself (which we deny).

XV. It is one thing to speak of the life of the Old Testament ceremonies or of the law as related to them. It is quite another to speak of the duration, knowledge and contemplation of the books of the law and the prophets. That which has only a shadow of good things to come does not pertain to Christians, who have the express image of the things, as to practice and observation; yet it can pertain to them as to doctrine and knowledge and relation to the image (*tēn eikona*). Yea, from a comparison of the shadow with the real form, the body itself will stand out more distinctly.

XVI. Christ does not dispute against Moses and the real precepts of the law (Mt. 5), but acts rather as the interpreter and vindicator of the law, rejecting the corruptions and glosses which had been foisted onto it by the Jewish teachers and restoring it to its purity and genuine sense. This we will show particularly when we come to the law.

XVII. Although the New Testament is perfect intensively as to the substance of saving doctrine, yet it is not such extensively as to the whole

extent of divine revelation. For it speaks only of Christ already come and not of him about to come, which kind of testimony would be most useful to the confirmation of faith. So then the perfection of the books of the New Testament does not exclude the use of those of the Old, both because they testify to their dependence upon the Old Testament and because the reiterated testimony of many witnesses concerning the same thing is stronger with respect to us and greatly confirms (*asphaleian*) our faith.

XVIII. That which was in no way given by Christ, either mediately or immediately, does not pertain to Christians. But the law which was given by Moses was given also by Christ; by Moses as a servant, by Christ as the Lord. Hence this same angel which appeared to Moses in the wilderness (Acts 7:30, 38) and was Jehovah himself (Ex. 3:2), is said to have "spoken to Moses in Mount Sinai" because the Son of God (who is called the angel of the covenant of his presence) was the primary author and promulgator of that law (of which Moses was only the minister). Nor is the difference between the promulgation of the law and the gospel thus taken away because the Son of God operated in the law mediately only and as without a body (*asarkos*), but he is called the primary author of the gospel, immediately as incarnate (*ensarkos*, Heb. 2:3).

XIX. Christ is called the "end of the law" (Rom. 10:4) both because he was the mark at which the whole law aimed and because he was its perfection (*teleiōsis*) and fulfillment, not by abrogating every use of it, but by fulfilling its predictions and obeying it both in himself (by acting and suffering) and in his people (by writing it on their hearts). Hence he says, "I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it" (Mt. 5:17).

XX. Servants must not be listened to when their master is present, if they testify either without his permission or against him. But they can and ought to be heard, if with his consent they testify of him. This Moses and the prophets have done (Jn. 5:46; Acts 10:43) no less than the apostles. Christ (Lk. 16:29) expressly commands us to hear Moses and the prophets. This is not going back from Christ to Moses but proceeding from Moses (who is a schoolmaster to lead us to Christ, Gal. 3:24) to Christ.

XXI. The beginning of John's preaching is well called the "beginning of the gospel" (Mk. 1:1) as to the fulfillment and in relation to Christ as already set forth; not as to the promise and in relation to Christ about to be

set forth, which properly had place under the Old Testament (Rom. 1:2; Gal. 3:8; Is. 52:7; 61:1).

Ninth Question: The Apocryphal Books

Ought Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, the first two books of the Maccabees, Baruch, the additions to Esther and Daniel to be numbered among the canonical books? We deny against the papists

Why called Apocryphal.

I. The Apocryphal books are so called not because the authors are unknown (for there are some canonical books whose authors are unknown and some apocryphal books whose authors are known); not because they could be read only in private and not in public (for some of them may be read even in public), but either because they were removed from the crypt (*apo tēs kryptēs*) (that sacred place in which the holy writings were laid up) as Epiphanius and Augustine think; or because their authority was hidden and suspected, and consequently their use also was secret since the church did not apply to them to confirm the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines (as Jerome says, 'Praefatio in libros Salomonis' from "Hieronymi Prologus Galeatus" in *Biblia Sacra Vulgata Editionis Sixti V ... et Celementis VIII* [1865], p. lii); or, what is more probable, because they are of an uncertain and obscure origin (as Augustine says, CG 15.23* [FC 14:474]).

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not about the books of the Old and New Testament which we hold as canonical, for the papists agree with us as to these; nor about all the apocryphal books, for there are some rejected by the papists as well as by us (as the 3rd and 4th of Esdras, 3rd and 4th of Maccabees, the Prayer of Manasses, etc.). The question is only about Tobit, Judith, Baruch, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, 1 and 2 Maccabees, the additions to Esther and Daniel, which the papists consider canonical and we exclude from the canon—not because they do not contain many true and good things, but because they do not bear the marks of canonical books.

Why the Apocryphal books are excluded from the canon.

III. The reasons are various. (1) The Jewish church, to which the oracles of God were committed (Rom. 3:2), never considered them as canonical, but held the same canon with us (as is admitted by Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.39–41 [Loeb, 1:178–79], Becanus, *Manuale controversiarum* 1.1 [1750], pp. 11–12) and Stapelton, "De Principiis fidei doctrinalibus controversia," Cont. 5.7* in *Opera* [1620], 1:322–23). This they could not have done without the most grievous sin (and it was never charged upon them either by Christ or his apostles) if these books no less than the others had been committed to them. Nor should the canon of the Jews be distinguished here from that of Christians because Christians neither can nor ought to receive other books of the Old Testament as canonical than those which they received from the Jews, their book-servants "who carry the books of us students" (as Augustine calls them, "On Psalm 40 [41]" [NPNF1, 8:132; PL 36.463]). (2) They are never quoted as canonical by Christ and the apostles like the others. And Christ, by dividing all the books of the Old Testament into three classes (the law, the Psalms and the prophets, Lk. 24:44), clearly approves of the canon of the Jews and excludes from it those books which are not embraced in these classes. (3) The Christian church for four hundred years recognized with us the same and no other canonical books. This appears from the *Canons of the Synod of Laodicea* 59 (NPNF2, 14:158); Melito, bishop of Sardis, who lived 116 years A.D. (according to Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 4.26* [FC 19:262–63]); from Epiphanius ("De Epicureis," *Panarion* [PG 41.206–23]); Jerome ("Hieronymi Prologus Galeatus," in *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixti V ... et Clementis VIII* [1865], pp. xliii–lv); Athanasius (*Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* [PG 28.283–94]). (4) The authors were neither prophets and inspired men, since they wrote after Malachi (the last of the prophets); nor were their books written in the Hebrew language (as those of the Old Testament), but in Greek. Hence Josephus (in the passage referred to above) acknowledges that those things which were written by his people after the time of Artaxerxes were not equally credible and authoritative with those which preceded "on account of there not being an indisputable succession of prophets" (*dia to*

mē genesthai tēn tōn prophētōn akribē diadochēn, *Against Apion* 1.41 [Loeb, 1:178–79]).

IV. The style and matter of the books proclaim them to be human, not divine. It requires little acuteness to discover that they are the product of human labor, although some are more excellent than others. For besides the fact that the style does not savor of the majesty and simplicity of the divine style and is redolent with the faults and weaknesses of human genius (in the vanity, flattery, curiosity, mistaken zeal and ill-timed affectation of learning and eloquence, which are often met with), there are so many things in them not only foolish and absurd, but even false, superstitious and contradictory, as to show clearly that they are not divine but human writings. We will give a few specimens of the many errors. Tobias makes the angel tell a falsehood. He says that he is Azariah, the son of Ananias (Tob. 5:12*) and that he is Raphael, the angel of the Lord (12:15). The angel gives a magical direction for driving away the devil by the smoke of a fish's liver (Tob. 6:6), against that of Christ (Mt. 17:21). He arrogates to himself the oblation of prayers (Tob. 12:12), which belongs to the work of Christ alone. The book of Judith celebrates the deed of Simeon (Jud. 9:2), which Jacob cursed (Gen. 49:5–7); praises the deceits and lies of Judith (Jud. 11), which are not very consistent with piety. Worse still, she even seeks the blessing of God upon them (Jud. 9:13). No mention is made of the city Bethulia in the Scriptures; nor does any trace of the deliverance mentioned there occur in Josephus or Philo, who wrote on Jewish subjects. The author of Wisdom falsely asserts that he was king in Israel (Wis. Sol. 9:7, 8) that he might be taken for Solomon. Yet he alludes to the athletic contests which in the time of Solomon had not been established among the Greeks (Wis. Sol. 4:2). Further, he introduces the Pythagorean metempsychosis (*metempsychōsin*, Wis. Sol. 8:19, 20) and gives a false account of the origin of idolatry (14:15, 16). The Son of Sirach (Sir. 46:20) attributes to Samuel what was done by the evil spirit raised by wicked devices (1 S. 28:11), falsely speaks of Elijah's bodily return (Sir. 48:10), and excuses his oversights in the prologue.

V. There are so many contradictions and absurdities in the additions to Esther and Daniel that Sixtus Senensis unhesitatingly rejects them. Baruch says that in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, he read his book to Jeconiah and to all the people of Babylon; but Jeconiah was in

prison and Baruch had been taken away to Egypt after the death of Gedaliah (Jer. 43:7*). He mentions an altar of the Lord (Bar. 1:10) when there was none, the temple being destroyed. The books of the Maccabees often contradict each other (compare 1 Mac. 1:16 with 9:5, 28 and chapter 10). The suicide (*autocheiria*) of Razis is praised (2 Mac. 14:42). Will-worship (*ethelothrēskeia*) is commended (2 Mac. 12:42) in Judas's offering a sacrifice for the dead contrary to the law. The author apologizes for his youth and infirmity and complains of the painful labor of abridging the five books of Jason, the Cyrenian (2 Mac. 2:23*, 24; 15:39). If you wish any more specimens from these books, consult Rainold, Chamier, Molinaeus, Spanheim and others who have pursued this line of argument with fullness and strength.

Sources of explanation.

VI. The canon of faith differs from the canon of ecclesiastical reading. We do not speak here of the canon in the latter sense, for it is true that these apocryphal books were sometimes read even publicly in the church. But they were read "for the edification of the people" only, not "for establishing the authority of the doctrines" as Jerome says, *Praefatio ... in Libros Salomonis* (NPNF2, 6:492; PL 28.1308). Likewise the legends containing the sufferings of the martyrs (which were so called from being read) were publicly read in the church, although they were not considered canonical. But we speak here of the canon of faith.

VII. The word "canon" is used by the fathers in two senses; either widely or strictly. In the first sense, it embraces not only the canon of faith, but also the canon of ecclesiastical reading. In this way, we must understand the Third Council of Carthage, Canon 47 (Lauchert, p. 173) when it calls these canonical books (if indeed this canon has not been foisted in [*pareisaktos*] because it mentions Pope Boniface who was not at that time pope; hence Surius, the Monk [*Concilia omnia* (1567), 1:508*] attributes this canon to the Seventh Council of Carthage, not the Third) not strictly and properly of the canon of faith, but widely, of the canon of reading. The synod expressly says that the sufferings of the martyrs should also be read and so we must understand Augustine when he terms them "canonical." For he makes two orders of canonicals: the first of those which are received by all the

churches and were never called in question; the second of those which are admitted only by some and were usually read from the pulpit. He holds that the latter are not to be valued as rightly as the former and have far less authority (Augustine, *Reply to Faustus the Manichaean* 11.5* [NPNF1, 4:180]). But the Apocrypha are spurious, false and worthless writings—the fables of the Scriptures (Augustine, CG 15.23 [FC 14:474]). However the word "canon" is taken strictly for that which has a divine and infallible authority in proving the doctrines of faith. Jerome takes the word in this sense when he excludes those books from the canon. Thus Augustine attached a wider signification to the word "canon" than Jerome, who again takes the word "apocryphal" in a wider sense than Augustine, not only for books evidently false and fabulous, but also for those which (although they might be read in the church) should not be used to prove the doctrines of faith. Thus the seemingly contradictory expressions of these fathers may easily be reconciled. Thus Cajetan near the end explains them: "The words of councils as well as of teachers being brought to the test of Jerome, it will appear that these books are not canonical (i.e., regulars to establish matters of faith), although they may be called canonical (i.e., regulars for the edification of believers), since they were received into the Biblical canon for this purpose" ("In librum Hester commentarii," in *Quotquot in Sacra Scripturae* [1639], 2:400). Dionysius Carthusianus agrees with him (Prooemium in "Tobiam," in *Opera Omnia* [1898], 5:83–84).

VIII. The papists make a useless distinction between the canon of the Jews and that of Christians. For although our canon taken generally for all the books of the Old and New Testament (in which it adequately consists) is not equally admitted by the Jews, who reject the New Testament; yet if it is taken partially with reference to the Old Testament (in which sense we speak of it here), it is true that our canon does not differ from that of the Jews because they receive into the canon no other books than we do.

IX. When the fathers sometimes mention Deuterocanonical books, they do not mean such as are truly and in the same sense canonical as to faith, but only those which may be placed in the canon of reading on account of their usefulness for piety and edification.

X. The citation of any passage does not of itself prove a book to be canonical, for then Aratus, Menander and Epimenides (quoted by Paul in Acts 17:28; 1 Cor. 15:33; Tit. 1:12) would be canonical. (2) The same

passages which our adversaries bring forward as quotations from the Apocrypha are found in the canonical books, and the apostles would rather quote from these than from the former.

XI. If they are connected with canonical books, it does not follow that they are of equal authority, but only that they are useful in the formation of manners and a knowledge of history, not for establishing faith.

XII. Although some of the Apocryphal books are better and more correct than the others and contain various useful moral directions (as the book of Wisdom and the Son of Sirach), yet because they contain many other false and absurd things, they are deservedly excluded from the canon of faith.

XIII. Although some have questioned the authenticity of a few books of the New Testament (i.e., the epistle of James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John and Revelation, which afterwards were received by the church as canonical), it does not follow that the same can be done with the Apocryphal books because the relation of the books of the Old and New Testaments to this subject are not the same. For the books of the Old Testament were given to the Christian church, not at intervals of time and by parts, but she received at one and the same time from the Jews all the books belonging to her written in one codex after they had been stamped with an indubitable authority, confirmed by Christ and his apostles. But the books of the New Testament were published separately, in different times and places and gradually collected into one corpus. Hence it happened that some of the later books (which came to some of the churches more slowly, especially in remote places) were held in doubt by some until gradually their authenticity was made known to them. (2) Although in certain churches some of the epistles and Revelation were rejected, yet those who received them were always far more numerous than those who rejected them. Yet there was no dispute about the Apocryphal books because they were always rejected by the Jewish church.

Tenth Question: The Purity of the Sources

Have the original texts of the Old and New Testaments come down to us pure and uncorrupted? We affirm against the papists

I. This question lies between us and the papists who speak against the purity of the sources for the purpose of establishing more easily the authority of their Vulgate version and leading us away to the tribunal of the church.

II. By the original texts, we do not mean the autographs written by the hand of Moses, of the prophets and of the apostles, which certainly do not now exist. We mean their apographs which are so called because they set forth to us the word of God in the very words of those who wrote under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

III. The question is not Are the sources so pure that no fault has crept into the many sacred manuscripts, either through the waste of time, the carelessness of copyists or the malice of the Jews or of heretics? For this is acknowledged on both sides and the various readings which Beza and Robert Stephanus have carefully observed in the Greek (and the Jews in the Hebrew) clearly prove it. Rather the question is have the original texts (or the Hebrew and Greek manuscripts) been so corrupted either by copyists through carelessness (or by the Jews and heretics through malice) that they can no longer be regarded as the judge of controversies and the rule to which all the versions must be applied? The papists affirm, we deny it.

IV. However all the papists do not agree. There are some whom they call "Hebraizers" who have recognized the purity of the sources and openly defended it (as Sixtus Senensis, *Bibliotheca sancta* 8 [1575], 2:314–19; Bannes, *Scholastica commentaria in ... Summae Theologicae* [1585], I, Q. 1, Art. 8, 1:69, 70, 72; Andradius, *Defensio Tridentinae fidei catholicae* 4 [1580], pp. 574–709; Driedo, "De ecclesiasticis scripturis et dogmatibus," 2 in *Opera* [1572], 1:23–62; Arias Montanus, "Praefatio," *Biblia sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece et Latine* [1572], vol. 1; Joannes Isaacus, *Defensio veritatis Hebraicae sacrarum ... adversus ... Lindani* [1559]; Bonfrerius, *Pentateuchus Moysis Commentario ... totius Scripturae* 12.5 [1625], p. 43; Simeon de Muis, "Epistola," *Assertio veritatis Hebraicae adversus exercitationes ... Ioannis Morini* [1631] and many more). Others, on the contrary, vehemently urge the corruption of the sources: as Stapleton, Lindanus, Cano, Cotton, Morinus, Perronius, Gordon, etc. Others, unwilling to assert that the sources are corrupt, take a middle ground and hold that it is not a consequence of that purity and integrity that all things in the versions ought to be tested and amended by them. This is the opinion of

Bellarmine (VD 2.2, pp. 62–65) who on this subject as on others is not at all consistent with himself.

The providence of God proves that the sources have not been corrupted.

V. The following arguments prove that the sources have not been corrupted. (1) The providence of God which could not permit books which it willed to be written by inspiration (*theopneustois*) for the salvation of men (and to continue unto the end of the world that they might draw from them waters of salvation) to become so corrupted as to render them unfit for this purpose. And since new revelations are not to be expected (after God has recorded in the Scriptures his entire will concerning the doctrine of salvation), what can be more derogatory to God (who has promised his constant presence with the church) than to assert that he has permitted the books containing this doctrine to become so corrupt that they cannot serve as a canon of faith? (2) The fidelity of the Christian church and unceasing labor in preserving the manuscripts; for since Christians have always labored with great zeal to keep this sacred deposit uncorrupted, it is not credible that they would either corrupt it themselves or suffer it to be corrupted by others. (3) The religion of the Jews who have bestowed upon the sacred manuscripts great care and labor amounting even to superstition. Hence Josephus says that after the lapse of ages no one has dared either to add to or take away from or alter the peculiar books of the Jews in any respect and that they think it an honor to die for the Scriptures (*Against Apion* 1*.42 [Loeb, 1:180–81]). Philo, in his book on the departure of the Israelites from Egypt (cited by Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 8.6.357c [ed. Gifford, 1903], 1:387) goes further, asserting that "even up to his time, through a space of more than two thousand years, not so much as a word had been changed in the law of the Hebrews and that any Jew would rather die a hundred times, than suffer the law to be altered in the least." They carry their ridiculous superstition concerning the sacred manuscript to such a length that if a corrected book of the law fell on the ground, they proclaimed a fast and expressed their fears that the whole universe would return to its original chaos, so far were they from corrupting the

manuscripts. (4) The carefulness of the Masoretes not only about verses and words, but also about single letters (which, together with all the variations of punctuation and writing, they not only counted, but also wrote down, so that no ground or even suspicion of corruption could arise). Arias Montanus employs this argument in the "Praefatio" to his *Biblia sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece et Latine* (1572), vol. 1. (5) The multitude of copies; for as the manuscripts were scattered far and wide, how could they all be corrupted either by the carelessness of librarians or the wickedness of enemies? Augustine says, "No prudent man can believe that the Jews however perverse and wicked could do it, in copies so numerous and so far and widely diffused" (CG 15.13* [FC 14:440; PL 41.452]). Vives said this ought to be the reply to those "who argue that the Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New have been so falsified and corrupted as to make it impossible to draw the truth from these sources" (*Saint Augustine, of the Citie of God with ... comments of ... Vives* [1620], p. 519).

VI. (6) If the sources had been corrupted, it must have been done before Christ or after, neither of which is true. Not before because Christ would not have passed it over in silence (for he does censure the various departures in doctrine), nor could he bear to use corrupted books. Did he disregard the salvation of his people so far that he would neither himself, nor through his apostles, admonish us even by a word that the books of Moses and the prophets had been tampered with; while in the meantime he convicts the Jews from these very books (but to what purpose, if they had been corrupted and falsified?) and invites and urges his disciples to their perusal and search? Not afterward, both because the copies circulated among Christians would have rendered such attempts futile, and because no trace of any such corruption appears. For if this had been the case, why do we find the passages which Christ and the apostles quoted from Moses and the prophets just the same now as then and in no way corrupted? Why do Origen and Jerome, eminent scholars, so explicitly absolve the Jews from this crime? Therefore if no corruption took place either before or after the time of Christ, it never did (which argument Bellarmine follows, VD 2.2, pp. 62–65).

VII. (7) The Jews neither would nor could corrupt the sources. An examination of passages of Scripture proves that they were unwilling

(besides their religion of which we have spoken). If they had wished to corrupt anything, they would by all means have tampered with the prophecies which speak of Christ and confirm the faith of Christians. For who can believe that they (if, as is supposed, actuated by hatred towards the Christians) would have falsified those passages from which they could derive no advantage against Christians and left untouched those upon which (as immovable) Christians build the foundation of evangelical truth? The matter stands thus: whatever passages are said to have been corrupted by the Jews, oppose Christians little or not at all; and the most important prophecies concerning Christ remain complete and are much more clear and emphatic (*emphatikōtera*) in the Hebrew than in the versions (as Jerome, *Letter* 32 [74], "Ad Marcellam" [NPNF2, 6:45–46], Johannes Isaacus, *Defensio Veritatis Hebraicae sacrarum ... adversus ... Lindani* 2 [1559], pp. 61–122 and Andradius, *Defensio tridentinae fidei catholicae* 2 [1580], pp. 167–460 observe). That they could not do it, even if they had strongly desired, not only the multitude of copies proves, but also the watchfulness of the Christians whose copies not all the Jews together could corrupt. The provident wisdom of God (which will not suffer one jot or tittle to pass from the law till all be fulfilled, Mt. 5:18) has much less permitted the body of heavenly doctrine to be weakened by the Jews and so great a treasure to be taken away. He rather wished, as Bellarmine well remarks, "for this very purpose to scatter the Jews over the whole world and the books of the law and the prophets to be carried about that our enemies might afford a testimony to the truth of Christianity" (VD 2.2, arg. 5, p. 63). Hence Augustine calls the Jews "a book-case nation, carrying as porters the law and the prophets as slaves usually carry manuscripts, that they by carrying may be deficient and these by reading may be proficient; for the Jews serve us as book-slaves and amanuenses, carrying the books for us the students" (cf. *Reply to Faustus the Manichaean* 12*.23 [NPNF1, 4:191; PL 42.266]; *Psalm* 57 [56].7 [9] [NPNF1, 8:227; PL 36.666]; *Psalm* 41 [40].13 [14] [NPNF1, 8:132; PL 36.463]); "in heart enemies, in books witnesses" as he elsewhere expresses it (*On Faith in Things Unseen* 6.9 [FC 4:467; PL 40.179]).

Sources of explanation.

VIII. Although various corruptions might have crept into the Hebrew manuscripts through the carelessness of transcribers and the waste of time, they do not cease to be a canon of faith and practice. For besides being in things of small importance and not pertaining to faith and practice (as Bellarmine himself confesses and which, moreover, he holds do not affect the integrity of the Scriptures, VD 2.2, pp. 62–65), they are not universal in all the manuscripts; or they are not such as cannot easily be corrected from a collation of the Scriptures and the various manuscripts.

IX. The hatred of the Jews towards the Christians could indeed be the remote cause of the corruption of the sources, but this could be hindered by another superior cause (viz., by the providence of God which had the same prospective reference to the Christians concerning the sure rule of faith as to the Jews, that the gospel might be built up on an unmistakable basis). This could not have been, if he had suffered the sources to be corrupted.

X. The variance of the Septuagint from the original text does not imply that the text is corrupt, but rather the version is at fault. Jerome even in his time acknowledged this: 'Praefatio … in Pentateuchum Moysi*,' from "Hieronymi Prologus Galeatus" in *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixit V ... et Clementis VIII* (1865), p. xlviii; 'Praefatio … in librum Paralipomenon Praefatio,' from "Hieronymi Prologus Galeatus" in *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixti V ... et Clementis VIII* (1865), p. xlix; and *Letter* 106, "Ad Suniam et Fretellam" (PL 22.838). Bellarmine says that the Septuagint was so corrupted and falsified as to seem an entirely different thing, so that now it is not safe to correct the Hebrew or the Latin texts from the Greek manuscripts (VD 2.6, pp. 68–71).

XI. So far are the *keri* and *kethib* (which amount to 848 in number) from corrupting the text that they rather show the various readings of copies by which all corruptions of later hands are excluded. The same may be said of the *chasir* and *jother*, which mark grammatical defects or redundancies. From this is manifest the superstitious desire of the Masoretes to preserve the text, not to corrupt it even in the smallest degree.

XII. The *tikkun sopherim* (or corrections of the scribes) which are only eighteen, do not imply that there were corruptions in the text. Otherwise Christ (if they had been made before his time) or the orthodox fathers (if after his time) would not have passed them by without censure. Nor are they necessary corrections (as the reader can see), but rather choice

readings. They are not so much changes of the sense as of words, made either by men of the great synagogue (of whom Ezra, inspired of God [*theopneustos*] was the chief, who after the return from the Babylonian captivity entirely restored the copies of the sacred books which had been scattered or corrupted and arranged them in their present order); or by the authors themselves (who after the manner of rhetoricians made corrections in the text). But that they are not all necessary, the thing itself proves because the sense is complete, the words in the text being retained; see Glassius, *Philologia sacra* (1713), 1, "Tractatus 1: De integritate and puritate Hebraei V. Test.," pp. 1–174.

XIII. The similarity of certain letters might indeed have been the occasion of the introduction of errors into the various manuscripts through the negligence of transcribers, but they could not have been so universal as not to be detected by others; especially after the work of the Masoretes, who numbered not only the words, but even the letters as often as they occur in the text.

XIV. So far is the work of the Masoretes from being a proof of the corruption of the sources that, on the contrary, it was intended to guard against errors, so that not even one small point could afterwards be altered or destroyed.

XV. Although the apostle renders by *phthongon* (Rom. 10:18) what is expressed by *qvm* (Ps. 19:4 [5]), it does not follow that the Hebrew text is incorrect and that *qvm* ("their line") is put instead of *qvlm* ("their voice" or "sound"). For *qv* signifies not only an extended or perpendicular line, but also a written line or letter by which boys are taught their elements. In Is. 28:10, this word is used to designate the untaught infancy of the people of Israel where the prophet says this people must be taught "precept upon precept, and line upon line" like children. So the psalmist says, "day teaches day and night unto night showeth knowledge" (Ps. 19:2). Now *phthongos* not unfitly answers to this word, as it is not only taken for the sound but also for the writing of a letter, just as we speak of a written diphthong and vowel. Further, Paul does not quote this passage as a proof, but only allusively and by anagoge accommodates it to the preaching of the gospel by the apostles, having regard to the sense rather than to the words.

XVI. The corrupting of words is different from misinterpretation. The Jews have misinterpreted Is. 9:6 (5), so as to make the words *vykr'shmv*

("and he shall call his name") refer to the father who calls, not to Christ who is called. But they have not altered the words, for whether taken passively or actively it comes to the same thing. According to the Hebrew idiom, the future active without a subject often has a passive signification; as Ribera, *In librum duodecim prophetarum Commentarii* (1611), p. 303 (on Mic. 2, par. 17). Thus verbs of the third person taken impersonally can be translated now actively and then passively. Therefore the Hebrew lection ("and he shall call his name") must not be altered, but must be explained by supplying the subject; not God the Father (according to the Jews), but everyone (viz., of believers) shall call his (i.e., Christ's) name; and for the sake of clearness it must be taken passively, "his name shall be called." Thus also in Jer. 23:6, there is a difference in the interpretation. Not in the words which are properly given, either in the singular ("he shall call him"), the nominative preceding Israel and Judah (as the Septuagint has it); or in the plural ("they shall call") as Pagninus, Vatablus and Arias Montanus translate it following the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic and Vulgate versions. Jerome retains both readings ("he" and "they shall call") (*Commentariorum in Jeremiam* [PL 24.820] on Jer. 23:6). Nor would any of the ancients say that this was corrupted.

XVII. In Gen. 49:10, the three targums of Onkelos, of Jerusalem, and of Jonathan and Kimchi understand *shylh* of the Messiah. It is evident that the Jews have not corrupted this passage to prove that the Messiah had not yet come. Besides, the name *shylh* which is attributed to the Messiah in the Talmud (BT [1935], "Sanhedrin," 2:667) is no less opposed to the Jews and indicative of Christ than the word *shylh* ("sent"), which they maintain as the true reading, whether it is derived from *shyl*, which means "a son"; or from *shlh* which means "peaceful"; or as the Septuagint has it (and more appropriately for *'shr lv, hō apokeitai*, "to whom the kingdom belongs") as we find a similar phrase in Ezk. 21:27*.

XVIII. Zech. 9:9 has not been tampered with, when it is predicted of the Messiah that he shall be a king, just and *nvsh'*. This word may be taken either passively (to denote that he was to be saved from death, as the apostle says in Heb. 5:7); or that he was to save himself (as in Is. 63:5*); or as a deponent, it may be used actively, many instances of which are met with in Hebrew; as *nshb'* ("he swore"), *nsl* ("he despoiled"). Thus it will be a participle signifying the same as *mvshy'* ("liberator," "savior").

XIX. Although the sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt (Ex. 12:40) is said to have been 430 years (which cannot be understood of the time spent in Egypt alone, which was only 215 years; but concerning the time spent both in the land of Canaan and in Egypt, as the Samaritan and Greek parallel texts explain it), the Hebrew manuscripts ought not to be pronounced corrupt for the following reason. It is introduced by way of synecdoche (mentioning only Egypt) because it was the most remarkable exile of the Israelites, the denomination being made from the letter.

XX. There are no verses omitted in Ps. 14(15), for those quoted in Rom. 3:11–18 are not taken from this by the apostle, but collected from many Psalms (as from Ps. 5:9, 10[11]:7, 36:1, 140:3 and Is. 59:7, 8, which Jerome mentions "Preface" in Book 16, *Commentariorum in Isaiam* [PL 24.547]).

XXI. There is no corruption in the Greek text of 1 Cor. 15:47, but only in the Vulgate. The latter omits the word *Kyrios* (which here refers to Christ to make it evident that the Lord is Jehovah, not a mere man). Thus the antithesis of the first and second Adam becomes much stronger: "the first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven."

XXII. Although the doxology (*doxologia*) which appears at the end of the Lord's Prayer (Mt. 6:13), is not found in Lk. 11, nor in the various copies, it does not follow that the passage is corrupt because our Lord may have twice proposed the same form of prayer: first in the private instruction of his disciples without it and then to a promiscuous crowd where he added it. Nor is it unusual for one evangelist to omit what another has mentioned, since they did not think it necessary to record absolutely everything; as for instance Mt. 6:33 has "seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness," but Lk. 12*:31 simply "seek the kingdom of God." We must not therefore erase, but supply from Matthew what Luke has omitted, since both were inspired (*theopneustos*), especially as the full form exists in all the Greek copies of Matthew, according to Erasmus and Beza.

XXIII. Although in some manuscripts, we read *kairō douleuontes* ("serving time," Rom. 12:11), it does not appear in all. Indeed Franciscus Lucas says that he saw six manuscripts in which the word *Kyriō* occurs. Beza asserts that it is so in all the most approved manuscripts (*Annotationes maiores in Novum ... Testament: Pars Altera* [1594], p. 133 on Rom. 12:11) and Dominic de Soto observes that this is the universal reading both in the Greek and Latin.

XXIV. It is true that all the Greek copies differ from the Latin on 1 Jn. 4:3, for where the Greek have "every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh," the Latin read "every spirit that denies Jesus." Yet it does not follow that the sources are corrupt because the Greek reading is both more majestic and far stronger against the Nestorians and Eutychians.

XXV. A corruption differs from a variant reading. We acknowledge that many variant readings occur both in the Old and New Testaments arising from a comparison of different manuscripts, but we deny corruption (at least corruption that is universal).

XXVI. It is one thing to speak of the attempts of heretics to corrupt some manuscripts (which we readily allow). They gave rise to the complaints of the fathers; as concerning Marcion (Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1.27 [ANF 1:352]); and Origen on Rom. 16:13 (*Commentariorum ... ad Romanos* [PG 14.1271]); and Theodoret of Cyrrhus concerning Tatian (*Haereticarum fabularum compendium* [PG 83.370–71]). It is quite a different thing to speak of their success or of entire universal corruption. This we deny, both on account of the providence of God, who would not permit them to carry out their intention, and on account of the diligence of the orthodox fathers, who having in their possession various manuscripts preserved them free from corruptions.

Eleventh Question: The Authentic Version

Are the Hebrew version of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New the only authentic versions? We affirm against the papists

I. Of the versions of the Scriptures; some are *prōtotypoi* or *archetypoi* ("original" and "primary") which the authors themselves used. Others are *ektypoi* (or "secondary"), namely versions flowing from them into other languages. All admit that the Hebrew of the Old and the Greek of the New Testament are the original and primitive. But we and the papists dispute whether each is authentic, of itself deserving faith and authority and the standard to which all the versions are to be applied.

The opinion of the papists.

II. Some of the papists may be more favorable to the sources, asserting their purity (as we have already seen), ascribing authenticity to them as a consequence of purity and maintaining that all the versions and even the Vulgate ought to be referred to and can be corrected by them: as Sixtus Senensis (*Bibliotheca sancta* 8, haer. 2 [1575], 2:314–19); Driedo ("De ecclesiasticis scripturis et dogmatibus," 2 in *Opera* [1572], 1:23–62); Andradius (*Defensio tridentinae fidei catholicae* 2 [1580], pp. 167–460) and others. Yet many are more hostile to them, holding that there is no certainty in the Hebrew text, that we should not refer to the sources in controversies of faith, nor correct the Vulgate version by them: as Stapleton ("De Principiis fidei doctrinalibus controversia," Cont. 5, Q. 3, Art. 1 in *Opera* [1620], 1:771–74); Cano ("De Locis Theologicis," 2.11 and 2.13 in *Opera* [1605], pp. 65–85, 90–100); Lindanus and others who argue for the corruption of the sources. This opinion arose from a decree of the Council of Trent Session 4, which says that "the Latin Vulgate should be held as authentic in the public reading, disputations, preaching, and expositions, so that no one should dare to reject it under any pretext" (Schroeder, pp. 18, 297). A number of the papists (ashamed of this decree) endeavor to attach a different meaning to it, as if the Council had decreed nothing against the authenticity of the originals, nor preferred the Vulgate to the sources, but only chose one of the Latin versions then circulating as better than the rest (Bellarmine, VD 2.10, pp. 75–77). This is also the opinion of Andradius, Salmeron, Serarius and others. But Bannes properly exclaims against this as a distortion of the synodical decree and the very words of the decree plainly show it. For if it ought to be considered authentic, so that no one should dare to reject it under any pretext, is it not put on an equality with the sources themselves; yea, even exalted above them? And even if it varies from the sources, it is not to be corrected by them, but they rather corrected by it. Hence Mariana complains that after this promulgation of the Council of Trent, "the Greek and Hebrew fell at one blow" (*de V.V.*, p. 99+). Our opinion is that the Hebrew of the Old and the Greek of the New Testament have always been and still are the only authentic versions by which all controversies of faith and religion (and all versions) ought to be approved and tested.

What is an authentic writing?

III. An authentic writing is one in which all things are abundantly sufficient to inspire confidence; one to which the fullest credit is due in its own kind; one of which we can be entirely sure that it has proceeded from the author whose name it bears; one in which everything is written just as he himself wished. However, a writing can be authentic in two ways: either primarily and originally or secondarily and derivatively. That writing is primarily authentic which is *autopiston* ("of self-inspiring confidence") and to which credit is and ought to be given on its own account. In this manner, the originals of royal edicts, magistrates' decrees, wills, contracts and the autographs of authors are authentic. The secondarily authentic writings are all the copies accurately and faithfully taken from the originals by suitable men; such as the scriveners appointed for that purpose by public authority (for the edicts of kings and other public documents) and any honest and careful scribes and copiers (for books and other writings). The autographs of Moses, the prophets and apostles are alone authentic in the first sense. In the latter sense, the faithful and accurate copies of them are also authentic.

IV. Again, the authority of an authentic writing is twofold: the one is founded upon the things themselves of which it treats and has relation to the men to whom the writing is directed; the other is occupied with the treatise itself and the writing and refers to the copies and translations made from it. Over all these this law obtains—that they ought to be referred to the authentic writing and if they vary from it, to be corrected and emended. The former authority may be either greater or lesser according to the authority of him from whom the writing comes and in proportion to the power which he has over the persons to whom he directs his writing. But in the sacred Scriptures this authority is the very highest, such as can be in no other writing, since we are bound straightway to believe God for that supreme power which he has over men as over all other things, and for that highest truth and wisdom distinguishing him, and to obey in all things which his most sacred word (contained in the authentic Scripture) enjoins for belief or practice. But the latter consists in this, that the autographs and also the accurate and faithful copies may be the standard of all other copies of the same writing and of its translations. If anything is found in them different from the authentic writings, either autographs or apographs, it is unworthy

of the name authentic and should be discarded as spurious and adulterated, the discordance itself being a sufficient reason for its rejection. Of the former authority we spoke in Question Four, "On the Divinity of the Scriptures." We will now treat of the other which occurs in the authentic version.

V. Finally, authenticity may be regarded in two ways: either materially as to the things announced or formally as to the words and mode of annunciation. We do not speak here of authenticity in the former sense for we do not deny this to versions when they agree with the sources, but only in the latter which belongs to the sources alone.

The Hebrew of the Old and the Greek of the New Testament are the only authentic editions.

VI. The reasons are: (1) because the sources alone are inspired of God both as to the things and words (2* Tim. 3:16); hence they alone can be authentic. For whatever the men of God wrote, they wrote under the influence of the Holy Spirit (2 Pet. 1:21), who, to keep them from error, dictated not only the matter but also the words, which cannot be said of any version. (2) They are the standard and rule to which all the versions should be applied, just as the copy (*ektypon*) should answer to the pattern (*archetypon*) and the stream be distinguished from its source. Here pertains the canon of Gratian, "As the faith of the old books must be tested by the Hebrew volumes, so the truth of the new needs the Greek writing for its rule" ("Decreti, Pt. I," Dist. 9*.6 in *Corpus luris Canonici* [ed. A. Friedberg, 1955], 1:17). Jerome is full on this subject that he may defend the authority of the Hebrew text as the fountain to which all the streams of the versions ought to be traced and by it corrected (*Letter* 26 [102], "Ad Marcellam" [PL 22.430–31]; *Letter* 72, "Ad Vitalem" [PL 22.673–76]; *Letter* 106, "Ad Suniam et Fretellam" [PL 22.837–67]). (3) These editions were authentic from the very first and were always considered to be so by the Jewish and Christian church many centuries after Christ. Nor can any reason be given why they should now cease to be authentic. As to the argument from corruption (besides taking for granted the thing to be proved), it has been already answered by us.

VII. (4) If the Hebrew edition of the Old Testament and the Greek edition of the New Testament are not authentic (*authentias*), there would be no authentic version, since none besides this has a divine testimony of its own authenticity. Thus there would be no authentic word of God in the church, no end of contentions because there would be no sure rule of faith and practice in which we might have full confidence. And the Scriptures, like a wax nose or the Lesbian rule, could be turned at pleasure any way. (5) Our opponents acknowledge that in certain cases it is right to have recourse to the sources. Bellarmine asserts: (a) "when in the Latin manuscripts there appears an error of the copyists; (b) when they have various readings and there is an uncertainty as to the true one; (c) when there is any ambiguity in the words or things; (d) when the force (*energeia*) and meaning of the words are not fully expressed" (VD 2.11, p. 78). Now this could not be done if the sources were not authentic. Arias Montanus shows by various considerations that the errors of the versions could not be corrected except upon the truth of the primitive language ("Praefatio," *Biblia sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece et Latine* [1572], vol. 1). Vives thinks that the sources ought surely and unquestionably to be appealed to (*Saint Augustine, of the Citie of God ... with ... comments of Lodovicus Vives* 14.8 [1620], p. 480). Salmeron, Bonfrerius, Masius, Muis, Jansen, with their disciples and others, are of the same opinion.

Sources of explanation.

VIII. The various readings which occur do not destroy the authenticity of the Scriptures because they may be easily distinguished and determined, partly by the connection of the passage and partly by a collation with better manuscripts. Some are of such a kind that although diverse, they may nevertheless belong to the same text.

IX. Although various contentions may spring from the Hebrew and Greek sources, yet it does not follow that they cannot be authentic. If that were the case there would be no authentic edition at all for us to consult, since every language will supply sufficient material of controversy to the contentious. Then again this is not the fault of the sources, but of those who abuse them, either by not understanding or by twisting the words to suit their own purposes and pertinaciously adhering to them.

X. There is no truth in the assertion that the Hebrew edition of the Old Testament and the Greek edition of the New Testament are said to be mutilated; nor can the arguments used by our opponents prove it. Not the history of the adulteress (Jn. 8:1–11), for although it is lacking in the Syriac version, it is found in all the Greek manuscripts. Not 1 Jn. 5:7, for although some formerly called it into question and heretics now do, yet all the Greek copies have it, as Sixtus Senensis acknowledges: "they have been the words of never-doubted truth, and contained in all the Greek copies from the very times of the apostles" (*Bibliotheca sancta* [1575], 2:298). Not Mk. 16 which may have been wanting in several copies in the time of Jerome (as he asserts); but now it occurs in all, even in the Syriac version, and is clearly necessary to complete the history of the resurrection of Christ.

XI. In order to weaken the authenticity (*authentian*) of the Hebrew edition, our opponents have recourse to the "newness of the points" (in vain, as if the punctuation was only a human invention devised by the Masoretes and therefore founded upon human authority, not upon divine and infallible authority; and that it can be changed at pleasure without risk and so always leave the meaning of a passage uncertain and doubtful). Several answers may be given to this. (1) Bellarmine agrees with us here "the errors arising from the points do not interfere with truth because they have come from without and do not change the text" (VD 2.2, p. 65). (2) On this hypothesis, not only does the certainty of the original text fall, but also that of the Vulgate which was taken from that source (unless it can be proved that the first author of that version—whether he was Jerome or some other one—received a revelation of necessary words directly from the Spirit which, were this not the case, it would be certain he had received from the tradition of the Jews; if this were uncertain, the whole authority of the sacred text would totter).

XII. (3) Even if the points were lately added (as they maintain who trace their origin to the Masoretes of Tiberias), it would not follow that the punctuation was a merely human invention, depending solely upon human will (which, if established, would greatly weaken the authenticity of the Hebrew manuscript; because the points, at least according to those who hold this opinion, are not supposed to have been made at the pleasure of the Rabbis, but according to the analogy of Scripture, the genius of the sacred language and the sense established by usage among the Jews). For although

(according to this latter hypothesis) the points may not have been from the beginning as to form, still it cannot be denied that they were always as to sound and value or power. Otherwise since vowels are the souls of consonants, a doubtful sense (and in fact no sense at all) would constantly arise from the words, unless they were coeval with the consonants. Prideaux well observes, "No one will deny that the points and accents have been from the first as to sound and value, but only as to the marks and characters" (Lectio 12, "De Punctorum Hebraicorum origine," in *Viginti-duae Lectiones* [1648], pp. 195, 197). And a little afterwards, "the vowels were coeval with the consonants as to sound and subjective power, although the marks and signs might not then have been known" (ibid., p. 197). Indeed it can scarcely be doubted that the vowels were represented, if not by their present form, yet by some marks in place of points (viz., by the letters *'vy*, as some think) which moreover are called *matres lectionis*, so that the certain and constant sense of the Holy Spirit might be gathered (otherwise it would depend upon mere tradition, and the regulations and memory of men might easily be forgotten and corrupted). This is the opinion of the very learned Walton: "By the use, and according to tradition, by the aid of the three letters *'vy*, called *matres lectionis*, and standing in the place of vowels before the invention of points, the true reading and pronunciation has been preserved" ("De Textuum originariorum integritate et auctoritate," [Prolegomena, 7] in *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* [1657], 1:44).

XIII. (4) The adversaries take for granted the very thing to be proved—that the points are a human and recent invention, the contrary of which the Jews with great unanimity thus far (except one Eli, a Levite, who lived a hundred years ago) have asserted. In their footsteps follow many celebrated men, grammarians as well as theologians, Protestants and papists: Junius, Illyricus, Reuchlin, Munster, Cevalerius, Pagninus, M. Marinus, Polanus, Diodati, Broughton, Muis, Taylor, Bootius, Lightfoot, the great majority of modern theologians, and the Buxtorfs, who here say everything before them—the father in his *Tiberias, sive commentarius Masorethicus triplex* (1665), and the son in that very weighty work (*Anticritica: seu vindiciae veritatis Hebraicae* [1653]) in which he opposed the *Arcanii punctationis L. Cappelli vindiciae adversus Joh. Buxtorfii* (in Louis Cappel's, *Commentarii et notae criticae in Vetus Testamentum* [1689], pp. 795–979). Nor would it be difficult to establish this opinion by various arguments, if appropriate

here. But as this question seems rather to be grammatical than theological, we are unwilling to bring it into our field. Suffer us briefly to say that we have always thought the truer and safer way to keep the authenticity (*authentian*) of the original text safe and sound against the cavils of all profane persons and heretics whatever and to put the principle of faith upon a sure and immovable basis, is that which holds the points to be of divine origin, whether they are referred to Moses or to Ezra (the head of the great Synagogue). Therefore, the adversaries err who wish to impugn the authority of the Hebrew manuscript from the newness of the points.

Twelfth Question

Is the present Hebrew text in things as well as words so authentic and inspired (theopneustos) *in such a sense that all the extant versions are to be referred to it as a rule and, wherever they vary, to be corrected by it? Or may we desert the reading it supplies, if judged less appropriate, and correct it either by comparison of ancient translators, or by suitable* (stochastikē) *judgment and conjecture, and follow another more suitable reading? We affirm the former and deny the latter*

I. As the authority (*authentia*) of the sacred text is the primary foundation of faith, nothing ought to be held as more important than to preserve it unimpaired against the attacks of those who endeavor either to take it entirely away or in any manner to weaken it. For this purpose, the preceding controversy against the papists was taken up. The present question has the same object. In it we will examine the opinion of the celebrated Louis Cappel who, as in his *Arcanum punctationis*, undertook most strenuously to defend the newness of the points as a recent invention of the Masoretes and therefore originating in human diligence and labor. Thus in his *Critica sacra* he strives earnestly to prove that we are not so bound to the present Hebrew text but that we may often lawfully depart from it whenever we can get another better and more suitable reading, either from a comparison of ancient interpreters or by the exercise of right reason or by proper judgment and conjecture (which he fully discusses in *Critica sacra* 6.4–5 [1650], pp. 391–408). In taking up this subject, we do not wish to detract from the reputation of a man deserving well otherwise of

the church of God, but only to confirm the opinion thus far constantly held in the church concerning the unimpaired authority (*authentia*) of the sacred text, against those who do not hesitate at this time to adopt these peculiar opinions (*kyrias doxas*) and new hypotheses, or speak of them as trivial and of very little or of no importance to faith.

II. His opinion comes to this: (1) Because the points are a human invention, they can (when necessity calls for it) be altered, and others substituted in their place when the sense which they give is either false or absurd. (2) Not only are we at liberty to change the reading as to the points, but as to the writing itself; still the freedom is greater concerning the former than concerning the latter because the Masoretes (to whom we ought to be bound) often made the former at their pleasure and by the exercise of private judgment. (3) If it can be shown from a collation of ancient interpreters (whether Greek, Chaldee or Latin) that the sense of the versions is either equally good and appropriate or truer and more suitable than that of our Hebrew copy, it will be lawful to change the present reading and to substitute another in its place. (4) This can be done not only from a comparison of interpreters, but also, if we can discover an error in the present reading and a worthless or an absurd and false sense, and can (either by right reason and by the natural faculty of reason or by conjecture) find a plainer and more suitable sense (though a different reading), then in such cases it will be lawful to discard the present reading and to prefer the other. That such is his opinion appears from many passages and particularly from this: “From these it follows that if any reading differing from the present Hebrew text, as to the consonants or letters, and so also as to the words and whole periods, gives a better sense, it is more genuine, true and suitable, wherever it may be found, whether with the LXX, or the Chaldee paraphrases, with Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion or Jerome (the author of the Vulgate version) and therefore should be followed and embraced rather than that of the Masoretes” (*Critica sacra* 6.5.9 [1650], p. 402). This he often confirms elsewhere.

III. In order to strengthen this opinion, he brings forward another hypothesis; viz., that the Hebrew manuscripts (which the Septuagint and other interpreters used) differed from that now in use (which he calls contemptuously the Masoretic and Jewish manuscript), and that the discrepancies of the ancient versions from the present Hebrew copy are so

many various readings of the Hebrew text (with the exception perhaps of those which have arisen from the blunders of interpreters who either did not get the signification of the Hebrew words or did not pay sufficient attention to them). Hence he denies that our Hebrew Bible constitutes the sole source, asserting that it should be regarded as only one copy and that the true and genuine original authoritative text must be gathered and formed from a collation of all the ancient versions. Thus he distinguishes between the "Hebrew Codex in itself and the present Masoretic Codex." The former exists in all the copies which we now have, whether among the Jews or among Christians. The former is to be collected from a comparison of the present text with the ancient versions, which in certain cases he not only puts on an equality with, but also plainly prefers to the present Codex, since he holds that the sense which they give should be followed as truer and more proper than another which the present Codex gives (as we have seen above). "As much regard should be paid to the Septuagint as to the present Codex, not only when the former gives a better sense but also when it gives a sense just as good and appropriate because the Septuagint is more ancient, and in an equality of reading and sense, the authority of the more ancient prevails" (*De Critica ... epistola apologetica in qua Arnoldi Bootii* [1651]. p. 38. Also ibid. (last quote in the section). And a little afterwards: "The authority of the Septuagint is above that of the present standard, not only in those places where its reading gives a better sense, but also where it gives one as good and appropriate, and that because it is the more ancient. The same can and ought to be said of all the codices of the ancient interpreters."

IV. Far different however is the opinion held in common by our churches; viz., that no other codex should be held as authentic than the present Hebrew one, to which as to a touchstone, all the ancient and modern versions should be referred and if they differ from it be corrected by it, and not it to be amended by them. But although they think the various codices can and ought to be compared with each other that the various readings, arising from the carelessness of transcribers may be discerned; and the errors in whatever codex they occur may be corrected; and do not hesitate to say that no little help in acquiring the true sense comes from a collation of the ancient versions; yet they do deny that they can ever be made equal to, much less be preferred to the original text, so as to make it lawful to adhere to the sense which they give and which may seem to us more

appropriate and to reject another which flows from a reading of the present text.

V. That this has ever been the opinion of all Protestants is perfectly clear. The controversy carried on previously with the papists about the authentic edition sufficiently confirms it. The illustrious author in question cannot deny it, for in the beginning of his *Critica sacra*, he says, "The first and most ancient Protestants have said that all things should be examined and corrected by the Hebrew text, which they call the purest source" (1.1 [1650], pp. 3–4). Sixtinus Amama in his celebrated work *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus* (1656) confirms this after proposing his own opinion on the subject. "We conclude," says he, "that all the versions without exception, ancient as well as modern, should be tested by it" (viz., the Hebrew text); "that it is even now the standard, canon and rule of all versions" (1.3, p. 33); and "that therefore no version whatever can be put on an equality with the Hebrew text much less be preferred to it. Thus all Protestants think concerning all versions, whether ancient or modern" (1.4, p. 35).

Statement of the question.

VI. From this the state of the question may easily be inferred. The question is not whether it is lawful to compare the versions with each other and with the original in ascertaining the true sense. Rather the question is whether it is lawful to make equal or prefer to it a reading which arises from them (and seems more appropriate) by substituting it in place of a present reading (in our judgment giving no sense or an absurd and false one). The question is not whether there are not various discrepancies between the present text and the ancient versions; but whether these discrepancies are to be considered as so many various readings of the Hebrew Codex, so that the authentic readings can be no other than that which arises from the collation of the present text and the ancient versions. Lastly, the question is not whether in the examination and collation of codices (both manuscript and printed) we can use our own judgment and the reasoning faculty to distinguish the more approved and to decide which reading is better and more suitable; but whether it is lawful to make critical conjectures about the sacred text (just as in profane authority) by changing letters and points and even whole

words, when the sense arising from the present reading does not seem to us appropriate. This the learned man maintains; we deny.

VII. The reasons are: (1) On this hypothesis it follows that there is no authentic text in which we can repose with entire confidence. It would either be the present Hebrew Codex (but according to this opinion this holds the place only of one copy and that reading therefore can be considered as the authentic Hebrew source where there is no dissent among interpreters from the present codex, as the learned man says, *Apol. cont. Boot*, p. 17 *De critica ... apologetica in qua Amoldi Bootii* (1651), or it would be other codices which the ancient interpreters used. But besides taking for granted that they were different from the present codex (which is his capital error [*prōton pseudos*] as will be proved afterwards), although this is conceded to him, yet they cannot now inspire confidence because they are lacking and no longer exist anywhere except in this version itself (which, since it is human and fallible, cannot become an authentic codex). Finally, who can assure us that the seventy faithfully followed their Hebrew text and that the Greek text (which we now read) is the very same with that which the seventy wrote?

VIII. (2) If all the discrepancies of the ancient versions from the present text were so many various readings of the Hebrew manuscripts different from ours and which the interpreters used, why is there no mention made of such manuscripts by the ancients and no trace of them among the Hebrews (who for many ages have been so careful in observing and collecting even the smallest variations, as the discrepant readings of Ben Ascher and Ben Naphtali, of the orientals and occidentals show)? For who can suppose that these variations of less importance should have remained and that those which were noticed by the ancient interpreters should so utterly perish as to leave no trace behind? For as there were many copies, it is surprising that not one has come down to our time, (a) It is assumed that there are no causes of these discrepancies besides the diversity of manuscripts while there are many others more certain; just as in the present versions, it would be wrong to infer that the interpreters used different manuscripts because innumerable differences of translation occur, when no other except the present copy remains from which they were made. Who does not know that they might more often have attended to the sense rather than to the words, as Jerome frequently says of the seventy? Again, sometimes a discrepancy

may have been caused by their ignorance or negligence because they did not notice particularly the words, so that they could often make mistakes in similar letters and words even without a different manuscript. Jerome more than once charges them with this. (b) They might also have used too much liberty in boldly translating in the face of their copy because they did not clearly perceive the sense and connection of the Hebrew text and preferred to follow with a slight change the sense which they thought flowed from it more naturally. (c) The various ancient versions are evidently not such as they are when first issued, but have been greatly corrupted and altered. This is especially true of the Septuagint and Vulgate. (d) Many corruptions may have crept in through the carelessness or ignorance of transcribers. Therefore they have not arisen from a variety of manuscripts.

IX. (3) Thus the ancient versions would be put on an equality with the original text. For if in all the discrepancies, the ancient interpreters are to be tested by the text no more than this by them, but both to be subjected to the common canon of a more suitable sense, so that a better sense shall decide the true reading (whether it occurs in the Hebrew text or in any of the interpreters), the Hebrew text would have no higher authority than the ancient interpreters except that which would arise from a fitter sense. Indeed it would often be thrown below the translations when its reading would be rejected for others.

X. (4) If we are not bound to the present reading of the Hebrew text and the true reading is to be derived partly from a collation of ancient versions, partly from our own judgment and conjectural (*stochastikē*) faculty (so that there shall be no other canon of authoritative reading than that which seems to us to be the fitter sense), the establishment of the authoritative reading will be the work of the human will and reason, not of the Holy Spirit. Human reason will be placed in the citadel and be held as the rule and principle of faith with the Socinians.

XI. (5) If it is lawful to make conjectures on the sacred text, even when the Hebrew codices agree with the versions (as the learned man [Cappel] says, *Critica sacra* 6.8.17 [1650], p. 424), there could no longer be any certainty of the authenticity (*authentias*) of it, but all would be rendered doubtful and unsettled and the sacred text would be subjected to the will of each conjecturer. Whether this is not to divest it of all authority anyone can readily tell. Nor can it be replied that conjectures are not to be admitted

unless they are founded upon and demonstrated by sure reasons and arguments, when the received reading gives a sense either false and absurd or doubtful and disconnected. For everyone will think that he can give reasons for his conjectures and will tax with falsity and absurdity the reading which he endeavors to overthrow. Now who could be the judge whether these conjectures are made rightly and truly? And without a judge, perpetual controversies and disputes would arise between interpreters, each one fighting for his own interpretation and not allowing others to be preferred to his. Nor (if conjectures can have place in the examination of various manuscripts in order to determine the better and more suitable reading) are others therefore to be allowed, founded upon private judgment and not upon the authority of any approved manuscript, not only entirely worthless in themselves, but highly dangerous and destructive to the Scriptures from the great and bold presumption of the human intellect. Neither ought the example of profane authors to be cited here who can freely and without danger be criticized. As if sacred and profane criticism hold an equal rank, and as if there is not the greatest difference between human writings (liable to error) and the divine (God-inspired, *theopneuston*) whose majesty should be sacred, which were received with so great reverence, have been preserved with so much care and approved by so general a consent as to deserve the title of authoritative truth. But what will become of this sacred book, if everyone is allowed to wield a censorious pen and play the critic over it, just as over any profane book?

XII. (6) If no preference is given to the present Hebrew copy over the ancient interpreters, no greater regard paid to it than to them and even the reading of these often preferred when they seem to give a better sense, then Protestants have thus far been contending with the papists on false grounds. For they have asserted the authority of the present Hebrew text above the versions whether ancient or modern. Nor can we any longer press against them that all the versions (and especially the Vulgate) should be examined and corrected by it, if so many versions are not only made equal to it, but also preferred to it.

Sources of explanations.

XIII. A different reading is one thing; a different interpretation another. Interpreters may have given various interpretations, but it does not follow that these have arisen from the different readings of various manuscripts, but from the other causes mentioned.

XIV. It is not necessary that the scribes should have been unerring (*anamartētoi*), if we do not suppose there were many Hebrew codices. It is enough that providence has so watched over the integrity of the authoritative codex that although they might have brought into the sacred text many errors either through carelessness or ignorance, yet they have not done so (or not in all the copies), nor in such a way as that they cannot be corrected and restored by a collation of the various manuscripts and of Scripture itself.

XV. Although we may rightly say that the Scripture would be rendered uncertain by the different various readings of various interpreters elicited only from conjecture, it does not follow from this that they are made uncertain by the different interpretations because they have given different translations of one and the same text. For thus indeed the sense is rendered doubtful and uncertain, but not the reading of the words and phrases. It is most difficult with so many various and uncertain readings and conjectures to maintain the certainty of the Scriptures because here is introduced the twofold uncertainty of the reading and the sense. In one case, a sure standard is established to which the discordant interpreters may be referred, but in the other there is no sure foundation and all things are made to depend upon the will and decision of the human mind.

XVI. Although we are bound to the present codex, it is not necessary for it to represent to us the autograph (*autographon*) of Moses and the prophets without even the smallest difference. For in order to preserve a copy exactly conformed to the original, it is sufficient for the same words to occur in each, without which the sense could not exist; and with the words the letters also, without which the words could not exist or be written (although some discrepancies might occur in other minutiae).

XVII. Although this learned man often declares that all the versions ought to be judged and corrected by the Hebrew text and that this is to be preferred to any version whatever, he cannot therefore be freed from the charge (which rests upon him) of putting the ancient versions on an equality with the original text and even of preferring them. For by the Hebrew text

he does not mean the present original text which is used by all (both Jews and Christians), but the Hebrew text in general, which he wishes to derive both from the present codex and from the ancient codices which he supposes the ancient interpreters used and (as we said before) rests upon no solid foundation. And all the theologians who thus far have in any way argued concerning the Hebrew text and its authenticity have meant no other than the common and now received text.

XVIII. From what has been said, it appears how dangerous the hypotheses of this learned man are and with how much reason our friends have resisted the publication of this work, lest the cause of God might suffer injury and encouragement be given (although undoubtedly against his will) to the adversaries of the authenticity (*authentian*) of the sacred text.

XIX. Whoever desires to learn more on this subject should consult the *Anticritica: seu vindiciae veritatis Hebraicae* (1653) of the celebrated Buxtorf (which he opposes to the *Critica sacra*) in which he has accurately and most satisfactorily set forth this whole argument. The testimonies of other great men might also be adduced to show how highly displeased they are with his opinion and work. For instance James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, who says it contains "a most dangerous error" to be met at once before it has time to spread (Letter 288, "To Dr. Arnold Boate," in his *Whole Works* [1847–64], 16:187). And of the same Arnold Bootius in his epistle (cf. Letters 286, 291, 299, "Boate to the Archbishop of Armagh," *Whole Works* [1847–64], 16:182, 193–97, 234–36) to that venerable bishop and in his *Vindiciis*, in which he styles this work a "most pernicious writing in which there is nothing (*ouden*) sound (*hygies*)" (*Vindiciae seu apodixis apologetica pro Hebraica veritate* 6 [1653], p. 51). He calls it "an unhappy critique, setting forth an opinion entirely false and highly injurious to the sacred word of God" (ibid., p. 57). "Its author is the most hostile enemy to the Hebrew verity, depriving it of all certainty and authority" (ibid., p. 1). Thus many others who loudly complained of it. But as sufficient for the present, we give the testimony of Andrew Rivet, a great man and highly distinguished throughout France and Belgium, who after reading the *Arcanii punctationis* of this learned author, seemed to be drawn over to his opinion, but having read the answer of the celebrated Buxtorf speaks far otherwise in a letter to Buxtorf dated 1645 (which the latter gives in his *Anticritica: seu vindiciae veritatis Hebraicae: adversus Ludovici Cappelli*

Criticam [1653]): “As to Capellus, our distinguished friend will send to you his diatribe against you, which I have not yet seen, but know is exposed for sale at Amsterdam where it was published. It will give you an opportunity of examining more closely into other things which he mediates against the sacred text, resting upon dangerous reasoning under the appearance of candor and truth. In these I see that he has imposed upon learned and strong men, but not sufficiently informed on such subjects, some of whom extol his critique not only as an elaborate but also as a highly necessary work. Our colleagues here, thoroughly versed in these subjects, have thought differently and were opposed to our setting it up with their type” (pp. 345–46*). In another letter by the same from Breda (dated 1648): “I am firmly convinced that you, influenced by a true zeal for the authenticity (*authentia*) of the divine word, have entirely overthrown the foundation of that pestiferous and profane critique which this man produced and gave as a help to our enemies, when rejected by the orthodox. If he had gained his end, the whole of the Old Testament would resemble the shoe of Theramenis fitting either foot” (ibid., p. 346). And again: “God will prevent this audacity from going further. I congratulate you heartily that he has raised you up as the pious defender not only of the private cause of your blessed (*tou makaritou*) father, but also of the public possession of the whole true church. May God bless you for your exertions and long spare your life for future labors benefitting us” (ibid.). This judgment many followed, who although at first disposed to favor the new hypotheses, yet when they had more closely examined them and read the writings of Buxtorf and others against them, were not ashamed to alter their former opinion and yield to a better.

Thirteenth Question: Versions

Are versions necessary, and what ought to be their use and authority in the church?

I. This question has two parts. The first relates to the necessity of versions; the second to their authority. As to the former, although the wiser papists recognize their utility and necessity and have themselves made many in various languages, still not a few (taking the opposite ground)

condemn them as hurtful and dangerous as Arboreus who says, “the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue is one source of heresies” (*Primus Tomus Theosophiae* 8.11* [1540], p. 247). Asoto, Harding, Baile and many of the Society of Loyola (*Jesuits*) agree with him and censure the pious and holy desire of translating the Scriptures as “a curious invention (*heurēma*) of heretics banished from orthodox religion, and therefore useless to the church, and impiously and iniquitously devised for the purpose of spreading heresy.” Against these the orthodox maintain not only the utility, but also the necessity of versions and prove it by many arguments.

Vernacular versions are necessary.

II. (1) The reading and contemplation of the Scriptures is enjoined upon men of all languages, therefore the translation of it into the native tongues is necessary. Since men speak different languages and are not all familiar with those two in which it was first written, it cannot be understood by them unless translated; it comes as the same thing to say nothing at all and to say what nobody can understand. But here it happens by the wonderful grace of God that the division of tongues (which formerly was the sign of a curse) becomes now the proof of a heavenly blessing. What was introduced to destroy Babel is now used to build up the mystical Zion.

III. (2) The gospel is preached in all languages; therefore it can and ought to be translated into them. The consequence holds good from the preached to the written word because there is the same reason for both and the same arguments (which induced the apostles to preach in the native tongue) prove the necessity of versions. Now although the apostles wrote in only one language, it does not follow that the Scriptures should not be translated into others because there is a different rule as to the sources and versions. The sources ought to be written in only one language and moreover the apostles (as the universal teachers of the church) were bound to write in no other than the universal and most common tongue (which Greek was at that time) just as the Old Testament (intended for the Jews) was written in the Hebrew tongue, their vernacular. But, where the Greek language is not used, there is a need of versions for the spread of the gospel.

IV. (3) Vernacular versions are necessary on account of the constant practice of the church, according to which it is certain that both the oriental and western churches had their versions and performed their worship in the vernacular tongue, as their liturgies evince. Why should the same not be done now when there is the same necessity and reason for instructing the people? Thus since there were two remarkable dispersions of Israel (one among the Chaldeans, the other among the Greeks), and the people of God by using their peculiar idioms almost entirely forgot the Hebrew language, the Targums or Chaldean paraphrases and Greek versions were made for the benefit of the more ignorant classes. There were many Targums. First comes the Chaldean paraphrase of Jonathan ben Uzziel, the disciple of Hillel, the fellow-disciple of Simeon who was born forty years before Christ. When he saw the pure Hebrew language falling into disuse by degrees and employed only by the learned, he made the Chaldean version from this great treasure; we have a version of the earlier and later prophets by him. Onkelos, who flourished after Christ and was contemporary (*synchronos*) with Gamaliel, added to this a translation of the Pentateuch. A paraphrase of the Hagiographa is also extant by an unknown author. There are also extant Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Ethiopic versions, but little used and known. There is a Syriac translation of the New Testament (which is the most ancient) and is attributed by some to the church of Antioch.

V. The numerous Greek versions of the Old Testament follow these. The most celebrated is the Septuagint made about three hundred years before Christ under Ptolemy Philadelphus. The second is that of Aquila of Pontus, under the emperor Hadrian about A.D. 137. Being first a Greek in religion, afterwards a Christian, then being excommunicated from the church for his attachment to the study of astrology, he went over to the Jews and (actuated by hatred of the Christians) translated the Old Testament in order to corrupt the prophecies concerning Christ. Third, that of Theodotion, who lived under Commodus (A.D. 184), born in Pontus, a Marcionite in religion, and afterwards turning Jew made a new version in which he followed the Septuagint for the most part. Fourth, that of Symmachus, under Antoninus and Aurelius (about A.D. 197), who from a Samaritan turned Jew and translated the Old Testament in order to confute the Samaritans. There were also two others of uncertain authors: from Jericho, found in a cask in that city, under Caracalla (A.D. 220); the other, the Nicopolitan, found near

Nicopolis in the reign of Alexander Severus (A.D. 230). Out of all these versions Origen made up his Tetrapla, his Hexapla and his Octapla. The Tetrapla contained in distinct columns the four Greek versions of the Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. In the Hexapla, he added two Hebrew editions: one in Hebrew, the other in Greek letters. In the Octapla were inserted the two other anonymous Greek versions, those of Jericho and Nicopolis which some call the seventh edition. The eighth was that of Lucian the Martyr who emended the preceding ones and was favored highly by the Constantinopolitans. The ninth was that of Hesychius which the Egyptians and Alexandrians embraced. The tenth was one which the ancients said was translated from the Latin of Jerome into Greek.

VI. Various ancient Latin versions were also made principally from the Greek versions. The most common was the Italian according to Augustine (CI 2.15 [FC 2:79; PL 34.46]). Two others were made by Jerome: one from the Septuagint; the other (which he carefully corrected from the Hebrew and Greek text) is supposed to be the present Vulgate, but in process of time became greatly corrupted. Many learned men—Lorenzo Valla, Faber Stapulensis, Cajetan, Arias Montanus and others—have pointed out the corrections. Other more modern versions (some in Latin, some in other languages), we need not notice here because they are well known. Hence it is evident that it has been the perpetual practice of the church to use versions.

Sources of solution.

VII. The title on the cross was written in only three languages, not that these three might be set apart for a sacred use, but because they were then the most known and so the best adapted to spread the fame of Christ throughout the whole world (the design of God in that title).

VIII. The unity of the church (Eph. 4:3) does not depend upon the unity of language, but upon the unity of doctrine. The first councils were brought together lawfully and advantageously held, notwithstanding the diversity of tongues.

IX. The dignity of Scripture arises rather from the sense than from the words and if these three languages appear to increase the dignity, it is accidentally from the superstition of the unlettered multitude, not per se.

X. We do not deny that these three languages (after they have ceased to be vernacular) should be retained more often in the assemblies of the learned, that by them and according to them ecclesiastical business may be transacted and controversies settled. But where the faith and devotion of each one is concerned and in order that he may understand what he is doing, they do not have an equal propriety among the people and in public worship.

XI. Although we do not deny that the Hebrew language was in different ways corrupted among the common people by their intercourse with foreigners in the captivity and that many Chaldean and Syriac words crept into it, yet it does not follow from this either that the text was in any way changed or that it was not understood by the people upon whom it was inculcated. For Zechariah, Haggai and Malachi wrote in the pure Hebrew, which they would not have done if the people could not have understood it. Again, we gather from Neh. 8:8 that Ezra read the book of the law before the whole multitude (to which they listened attentively, which they could not have done if they had not understood it). And if Ezra with the Levites is said to have caused them to understand what was read, this must be referred to an explanation of the sense and of the things themselves rather than as a translation of the words.

XII. Although the versions are not authentic formally and as to the mode of enunciation, yet they ought nevertheless to be used in the church because if they are accurate and agree with the sources, they are always authentic materially and as to the things expressed.

The authority of versions.

XIII. Hence we gather what the authority of the versions is. Although their utility is great for the instruction of believers, yet no version either can or ought to be put on an equality with the original, much less be preferred to it. (1) For no version has anything important which the Hebrew or Greek source does not have more fully, since in the sources not only the matter and sentences, but even the very words were directly dictated by the Holy Spirit. (2) It is one thing to be an interpreter, quite another to be a prophet, as Jerome says (*Praefatio in Pentateuchum* [PL 28.182]). The prophet as God-inspired (*theopneustos*) cannot err, but the interpreter as a man lacks

no human quality since he is always liable to err. (3) All versions are the streams; the original text is the fountain whence they flow. The latter is the rule, the former the thing ruled, having only human authority.

XIV. Nevertheless all authority must not be denied to versions. Here we must carefully distinguish a twofold divine authority: one of things, the other of words. The former relates to the substance of doctrine which constitutes the internal form of the Scriptures. The latter relates to the accident of writing, the external and accidental form. The source has both, being God-inspired (*theopneustos*) both as to the words and things; but versions have only the first, being expressed in human and not in divine words.

XV. Hence it follows that the versions as such are not authentic and canonical in themselves (because made by human labor and talent). Therefore, under this relation (*schesei*), they may be exposed to errors and admit of corrections, but nevertheless are authentic as to the doctrine they contain (which is divine and infallible). Thus they do not, as such, formally support divine faith as to the words, but materially as to the substance of doctrine expressed in them.

XVI. There is one perfection of thing and truth to which nothing can be added and from which nothing can be taken away; another perfection of the version itself. The former is a strictly divine work and is absolutely and in every way self-credible (*autopiston*). Such perfection is in the word carried over into the versions. The latter is a human work and therefore liable to error and correction—to which indeed authority can belong, but only human (according to the fidelity and conformity with the original text), not divine.

XVII. The certainty of the conformity of the versions with the original is twofold: the one merely grammatical and of human knowledge apprehending the conformity of the words in the versions with the original (this belongs to the learned, who know the languages); the other spiritual and of divine faith, relating to the agreement of things and doctrines (belonging to each believer according to the measure of the gift of Christ, as he himself says, “My sheep hear my voice,” Jn. 10:27; and Paul, “he that is spiritual discerneth all things,” 1 Cor. 2:15). Although a private person may be ignorant of the languages, he does not cease to gather the fidelity of a version as to the things themselves from the analogy of faith and the

connection of the doctrines: “If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself” (Jn. 7:17).

XVIII. Conformity to the original is different from equality. Any version (provided it is faithful) is indeed conformable to the original because the same doctrine as to substance is set forth there. But it is not on that account equal to it because it is only a human and not a divine method of setting it forth.

XIX. Although any version made by fallible men cannot be considered divine and infallible with respect to the terms, yet it can well be considered such with respect to the things, since it faithfully expresses the divine truth of the sources even as the word which the minister of the gospel preaches does not cease to be divine and infallible and to establish our faith, although it may be expressed by him in human words. Thus faith depends not on the authority of the interpreter or minister, but is built upon the truth and authenticity (*authentia*) of the things contained in the versions.

XX. If a version could contain the pure word of God in divine words, no correction could take place. For the sources neither can nor ought to be corrected because they are God-inspired (*theopneustoi*) in things as well as in words. But because it sets forth to us in human words the word of God, it follows that it can admit of correction, not with regard to the doctrine itself (which still remains the same), but with regard to the terms which especially in difficult and obscure passages can be differently rendered by different persons according to the measure of the gift of Christ.

Fourteenth Question: The Septuagint

Is the Septuagint version of the Old Testament authentic? We deny

I. Among the Greek versions of the Old Testament, that of the seventy interpreters deservedly holds the first place with us. It was so highly valued by the Jews and Christians in the east and west that by the former it was used publicly in the synagogues and by the latter it alone (or versions made from it) was used in their churches. From this version all the translations into other languages (which were anciently approved by the Christian church) were executed (with the exception of the Syriac): as the Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Illyric, Gothic and the Latin version in use before the

time of Jerome. To this day the Greek and most other oriental churches recognize it alone.

Statement of the question.

II. The question does not concern the time or the manner in which this version was executed, whether it was made under the auspices and at the expense of Ptolemy Philadelphus; or by the Jews for their own convenience (as Scaliger, *Epistolae* 11 [14] [1627], pp. 100–101); or the seventy interpreters who being shut up in separate cells accomplished the whole work in seventy-two days and indeed with the most exact agreement (although each of them understood and performed the whole work separately from the rest); and other things of the same kind which are related of these interpreters both by Aristeas (who has given a prolix account of the circumstances) and by Josephus and the Christians (who, because they used this version, gave a ready ear to these narratives, eagerly taking hold of whatever would establish its authority). These matters are purely historical and therefore do not belong to our design. However, if we were called upon to express an opinion, we would give our cordial assent to that of those learned men who consider all these things as worthy of little credit. Even in his time, Jerome began to exhibit and attack the genuineness of the narratives, and this has been done more clearly and strongly by more modern writers (Vives, *Saint Augustine, of the Citie of God ... with ... comments of Lodovicus Vives* 18.42 [1620], pp. 687–88; Scaliger in *Thesaurus temporum Eusebii* [1606]; Drusius, Casaubon, Wouverus, Ussher, Rivet, Heinsius and others). But we speak here only of its authority (i.e., whether such an authority is to be given to it as to make it to be reckoned God-inspired [*theopneustos*] and authentic).

III. Although the papists do not all speak alike, yet most of them agree that this version was divinely inspired and therefore properly obtains divine authority; and that the translators are to be considered not as interpreters but as prophets, who, that they might not err, had the help of the Holy Spirit in a special way, as Bellarmine says (VD 2.6, pp. 68–71). Baile, Stapleton, P. Carthusia (*de Translat. Bibli*. c. iv.5+) and Johannes D'Espeires ("Tractatus 2: De Versione Septuaginta Interpretum," Disp. I, Dubium 10, *Auctoritas Scripturae Sacrae Hebraice, Graeca et Latine* [1651], pp. 183–86) all agree

with him, and so especially does John Morinus, who tries hard to establish the authenticity (*authentian*) of this version (*Exercitationis ecclesiasticae et Biblicae* 7.4+ [1669]). Among our scholars, that most learned man Isaac Vossius tries to uphold the same idea by a number of arguments in a special treatise (cf. *De Septuaginta Interpretibus* [1661–63]).

IV. Although we do not deny that it is of great authority in the church, yet we regard this authority as human, not divine, since what was done by the translators was by human effort only, not by prophets and men who were God-breathed (*theopneustois*) by the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

V. Therefore it is not to be asked whether it should have any authority in the church. We concede that it is of great weight and rightly to be preferred to other translations. (1) It is the oldest of all, made two thousand years ago and so to be honored for its hoary hair. (2) It was read both in public and in private by the Jews wherever they were dispersed. (3) The apostles and evangelists used it in quoting many Old Testament passages and consecrated it, so to speak, by their writings. (4) The apostles gave it to the church when through it they conquered the world for Christ. Thus the Gentile church was born, raised and nourished by it. (5) The Greek and Latin churches held it as the authorized version for six hundred years. (6) The fathers and ancient ecclesiastical writers explained it by commentaries, set it forth to the people in homilies and by it strangled rising heresies. In their councils, they drew canons from it for the regulation of faith and practice. Rather the question is whether it has such an authority as that it ought to be regarded as authentic and equal to the sources. Our adversaries maintain this; we deny it.

The version of the LXX is not authentic.

VI. The reasons are: (1) It was executed by human study and labor not divinely inspired (*theopneustois*) men. Its authors were interpreters, not prophets (who ceased after Malachi, called by the Jews the seal of the prophets). It is evident also from this as Aristeas says, “the interpreters conferred with each other, disputing and comparing notes on everything, until at length they could all agree” (*Letter of Aristeas* 302 [trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, 1904], p. 52). Now if they consulted together, they did not

prophesy. For the sacred writers never consulted with each other discussing everything which they might write. But as taught by the Holy Spirit, they committed all things to writing without any disputation or delay. (2) If they wrote under the influence of the Holy Spirit, such a number would have been superfluous (one being sufficient). There would have been no need for men of great learning, skilled in the Hebrew and Greek, if it had been executed without human study and aid. (3) In many instances, it varies from the sources in words and things and has various, false interpretations (*parermēneias*) and discrepancies, as has been shown by the handlers of this argument. Hence Morinus was forced at least to confess, "No more authority is to be ascribed to this version than to those made by human industry" (*Exercitationis ecclesiasticae et Biblicae* 7.4+ [1669]). (4) It is not considered pure now, but greatly corrupted and interpolated. We have only its ruins and wreck (*leipsana*), so that it can hardly be called the version of the Septuagint (like the ship Argo which was so often repaired as to be neither the same nor yet another). Jerome frequently alludes to this (*Letter* 112 [89], "Ad Augustinum" [PL 22.928–29]; 'Praefatio … in librum Paralipomenon Praefatio,' from "Hieronymi Prologus Galeatus" in *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixti V ... et Clementis VIII* [1865], p. xlix and '… in Esdram et Nehemiam Praefatio,' from ibid., p. 1). Thus it is usually maintained by the learned that it is from the *koinē* version which may be called *loukianis*, as Jerome testifies (*Letter* 106 [135], "Ad Suniam et Fretallam" [PL 22.838]).

Sources of solution.

VII. The apostles used this version not because they believed it to be authentic and divine, but because it was then the most used and most universally received and because (where a regard for the sense and truth was preserved) they were unwilling either rashly to dispute or to create a doubt in the minds of the more weak, but by a holy prudence left unchanged what when changed would give offense, especially when it would answer their purpose. However, they did this in such a manner that sometimes when it seemed necessary, when the version of the Septuagint seemed to be not only unsuitable but untrue, they preferred the source (as Jerome says, *Jerome's Apology ... Against the Books of Rufinus* 2.34 [NPNF2, 3:517]).

This can easily be gathered from a comparison of Mt. 2:15 with Hos. 11:1; Jn. 19:37 with Zech. 12:10; Jer. 31:15 with Mt. 2:18; Is. 25:8 with 1 Cor. 15:54.

VIII. The quotations in the New Testament from the Septuagint are not authentic *per se* (or because they were translated by the seventy from Hebrew into Greek), but *per accidens* inasmuch as they were drawn into the sacred context by the evangelists under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

IX. If some of the fathers extol this version and assert its authenticity (as we cannot deny was done by Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Augustine and others), they did so more from feeling than knowledge, being almost entirely unacquainted with the Hebrew language. Nor are we bound to adopt their opinion since they, as well as the seventy, were liable to human errors and passions. But Origen and Jerome, the most learned of them, held an entirely different opinion, teaching that they were interpreters, not inspired.

X. Although the church used this version for many years, we must not infer that she held it to be authentic and divine, but only that she held it in great estimation. Ordinary use could not have interfered with the liberty of access to the source as often as might be necessary.

XI. The great discrepancies in chronology between the Hebrew text and the version of the Septuagint (the Hebrew manuscripts making only 1656 years from the creation to the deluge, while the Septuagint makes 2242) does not prove that the version is authentic, but rather that it is corrupt. The consent of the Hebrew codices favors the Hebrew calculation (there being no variation in them on this subject); (2) so too the agreement (*symphōnia*) of all the ancient versions: the Chaldean, the Syriac, the Samaritan, the Arabian and the Latin, which vary from the Septuagint here and follow the Hebrew; (3) also the manifest error of the Greek version in extending the life of Methuselah at least fourteen years beyond the flood (if not twenty) and yet does not say that he was in the ark. For if Methuselah begat Lamech in the 165th year of his age (as the admirable notes in Walton's edition of the Greek version say, *Biblia sacra polyglotta* [1657], 1:20 on Gen. 5:25), Methuselah ought to have lived so many years after the flood. And if some Greek copies have in this instance followed the Hebrew (as Vossius says of the African and Alexandrine Codices), these few (which were no doubt corrected from the Hebrew) ought not to be opposed to the numberless

copies which the church and the fathers followed in which this computation does exist.

XII. The arguments for the Greek computation are easily answered. First, as to the years of puberty—these were referred by the Greeks to the two hundredth year (a greater proportion to the whole life), by the Hebrews to the one hundredth year. Since Walton himself (although holding Vossius' opinion) acknowledges the weakness of this argument and says "they are foolish conjectures, unworthy of a man of sound mind" ("De Versionibus Graecis," [Prolegomena 9] in *Biblia sacra polyglotta* [1657], 1:68); and it is also assumed that the years of puberty (or the power of generation [*paidogonian*]) necessarily follow the quadruple or quintuple proportion of the whole life (since they ought to answer to the vigor of the body), it is absurd that in those first ages in which their bodies were very vigorous, puberty should be put off to the two hundredth year. It is clearly evident that in the cases mentioned by Moses, the proportion of puberty to life was not observed: Noah begat in his five hundredth year; Mahalalel in his sixty-fifth; Lamech in his 102nd; Cainan in his seventieth; Enoch in his sixty-fifth. The powers of generation of the postdiluvian patriarchs (although their lives were much shorter) are made almost equal to those of the former by the Greeks and are referred for the most part to the 130th year.

XIII. Second, what they adduce to prove the authenticity (*authentian*) of the Greek text (because no such corruption could happen by chance, which nevertheless has happened, nor by design because no good reason can be given for doing so) are still stronger proofs of the integrity of the Hebrew Codex—to which (other things being equal) the prerogative is not usually denied. Now although this corruption did not exist in the original version, could it not arise from the carelessness or oversight of transcribers (*ablepsia*)? Again, a sufficient and plausible pretext is that in the matter of time they wished to gratify the Egyptians (because the Hebrew text is much more opposed to the antiquity of Egypt than the Greek). For although Walton rejects this reason, yet Vossius considers it of great importance and on this very account prefers the Greek to the Hebrew because that agrees more with the antiquity of the Egyptians than this. By the addition of these 1600 years, the dynasties of the Egyptians might easily be included within the limits of the creation. Scaliger and G. Vossius propose a plan in which this can be done, if we admit the additions of the Greek with the Hebrew.

XIV. No importance can be given to the Greek computation from the fact of the Greek church and most of her writers following that computation instead of the Hebrew because this might have arisen from error or from an ignorance of the Hebrew language, inducing them to follow the most universally received version.

XV. The anachronism (*anachronismos*) in the Septuagint in the calculation of the life of the postdiluvian patriarchs (where they extend the number of years above 1700 to the birth of Abraham—the Hebrew making only 292 years—because they add at least one hundred years to the life of each of the patriarchs who lived between the flood and the time of Abraham) cannot favor the authenticity of that version. It demonstrates a glaring error from whatever source it may have arisen. The attempts which Vossius and Walton make to confirm this are not strong enough to weaken the authenticity (*authentian*) of the sacred text (as Robert Baillie, *Operis historici et chronologici* 1.4 [1668], pp. 20–41 powerfully demonstrates at length).

Fifteenth Question: The Vulgate

Is the Vulgate authentic? We deny against the papists

I. The question does not refer to the utility of the Vulgate and its frequent correspondence with the truth (which no one denies); nor to its antiquity and long use in the church (which also is granted by all). The question is whether its authenticity is of such a nature that it can be made equal to the original and be preferred to all other versions. This we deny and the papists assert, in accordance with the Council of Trent, Session 4, Decree 1: "Whoever will not receive as sacred and canonical these entire books with all their parts, as they have been usually read in the Catholic church, and are contained in the Old Vulgate edition, let him be accursed" (Schroeder, p. 18). And again: "In addition the same Synod considering that it would be of no little benefit to the church, if it should point out which of all the Latin Editions is to be considered as authentic, determines and declares, that this old and Vulgate edition itself, which has been used for so long a time in the church, should be esteemed authentic in the public reading of the

Scriptures, in disputations, in preaching, and in expounding, and that no one should dare to reject it under any pretext whatever" (ibid.).

II. True, there are varying opinions among the papists as to the sense of this decree. Some maintain that no comparison is made between that version and the source, but only with other Latin versions then in use; as Bellarmine, Serarius, Salmeron, Mariana and many others who think that it can even be corrected and emended from the sources. Others maintain that it is absolutely declared to be authentic (so that there is no better) and is to be preferred to all editions in whatever language and, even by it the original codices (as corrupt) must be emended; as Cano, Valentia, Gordon, Gretser, Suarez and others. But whoever attentively considers the words of the decree will easily perceive that it leans to the latter opinion. For if it can be rejected "under no pretext whatever" then not "under the pretext of the Hebrew codex" (which Hart openly maintained in his colloquy with Rainolds; cf. *Summe of the Conference Between John Rainolds and John Hart* [1584]). Hence Cardinal Ximenes, in the preface to the Complutensian Bible, declares that "he placed the Latin between the Hebrew and the Greek as the two thieves on this side and on that, but Jesus in the middle—that is the Roman or the Latin Church" ("Prologus ad lectorem," *Biblia Polyglotta* [1514–17], vol. 1, leaf 2v). Nor does Mariana receive the support of his companions when (in his book on the Vulgate) he says that it is of no less authority than the sources when it agrees with them and must be pardoned when it differs. Therefore the *Index Expurg*.+ erased these words "*ubi cum fontibus convenit*." Ludovicus de Tena, confronting Mariana, says, "If the Vulgate is authentic only when it agrees with the sources and faulty when it differs from them, then it is not absolutely authentic and the Tridentine decree gives it no greater certainty as to us than it had before. Even before the decree it was considered authentic under that condition (viz., of agreement with the sources). Therefore if the Council of Trent did so decree, the question still remains unsettled" (*Isagoge in Totam Sacram Scripturam* 1, diff. 6.3 [1620], p. 31).

The Vulgate is not authentic.

III. Although we respect the Vulgate as an ancient version, we deny its authenticity. (1) It was elaborated by human skill and has no God-inspired

(*theopnueston*) author which the authentic edition demands. For whether its author was Jerome (as the papists hold) or some other one before his time (who combined the Italian version and the Vulgate so-called) or Sixtus V and Clement VIII (who in many particulars corrected the old one which was used in the church) no one of them was inspired (*theopneustos*).

IV. (2) It was not authentic either before the decree of the Council or after. Not before because it contained many errors, which were freely pointed out by the papists (Nicholas of Lyra, Paul Burgensis, Driedo, Jerome of Oleastro, Cajetan and others—especially by Isidorus Clarius, who says that he observed eighty thousand errors in the Latin Vulgate). Sixtus of Siena says, "We are free to acknowledge that we have corrected many errors from Jerome in the old translation, and so in this our new edition have discovered some blemishes, solecisms, barbarisms, and many improper and ungrammatical translations; obscure and ambiguous interpretations, some things added others omitted; some transposed and corrupted by the fault of the writers, which Pagninus, Oleastrius, Vatablus, Cajetanus have noticed in their interpretations and expositions" (*Bibliotheca sancta* 8 [1575], 2:365). Surely if Pope Leo X had esteemed it authentic before, he would not have authorized Pagninus of Lucca to make a new version because he saw that the celebrated version of Jerome had been grossly corrupted and injured by the carelessness of men and the waste of time (as Sixtus of Siena relates, ibid., 4, p. 265). Nor could it be called authentic after the Council (of Trent) because a council could not make that authentic which was not so before. For as it cannot make our uncanonical book canonical, but only declare it such, so neither can it make a version authentic (since this belongs to God alone who can confer divine authority on whatever writing he pleases). But a council can only declare that the version is faithful and consistent with its source; or, if faults have crept in, to correct them; also to make its use obligatory upon the church.

V. (3) It varies from the sources in many places. Clement VIII grants this concerning the Sixtine edition, emending it although it had been pronounced authentic by the Council and corrected by Sixtus. Two years afterwards, he reviewed it, restored some things which had been expunged by Sixtus and changed and corrected many things. This is evident from a comparison of the examples in the *Bellum Papale* (1678) of Thomas James where (besides innumerable varieties) he brings forward two thousand

readings which (confirmed by the apostolic authority of Sixtus against the truth of the Hebrew and Greek) Clement corrected by the same authority and called back to the sources ("Praefatio ad Lectorem," *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixti V Pontificis ... et Clementis VIII* [1865], p. xli). These cannot be considered errors of the press, for who can believe that thousands of errors could have crept from the press into that edition upon which Sixtus bestowed so much labor? The preface to the Clementine edition (which Clement pronounced authentic after the Sixtine) shows that it also contains many errors. "Therefore receive, Christian reader, with the approval of the same pontiff, a Vulgate edition of the Holy Scriptures corrected with whatever care could be given; although it is difficult to call it final in every part, on account of human weakness, yet it cannot be doubted to be more corrected and purer than all the others which have been published up to now" ("Praefatio ad Lectorem," *Biblia sacra ... Vulgatam Clementiam* [1965], p. xi). For if it is difficult to say that it is entirely free from all faults and only purer than those which have preceded it, therefore it does not deny that afterwards more correct ones could be produced, nor can it be what the Council called "fully corrected" (*emendatissima*) (Schroeder, p. 19). But in what follows this very thing will be more evident when it is expressly said, "in the ancient Vulgate version of the Bible a certain force seems to have altered that which was relinquished by deliberate exchange." Bellarmine, who was among the correctors, does not conceal this: "You see, the Vulgate Bible was not completely corrected by us; for good reason we left much undone which seemed to call for correction" (cf. "In Christo Patri Iacobo Blasaeo … Franciscus Lucas," in *Biblia sacra Vulgata* [1624], vol. 2, near the end of the volume).

VI. (4) Formerly many papists (Erasmus, Valla, Pagninus, Cajetan, Oleaster, Forerius, Sixtus of Siena) acknowledge that the Vulgate was filled with mistakes, and many celebrated interpreters of the present day (Salmero, Bonfrerius, Serarius, Masius, Muis and others) agree with them and therefore leave it for the sources.

VII. (5) There are many passages which, being falsely rendered, give occasion or support to the most dangerous errors. *Ipsa* ("she") shall bruise (Gen. 3:15) is referred to the virgin; whereas in Hebrew we read *hv*' (*ipsum*, i.e., "the seed"). *Erat enim Sacerdos* ("he was a priest," Gen. 14:18) for *et erat* ("and he was"). *Invocatur nomen meum super eos* ("let my name be

invoked over them," Gen. 48:16) *for vocetur in iis nomen meum* ("let my name be named among them"). *Adorate scabellum pedum ejus* ("worship his footstool," Ps. 99:5) instead of *ad scabellum* ("at his footstool"), if the ark is meant; or *in scabello* (i.e., in the temple) which is his footstool. *Omnia in futurum servantur incerta* ("All things in the future are kept uncertain," Ecc. 9:2) instead of *omnia sunt ante eos* ("all things are alike to all"). *Suggeret vobis omnia, quaecunque dixero vobis* ("suggest to you all that I shall say to you," Jn. 14:26) to favor unwritten (*agraphous*) apostolic traditions; but the Greek is very different, *panta ha eipon hymin* (*omnia quae dixi vobis*, "all that I said to you"). *Adoravit fastigium virgae* ("he worshipped the top of his staff," Heb. 11:21) contrary to the intention of Paul (*prosekynēse epi to akron, adoravit super summitatem baculi*, "he worshipped upon the top of his staff"), i.e., as Beza translates it for *baculo innixus* ("leaning on his staff," *Annotationes maiores in Novum ... Testament: Pars Altera* [1594], p. 537 on Heb. 11:21). *Talibus hostiis promeretur Deus* ("with such sacrifices God's favor is merited," Heb. 13:16) instead of *delectatur* ("God is delighted"). *Non ego, sed gratia Dei mecum* ("Not I, but the grace of God with me," 1 Cor. 15:10) for *quae mecum est* ("which is with me"). Other passages may be adduced in which there are errors of omission and of addition; as *Si autem gratia, iam non ex operibus, alioquin gratia iam non est gratia* ("And if by grace, then is it no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace," Rom. 11:6), a whole clause is lacking after this which is contained in the Greek, "but if it be of works, then it is no more grace; otherwise work is no more work." The words *In propatulo* ("in the open") are omitted three times in Mt. 6:4, 6, 18. These words are lacking in Mt. 15:8: "This people draweth nigh to me with their mouth." In Mt. 20:22, these are missing: "and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" In 1 Cor. 6:20, after *in corpore vestro* these are missing: *et in spiritu quae sunt Dei* ("and in your Spirit, which are God's"). The following are errors of addition: Lk. 10:1 makes "seventy-two others" which in Greek is *heterous hebdomēkonta* ("seventy others"); Acts 9:29, *loquebatur quoque gentibus, et disputabat cum Graecis* ("he was speaking also with the Gentiles, and disputing with the Greeks"), instead of *loquebatur et disceptabat adversus Graecos* ("he was speaking and disputing against the Greeks"); Rom. 4:2, *ex operibus Legis* ("by the works of the Law"), the Greek warants only *operibus* ("by works"). Many similar

examples will occur to the reader. See further Whitaker, Chamier, Amamus, James and others of our men who have pointed out the errors of this version.

VIII. (6) Whatever that version may be, which they maintain is partly composed from the ancient version called the Italic (Augustine, CI 2.15* [FC 2:79; PL 34.46]) and the Vulgate (Jerome, *Commentariorum in Isaiam prophetam* 13.49 [PL 24.463–74]), partly from the new one of Jerome, it cannot be authentic. For neither was the Vulgate divinely inspired (*theopneustos*) (otherwise it would not have been lawful for Jerome to correct and interpolate it), nor can the new be considered such according to Jerome's own confession.

IX. (7) The decree of the Council of Trent canonized an edition which at the time had no existence and appeared forty-six years afterwards. The decree was made in 1546. In 1590, the work was finished and published by Sixtus V; two years after that it was published by Clement VIII. Now how could a council approve and declare authentic an edition which it had not examined and in fact had not yet been made?

Sources of explanation.

X. Although the Hebrews and Greeks may have their own authentic texts, it does not follow that the Latins ought also to have one because the cases are not parallel. For it is evident that the Hebrew text of the Old and the Greek of the New Testament proceeded from prophets and apostles really inspired by the Holy Spirit, yet no one will venture to affirm that the authors and promoters of the Vulgate version were equally inspired (*theopneustous*).

XI. The long use of a version connected with reason can give authority to it, but not authenticity (so that it would be improper under any pretext to depart from it). For such authenticity depends not upon long use, but upon divine inspiration. Again, the use of this version has prevailed in the Latin church alone, not in the Greek and Eastern church.

XII. The true and proper cause of an authentic edition is not the testimony of the fathers, the practice of the church or confirmation by a council. For even according to Bellarmine the church does not make books authentic, but only declares them to be such (VD 1.10, pp. 40–42).

Therefore the church cannot declare a version to be authentic which is not so in itself.

XIII. There is no necessity for the common people (who are ignorant of the Hebrew and Greek) to hold the Vulgate as authentic in order to know whether they are reading the Scriptures or not. They can apprehend the truth of Scripture no less from the vernacular versions, which they read and understand, than from the Vulgate, which they do not understand.

Sixteenth Question: The Perfection of the Scriptures

Do the Scriptures so perfectly contain all things necessary to salvation that there is no need of unwritten (agraphois) *traditions after it? We affirm against the papists*

I. In order to shun more easily the tribunal of the Scriptures which they know to be opposed to them, the papists endeavor not only to overthrow their authenticity (*authentian*) and integrity, but also to impeach their perfection and perspicuity. Hence arises this question concerning the perfection of the Scriptures between us.

Statement of the question.

II. On the state of the question consider: (1) that the question is not whether the Scriptures contain all those things which were said or done by Christ and the saints or have any connection whatever with religion. We acknowledge that many things were done by Christ which are not recorded (Jn. 20:30); also that many things occurred as appendices and supports of religion which are not particularly mentioned in the Scriptures and were left to the prudence of the rulers of the church who (according to the direction of Paul, 1 Cor. 14:40) should see that all things be done decently in the church. The question relates only to things necessary to salvation—whether they belong to faith or to practice; whether all these things are so contained in the Scriptures that they can be a total and adequate rule of faith and practice (which we maintain and our opponents deny).

III. The question is not whether all those things are taught in Scripture word for word (*autolexei*), or immediately and expressly. We acknowledge that many things are to be deduced by legitimate inference and to be considered as the word of God. But the question is whether they are so contained in Scripture, be they expressly in it or derivable from it by legitimate inference, that there is no need of another and an unwritten (*agraphō*) rule of faith from which to derive matters of religion and salvation.

IV. The question does not concern the intensive or qualitative perfection relating to the accurate truth of doctrines and precepts and the most perfect method of delivering them. Rather the question concerns the extensive and quantitative perfection relating to all things necessary to faith and practice. The former occurs in every part of Scripture; the latter in the whole body.

V. The question is not whether the perfection of Scripture has always been the same as to degree (for we acknowledge that revelation increased according to the different ages of the church, not as to the substance of the things to be believed, which has always been the same, but as to the clearer manifestation and application of them). The question is whether it is now so complete as to be an adequate rule of faith and practice without the help of any traditions.

VI. The question is not whether there was never an occasion in the church for unwritten (*agraphois*) traditions (for we acknowledge that God sometimes taught the church by unwritten [*agraphō*] words before the time of Moses). Rather the question is whether when the canon of Scripture has been once closed, there is any place for unwritten (*agraphoi*) traditions worthy of as much reverence as the Scriptures (which the papists hold and we deny).

VII. The question is not whether all traditions are to be entirely rejected (for we grant that there may be some use for historical traditions, concerning facts and ritual traditions, concerning rites and ceremonies of free observation). But we here speak only of doctrinal and moral traditions relating to faith and practice, the use of which beside the Scriptures we disapprove.

VIII. The question is not whether the divine and apostolic traditions (i.e., all the doctrines taught by Christ or his apostles) are to be received (for all readily grant this). The question is whether there are any such traditions

beside the Scriptures. Therefore until our adversaries prove conclusively that their unwritten (*agraphous*) traditions have indeed flowed from Christ and his apostles (which they never can do), we discard them as human.

IX. The question then amounts to this—whether the Scripture perfectly contains all things (not absolutely), but necessary to salvation; not expressly and in so many words, but equivalently and by legitimate inference, as to leave no place for any unwritten (*agraphon*) word containing doctrinal or moral traditions. Is the Scripture a complete and adequate rule of faith and practice or only a partial and inadequate rule? We maintain the former; the papists the latter, holding that "unwritten traditions pertaining to faith and practice are to be received with the same regard and reverence as the Scriptures," Session 4 (Schroeder, pp. 17–20; Bellarmine, VD 4.2, 3, pp. 115–19).

X. The Jews preceded the papists in the reception of traditions, dividing the law into the written and oral. Moses, having received the law on Mt. Sinai, delivered it to Joshua, he to the seventy elders, they to the prophets, they again to the great synagogue and so on until at last it was committed to writing in the Talmud. Hence various *deuterōseis* ("traditions") prevailed among them as calling forth rebukes from Christ—an artifice of Satan to draw the Jews more easily from the written law by this law. By the same device, he has caused the papists to contrive a twofold word of God: one written, the other not written, as if Christ and his apostles taught many things by the spoken word which they did not commit to writing. Hence arose unwritten traditions (so-called *agraphoi*), not because they never have been written, but because (according to Bellarmine) they were not written by the original author or because they are not found written in any apostolic book.

XI. In order to clear themselves of the charge of attributing insufficiency to the Scriptures in this way, some of them distinguish between an explicit and an implicit sufficiency (as Stapleton and Serarius) or mediate and an immediate (as Perronius). And they confess that the Scripture is not indeed sufficient immediately and explicitly, but yet that it can be called so mediately and implicitly because it refers to the church and to tradition what is not contained in itself.

XII. On the other hand, we give to the Scriptures such a sufficiency and perfection as is immediate and explicit. There is no need to have recourse to

any tradition independent of them.

The perfection of the Scripture is proved by 2 Tim. 3:15, 16.

XIII. (1) Paul says *pasan graphēn* is *theopneuston* "and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works" (2 Tim. 3:15–17). Here many arguments for the perfection of the Scripture are latent. First, the Holy Scriptures "are able to make us wise [*sophisai*] unto salvation" (2 Tim. 3:15). For what do we desire more than to be made partakers of salvation? Second, it is useful for all theoretical and practical purposes, for teaching the faith and forming the manners. Third, it can make the man or minister of God perfect in every good work, and what is sufficient for the shepherd must also be so for the sheep.

XIV. To no purpose do the papists object, first, that it is called useful. Everything useful is not sufficient. Water is useful to life, air to health, yet they are not sufficient. For what is useful not to some things only, but universally to all (by a complete and adequate, not a partial and incomplete utility) must necessarily be sufficient. Now Scripture is here pronounced such when it is said to be able to make a man wise (*sophisai*) unto salvation, and to be useful for the indoctrination (*didaskalian*) of the true and refutation (*elenchon*) of the false, for the correction (*epanorthōsin*) of evil and the instruction (*paideian*) of good, since nothing more is required for perfection. Nor do those comparisons apply here because it is one thing to speak of utility, referred only to a remote and accidental end, such as exists in the air to health and in water to nutrition, for the utility would mean only a help, not a sufficiency; quite another thing to speak of utility as referred to a proper, immediate and natural end; for then it necessarily draws sufficiency along with it, as when fire is said to be useful for the production of warmth. Now it is plain that the Scriptures are said to be useful in this latter sense. Second, it refers only to the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Therefore, if they alone are said to be sufficient for all things, the New Testament would be proved superfluous; or if the New could be added to the Old Testament, there would be no objection to our adding now

another to the New. For Paul speaks of all Scripture existing at that time, and we know that not only the Old Testament, but also many parts of the New had then been written. (2) If the Old Testament was sufficient, then so much the more the Old and New together. (3) The sufficiency of the Old Testament for its time does not prove the superfluousness of the New, for as the age of the church varies, the grade of revelation also varies; not that it becomes more perfect as to the substance of doctrines, but only as to the circumstances and their clearer manifestation. (4) If the New Testament was added to the Old, it does not follow that another can be added to the New because now the canon of Scripture is perfect in every way, not only as to the substance of matters of faith, but also as to the mode and degree of revelation which we can have in this life. Third, he does not say *holēn* ("the whole"), but *pasan graphēn* ("all Scripture"). For if the syncetegorema is pressed, that perfection must belong to each part of the Scriptures (which is absurd). For the word *pasa* here is not distributive for particular parts or verses of Scripture, but collective for the whole (as it often means, Mt. 2:3; 27:45; Acts 2:36; Lk. 21:32; Acts 20:27*). Thus it is understood by Cornelius a Lapide, Estius and the Catechism of the Council of Trent.

XV. (2) God expressly forbids us to add anything unto or to diminish from his word: "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it" (Dt. 4:2); "but though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed" (Gal. 1:8); "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: and if any man shall take away anything, God shall take away his part out of the book of life" (Rev. 22:18, 19). It cannot be said that he means only the law delivered by spoken voice by Moses (which was fuller than the written) because the written (*engraphon*) and unwritten (*agraphon*) word of Moses differed not in reality, but only in mode. Nor did he teach by spoken voice anything else than what he wrote. Hence he was ordered to write the whole (not a mutilated) law for the perpetual use of the church; and as a faithful servant he did so (Ex. 24:4; Dt. 31:9, 11, 19). So everywhere by "the law" is meant the book of the law (Dt. 28:58; Jos. 1:7); or that it means only the integrity of obedience because integrity of obedience relates to the integrity of the law, which is such that it is wrong to add anything to it; or that it means corrupting and not perfecting additions because no tradition can

make that perfect which is already so; nor is corruption and opposition so much condemned as simple addition and opposition. Hence, Paul does not so much say against, but above (*supra*) or beyond (*praeter*); *par' ho* (*evangelizatum est*) as the Vulgate has it (Gal. 1:8). Theophylact properly observes: "He did not say, if they preach anything contrary to, but even if they preach the smallest thing beyond what we have preached" (*ouk eipen hoti ean enantia katangellousi, alla kan mikron ti euangelizontai par' ho euangelisametha, Epistolae ... ad Galatas Expositio* [PG 124.960] on Gal. 1:8). Every addition in matters of faith is a corruption (because added to the foundation which must be the only one) and anything added overthrows it, just as a circle is destroyed if you make the slightest addition, and a weight to be just must not be tampered with. Nor were the prophets and apostles therefore wrong in adding so much to the Mosaic canon. For the ages of the church must be considered in accordance with which revelation ought to increase, not as to the substance of doctrines, but as to the mode and circumstances. On the contrary, Paul (who says that he declared unto believers all the counsel of God, Acts 20:20, 27) nevertheless protests that he had spoken no other things than those which the prophets and Moses spoke (Acts 26:22). Finally, many of the popish additions are not only beyond, but even contrary to it. As to John, he did not mean only to forbid the interpolation of his own prophecy, but as the last of the sacred writers, he closes the whole canon of the Scriptures with his apocalypse and seals it with those last terrible words. Besides the argument in equals always holds good and what is said of this book must apply to the others also.

XVI. (3) The law of God is said to be "perfect, converting the soul and making wise the simple" (Ps. 19:7*). Now the conversion and restoration of the soul cannot take place unless all things necessary to salvation are known. Nor can it be said that this refers only to the intensive perfection (as to quality) because the law is immaculate and free from fault as to single parts, and not to the extensive perfection as to quantity and amplitude. For both the primary signification of the word *thmym* denotes such a perfection as needs nothing more; and the very nature of the thing demands it because it speaks of a perfection which can convert the soul and give wisdom to the simple (which would be impossible without a full sufficiency).

From the end of the Scriptures.

XVII. (4) The design of the Scriptures demand such a perfection for they were given that we might have salvation and life from them (Jn. 20:31; 1 Jn. 5:13; Rom 15:4), but how could that end be answered unless they were perfect and contained all things necessary to salvation? They were designed to be the canon and rule of faith. Now a rule which is not entire and adequate is for that very reason no rule at all because a rule is such a measure as cannot be added to, nor diminished—an inviolable law (*nomos aparabatos*) (as Phavorinus says, "an infallible measure, admitting of no addition or diminution," *kai metron adiapseuston, pasan prosthesin kai aphairesin mēdamōs epidechomenon—Dictionarium Varini Phavorini* [1538], pp. 986 [*kanon*] and 1313 [*nomos*]). They are designed to be the testament of Christ. Now if no one would dare to add anything (*epidiatassesthai*) to a man's testament (Gal. 3:15), how much less to the divine, in which the lawful heir may no less safely than firmly believe the whole will of the testator to be contained? Finally, they were intended to be the contract of the covenant between God and us. Now who would say that either more or different things than those which we now find written were either promised by God or required from us?

XVIII. (5) All doctrinal traditions besides the Scriptures are rejected (Is. 29:13). "In vain they do worship me, teaching the doctrines and commandments of men" (Mt. 15:4, 9). Nor can it be replied that the Pharisaical traditions are rejected, not the apostolic. All doctrines taught by men and not contained in the Scriptures are rejected and the assumption is gratuitous that there are any apostolic traditions out of the Scriptures. Believers are called to the law and the testimony (Is. 8:20) and destruction is denounced against those who do not speak according to it. Nor can traditions be meant by the testimony because God everywhere rejects them. Either the law itself (often called "the testimony") is meant as a testimony of God exegetically or the writings of the prophets which were added to the law. Paul forbids us "to be wise above that which is written" (*par' ho gegraptai*, 1 Cor. 4:6), not only as to morals (to be wise in his own eyes, as Solomon has it, Prov. 3:7), but also as to doctrine—to be puffed up with a vain presumption of knowledge inducing him to propose in the church

strange doctrines beyond the Scriptures, as the false apostles among the Corinthians did.

Because no satisfactory reasons can be given for traditions.

XIX. (6) No fit reason can be given why God should wish one part of his word to be written and the other to be delivered by spoken voice. And he would have strangely consulted the interests of his church, if he had entrusted a necessary part of doctrine to the uncertain tradition of men, since every tradition must necessarily be corrupted by the lapse of time. Besides there is no rule for the distinguishing of traditions which does not bring us back to the testimony and authority of the church, and this very authority is most strongly controverted. Therefore, since their origin is doubtful, their authority uncertain, the sense often perplexed and ambiguous and the test of them impossible, everyone must see that they are deservedly rejected by us that we may adhere to the Scriptures alone as the most perfect rule of faith and practice.

From the fathers.

XX. (7) The fathers most decidedly agree with us here. Tertullian: “I adore the fullness of the Scriptures” (*Treatise Against Hermogenes* 22*.3 [ACW 24:57; PL 2.218]). And again: “Hermogenes may teach that it is written, or if it is not written let him fear that woe to those who add anything” (ibid.). And elsewhere: “We have no need of curiosity after Christ, nor of inquisition, after the gospel. When we believe, we first believe this, that there is nothing beyond which we ought to believe” (*Prescription Against Heretics* 7 [ANF 3:246; PL 2.20–21]). Jerome says, “That which does not have authority from the Scriptures, we can as easily despise as approve” (*Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaei* [PL 26.180] on Mt. 23:35, 36). Augustine says, “In the things openly declared in the Scriptures, we can find whatever is necessary for faith and practice” (CI 2.9* [FC 2:72; PL 34.42]). Basil says, “It is a proof of unbelief and a sign of pride either to weaken any of those things which are written or to introduce what is not

written" (cf. *Concerning Faith* [FC 9:58–59; PG 31.678–79]). Irenaeus says, "We knew not the provision for our salvation through others than those through whom the gospel came to us, which indeed they preached, but afterwards through the will of God delivered to us in the Scriptures, to be the pillar and foundation of our faith" (*Against Heresies* 3.1 [ANF 1:414; PG 7.844]).

Sources of explanation.

XXI. Although all things are not written severally (*kata meros*) as to words and deeds (since there is neither a number nor science of singulars, of which Jn. 20:30 treats), yet they are written as to form (*kat' eidos*), as to the substance of necessary doctrine. Hence we grant that many sayings and doings of Christ and his apostles are not contained in the Scriptures, but deny that any such were different as to substance from those which are recorded there.

XXII. What the papists maintain should be received besides the Scriptures either exist in them really—as the Trinity (as to the thing itself), infant baptism (which Bellarmine proves from Scripture ["De Sacramento Baptismi," 8 in *Opera* (1858), 3:171–74]), baptism not necessary to be repeated, the number of the sacraments (at least those enumerated in Scripture), the admission of females to the Eucharist (Acts 2:42; 1 Cor. 11:5, cf. v. 28), the change of the Sabbath to the Lord's day (Rev. 1:10; 1 Cor. 16:2; Col. 2:16, 17); or they are not doctrines necessary to salvation—as the perpetual virginity of Mary even post partum and the obligation to keep the Passover on the Lord's day; or they are false and counterfeit—as the local descent of Christ to hell, purgatory, the Mass, the return of Enoch and Elijah, etc.

XXIII. The trust committed to Timothy (1 Tim. 6:20) refers not to some doctrine delivered by the spoken voice and not written, but either to the form of sounder words (mentioned in 2 Tim. 1:13), instead of the profane novelties and oppositions of science falsely so called (*pseudōnymou gnōseōs*), or to the talents committed to his charge. These have nothing in common with the farrago of unwritten traditions.

XXIV. The many things which the disciples of Christ could not bear (Jn. 16:12) do not imply the insufficiency of the Scriptures or the necessity of

traditions. For they were not new doctrines differing in substance from the former (Jn. 14:26), but the same as about to be more fully declared and more strongly impressed by the Spirit. And afterwards, being instructed fully by the effusion of the Spirit, they committed them to writing.

XXV. Second Thess. 2:15 does not sanction unwritten (*agraphous*) traditions, but designates the twofold method of delivering the same doctrine by the voice and by writing. The disjunctive particle *eite*, which can also be considered copulative (as in Rom. 12*:8; 1 Cor. 15:11; Col. 1:20), marks a diversity not of the thing, but of the mode, which might be one or the other, especially in those primitive days when the canon of the New Testament Scriptures was not yet completed. Again, although all things were not contained in the epistle to the Thessalonians, it does not follow that they were not to be found elsewhere in the Scriptures.

XXVI. Tradition is sometimes taken to mean any doctrine handed down to us whether in writing or by the voice; and again for a doctrine handed down by the voice alone and not written. The question does not concern tradition in the former sense (for then all the doctrines contained in the Scriptures might be called traditions, as Paul calls the institution of the Lord's Supper, 1 Cor. 11:23), but concerning an unwritten doctrine.

XXVII. A false distinction is made by Perronius between mediate and immediate sufficiency, so that the Scriptures may be called sufficient not in the second but in the first sense because they refer us to the church to supply their defects. This would imply a true insufficiency in the Scriptures, for by appealing to the church as having that sufficiency, it would declare its own insufficiency. (2) Then the law might be called perfect for salvation because it refers us to Christ in whom is salvation. (3) The Scriptures do not refer us to the church that she may propose new doctrines, but explain and apply the truths already contained in them. Nor ought the reply to be made here that we hold mediate sufficiency when we maintain that the Scriptures (if not expressly, at least by consequence) contain all things necessary to salvation. When the Scriptures teach anything by consequence, they do not refer us to another for instruction, but give forth from themselves what was virtually latent. Nor can the simile adduced by Perronius of credential letters (*literarum credentiae*, which are called sufficient although they do not contain all the instructions given to the ambassador) apply here. The Scriptures are not only a credential letter, but also the edict of a king,

containing so fully all the things to be believed and done that nothing can be added to or taken from them.

XXVIII. The perfection of Scripture asserted by us does not exclude either the ecclesiastical ministry (established by God for the setting forth and application of the word) or the internal power of the Holy Spirit necessary for conversion. It only excludes the necessity of another rule for external direction added to the Scriptures to make them perfect. A rule is not therefore imperfect because it requires the hand of the architect for its application.

XXIX. Some doctrines are positive and affirmative, stating positively what we must believe; others are negative, teaching what we must reject. The question here does not concern the sufficiency of Scripture as to negative articles, as if it ought to contain a rejection of all the errors and heresies which either have arisen or will hereafter arise. For as the right is an index of itself and of the wrong, errors are at once refuted by the laying down of the truth. The question concerns affirmative articles particularly, the very food of the soul.

XXX. Tradition is used either formally for the act of handing down or materially for the thing handed down. Here we do not speak of tradition in the first sense (admitting it, since we possess the Scriptures by it), but in the second, which we deny.

XXXI. The Old Testament Scripture was perfect essentially and absolutely for it contains sufficiently as to that time the substance of doctrine necessary to salvation; although accidentally and comparatively, with respect to the New Testament Scripture, imperfect as to the mode of manifestation, although with respect to the Jewish church it was the age of manhood (Gal. 4:1–4).

XXXII. Jesus, the son of Mary, is the true Messiah; or the Son of God come in the flesh. This is not a new article of faith, but an unfolding and application of what preceded—teaching *in hypothesi* what had already been delivered concerning the Messiah *in thesi* in the Old Testament. Thus when Christ added a facsimile to the original handwriting, a fulfillment to the prediction and a body to the shadow, he did not propose a new doctrine, but only exposed and illustrated an old one.

XXXIII. The tradition of the Scriptures does not sanction other traditions besides. The question properly is not of principles (*principiis*), but of things

principiated (*principiatis*): whether, granting the Scriptures, there is need of any oral traditions to supply their defects in things necessary to salvation. Finally, we acknowledge that tradition is formal and active because the oracles of God were committed to the church as their keeper and proclaimer. But the tradition is not material and passive, implying some doctrine delivered in addition to the Scriptures (which we deny). So we have the Scriptures through tradition not as the source of belief, but only as the means and instrument through which they have come down to us.

XXXIV. The Scriptures are said to be perfect not always adequately to the object, as if it fully explained all the mysteries it records. For there are many things in themselves adequately inexplicable (as God, the Trinity, etc.), but adequately to the end because it so states them that they may be apprehended by us sufficiently for salvation.

XXXV. When we say that the Scriptures are perfect inasmuch as being a rule, we understand this as to the whole of Scripture collectively and not distributively (viz., as to its particular parts, as in a material rule, not everything belonging to it is a rule).

XXXVI. Although the fathers often appealed to the traditions, it does not therefore follow that they recognized the oral (*agraphous*) traditions of the papists, for they speak diversely of them. Sometimes tradition is used by them for the "act of tradition" by which the sacred books were preserved by the church in an uninterrupted series of time (also a perpetual succession) and delivered to posterity. This is formal tradition and in this sense Origen says "they learned by tradition that the four gospels were unquestioned in the church universal." Second, it is often taken for the written doctrine which, being at first oral, was afterward committed to writing. Thus Cyprian says, "Sacred tradition will preserve whatever is taught in the gospels or is found in the epistles of the apostles or in the Acts" (*Epistle* 74 [73], "To Pompey" [ANF 5:387; PL 3.1175–76]). Third, it is taken for a doctrine which does not exist in the Scriptures in so many words, but may be deduced thence by just and necessary consequence; in opposition to those who bound themselves to the express word of the Scriptures and would not admit the word *homoousion* because it did not occur verbatim there. Thus Basil denies that the profession of faith which we make in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit can be found in the Scriptures (meaning the Apostles' Creed, whose articles nevertheless are contained in the Scriptures

as to sense) (*On the Spirit* [NPNF2, 8:41, 43]). Fourth, it is taken for the doctrine of rites and ceremonies called "ritual tradition." Fifth, it is taken for the harmony of the old teachers of the church in the exposition of any passage of Scripture which, received from their ancestors, they retained out of a modest regard for antiquity because it agreed with the Scriptures. This may be called "tradition of sense" or exegetical tradition (of which Irenaeus speaks, *Against Heresies* 3.3, ANF 1:415–16, and Tertullian often as well, *Prescription Against Heretics* [ANF 3:243–65]). Sixth, they used the word tradition *ad hominem* in disputing with heretics who appealed to them not because all they approved of could not be found equally as well in the Scriptures, but because the heretics with whom they disputed did not admit the Scriptures; as Irenaeus says, "When they perceived that they were confused by the Scriptures, they turned around to accuse them" (*Against Heresies*, 3.2 [ANF 1:415; PG 8.846]). They dispute therefore at an advantage (*ek periontos*) from the consent of tradition with the Scriptures, just as we now do from the fathers against the papists, but not because they acknowledged any doctrinal tradition besides the Scriptures. As Jerome testifies, "The sword of God smites whatever they draw and forges from a pretended apostolic tradition, without the authority and testimony of the Scriptures" (*Commentarii in prophetas: Aggaeum* 1:11 [CCL 76A.725]).

Seventeenth Question: The Perspicuity of the Scriptures

Are the Scriptures so perspicuous in things necessary to salvation that they can be understood by believers without the external help of oral (agraphou) *tradition or ecclesiastical authority? We affirm against the papists*

I. The papists, not satisfied with their endeavors to prove the Scriptures insufficient in order to bring in the necessity of tradition, began to question their perspicuity (as if the sense could by no one be ascertained with certainty without the judgment of the church) in order to have a pretext for keeping the people from their perusal. Having concealed the candle under a bushel, they reign in darkness more easily.

Statement of the question.

II. As to the state of the question, observe: (1) The question does not concern the perspicuity or the obscurity of the subject or of persons. For we do not deny that the Scriptures are obscure to unbelievers and the unrenewed, to whom Paul says his gospel is hid (2 Cor. 4:3). Also we hold that the Spirit of illumination is necessary to make them intelligible to believers. Rather the question concerns the obscurity or perspicuity of the object or of the Scriptures (i.e., whether they are so obscure that the believer cannot apprehend them for salvation without the authority and judgment of the church—which we deny).

III. The question does not concern the obscurity of the things or mysteries recorded in the Scriptures. We agree that there are many mysteries contained there, so sublime as to transcend the highest flight of our minds and can thus far be called obscure in themselves. Rather the question concerns the obscurity of the mode in which these most abstruse things are delivered and which we maintain are so wonderfully accommodated (*synkatabasei*) by the Lord that the believer (who has the eyes of his mind opened) by attentively reading may understand these mysteries sufficiently for salvation.

IV. The question is not whether the Holy Scriptures are perspicuous in all their parts so as to need no interpreter nor exposition of doubtful passages (which Bellarmine falsely and slanderously charges upon us, stating the question thus: "Are the Scriptures of themselves as perfectly plain and intelligible as to need no interpretation?"—VD 3.1, p. 96). For we unhesitatingly confess that the Scriptures have their *adyta* ("heights") and *bathē* ("depths") which we cannot enter or sound and which God so ordered on purpose to excite the study of believers and increase their diligence; to humble the pride of man and to remove from them the contempt which might arise from too great plainness. Rather the question concerns only things necessary for salvation, and indeed as to them, only so far as they are necessary to be known and cannot be unknown without criminality. For instance, the mystery of the Trinity is plainly delivered as to the fact (*to hoti*) which is necessary, but not as to the how (*to pōs*), which we are not permitted to know (nor is that essential to salvation). For as in nature so also in the Scriptures, it pleased God to present everywhere and make easy

of comprehension all necessary things; but those less necessary are so closely concealed as to require great exertion to extricate them. Thus besides bread and sustenance, she has her luxuries, gems and gold deep under the surface and obtainable only by indefatigable labor; and as heaven is sprinkled with greater and lesser stars, so the Scriptures are not everywhere equally resplendent, but are distinguished by clearer and obscurer places, as by stars of a greater or lesser magnitude.

V. The question is not whether things essential to salvation are everywhere in the Scriptures perspicuously revealed. We acknowledge that there are some things hard to be understood (*dysnoēta*) and intended by God to exercise our attention and mental powers. The question is whether things essential to salvation are anywhere revealed, at least so that the believer can by close meditation ascertain their truth (because nothing can be drawn out of the more obscure passages which may not be found elsewhere in the plainest terms). As Augustine remarks: "Admirable and healthily the Spirit has so arranged the Scriptures that by the plainer passages he might meet our desires and by the obscurer remove our contempt" (CI 2.6 [FC 2:66; PL 34.39]); and, "We feed in the open places, we are exercised by the obscure; there hunger is driven away, here contempt" (*Sermon* 71, "De Verbis Domini," 7.11 [PL 38.450]).

VI. The question does not concern the perspicuity which does not exclude the means necessary for interpretation (i.e., the internal light of the Spirit, attention of mind, the voice and ministry of the church, sermons and commentaries, prayer and watchfulness). For we hold these means not only to be useful, but also necessary ordinarily. We only wish to proscribe the darkness which would prevent the people from reading the Scriptures as hurtful and perilous and compel them to have recourse to tradition when they might rest in the Scriptures alone.

VII. The question then comes to this—whether the Scriptures are so plain in things essential to salvation (not as to the things delivered, but as to the mode of delivery; not as to the subject, but the object) that without the external aid of tradition or the infallible judgment of the church, they may be read and understood profitably by believers. The papists deny this; we affirm it.

The perspicuity of the Scriptures is proved from Pss. 19:8; 119:105; 2 Pet. 1:19.

VIII. The perspicuity of the Scriptures may be urged: (1) from those parts of them which proclaim this clearness—"the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes" (Ps. 19:8); "thy word is a lamp unto my feet" (Ps. 119:105); "a light shining in a dark place" (2 Pet. 1:19); "the law is light" (Prov. 6:23). Nor is Bellarmine's first objection of any force, that only the precepts of the law are meant and not the whole of Scripture. For the word "law" frequently means the whole word of God, and the effects (consolation and renewal) teach that it ought so to be understood. The interlinear gloss of Lyranus and Arias Montanus agree with us. Peter unquestionably calls the whole word of God a light. Bellarmine's other objection is as untenable—that although it may refer to the whole of Scripture, it must be understood in no other sense than that it illuminates the intellect. The Scriptures are said to be luminous not only because they illuminate the intellect, but because they are in themselves luminous and naturally adapted to illuminate those who look upon them with the eyes of faith. Thus they are luminous formally and effectively because like the sun they emit rays and impress themselves upon the eyes of the beholder. Finally, nothing could be more silly. For it is the same as saying that the Scriptures do not illuminate unless they illuminate, for as they illuminate so are they understood.

IX. Dt. 30:11 (where the word is said to be not hidden nor far off from us) refers to the easiness not only of fulfilling, but also of understanding its mandates without which they could not be fulfilled. Nor must this be understood only of the law of Moses, but of the word of God in general. Hence Paul applies it to the word of faith (Rom. 10:8*), which cannot be fulfilled by works, but must be believed by faith.

X. The gospel is said to be hidden to unbelievers alone (2 Cor. 4:3) and therefore is plain to believers, not only as preached but also as written. This follows because the apostles wrote the same things they had preached and because the clearness of the gospel is here opposed to the obscurity of the Old Testament (in the reading of which the Jews were occupied and of which Paul treats in 2 Cor. 3:14).

XI. The perspicuity of the Scriptures is further proved: (1) by their efficient cause (viz., God, the Father of men, who cannot be said either to be unwilling or unable to speak plainly without impugning his perfect goodness and wisdom); (2) their design (to be a canon and rule of faith and practice, which they could not be unless they were perspicuous); (3) the matter (viz., the law and the gospel, which anyone can easily apprehend); (4) the form (because they are to us in place of a testament, contract of a covenant or edict of a king, which ought to be perspicuous and not obscure).

XII. The fathers frequently acknowledge it, although they do not deny that the Scriptures have their depths (*bathē*), which ought to excite the study of believers. Chrysostom says, "The Scriptures are so proportioned that even the most ignorant can understand them if they only read them studiously" (*Concionis VII de Lazaro* 3 [PG 48.994]); and "All necessary things are plain and straight and clear" (*In secundam ad Thessalonicenses* [PG 62.485]). Augustine says, "In the clear declarations of Scripture are to be found all things pertaining to faith and practice" (CI 2.9* [FC 2:72; PL 34.42]). Irenaeus says, "The prophetic and evangelic Scriptures are plain and unambiguous" (*Against Heresies* 2.27* [ANF 1:398; PG 7.803]). Gregory says, "The Scriptures have, in public, nourishment for children, as they serve in secret to strike the loftiest minds with wonder; indeed they are like a full and deep river in which the lamb may walk and the elephant swim" ("Preface," *Morals on the Book of Job* [1844], 1:9; PL 75.515).

Sources of explanation.

XIII. The ignorance and blindness of man are not to be compounded with the obscurity of the Scriptures. The former is often pressed upon the Scriptures, but it is not so, nor can the latter be legitimately inferred from the former no more than that the sun is obscure because it cannot be seen by a blind man. Hence if David and other believers desire their eyes to be opened that they may see wonderful things out of the law, it does not therefore prove the obscurity of the Scriptures, but only the ignorance of men. The question here is not Do men need the light of the Holy Spirit in order to understand the Scriptures? (which we willingly grant); but Are the Scriptures obscure to a believing and illuminated man? Again, illumination

may be either theoretical or practical, in its first stage or in its increase. David does not properly seek the former, but the latter.

XIV. When Christ is said to have opened the minds of his disciples that they might understand the Scriptures (Lk. 24:45), this does indeed mean that man cannot himself without the aid of grace understand the Scriptures. But this does not thence prove their obscurity, nor can the darkness in the minds of the disciples be imputed to the Scriptures.

XV. It is one thing for *dysnoēta* ("things hard to be understood") to be in the Scriptures, another for *anoēta* ("unintelligible"), which cannot be understood however diligently one studies. Peter says the former (2 Pet. 3:16*), not the latter. It is one thing to say that there are "some things hard to be understood" (*dysnoēta tina*), which we concede; another that all are so (*dysnoēta panta*), which we deny. It is one thing for them to be hard to be understood (*dysnoēta*) in Paul's manner of delivering the epistles, which we deny; another in the things delivered, which Peter intimates. The relative (*hois*) cannot be referred to the word *epistolai*, as Gagnae (cf. *Biblia magna commentariorum literalum* [1643], 5:1067 on 2 Pet. 3:15) and Lorinus confess, but to the things of which he treats. It is one thing to be hard to be understood (*dysnoēta*) by the unlearned and unstable, who by their unbelief and wickedness wrest them to their own destruction (which we hold with Peter); another that they are hard to be understood (*dysnoēta*) by believers who humbly seek the aid of the Holy Spirit in searching them.

XVI. From the obscurity of some parts of the Scriptures (viz., of the ancient prophecies and oracles), the consequence does not hold good as to the obscurity of the whole. Either those prophecies are not of things essential to salvation or whatever is obscure in them is elsewhere made clear. Thus, the "book shut and sealed" (mentioned in Dan. 12:4 and Rev. 5:1), teaches indeed that prophecies are obscure before their fulfillment, but does not prove the whole of Scripture to be so obscure that they cannot be understood by believers in things necessary to salvation.

XVII. Although our knowledge through the Scriptures may be obscure when compared with the knowledge in glory (where we will no longer know through a glass and darkly, but shall see God face to face, 1 Cor. 13:12*), it does not follow that it is absolutely and in itself obscure with respect to our present life. It is sufficiently clear for us here, since through it with open face we behold as in a glass the glory of the Lord (2 Cor. 3:18).

(2) Paul speaks of the enigmatical knowledge common to all travellers here, himself not excepted. “Now,” says he, “we see in a mirror.” But were the Scriptures obscure to Paul? The passage, then denotes only the imperfection of our knowledge in this life and the difference between the revelation of grace and glory, but not the obscurity of the Scriptures.

XVIII. Although the Scriptures must be searched (Jn. 5:39), it does not follow that they are everywhere obscure even in things essential to salvation. First because we do not say that they are perspicuous to everyone, but only to the attentive mind and diligent seeker. Moreover there is need of scrutiny because they are perspicuous to the one who searches, for the most evident things will be obscure to the cursory and careless reader. Second we do not deny that the Scriptures have their *adyta* (“heights”) and depths (*bathē*) of mysteries to be fathomed only by the most laborious study and persevering efforts. But then there are many other things (and these essential) which readily strike the eyes of believers.

XIX. Although the apostles could not fully understand the resurrection and ascension of Christ (Jn. 16:18), it does not follow that the Scriptures were to them obscure. For each one had a knowledge sufficient for his state and the doctrines then revealed. A full revelation of these was to be expected after the resurrection.

XX. The knowledge of the Scriptures may be either literal and theoretical (by which the words are understood as to the letter and grammatically) or spiritual and practical (by which they are apprehended as true by faith). There are many things in the Scriptures theoretically perspicuous even to the natural man. The wicked may dispute most ingeniously of the principal articles of faith, but the practical knowledge is peculiar to believers alone (1 Cor. 2:14, 15; 2 Cor. 4:3).

XXI. The reasons for the obscurity of the Scriptures from the mode of delivery adduced by the papists cannot prove them to be so obscure in the essentials of salvation that they cannot be a perfect rule of faith and practice and the necessity of having recourse to the infallible authority of the church and its pretended tribunal for their explanation. For besides the fact that we are never commanded to do so, they are not such as cannot be ascertained by proper study; or the things contained in those passages are either not essential to salvation or they are elsewhere clearly explained.

XXII. It is one thing to speak of the absolute obscurity of the Scriptures in relation to all the ages and states of the church; another to speak of their comparative obscurity in relation to a particular state. We confess that the Old Testament Scriptures are obscure compared with the New Testament, and the state and age of the Christian church; but this does not destroy their perspicuity in themselves and sufficiently in relation to the state of the Old Testament church to which they were given.

Eighteenth Question: The Reading of the Scriptures

Can the Scriptures be profitably read by any believer, and ought he to read them without permission? We affirm against the papists

Opinion of the papists on the reading of the Scriptures.

I. The opinion of the papists can be best collected from Rule IV, "Rules Concerning Prohibited Books" published under the sanction of the Council of Trent, which reads thus: "Since experience has proved that on account of the rashness of men more hurt than profit has arisen from permitting the Bible in the vulgar tongue, they interdict the Bible with all its parts, whether printed or in manuscript, in whatever vulgar tongue it exists" (cf. Schroeder, pp. 274–75). But as this appeared rather too harsh, Pius IV appeared willing to modify it when he left the concession of the reading of the Bible to the "judgment of the ordinary pastor" or "bishop" ("to those who, they knew, would not receive hurt but an increase of faith and piety from such a perusal"). But the following observation of Clement VIII on Rule IV shows that this hope was evidently illusory, since he denies that any such power of granting permission "can be afforded *de novo* to bishops or others which had up to this time been denied by the command of the inquisition" (which practice was to be adhered to). Thus by taking away with one hand what they seemed to give with the other, they show their real object to be to hide this light under a bushel and to snatch the Scriptures from the hands of the people lest their errors should be discovered. Yet it must be confessed that to some of the papists who thought the reading of them should be allowed

to believers, this seemed a cruel tyranny. But these are few in comparison with those who advocate its prohibition. Their opinion is received as common to the whole church because founded on a law sanctioned by the authority of a council and a pope. The Council itself proclaimed "his authority to be supreme in the church universal" (Session XIV, Schroeder, p. 96) expressly commissioned to "ascertain and to publish those things which pertained to the censure of books" (continuation of Session XXV, Schroeder, p. 255). Therefore, this can be considered in no other light than a universal law of the Roman Church until it shall be expressly repealed, no matter what they may say to the contrary. But we, on the other hand, maintain not only that every believer may freely read the Scriptures, but also ought to without waiting for permission from a bishop or priest.

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not whether the reading of the Scriptures is absolutely and simply necessary to all. For both infants are saved without it and many unlettered (*analphabētoi*) persons among adults, who never read it. The question is whether it is so lawful for everyone that no one (although ignorant and unlearned) should be prohibited from reading them.

III. The question is not whether some discretion may and ought not to be used in reading the books of Scripture according to capacity (as formerly the young were not allowed to read some of the scriptural books because deficient in judgment on account of age). This is not so much an interdiction as a method of instruction and can fitly conduce to their greater improvement and edification. The question is whether the reading should be forbidden to anyone (which we deny).

The reading of the Scriptures proved.

IV. The reasons are: (1) the command of God which applies to all and each one (Dt. 6:6–8; 31:11, 12; Ps. 1:2; Col. 3:16; Jn. 5:39; Jos. 1:8; 2 Pet. 1:19; Rev. 1:3). (2) The design of the Scriptures, for they were given for the profit and salvation of all and to supply all with arms against our spiritual enemies (2 Tim 3:16; Rom. 15:4; Eph. 6:17). (3) The Scriptures are the Testament of our heavenly father, and should a child be forbidden to read the will of his

father? (4) The uniform practice of the church, Jewish and Christian (Dt. 17:18, 19; Acts 8:27; 17:11; 2 Pet. 1:19; 2 Tim. 3:15, 16). Nor are the ancient fathers ever so unanimously zealous as in recommending and inculcating upon all the reading of the Scriptures (cf. Chrysostom frequently in Sermon 6, *Sermones IX in Genesim* [PL 54.608]; "Homily 1," *In Matthaeum* [NPNF1, 10:1–8] and *Concionis VII de Lazaro* 3 [PG 48.995], where he often repeats that ignorance of the Scriptures is the cause of all evils; Augustine, *Confessions* 6.5 [FC 21:135–37]; Sermon 35, *De Tempore* [PL 38.213–14]; Basil, "Homily 10," *On Psalm* 11 [FC 46:151–52]; Cyprian, actually Novatian, "The Spectacles" [FC 67:124–25]; Origen, Sermon 9, *In Leviticum* [PG 12.508–25] and Sermon 12, *On Exodus* [FC 71:367–74]; Jerome, Letter 107, "To Laeta" [NPNF2, 6:189–95, esp. 193]).

Sources of explanations.

V. That which of itself and properly brings more injury and loss than advantage should not be permitted. But this does not hold good of that which is such only accidentally (i.e., from the fault of men). If men abuse the Scriptures, this does not happen per se, but accidentally from the perversity of those who wrongfully wrest them to their own destruction. Otherwise (if on account of the abuse the use should be prohibited), the Scriptures ought to be taken away not only from the laity, but also from the teachers who abuse them far more. For heresies usually arise not from the common people and the unlearned, but from ecclesiastics.

VI. If errors can arise from the Scriptures improperly understood, so far from keeping them from their perusal, this ought the rather to excite them to searching. Thus, properly understanding them, they may be able to confute such errors.

VII. The liberty of reading the Scriptures does not take away either oral instruction or pastoral direction or other helps necessary to understanding. It only opposes the tyranny of those who do not wish the darkness of their errors to be dissipated by the light of the divine word.

VIII. When Christ forbids giving what is holy to dogs and casting pearls before swine (Mt. 7:6), he does not mean to deny believers the right of reading and using the Scriptures (nor could the sons of God be denominated dogs and swine). He only means that the symbols of divine grace should not

be communicated to the impure and every sinner; or that the loftiest mysteries of faith should be rashly obtruded upon unbelievers or upon those who by a desperate obstinacy resist the manifested truth. Rather the symbols of divine grace should be used for the instruction of those who come with a humble and docile spirit.

IX. Is it not sufficient that the reading of the Scriptures is allowed by the papists to some? For that ought not to be granted to some as a privilege which is enjoined upon all as a duty.

Nineteeth Question: The Sense of the Scriptures

Whether the Scriptures have a fourfold sense: literal, allegorical, anagogical and tropological. We deny against the papists

The opinion of papists on the sense of the Scriptures.

I. The papists, in order to force upon us another visible judge of controversies (viz., the church and the pope) besides the Scriptures and the Holy Spirit speaking in them, attribute a manifold sense to them and hence infer that they are doubtful and ambiguous. Therefore they distinguish between the literal and the mystical sense and divide this last into three parts: allegorical, tropological, anagogical. Allegorical, when the sacred history is transferred to things of faith, as what is said of the two covenants or of Sarah and Hagar (Gal. 4:24*); anagogical, when the words of Scripture are applied to the things of a future age, as what is said of the rest (Heb. 4:3); tropological, when transferred to morals. All are expressed in the familiar distich:

> *Litera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria*,
> *Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia*.
>
> ("The letter teaches facts; what you believe is allegory; The moral is what you do; where you're bound is anagogy"—Nicholas of Lyra, "Prologus in Additiones" in *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* [1492/1971], vol. 1, B vii [3]).

And of the orthodox.

II. We thus think that only one true and genuine sense belongs to the Scriptures. That sense may be twofold: either simple or compound. Simple and historical is that which contains the declaration of one thing without any other signification; as the precepts, the doctrines and the histories. And this again is twofold, either proper and grammatical or figurative and tropical; proper, arising from the proper words; tropical, from figurative words. The composite or mixed sense is in prophecies as types, part of which is in the type, part in the antitype. This does not establish two senses, but two parts of one and the same sense intended by the Holy Spirit, who with the letter considers the mystery, as in that prophecy, "ye shall not break a bone thereof" (Ex. 12:46). The full sense is not obtained unless the truth of the type or paschal lamb is joined with the truth of the antitype or Christ (cf. Jn. 19:36).

Statement of the question.

III. The literal sense is not so much that which is derived from proper words and not figurative, as it may be distinguished from the figurative (and is sometimes so used by the fathers); but that which is intended by the Holy Spirit and is expressed in words either proper or figurative. Thus Thomas defines the literal sense as "that which the Holy Spirit or the author intends" (ST, I, Q. 1, Art. 10, p. 7); Salmeron says, "that which the Holy Spirit, the author of the Scriptures, wished primarily to signify through words, whether according to the proper inherent grammatical signification, or by tropes and translations" (*Commentarii in evangelicam historiam* [1602–04], vol. 1, Prolegomenon 7, p. 73). The thing said (*to rhēton*) is not therefore always to be sought in proper words, but also in figurative (as we truly retain the thing said [*to rhēton*] in the sacraments because we retain the sense intended by the Holy Spirit). Such also is the sense of the parables employed by our Lord in which we must always keep in mind his intention. Nor is that only to be considered the literal sense, which signifies the thing brought into comparison, but also denotes the application. Hence there is always only one sense and that literal by which (through such a comparison) any truth is set forth.

IV. That the Scriptures have only one sense is evident: (1) from the unity of truth—because truth is only one and simple and therefore cannot admit many senses without becoming uncertain and ambiguous; (2) from the unity of form—because there is only one essential form of any one thing (now the sense is the form of the Scriptures); (3) from the perspicuity of the Scriptures, which cannot allow various foreign and diverse senses.

V. The question is not whether there is only one conception in the sense of the Scriptures, for we grant that often there are many conceptions of one and the same sense (but subordinate and answering to each other especially in the composite sense which embraces type and antitype). The question is whether there may be many diverse and non-subordinated senses of the same passage (which is the opinion of Azorius, *Institutiones morales* [1613], Pt. I, 8.2, pp. 507–509; Thomas, ST, I, Q. 1, Art. 1, p. 7; Lyranus, Gretser, Becanus, Salmeron, Driedo, Bellarmine and others).

Sources of explanation.

VI. Distinguish the sense of the Scriptures from their application—the sense is only one, whether simple (in the histories, precepts and prophecies openly proposed) or composite (in the typical); whether proper (enunciated in proper words) or figurative (in figurative words). But the application can be diverse, both for instruction (*didaskalian*), reproof (*elenchon*), correction (*epanorthōsin*), etc., which are the theoretical and practical uses of the Scriptures. Thus allegory, anagogy and tropology are not so much diverse senses as applications of one literal sense. Allegory and anagogy refer to instruction (*didaskalian*), but tropology to correction (*epanorthōsin*).

VII. Allegory is either innate (or inferred, or intended by the Holy Spirit) or invented by men. In the latter sense, it does not enter into the sense of the Scriptures, but is a consequence drawn from the study of man by manner of application. But the former is contained in the compound sense as a part of it because it cannot be doubted that it was intended by the Spirit and thus from his mind. Hence what is said of the two wives of Abraham is applied to the two covenants (Gal. 4:21–29); what is said of the rest is applied to the heavenly rest (Heb. 4:3–11). So when we proceed from the sign to the thing signified, we do not introduce a new sense, but educe what was implied in the sign so as to have the full and complete sense intended by the Spirit.

VIII. Although the intellect of God is infinite, able to embrace many infirmities at the same time, it does not follow that the sense of the Scriptures is manifold. From the intellect to the words of God, the consequence does not hold good, nor is the signification of expressions to be measured by the copiousness of the speaker (who is infinite here), but by his certain and determinate intention accommodated to the capacities of men to whom he speaks. When God understands, he understands himself as he is infinite and so he understands himself infinitely. But when he speaks, he speaks not to himself, but to us (i.e., in accommodation to our capacity which is finite and cannot take in many senses).

IX. The book written within and on the back side, within and without (Ezk. 2:10; Rev. 5:1), does not mean a twofold sense of one and the same Scripture, but the multitude of things written everywhere—there of the plagues to be inflicted on the Jews, but here of the decrees of God.

X. The difficulty of passages does not imply a manifold intention of God, but some ambiguity in the words or weakness of our intellect. Although words can have various significations *in thesi* ("in the abstract"), yet on the hypothesis of this or that passage, they are referred to only one of these significations by the Holy Spirit. These significations are to be ascertained by a consideration of the context and analogy of faith.

XI. The literal sense is sometimes taken more widely for the whole compass of the sense intended by the Holy Spirit (whether in the type or antitype) and so also contains within it the mystical sense. The literal sense is sometimes taken more strictly for that which the words immediately and proximately afford and so is distinguished from the mystical (which is signified not so much by the words as by the things which the words signify), which arises only mediately from the intention of the speaker.

XII. Although we hold to a composite sense, yet we do not take away the unity of truth and the certainty of the Scriptures which we charge upon the papists. For the truth set forth in these prophecies embraces many relations (*scheseis*), all intended by the Spirit.

XIII. As the Scriptures are most copious containing more things than words, so it is not absurd to say that the Holy Spirit wished to connote to us by one and the same word many things at the same time. Yet these things are mutually subordinate so that the one may be the sign and figure of the other, or have some mutual connection and dependence. Thus the promise

of seed given to Abraham referred both to Isaac as the type and to Christ as the antitype (Gal. 3:16). The prophecy about the bones of the lamb not to be broken (Ex. 12:46) belonged both to the Paschal lamb in a figure and to Christ in a mystery (Jn. 19:36). The promise given to David, "I will be his father" (2 S. 7:14) applied both to Solomon and to Christ (Heb. 1:5). The prediction concerning the Holy One not seeing corruption (Ps. 16:10) is applied both to David imperfectly and to Christ perfectly (Acts 2:29, 30). Such are the numberless scriptural passages which contain various relations (*scheseis*), all of which ought to be taken together in order to gather the full sense. Nor was their fulfillment once and at the same time, but successively and by degrees. Hence the ancient predictions generally had three relations (*scheseis*): to the state of the law in the Jewish church; to the state of grace in the Christian church; and to the state of glory in heaven. Thus the prophecy about the people walking in darkness and beholding a great light (Is. 9:1, 2*) has three degrees of fulfillment: (1) in the Babylonian restoration; (2) in the preaching of the gospel (Mt. 4:14–16); and (3) in the last resurrection in which those who sit in the valley of the shadow of death shall see the great light of God's glory. The same remark applies to the prophecy about the dry bones (Ezk. 37:1–14), which was fulfilled when the people went forth from the most mournful Babylonian captivity as from a sepulcher (Ezk. 37:12); it is fulfilled every day in the spiritual resurrection (Eph. 5:14); and will be perfectly fulfilled in the final resurrection (Jn. 5:25).

XIV. The various passages adduced by the papists to prove a multiple sense (Hos. 11:1 with Mt. 2:15; Ps. 2:7 with Acts 13:33; 2 S. 7:14 with Heb. 1:5 and 5:5) show indeed that there may be a sense composed from the type and antitype and fulfilled in various degrees—first in the type and second in the antitype. But this does not prove a manifold sense generically diverse.

XV. The mystical sense is either sacred, proposed through the writers by the Holy Spirit and therefore grounded in the Scriptures themselves (as the passages of Jn. 3:14* about the brazen serpent; of Paul about the baptism of the cloud and sea, and the spiritual food and drink of the Israelites, 1 Cor. 10:1–4, and about the allegory of the two wives of Abraham, Gal. 4:22; about the ark and baptism, 1 Pet. 3:21); or it is ecclesiastical—used by ecclesiastical writers either for the sake of illustration or for pleasure. Philo first tried this in two books of allegories, and some of the fathers followed

—especially Origen who employed this kind of interpretation more than the others and often ran into extravagance. Hence he was not undeservedly rebuked by Jerome, "Origen thinks the acuteness of his genius is a sacrament of the church" (*ep. ad Avitum et Amabilem*+, cf. *Commentariorum in Isaiam*, PL 24.154). This latter sense, although suitable for illustration, has no power to prove because it is a human, not a divine interpretation. It probably may recommend, but cannot persuade. But the former has the power of proving doctrines of faith, as it has the Holy Spirit for its author and so is according to his intention. Therefore the common expression—symbolical theology is not demonstrative (*argumentativum*)—has force only in human allegories and parables, not in divine.

XVI. The mystical sense is not found in every part of Scripture, but can be lawfully admitted only where the Holy Spirit gives opportunity and foundation for it. Here we must carefully guard against carrying it beyond the intention of the Spirit and thus failing to preserve its true design.

XVII. As in every passage of Scripture, there is some literal sense (whether proper or figurative), so there is only one sense of the letter of each passage (whether simple as in the histories or compound as in the types). However the application may be different according to the various theoretical or practical uses.

XVIII. To ascertain the true sense of the Scriptures, interpretation is needed. This is true not only of the words which are contained in the versions, but also of the things (called "prophecy" by Paul [Rom. 12:6] and *epilysis* by Peter [2 Pet. 1:20]). It is not to be sought by each man's private judgment (which is the *idia epilysis* condemned by Peter), but is to be gathered from the Scriptures themselves as their own best and surest interpreter (Neh. 8:8; Acts 17:11). But for this, after fervent prayer to God, there is need of an inspection of the sources, the knowledge of languages, the distinction between proper and figurative words, attention to the scope and circumstances, collation of passages, connection of what precedes and follows, removal of prejudices and conformity of the interpretation to the analogy of faith. All of this can be referred to these three means: analysis (*analysin*), comparison (*synkrisin*) and analogy (*analogian*). Analysis is threefold: grammatical, which inquires into proper expressions; rhetorical, which inquires into the figurative; and logical, which observes the scope and circumstances and attends to the connection (*allēlouchian*) of words.

Comparison (*synkrisis*) compares passages of Scripture with each other (Acts 9:22)—the more obscure with the plainer, similar and parallel with similar, dissimilar with dissimilar. The analogy of faith (Rom. 12:6) signifies not only the measure of faith granted to each believer, but also the constant harmony and agreement of all heads of faith exhibited in the clearer expressions of Scripture (to which all expositions ought to be conformed) that nothing may be determined at variance with the articles of faith or the precepts of the Decalogue.

XIX. We must not rashly and unnecessarily depart from the proper literal sense, unless it really clashes with the articles of faith and the precepts of love and the passage (on this account or from other parallel passages) is clearly seen to be figurative. Now this is the surest criterion (*kritērion*) of a figurative locution: (1) if the words taken strictly give either no sense or an absurd and impossible sense (as when Christ is called the gate of the sheep [Jn. 10:7] and the true vine [Jn. 15:1]); (2) if they are repugnant to the analogy of faith and at variance with any received doctrine, either theoretical or practical. For as the Spirit is always undoubtedly self-consistent, we cannot consider that to be his sense which is opposed to other truths delivered by him. Hence we infer that the words of the Eucharist are to be understood tropically (figuratively) because the strict sense contradicts the various articles of faith concerning the truth of the body of Christ, his ascension to heaven and return to judgment. The words of Hos. 1:2* are not to be explained strictly, but symbolically and allegorically because it commands a crime forbidden by the law. The golden rule also belongs here. “If it is a preceptive locution either forbidding a crime or an evil deed, or commanding a useful or benevolent deed, it is not figurative; but if it seems to command the former or forbid the latter, it is figurative” (Augustine, CI 3.16 [FC 2:136; PL 34.74]). The reason is it is proper for God to command what is good because he is good and to prohibit most severely what is evil because he is holy, however often he may permit it to be done.

XX. In addition to this rule of faith, the other means which the papists bring in (as the practice of the church, the consent of the fathers, the decrees of councils), besides being all referable to the will of one pope, are uncertain and (resting upon no solid foundation) are impossible and

contradictory. They impede the mind with innumerable difficulties rather than assist it, as we will show hereafter.

Twentieth Question: The Supreme Judge of Controversies and Interpreter of the Scriptures

Whether the Scriptures (or God speaking in them) are the supreme and infallible judge of controversies and the interpreter of the Scriptures. Or whether the church or the Roman pontiff is. We affirm the former and deny the latter against the papists

I. This is a primary question and almost the only one on account of which all the other controversies about the Scriptures were started. From no other cause is either the authority of the Scriptures called in question by the papists or their integrity and purity attacked or their perspicuity and perfection argued against, than to prove that the Scriptures cannot be the judge of controversies and the necessity of having recourse to the tribunal of the church.

Statement of the question.

II. On the state of the question keep in mind: (1) that the question does not concern any kind of judgment (i.e., whether any judgment belongs to the church and its officers in controversies of faith). The orthodox refute the charge made against them by their practice. Rather the question concerns only the supreme and infallible judgment by which everything must necessarily stand or fall—whether this belongs to the Scriptures themselves (as we hold) or to some man or assembly composed of men (as the papists maintain).

III. The threefold judge must be accurately distinguished here. First is the supreme and autocratic (*autokratorikos*), which judges by legislative and absolute authority after the manner of the highest prince, which enacts laws and from which there is no appeal. Second is the subordinate (*hypēretikos*) or ministerial, which interprets the laws after the manner of a public minister. Third is an idiomatic (*idiōtikos*) or private, which both from the laws and from their interpretation judges in the way of private

discretion. The first gives a judgment of final and absolute decision. The second gives a judgment of public determination, but subordinate and in accordance with the laws. The third gives a judgment of private discretion without any public authority. Here we dispute not about the ministerial and private judgment, but the supreme and infallible.

IV. The question is not whether the Scriptures are the rule and standard of controversies. This the papists do not object to, at least they appear to be willing to hold it, although what they give with one hand they take away with the other, arguing their obscurity and imperfection. But the question is whether the Scriptures are a total and full rule, not a partial and imperfect rule. For they want it to be only a partial rule, and indeed so it is explained according to the mind of the Roman Catholic church.

V. The opinion of the papists comes to this. (1) They distinguish between the rule and the judge (who ought to bring judgment from the Scriptures). They acknowledge the Scriptures indeed to be a rule, but partial and inadequate to which unwritten (*agraphos*) tradition must be added. The Scripture is not sufficient for settling controversies unless there comes in the sentence of some visible and infallible judge clearly to pronounce which party has the better cause. For otherwise there would be no end of contentions. Now such a judge can be found nowhere else than in the church where they erect four tribunals from which there is no appeal: (1) the church; (2) the councils; (3) the fathers; (4) the pope. But when the votes are properly counted, the pope remains *solus* (alone), to whom they are accustomed to ascribing that supreme and infallible judgment.

VI. That such is their opinion this passage from Andradius (who was in the Council of Trent) proves: "This high authority of interpreting the Scriptures we grant not to individual bishops, but to the Roman pontiff alone, who is the head of the church, or to all the chief officers collected together by his command" (*Defen. triden. fidei*, lib. 2+). "That judge cannot be the Scriptures, but the ecclesiastical prince; either alone or with the counsel and consent of the fellow bishops" (Bellarmine, VD 3.9*, p. 110). "The Roman pontiff is the one in whom this authority, which the church has of judging concerning all controversies of faith, resides" (Gregory of Valentia, *Analysis fidei catholicae* 7 [1585], p. 216). Still this is not the opinion of all. For although they who exalt the pope above the council ascribe this authority of a judge to him, yet they think differently who hold

the council to be above the pope finally. Others, to reconcile these two opinions, think the pope (in the council) or the council (approved by the pope) is that infallible judge.

VII. Now although we do not deny that the church is a ministerial and secondary judge, able to decide controversies of faith according to the word of God (although as to internal conviction [*plērophorian*] we hold that the Holy Spirit, as the principle, must persuade us of the true interpretation of the Scriptures), yet we deny that as to the external demonstration of the object any infallible and supreme judge is to be sought besides the Scriptures. Much less is the pope to be admitted to perform this office. For we think that the Scriptures alone (or God speaking by them) are sufficient for that.

The Scriptures alone are the supreme judge of controversy.

VIII. The reasons are: (1) God in the Old and New Testaments absolutely and unconditionally sends us to this judge—"and thou shalt do according to the law which they shall teach thee" (Dt. 17:10); "to the law and the testimony, etc." (Is. 8:20); "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them" (Lk. 16:29). Christ does not say they have the priests and scribes (who cannot err), but they have Moses and the prophets (viz., in their writings), implying that they are abundantly sufficient for full instruction and that their authority must be acquiesced in. Nor is the meaning of Christ different in Mt. 19:28 where he promises that after his departure the apostles "should sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." This must be referred to the judicial power they would obtain in the church through the word. Thus, "ye do err," said Christ to the Sadducees, "not knowing the Scriptures" (Mt. 22:29). And elsewhere he enjoins upon the Jews the searching of the Scriptures (Jn. 5:39).

From the practice of Christ and the apostles.

IX. (2) The practice of Christ and his apostles confirms this for in controversies of faith they appeal to the Scriptures (Mt. 4:4, 6, 7; 22:29; Jn.

5:39; 10:34, 35; Acts 17:2, 11; 18:28; 26:22) and profess to know nothing besides Moses and the prophets (Lk. 24:44; Acts 26:22). Peter compares the word to a heavenly vision, as a more sure word (*logon bebaioteron*), whereunto we do well to take heed (2 Pet. 1:19), nothing at all being said about his own privilege or of papal infallibility. The Bereans are commended (Acts 17:11) for comparing what they heard with the rule of the Scriptures, not consulting any oracle of infallibility. On the contrary, the Pharisees and Sadducees are condemned because they departed from them (Mt. 15:3; 22:29).

From the nature of an infallible judge.

X. (3) A supreme and infallible judge is one who never errs in judgment, nor is he able to err; is uninfluenced by prejudice and from whom is no appeal. Now these requisites can be found in neither the church, nor councils, nor pope, for they can both err and often have erred most egregiously, and they are the guilty party. They are accused of being falsifiers and corruptors of the Scriptures and from them appeals are often made to the Scriptures (1 Jn. 4:1; Is. 8:20; Jn. 5:39; Acts 17:11). But God speaking in the Scriptures claims these as his own prerogatives alone, as incapable of error in judgment, being truth itself, uninfluenced by partiality, being no respecter of persons (*aprosōpolēptēs*); nor can any appeal be made from him because he has no superior.

Because every man is liable to error and God alone is infallible.

XI. (4) Man cannot be the infallible interpreter of the Scriptures and judge of controversies because he is liable to error. Our faith cannot be placed in him, but upon God alone from whom depends the sense and meaning of the Scriptures and who is the best interpreter of his own words. As the only teacher, he can best explain the meaning of the law (Mt. 23:8, 10); our lawgiver who is able to save and to destroy (Jam. 4:12). If the rulers of the church are influenced by the Holy Spirit, they do not cease to be men and therefore fallible. For their inspiration is only ordinary and common, not

extraordinary and special (conferring the gift of infallibility which the apostles and prophets had).

Because the Scriptures recognize none except God.

XII. (5) If there were such a judge as the papists maintain: (a) it is a wonder that the Lord never mentions this interpreter who is so essential; (b) that Paul in his epistles (and especially in that to the Romans) does not inform them even by a single word of so great a privilege; (c) that Peter in his catholic epistles did not arrogate this as about to be transmitted to his successors, much less exercise it; (d) that the popes were neither able nor willing by that infallible authority to settle the various most important controversies which the Romish church cherished in her own bosom (i.e., between the Thomists and Scotists, the Dominicans and Jesuits, the Jesuits and Jansenists, etc). For why did they not at once repress those contentions by their infallibility and untie the tangled knots? If they could not, what becomes of their infallibility? If they could, why did they not save the church from such scandals?

Because the church cannot be a judge in her own cause.

XIII. (6) The church cannot be regarded as the judge of controversies because she would be a judge in her own cause and the rule of herself. For the chief controversy is about the power and infallibility of the church, when the very question is whether the church is the judge, or whether the church can err. Shall the same church sit as judge, and must we believe her just because she says so? Must she be supported in denying the Holy Scriptures to be the judge (which all acknowledge to be the infallible word of God); in wishing the church or the pope to sit as judge in her own cause and to be the infallible judge of her own infallibility (concerning which there is the greatest doubt) and which is most evidently not only liable to err, but has often erred? For the papists themselves are forced to confess that not a few popes were heretics or wicked men and devoted to magical arts (Adrian VI, *in* 4 *Sent*.+).

From the fathers.

XIV. (7) The ancients here agree with us. Constantine (after stating what he thought was clearly taught concerning God in the gospels, the apostolical and prophetical books) adds, "therefore laying aside warring strife, we may obtain a solution of difficulties from the words of inspiration" (*tēn polemopoion oun apelasantes erin, ek tōn theopneustōn logōn labōmen tōn zētoumenōn tēn lysin*, to the Nicene fathers according to Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History* 1.6* [NPNF2, 3:44; PG 82.920]). Optatus writes, "You say it is lawful, we say it is not lawful; between your permission and our prohibition the minds of the people fluctuate and waver. No one believes you, no one believes us, a judge must be sought from heaven, on earth we can get no decision; but why should we knock at the door of heaven when we have the Testament here in the gospel?" (*De Schismate Donatistarum: Adversus Parmenianum* 5.3 [PL 11.1048–49]). Augustine says, "We are brethren, why should we contend? Our father did not die intestate; he made a will … open it, let us read, why should we wrangle?" (*Psalm 21** [ACW 29:224; PL 36.180]). And: "This controversy requires a judge. Christ shall judge; the apostle with him shall judge" (*On Marriage and Concupiscence* 2.33 [NPNF1, 5:306; PL 44.470]). Lactantius says, "God speaks in the divine writings as the supreme judge of all things, to whom it belongs not to argue, but to pronounce" [*Divine Institutes* 3.1 [FC 49:166; PL 6.350]). Gregory of Nyssa writes, "The inspired writing is a safe criterion of every doctrine" (*kritērion asphales epi pantos dogmatos hē theopneustos graphē*, *Against Eunomius* 1.22 [NPNF2, 5:62; PG 45.341]); cf. Cyprian, *Letter* 63, "To Caecilius," (ACW 46:98); Chrysostom, "Homily 23 on the Acts of the Apostles" (NPNF1, 11:148–55); Augustine, *On Baptism, Against the Donatists* 2.6 (NPNF1, 4:428).

XV. As a prince must interpret his own law, so also God must be the interpreter of his own Scriptures—the law of faith and practice. And the privilege allowed to other authors of interpreting their own words ought not to be refused to God speaking in the Scriptures.

Sources of explanation.

XVI. When we say that the Scriptures are the judge of controversies, we mean it in no other sense than that they are the source of divine right, and the most absolute rule of faith by which all controversies of faith can and should be certainly and perspicuously settled—even as in a republic, the foundations of decisions and of judgments are drawn from the law. So a judge may be taken widely and by metonomy of the adjunct for a normal and not a personal judge. Hence he must not be confounded with the subordinate judge who decides controversies according to the rule of the law and applies the authority of the law to things taken singly (*ta kath' hekasta*). This accords with the Philosopher's rule, "The law must govern all, but the magistrates and the state must decide as to individuals" (*dei ton nomon archein pantōn, tōn de kath' hekasta tas archas kai tēn politeian krinein*, Aristotle, *Politics* 4.4.33–34 [Loeb, 21:304–5]).

XVII. It is not always necessary to make a distinction between the judge and the law. The Philosopher confesses that in prescribing universal rights the law has the relation of a judge; but in the particular application (in things taken singly, *en tois kath' hekasta*) the interpreter of the law performs the office of judge, but a ministerial and subordinate one (Aristotle, *Politics* 3.6 [Loeb, 21:219–31]). In this sense, we do not deny that the church is the judge, but still always bound by the Scriptures. As in a republic, the decision of a magistrate is so far valid as it is grounded on the law and agrees with it. Otherwise, if at variance with it, it is invalid and appeal may be made from it. Thus in the church the judgment of pastors can be admitted only so far as it agrees with the Scriptures.

XVIII. Although the Scriptures cannot hear the arguments of the contending parties (nor always so give its decision as to acquit by name this one and condemn that one), it does not follow that they are not the supreme judge and perfect rule. For these are not necessary to the supreme but to the ministerial judge, who is bound to give his decision according to the law and must examine witnesses and arguments and inspect the laws because he acts *de facto* not *de jure*. But the supreme judge is he who (aside from every controversy) ordains as to universal rectitude what must be done and avoided and whose prescriptions subaltern judges are bound to observe. Nor do we ever read in the laws the express condemnation of this or that person, Titus or Maevius. Thus it is here, as the cause is of faith *de jure* and not *de*

facto, since the question is what must be believed or disbelieved (which the law and the judge can decide without hearing the parties).

XIX. It is not necessary for the supreme judge speaking in the Scriptures to declare a new word to us every day on account of new heresies springing up. For he (who knew all that would happen) so pronounced his truth in the word that faithful ministers may recognize universal truth by it and so refute all errors. Hence from the Scriptures, the fathers most triumphantly refuted the heresies of Pelagius, Arius, Macedonius and others, although nothing is said expressly about them.

XX. It is not necessary that there should be another visible, infallible judge than the Scriptures for settling all controversies. (1) An end of controversies is not to be expected in this life—"for there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you" (1 Cor. 11:19). Even in the time of the apostles, various heresies crept in which were not entirely removed. (2) It is one thing to convince an adversary *de facto* and to stop his mouth so that he cannot answer anything; another to convince him *de jure* so that he may have what will be sufficient to convince him, if he is not obstinate. Although the Scripture does not always do the former on account of the perversity of men, yet it always does the latter, which is sufficient. (3) As in a well-administered republic it is sufficient if there are good laws by which things taken singly (*ta kath' hekasta*) can be decided by subordinate judges, so in the church it is enough if there is an infallible written word whence individual pastors may draw a rule of judgment in particular controversies. (4) A visible judge among the papists has not hindered the rise of innumerable controversies, which he has not yet settled by his infallible authority.

XXI. The Scriptures may have various and ambiguous senses, not from the nature of the thing affirmed or the intention of the affirmer, but from the unskillfulness or obstinacy of the distorter. Therefore this ambiguity and obscurity (if such there is) does not take away their authority, but shows the necessity of the Spirit of illumination and of the minister to explain them.

XXII. Although there may be a dispute about the true interpretation of a passage of Scripture, it is not necessary that there should be any visible, infallible judge besides the Scriptures. They interpret themselves. Man must not be regarded as the author of the interpretation he gives in accordance

with them because nothing of his own is mixed with it. He adds nothing to them, but only elicits and educes from the Scriptures what already was contained there, even as one who legitimately deduces a conclusion from premises does not form it at pleasure, but elicits it from the established premises and as latent in them.

XXIII. In the dispute concerning the judge of controversies, we do not properly treat of the principles (i.e., of the questions which relate to the Scriptures), which are here taken for granted to be the principles, not proved to be so. Rather we treat of things principiated (i.e., of the doctrines contained in the Scriptures), which (granting the authority of the Scriptures) we think can be sufficiently ascertained from the Scriptures themselves. We do not deny that the Scriptures prove themselves (as was before demonstrated) not only authoritatively and by way of testimony, but also logically and by way of argument.

XXIV. The Scriptures can be called mute and speechless in reference to judgment, no more than the church in her councils and the fathers in their writings, who nevertheless, the papists maintain, can both speak and judge. If a father speaks in his will and a king in his edicts and letters, why may we not say that our heavenly Father speaks with the clearest voice to us in each Testament and the King of Kings in his divine oracles? Nor can there be a doubt on this point, since the Scriptures (or the Holy Spirit in them) are so often said to speak to, accuse and judge men. The law is said to speak to those who are under the law (Rom. 3:19). "They have Moses and the prophets," said Abraham to the man who fared sumptuously (Lk. 16:29), not indeed alive and seeing, but neither mute nor speechless; yea even speaking and hearing. So Isaiah is said to "cry out" (Rom. 9:27). Moses accuses the Jews (Jn. 5:45). The law judges (Jn. 7:51). "He that receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him (*echei ton krinonta*): the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day" (Jn. 12:48). In the same sense, the word of God is said to be *kritikos*—"a judge of the thoughts" (Heb. 4:12).

XXV. An earthly judge in the external court ought to be furnished with compulsory power, but the spiritual judge in the court of conscience holds a different relation. The kingdom of God is not to be advanced by bodily compulsion, but by the spiritual demonstration of the truth (1 Cor. 2:4). Again, although physical compulsion has no place here, even a spiritual and

internal compulsion is not desirable, both with respect to believers (whom God, speaking in the Scriptures, gently and sweetly draws and moves to obedience, Jn. 6:44; 2 Cor. 10:4) and with respect to the wicked and unbelieving whose consciences he vexes and torments.

XXVI. The example of Moses and Aaron cannot be applied to establish a supreme and infallible judge besides the Scriptures. For each was a ministerial not autocratic (*autokratorikos*) judge; one extraordinary, the other ordinary. They decided controversies not by their own authority, but according to the law and commands of God: Moses, as a mediator, by appealing to God (Ex. 18:19), but Aaron by answering from the law and according to it—"according to the sentence of the law which they shall teach thee, thou shalt do" (Dt. 17:11). Otherwise, if they spoke contrary to the law, they were not to be heard. (2) The matter here treated of is not as to controversies of faith, but of rites—the judging between blood and blood, leprosy and leprosy. (3) It treats not only of the high priest, but of the whole Levitical priesthood whose decision is binding when done in accordance with the prescriptions of the law. Otherwise, if absolutely binding, Jeremiah (26:12, 13), Christ (Jn. 9) and the apostles (Acts 3; 13), who departed from it, committed a capital crime. (4) From the high priest the consequence does not hold good to the pope because in the New Testament there is no high priest except Christ, of whom Aaron was a type.

XXVII. The "one shepherd" (Ecc. 12:11) does not mean the typical priest of the Old Testament, but Jesus Christ, the true priest of the New, who is that good shepherd of his people (Ezk. 34:23; Jn. 10:11). From him all the words of wisdom came because men of God spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost (2 Pet. 1:21), as the papists themselves (Tirinus, Menochius, Cornelius a Lapide) explain it.

XXVIII. In Hag. 2:11 and Mal. 2:7, not any one priest, but indefinitely priests are commanded to be interrogated and, being interrogated, to answer according to the law. Nor does this prove their infallibility, but their duty. Mal. 2:8 nevertheless intimates they did not always do this since it adds, "but ye are departed out of the way."

XXIX. The "seat of Moses" (Mt. 23:2) is not the succession in the place and office of Moses or the external court of a supreme judge to whom the authority in question belongs (for the seat of Moses was not in existence nor was any such privilege attached to it); rather it is the promulgation of the

true doctrine delivered by Moses (as the ordinary gloss on Dt. 17 has it, "The seat of Moses is wherever his doctrine is"), and the chair of Peter is wherever his doctrine is heard. So those who have been teachers of the law delivered by Moses are considered to have taught in Moses' seat, as Hilary observes (*Commentarius in Matthaeum* 24.1 [PL 9.1048]). Therefore the Pharisees teaching in Moses' seat were to be heard as far as they faithfully proposed to the people his doctrine, without any admixture of their own.

XXX. Although Christ sends us to the voice of the church (which if anyone will not hear, he is to be regarded as a heathen man and a publican, Mt. 18:17), yet he does not constitute it the infallible judge in matters of faith. (1) For he does not speak of controversies of faith, but of private offenses and fraternal admonition which (if unsuccessful in private) must be referred to the public censure of the church. Not one infallible prelate is to denounce this to all churches, but individual pastors to their own flock. (2) He alludes here to a custom of the Jewish system which excommunicated the contumacious. This applies no more to the Romish church than to every particular church within proper limits. (3) If the argument is drawn from similarity, the church is commanded to be heard as long as she hears Christ and speaks his words; otherwise, if she recedes from Christ and speaks in opposition to him, she is to be anathematized (Gal. 1:8).

XXXI. The councils sometimes asked from absent popes, not confirmative authority, but fraternal assent. Otherwise they could not claim for themselves the right of deposing them, of examining and abrogating their acts (which they did). The fathers and particular churches could in more difficult ecclesiastical affairs consult them, not as infallible judges (to whose decrees they were bound to submit their consciences), but as honorary and prudent arbiters who (before they were poisoned by the breath of pride, superstition and tyranny) were held in great esteem among the churches on account of the dignity (*prōteia*) of the city.

XXXII. Although in the external court of the church every private person is bound to submit to synodical decisions (unless he wants to be excommunicated), and such judgment ought to flourish for the preservation of order, peace and orthodoxy, and the suppression of heretical attempts; it does not follow that the judgment is supreme and infallible. For an appeal may always be made from it to the internal forum of conscience, nor does it

bind anyone in this court further than he is persuaded of its agreement with the Scriptures.

XXXIII. Although we allow to individual believers the judgment of private discretion (because "he that is spiritual judgeth all things" [1 Cor. 2:15], and the apostle commands us to "prove all things" [1 Thess. 5:21]), we do not therefore assert in opposition to Peter (2 Pet. 1:20*) that the Scriptures are of private interpretation (*idia epilysis*). For *epilysis* here does not mean the interpretation of the Scriptures so much as the origin of the prophetic oracles. They may be said to have been written, not by each one's own private impulse and instinct (which is said of those who run although not sent by God, Jer. 23:21), but by the dictation of the Holy Spirit who moved them. Thus *epilysis* here does not pertain to the office of an interpreter, hearer or reader of the Scriptures, but to the power or impulse of prophesying; or to that notion by which the prophet was impelled to speak and to write. This is favored by a comparison with the preceding and following verses in which the question is not Who has the right of interpreting the prophecies? but By whose impulse and influence did the prophets write, and in what regard ought we to hold the prophecies; what reverence is due to them, and why is faith to be placed in them as the unquestionable oracles of God (viz., because they did not flow from man's own impulse and will as if they were a human invention or man's device, but from the impulse and influence of the Holy Spirit by whom holy men of God were moved)? In this sense, *epilysis* will signify the mission of the men of God to prophesy, by which God opened for them as it were the barriers to running (in allusion to the ancient racers who, as soon as the bars at the starting point were removed, rushed forward). But if the word is here taken to mean interpretation (as is done by many from the force of the word *epilysis*, which signifies to expound and explain, Mk. 4:34; Acts 19:39), prophecy will be denied to be of private interpretation (*idias epilyseōs*) (which is such as to principle and origin, i.e., from one's own mind, but not as to subject). So that private interpretation here is not opposed to the common or public, but to the adventitious gift of the Holy Spirit.

XXXIV. From this judgment of private discretion attributed to each believer, they are wrong who infer that human reason is the judge of controversies and interpreter of the Scriptures (which the Socinians maintain and has already been refuted by us, Topic I, Question 8). Here the

believer is not only moved by the light of reason, but more specially by the influence of the Spirit. And although the interpreter may examine the conceived sense of the Scriptures by natural reason, yet he cannot oppose a dictate of reason to the Holy Scriptures or withhold from it faith on account of some preconceived opinion of reason in opposition to it. Human reason (which is deceptive and slippery) is surely more likely to deviate from the truth of a thing than the Scriptures (which are the word of truth and even truth itself). Thus reason here must be brought under subjection to faith (2 Cor. 10:5) not exalted above it.

XXXV. The uncertainty of human judgment does not prove that God speaking in the Scriptures cannot be a fit judge in our cause, since it cannot be known either who has the Holy Spirit or whether he may actually be obtained. In this matter there is no need of knowing immediately and *a priori* who has the Spirit, but only who speaks according to the Scriptures. When this becomes known by a reference to the Scriptures, we can readily judge *a posteriori* who utters the words of the Spirit and speaks from him. Thus the Bereans did not inquire *a priori* whether Paul who preached to them was moved by the Holy Spirit (for this was known to God alone, the searcher of hearts, *kardiognōstē*), but whether Paul spoke according to the Scriptures. Hence from his agreement with them, they inferred that he spoke not from himself, but by the Spirit. We conclude with the golden words of Basil: "Let the divinely inspired Scriptures then judge for us and let the vote of truth be given to those among whom doctrines are found harmonizing with the Scriptures" (*ouk oun hē theopneustos hēmin diaitēsatō graphē, kai par' hois an heurethē ta dogmata synōda tois theiois logois, epi toutois hēxei pantōs hē theia tēs alētheias psēphos*, *Letter* 189, "To Eustathius the physician" [NPNF2, 8:229; PG 32.688]).

Twenty-First Question: The Authority of the Fathers

Are the writings of the fathers the rule of truth in doctrines of faith and in the interpretation of the Scriptures? We deny against the papists

I. Although from the preceding question we are already satisfied that the fathers cannot sit as judges in controversies of faith, yet because the papists

frequently recur to them and are accustomed to obtrude upon us the consent of the fathers as a rule of truth, we must devote a separate question to this argument which is of the greatest importance in the controversies of the present day.

Who are meant by the fathers.

II. By "the fathers" we do not mean with Augustine the apostles as the first founders and patriarchs of the Christian church (*Psalm* 45, NPNF1, 8:153), but (in accordance with the present usage which is sanctioned by the ancients) the teachers of the primitive church who (after the death of the apostles) taught and illustrated the doctrine of salvation, orally and in writing. On account of age, they lived many years before our times; on account of doctrine (for by inculcating it upon their disciples), they begat sons to God in the church.

III. Although some extend their age down to the tenth century, we do not think it ought to be carried down further than the sixth. For it is certain that purity of doctrine and worship became greatly corrupted after the six hundredth year (in which Antichrist raised his head)—error and superstitions increasing by the just judgment of God. In the first century after the death of the apostles, the principal fathers were Ignatius and Polycarp, fragments of whose writings are extant. In the second, Justin Martyr and Irenaeus. In the third, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius. In the fourth, Athanasius, Eusebius of Caesarea, Hilary of Poitiers, Basil, Gregory Nazianzus, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, John Chrysostom. In the fifth, Augustine, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, Hilary of Aries, Prosper of Aquitania, Leo I. In the sixth, Fulgentius the African, Gelasius (Cyzicus), Gregory the Great and others.

IV. There are three opinions among the papists as to the authority of the fathers. First, those who put them on an equality with the Scriptures: to which belong those decrees of the Glossator asserting, "the writings of the fathers to be authentic, individually as well as collectively" (Dist. 9+). Second (just the opposite), those who hold their writings to be merely human and therefore incapable of being a rule of faith. This was the opinion of Cajetan ("Praefatio," *Commentarii ... in quinque Mosaicos libros in*

Sacrae Scripturae [1639], vol. 1) and of the wiser papists. Third, those who, holding a middle ground, concede that the authority of individual fathers is human and fallible, but think that the common and universal consent of the fathers in controversies is infallible and divine. This was the opinion of the Council of Trent, affirming that "the traditions of the fathers pertaining both to faith and practice must be received with an equal affection of piety with the Old and New Testaments" (Session 4, Schroeder, p. 17). And, in the same place, "It prohibits anyone from daring to interpret the Scriptures contrary to that sense which the holy mother church has held, or now holds … or even against the unanimous consent of the fathers" (Session 4, Schroeder, p. 19). Most of the papists—Stapleton, Bellarmine, Canus, Valentia and others—agree with this.

V. The orthodox (although they hold the fathers in great estimation and think them very useful to a knowledge of the history of the ancient church, and our opinion on cardinal doctrines may agree with them) yet deny that their authority, whether as individuals or taken together, can be called authoritative in matters of faith and the interpretation of the Scriptures, so that by their judgment we must stand or fall. Their authority is only ecclesiastical and subordinate to the Scriptures and of no weight except so far as they agree with them.

Statement of the question.

VI. The question is not Are the fathers to be considered witnesses, giving testimony of the consent of the ancient church and the opinion of the church in their own age? Rather the question is Are the fathers to be considered as judges, capable of deciding controversies of faith by their infallible authority? The papists maintain the latter; we hold the former. When we dispute at any time from the fathers against our adversaries, we use them only as witnesses, to approve by their vote the truth believed by us and to declare the belief of the church in their time. We do not use them as judges whose opinion is to be acquiesced in absolutely and without examination and as the standard of truth in doctrines of faith or in the interpretation of the Scriptures.

The fathers cannot be judges.

VII. The reasons are: (1) the fathers, regarded either separately as individuals or collectively, were not prophets or apostles who, acting through an immediate call and endowed with extraordinary gifts, had the privilege of infallibility; rather they were men fallible and exposed to error, of imperfect knowledge and capable of being influenced by hearty zeal and swayed by their feelings. Nor did that mediate calling with which they were furnished place them beyond the danger of error. Not only could they err, but they often undoubtedly did err on many vital points, whether as individuals or taken together. This might readily be proved, if the papists themselves did not agree with us here; as Bellarmine who confesses that even the most learned fathers seriously erred in many things (VD 3.3, 10, pp. 101–3, 111–14), contradict each other ("De Christo," 2.2 in *Opera Omnia* [1856], 1:201–2) and that they all sometimes are blind (ibid.). Sixtus Senensis confirms this ("Praefatio" to Book 5, *Bibliotheca Sancta* [1575], vol. 2; cf. Salmeron, *Commentarii in evangelicam historiam* [1602–04], vol. 13, Part 3, Disputatio 6, pp. 206–9).

VIII. (2) The writings of the fathers have been in various ways corrupted and tampered with: partly through the various spurious writings circulated under the name of the fathers (which yet in the judgment of the learned are an adulterous offspring iniquitously laid at the door of the fathers) or through the artifice of sycophants, or the frauds and impostures of heretics, or the base love-of-gain (*aischrokerdeian*) of printers or booksellers; partly through corruption and falsification creeping into their genuine writings. These have evidently been corrupted in various ways, either by the injury of copyists, or the audacity of the monks, or above all through the villainy of the Jesuits in correcting, expurgating and castrating them. The learned in previous times have complained of this and our own have proved it by innumerable examples (as may be seen in Rivet, "Critici Sacri," in *Opera* [1651], 2:1041–1152 and Daille, *A Treatise on the Right Use of the Fathers* [1856] and others who handle this argument).

IX. (3) The fathers themselves acknowledge that their writings ought not to be authoritative, nor their bare assertion in matters of religion to be absolutely decisive. Augustine says: "I confess to thy love that I have learned to give this reverence and honor to those books of Scripture alone

which are now called canonical, as firmly to believe that no one of their authors erred in writing anything … but I so read the others, that however excellent in purity of doctrine, I do not therefore take a thing to be true because they thought so; but because they can persuade me, either through those canonical authors, or probable reason, that it does not differ from the truth. Nor do I think that you, my brother, are of a different opinion. I say further, I do not suppose that you wish your books to be read as if they were the writings of the prophets or apostles, which beyond a doubt are free from any error" (*Letter* 82, "To Jerome" [NPNF1, 1:350; PL 33.277]). "We ought not to consider the disputations of any men, though they be catholic and praiseworthy men, as canonical Scriptures, so that we may not, saving the reverence due to those men, disallow or refuse anything in their writings, if perhaps we find that they thought otherwise than the truth is. Such am I in other men's writings, such will I that other men be understanders of my writings" (Augustine, *Letter* 148, "To Fortunatianus" [NPNF1, 1:502; PL 33.628–29]). "We do no injury to Cyprian when we distinguish any writings of his whatsoever from the canonical authority of the holy Scriptures. For not without cause with such healthful diligence the ecclesiastical canon is appointed, to which certain books of the prophets and apostles do pertain, which we dare not judge at all and according to which we may freely judge of other writings either of faithful men or infidels" (Augustine, *Contra Cresconium* 2.31 [PL 43.489–90]). "I am not bound by the authority of this epistle because I do not account the writings of Cyprian as canonical Scriptures, but I consider of them out of the canonical Scriptures and whatsoever in them agreeth with the authority of the Holy Scripture, I receive with his praise; but whatsoever agreeth not, I refuse it with his leave" [ibid., 2.32 (PL 43.490)]. Even more fully and strongly does he confirm the same thing: "There [i.e., in the canonical Scriptures] if anything strikes me as absurd, it is not lawful to say the author of this book held not the truth; but either the Codex is faulty or the interpreter has erred or you do not understand. But in the productions of those who lived afterwards, which are contained in numberless books, but in no way equal to the most sacred excellence of the canonical Scriptures, even in whatever one of these equal truth is found, yet their authority is far unequal" (*Contra Faustum Manichaeum* 11.5 [NPNF1, 4:180; PL 42.249]). In the same strain, Jerome says, "I know that I esteem the apostles differently from certain tractators

[handlers]; the former as always speaking the truth, the latter as men sometimes making mistakes" (*Letter* 82, "To Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria" [NPNF2, 6:173; PL 22.740]). "Origen should be read occasionally, as Tertullian, Novatus and Arnobius, and some ecclesiastical writers, so that we may extract what is good from them and shun the opposite, according to the apostle's direction, prove all things, hold fast that which is good" (Jerome,* *Letter* 62 [76], "Ad Tranquillanum" [NPNF2, 6:133; PL 22.606]). Jerome frequently inculcates this and with great freedom repeatedly censors the sentiments and expositions of his predecessors. Indeed he speaks of their writings thus: "If any one will speak better or even more truly, let us acquiesce freely in the better" (*commenta. in Haba. et Zach*., t. 5+). Likewise Ambrose testifies, "I am unwilling that you should believe me. Let the Scriptures be recited. I do not speak from myself because in the beginning was the word, but I hear. I do not attach, but I read" (*The Sacrament of the Incarnation of Our Lord* 3 [FC 44:224; PL 16.857]). Also Cyril, "Do not attend to my fluent comments for possibly you may be deceived; but unless you receive the testimony of the prophets to each particular, you must not believe my words" (*Catechetical Lectures* [NPNF2, 7:73; PG 33.730]).

X. (4) Papists themselves reject the authority of the fathers (when opposed to them) and freely recede from them—so much is their recognition of them as judges in matters of faith worth. More passages to prove this could be adduced than those already referred to in Bellarmine, Sixtus Senensis and Salmeron. Speaking of his commentaries on the Scriptures, Cajetan says, "If at any time a new sense agreeing with the text occurs, and not contrary either to the Scriptures or to the doctrine of the church, although perhaps it differs from that which is given by the whole current of the holy doctors, I wish the readers not too hastily to reject it, but rather to censure charitably. Let them remember to give every man his due. There are none but the authors of the holy Scriptures alone to whom we attribute such authority, as that we ought to believe whatsoever they have written." "But as for others," says Augustine, "of however great sanctity and learning they may have been, I so read them that I do not believe what they have written merely because they have written it" (*Letter* 82, "To Jerome" [FC 12:392; PL 33.277]). Melchior Cano after having said from Augustine that only the holy Scriptures are exempt from all error, further

adds, “But there is no man, however holy or learned, who is not sometimes deceived, who does not sometimes dote or sometimes slip” (“De Locis theolgicis,” 7.3, num. 3 in *Opera* [1605], p. 353). And afterwards, “We should therefore read the ancient fathers with all due reverence; yet, as they were but men, with discrimination and judgment” (ibid.). “To follow the ancients in all things, and to tread everywhere in their steps as little children do in play, is nothing else but to disparage our own parts and to confess ourselves to have neither judgment nor skill enough for searching into the truth. No, let us follow them as guides, but not as masters” (ibid., num. 10, p. 359). In his comments on the gospels, Maldonatus often says, “So almost all the fathers explain it, with whom indeed I cannot agree” (*Commentary on the Holy Gospels: Matthew* [1888], 2:34, 136, 179–80 on Mt. 16:18, 19:11, 20:22). Petavius says, “The fathers were men. They had their failings and we ought not maliciously to search after their errors that we may lay them open to the world; but that we may take the liberty to note them whenever they come in our way, to the end that none be deceived by them; and that we ought no more to maintain or defend their errors than we ought to imitate their vices, if at least they had any” (“Animadversiones in Epiphanium cum Appendice Gemina,” in *Opera* [1682], 2:205, 244, 285). Baronius frequently blames and refutes the fathers most freely whenever they happen to hold a different opinion from his own. If then our adversaries are discovered to so recklessly despise and trample under foot even the approved fathers whenever they do not agree with them, with what face can they insist upon their being heard as judges in our controversies?

Sources of explanation.

XI. What all the doctors deliver by unanimous consent according to the word of God, the universal church can and ought to believe. But if they do not speak out of the word, but rather against it, so far is the church from being bound to receive it that she is rather bound to anathematize them (Gal. 1:8).

XII. Although the fathers who were nearest to the age of the apostles were necessarily the purest, it does not follow that their writings can be considered as a rule of truth with the apostolic writings. The gift of infallibility was the peculiar distinction (*axiōma*) of the apostleship and

cannot belong to their successors who were not furnished with the same gifts.

XIII. The unity of the church may be properly preserved by the unity of faith delivered in the Scriptures, not by the consent of the fathers (which is difficult and almost impossible to ascertain).

XIV. The obedience due to rulers (Heb. 13:17) is not blind and brute, so that we should yield ourselves to everything they say or write. Rather it should be rational, listening to them speaking and delivering the oracles of God which they have received from Christ (Mt. 28:20; 1 Cor. 11:23).

XV. Although we are unwilling to acknowledge the fathers as judges in matters of faith, we do not therefore mean that their authority is null. For they can be of great use (if not to the formation of faith, at least to its illustration and confirmation) to obtain testimony concerning the faith of the ancient church and to convince us that the papists rather boast of the consent of the fathers than follow it. Further that the doctrines which the papists obtrude upon us from tradition contrary to the Scriptures were unheard of in the first centuries.

XVI. In vain do the papists allege the consent of the fathers for the judgment of controversies and the interpretation of Scripture. (1) Even if it could be ascertained, it would make only a human and probable argument (such as might be obtained from the responses of prudent men), but not a necessary and absolute one (*anypeuthynon*), for even the fathers themselves submitted to the judgment of the Scriptures. (2) If not impossible, it is at least most difficult to get such a consent. Nor is that way (so lengthy and intricate and involved in such a labyrinth of volumes) fitted for terminating controversies especially since it is almost impossible to know what the ancients thought about our controversies. This follows: (a) because we have very few writings of the ancient fathers (especially of the first, second and third centuries, which nevertheless are those we are most especially to regard as nearest to the age of the apostles). For those writings of the first three centuries which are extant for the most part treat of subjects widely remote from our controversies and refer to them only in passing and in relation to some other thing. And this follows (b) because the fathers often differ one from another and are not always consistent with themselves in the same matters of faith. They often change their opinions, advancing in the

knowledge of the truth with age and, when old, retracting the opinions they held in their youth.

XVII. We do not despise and treat the fathers injuriously when we deny to them that supreme power of judging. Indeed we must take care not to rob them of their just praise, but much more not to defer to them too much (there is more danger of the latter than of the former). Yea, if they could come forth from their graves, they could not endure the attribution of such authority to them and would sharply rebuke us in the words of the apostles to the Lycaonians (who would needs render them divine honor)—"we also are men of like passions [*homoiopatheis*] with you" (Acts 14:14, 15). They frequently declare that they wrote not to give authoritative rules, but to be useful. Thus they should be read not with a necessity of believing, but with the liberty of judging. They also openly acknowledge that their works are in no way to be placed on an equality with the authority of the most holy Scriptures (as Augustine says, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* 11.5 [NPNF1, 4:180] and *Contra Cresconium* 2.31 [PL 43.489–90]).

XVIII. Therefore we gather that the fathers neither can nor ought to be regarded as judges in our controversies, but as witnesses who (by their wonderful consent) give testimony to the truth of Christianity and prove (by their silence or even by weighty reasons) the falsity of the doctrines introduced by the papists beyond and contrary to the Scriptures. Their writings must be respectfully received and may be read with profit. Yet at the same time they cannot have any other than our ecclesiastical and human authority (i.e., subordinate and dependent on the Scriptures).

THIRD TOPIC

The One and Triune God

First Question

Can the existence of God be irrefutably demonstrated against atheists? We affirm

I. Although the "Deity is unbounded and incomprehensible" (*apeiron kai akatalēpton ... to theion*) as Damascene well remarks (*Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1.4 [NPNF2, 9:4; PG 94.797]); and to speak the truth concerning God is even dangerous on account of his exalted "preeminence (*hyperochēn*)," as Cyprian says; yet because God has condescended to reveal himself to us both in nature and in the Scriptures (and it is incumbent upon the one who approaches God to believe that he is and is a rewarder of those who seek him, Heb. 11:6), the discussion concerning God holds the first place in theology and embraces the sum of all saving knowledge. We are to learn so that with fear and trembling (searching into what the Lord has revealed) we may not rashly pry into the secrets which he has reserved to himself alone—"lest being unlawfully curious in the latter, we may be found worthy of just condemnation in the former," as Prosper says (*Call of the Nations* 1.21* [ACW 14:68; PL 51.674]).

II. The subject admits of a threefold division. First, that we may know that he is (with respect to existence) against the atheist. Second, that we may know what he is (with respect to his nature and attributes) against the heathen. Third, that we may know who he is (with respect to the persons) against the Jews and heretics. The former two relate to God considered essentially (*ousiōdōs*); the latter relate to him regarded hypostatically (*hypostatikōs*) and personally.

III. Although that there is a God is an indubitable first principle of religion (rather to be taken for granted than proved, so that they who doubt it are to be punished and not disputed with, as Aristotle says), yet the execrable madness of modern atheists (of whom this most corrupt age is far too fruitful, who do not blush impiously to deny this clearest truth) renders this question necessary.

IV. The question is not whether the true and saving knowledge of God obtains everywhere among men. For no one can deny that the true God was and is even now unknown by many nations, who are therefore called atheists (*atheoi*) by the apostle (Eph. 2:12). Rather the question is whether such a knowledge of the deity is implanted in men by nature, that no one can be wholly ignorant of him; or whether the existence of God can be demonstrated by unanswerable arguments, not only from the Scriptures, but also from nature herself. Profane men and atheists unscrupulously deny this; we assert it.

The being of God is proved.

V. The demonstration of deity rests upon four foundations principally: (1) the voice of universal nature; (2) the contemplation of man himself; (3) the testimony of conscience; (4) the consent of all mankind. For God, the wonderful artificer of the universe, has so deeply stamped upon all its parts the impression of his majesty that what was commonly said of the shield of Minerva (into which Phidias had so skillfully introduced his likeness that it could not be taken out without loosening the whole work) has a far juster application here. God cannot be wrested from nature without totally confusing and destroying it.

From the subordination of causes.

VI. Nature proves the being of God since she proclaims that she not only is, but is from another and could not be without another. For if it is certain and indubitable that out of nothing, nothing is made and that nothing can be the cause of itself (for then it would be before and after itself), it is also certain that we must grant some first and unproduced being from whom all things are, but who is himself from no one. For if every being is produced, it is

produced either by itself or by some other; not by itself because (as was just said) nothing can be the cause of itself; not by another because then it would follow that there could be an infinite series in producing causes or that a circle would be made, both of which are untenable. For as to the circle, it evidently cannot be granted since in those things which are made there is always a last thing which has not made anything else. Besides such a circle is impossible; for suppose it were true, it would follow that the same thing was made by itself and was the cause (mediately at least) of itself. Nothing would be more absurd. Neither can an infinite series of producing causes be allowed because in causes there must necessarily be some order as to prior and posterior. But an infinite series of producing causes rejects all order, for then no cause would be first; rather all would be middle, having some preceding cause. Indeed there would be no cause which ought not to have infinite superior causes before itself (which is impossible [*asystaton*]). If there were infinite causes before each and every cause, before the whole multitude and collection of causes there would be infinite causes and thus that collection would not be total. Again, if the first cause can never be reached by ascending from the effects to the cause, so the ultimate effect can never be arrived at by descending from the causes to the effects. For the infinite can be gone through no more by ascending than by descending. Therefore we must necessarily stop in some cause which is so the first as to recognize no superior. Thus that series of causes ought not to be *in infinitum*, but *ad infinitum* in which it will be terminated.

From the newness of the world.

VII. (2) The newness of the world with the commencement of motion and of time proves the necessary existence of God. For if the world began, it must necessarily have received its beginning from someone. Inasmuch as it could not be from itself, it could be from no other than God. Now there are many proofs that the world had a beginning and is not eternal. Time could not be from eternity. If so, then from eternity there must have been the vicissitude of day and night which is impossible (*asystaton*). It is inconsistent that day and night have been from eternity since they would either have been at the same time (which implies a contradiction) or successively (which destroys the eternity). Again, if time is eternal, there

could not have been a first day, for if there were, time had a beginning. If there were no first day, a day preceded every day (i.e., there was a day before there was a day). Third, if time is eternal, there were infinite years, infinite months, days and hours. But the number of months, years and days will either be equal or not. If equal, it would follow that a part is equal to the whole, and the whole is not greater than its part. If unequal, there will be made a greater and lesser in an infinity. Fourth, either no day was from eternity, or every day, or only some one. If the former, time is not eternal; experience teaches the falsity of the second; the third cannot be said because if some one day was from eternity, its duration ought to be infinite and without a beginning (which implies a contradiction) since its duration would be terminated in twenty-four hours. Fifth, all motion is with succession (including priority and posteriority) which is repugnant to eternity. Sixth, if the sun revolved and illuminated the world from eternity that was done either with respect to our hemisphere, or exactly the opposite, or with respect to both at the same time. The former cannot be said because what is successive cannot be called eternal; not the latter because it is impossible for the sun to illuminate both hemispheres at the same time. For it would have to be in many places at the same time and everywhere would be day and there would be no such thing as night.

VIII. If men were from eternity, there would be granted infinite generations succeeding each other, and the number of men who have lived thus far would be infinite. But there can be no such thing as an infinite series in generations (as we said before), nor can the number of men who have thus far lived be infinite, since it is increased every day. Nothing can be added to that which is infinite! Again either some one man was from eternity or no one. If no man, then men are not from eternity and were not created by God. If some man was, he could not have been created by another, since what is produced by another is after it and what is eternal recognizes nothing before itself.

IX. To no purpose do atheists (in order to prove the possibility of an infinite series) bring forward the consideration of posterior eternity. For by descending into the eternity without end, there is granted a first, though not a last, and the last can never be arrived at; so by ascending into anterior eternity, there is granted a last, though not a first. Two things entirely dissimilar are here brought together: that which was and has really passed

and that which never will be nor come to pass. For the duration of past time, and the succession of men who have lived thus far, was and no more is; but the duration of futurity and of the men who will live in it is such that it can never be said to have passed by. Finally, there may be the beginning of a thing without end (as in the duration of angels and of souls), but there cannot be an end without a beginning because an end necessarily supposes some beginning from which the thing had its origin. Hence the consequence does not follow. If in posterior eternity there can be granted a duration which had a beginning and will not have an end, then in anterior eternity there can be granted a duration which may have an end and yet never had a beginning.

From the beauty of the universe.

X. (3) The wonderful beauty and order of the universe is another proof. For if order requires wisdom and intelligence, the most perfect supposes the most perfectly necessary and infinite wisdom which we call God. Now he is blind who does not see the most beautiful order everywhere and most wicked who does not acknowledge it. There is so suitable a disposition of parts, so constant a concord of things so discordant, so harmonious an agreement and consent of creatures the most diverse, so swift and at the same time equable motion of the heavenly bodies and so immutable a stability and constancy of the order once established. So not only do the heavens declare the glory of God, but every blade of grass and flower in the field, every pebble on the shore and every shell in the ocean proclaim not only his power and goodness, but also his manifold (*polypoikilon*) wisdom, so near each one that even by feeling, God can be found. Augustine says, "The prophetic voices excepted, the world itself by its own most regular mutability and mobility and the exquisitely beautiful appearance of all visible things, silently as it were proclaims both that it was made and could be made only by a God unspeakably and invisibly great, and unspeakably and invisibly beautiful" (CG 11.4 [FC 14:191; PL 41.319]).

XI. You may say perhaps that these things were so arranged by chance and by a fortuitous concourse of atoms. But I know not whether such an impious and absurd opinion is worthy of refutation, since these things denote not chance (*tychēn*), but the highest art (*technēn*). For things which

come by chance are uncertain and ill-arranged and have nothing constant and similar; but nothing can be conceived more regular and composed than this universal frame. To say, then, that this most beautiful and highly decorated universe was produced by a fortuitous concourse of atoms is the same as to say that "if innumerable forms of the one and twenty letters were thrown together, the annals of Ennius could be produced from them when shaken upon the earth and could afterwards be read" (as Cicero remarks, *De Natura Deorum* 2.37.93 [Loeb, 19:212–13]). In the same place, he quotes from Aristotle: "If there were persons who had always lived under the earth in good and splendid habitation and yet had never come out upon its surface, but had heard that there was a deity and a power of the gods; then upon some occasion the jaws of the earth being opened they could come out and walk abroad in these places where we now live; when suddenly they would see the earth, and sea and the heavens, and behold the sun, and know both its admirable magnitude and virtue, and contemplate the whole sky bespangled with stars, their rising and setting, their regulated and immutable eternal motion; when they saw these things they would assuredly think both that there were gods, and that these so magnificent works were theirs" (ibid., 2.37.95, pp. 214–15).

From the tendency of all things to an end.

XII. (4) The tendency of all things toward an end confirms this. For since all natural beings act for the sake of some end (which they always certainly and infallibly pursue), they must necessarily be directed by the design of some ruler. Inasmuch as nature does nothing vain, if it acts for the sake of some end, it must either itself know and seek that end or if it does not know or seek it, be directed to it by another. Now since among natural things there are many incapable of forming plans (because they are either inanimate or devoid of reason [*alogoi*]), they need some external counsel to direct them. Now that external counsel can be attributed to no other than the author and ruler of nature. Nor can it be said that nature herself is in single things by whose counsel they are directed to their ends, for nature will be the natural property and particular single nature of each thing. But how can that be capable of counsel if the things themselves are brutes (or certain common nature collected from the nature of single things)? But a common

nature is not beyond the single natures or some intelligent and subsisting substance by whose counsel all things are directed. But this is to make a god of nature and with the denial of God, to recognize him under the name of nature, according to the Philosopher who says a "work of nature is the work of an unerring intelligence."

XIII. (5) Man himself has in his own breast a familiar teacher of this very truth. If he would withdraw his attention from all things and reflect upon himself, he would recognize no less wisdom in the little world than in the great, and admire in his body a visible (and in his mind a scintillating) divinity. For whence is the body constructed with such wonderful and truly stupendous skill? Whence so many different members created together by a mutual interweaving and so fitly disposed to their peculiar offices, unless from an immense spirit? Whence the mind, a particle of the divine breath, possessed of so many faculties, furnished with so many gifts, unless from a supreme intelligence? This image clearly bespeaks its prototype, and everyone who pays attention will not only hear and see God present in himself, but also in a manner touch and feel him.

From conscience.

XIV. (6) This is especially taught by this power and stimulus of conscience (the inseparable attendant of crime either begun or finished) whose sense can neither be blunted, nor accusation escaped, nor testimony corrupted; nor can it fail to appear on the appointed day, nor its tribunal be shunned. For how comes it that the conscience is tormented after a crime committed (even in secret and with remote judges), where no danger threatened from men (even in those who held supreme power) unless because it is affected by a most intimate sense of deity (as appears from the case of Nero, Caligula and others)?

> But why should you suppose that a man escapes punishment whose mind is ever kept in terror by the consciousness of an evil deed which lashes him with unheard blows, his own soul ever shaking over him the unseen whip of torture?
>
> —Juvenal, *The Satires of Juvenal* 13.192–95 (Loeb, 260–61)

> As each man's conscience is, so doth it, for his deeds, conceive within his breast or hope or fear.
>
> —Ovid, *Fasti* 1.485–86 (Loeb, 5:36–37)

Whence those terrors of conscience, trembling at more atrocious wickedness, unless from the sense of some avenger and judge whom, not seeing, it everywhere feels? For these terrors cannot arise from any fear of civil laws or any temporal punishment or disgrace—both because these are only feared in the case of open crimes (which alone the civil laws and in accordance with them the judges can punish), and because they affect those also who recognize no superior on earth and who therefore can be judged by no one. Otherwise how does it come about that when an unforeseen danger assails or a sudden fear arises, they who appeared to have wholly divested their minds of the sense of deity, tremble at an angry God and implore his aid with ejaculatory prayers and groans? But what makes them so terribly afraid, who are either profane in secret and in their mind only deny that there is a God? You may say perhaps it is a vain fear; but if vain, whence is it? Why is it so tenacious and inexpugnable even when there is no cause for fear? Who or what is feared by him who alone is conscious of his own thoughts, who is confident that there is no arbiter or witness or judge of them? Himself? But he is his own best friend. Others? But they do not know his thoughts or intentions. Then if they wish to be safe, they prove by their mouth what they deny in their heart. Why then are they not secure? Therefore, willing or unwilling, they must believe that there is a God whom right reason itself teaches them to fear and orders them to recognize as the Lord and Judge of all.

XV. Nor can it be objected that Paul says that men sometimes arrive at such a height of wickedness as to render themselves without feeling (*apēlgēkotes*, Eph. 4:19), i.e., free from all the pain which conscience otherwise usually produces; yea to such a pitch as to have their consciences cauterized (*kekautēriasmenēn*) and therefore destitute of all sense and remorse (as the same apostle says, 1 Tim. 4:2). For this indeed indicates the attempt and desire of such wicked men (and the effect of that attempt which may appear externally) when they show to others a bold confidence and a mind confirmed in wickedness, as if they were pressed by no sense of guilt or torture of conscience; but it does not show what their minds are

internally. For this does not appear, this they can dissimulate in public. If they are regarded externally, they are without sense, without pain, indeed they openly declare the absence of it. But if we could look within, we would find their minds restless and pierced with the sharpest thorns. Yet I do not mean to deny that by a habit of sinning their consciences may be made so callous that occasionally and for a time they may seem to have lost all sense of sin and may not feel or care for the goads of conscience (especially in prosperity, when their powers are unimpaired, health is strong and public approbation is present). But it cannot be said that they have lost all sense entirely. Conscience slumbers, but is not dead; it is intoxicated from the flesh, but not extinct. Otherwise, how could Paul say, "Men having not the law, are a law unto themselves, and show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile [thereupon and at intervals] accusing, or else excusing one another" (Rom. 2:14, 15) in good or bad action.

From the consent of mankind.

XVI. (7) Another argument is the constant and perpetual sense and consent of all men. For although they may have entertained different notions concerning the nature and number of the deity and the reason and method of worshipping him, they erred for the most part most wickedly. Still in so great a variety there was this uniform agreement in the belief that there is some deity who ought to be religiously worshipped. "There is no nation," says Cicero, "so intractable and fierce, although it may be ignorant what a God it should have, yet is not ignorant that one should be had" (*Laws* 1.8.24 [Loeb, 16:324–25]). Indeed so deeply has this notion struck its roots in the minds of men that men would rather believe there is a god than that there is none and preferred to have a false god than no god. Hence it happened that they would rather worship stones and stocks and even the vilest things than be without some deity (which never could have been done by man naturally proud unless he possessed the strongest impression of a divinity). If some monsters have existed, who by gigantic efforts have proclaimed war against their own nature in denying a God (as the psalmist testifies, "the fool says in his heart there is no god," 14:1), besides the fact that this is to be understood rather of practical than theoretical atheists (as will be hereafter

proved), they ought not to be opposed to the common and general consent of all. Nor should the furious attempts of those who strive to stifle this knowledge and even die in their obstinacy prejudice the universal judgment of all the rest which (diffused everywhere throughout all parts of the world) has most constantly continued through so many ages. No more than the monsters and prodigies which are sometimes seen contrary to nature can overturn the regular laws established by God; or the instances of insanity overturn the definition of man as a rational animal.

XVII. Since then this constant and universal agreement of all men concerning this primary truth can either have arisen not from a simple desire (which in many would tend to a removal of a deity to be feared on account of their crimes than to an acknowledgment of one), nor be founded on state policy or ancestral tradition (which could never be so efficacious as to produce a general consent in the minds of all), it follows necessarily that it took its rise from the evidence of the thing itself. It is so great that no one possessed of a sound mind can be ignorant of it. It is evident from the most intimate sense of deity, impressed by God upon each one, so as to deprive them of the pretext of ignorance. Since all to a man may understand that there is a God and that he is his maker, they are condemned by their own testimony for not worshipping him. Here pertain those words of Iamblicus, "Before all use of reason a notion of the gods is naturally implanted in men, yea a certain tact of divinity better than knowledge" (*De Mysteriis Aegyptiorum* [1972], p. 1). This is the knowledge of God (*to gnōston tou Theou*) which he wished to manifest in the Gentiles (Rom. 1:19). Damascene explains this: "The knowledge of the existence of God is naturally impressed upon all men by himself" (*pasi hē gnōsis tou einai theon hyp' autou physikōs enkatsepartai*, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1.1 [NPNF2, 9:1; PG 94.789]).

XVIII. It makes little difference whether we explain this sense by a natural knowledge of God implanted, or a common notion, or a conception of the mind, or (as more recently) by the idea of God as the most perfect being impressed upon our minds. These all come to the same thing, viz., that there is implanted in each one from his birth a sense of deity which does not allow itself to be concealed and which spontaneously exerts itself in all adults of sound mind. Only let us observe that the idea of God can with less propriety be said to be impressed upon us, if by it is meant a

certain intelligible species and image of God in our minds representing to us clearly and distinctly the whatness (*quidditatem*) and essence of God (which both his infinite majesty rejects and our finite and weak intelligence cannot take in). For how could either an (in any way) adequate or a clear and distinct image of an infinite being exist in a finite mind? Nor (if it may be held as certain from the common notion and instinct of conscience that there is a God) does it follow that by a clear and distinct conception (such as the idea of which we speak is supposed to be) we can ascertain immediately who and what he is. Besides it is certain that a clear and distinct idea of God (if there is any such in us) comes not from nature (darkened and blinded as it is by sin), but from the supernatural revelation of the word, in which he has clearly manifested himself to us (although this very knowledge in relation to that of glory is only specular and enigmatical, i.e., as yet imperfect and very obscure).

XIX. Many other arguments might be adduced to confirm this truth: from the prophecies of contingent future events (which could not be foretold long before their accomplishment unless by an omniscient mind); from the heroic actions of illustrious men (which could not be thought to be done without a divine influence); from the changes and overthrow of empires (which the thing itself declares happened by the finger of God); from the public judgments and punishment of crimes inflicted by an avenging nemesis; and from the miracles surpassing the power of all nature. For as it can do nothing beyond its power (and not only the Scriptures record, but both Jews and Gentiles confess that many miracles have often been wrought in the world), we must necessarily suppose a most perfect being, greater and more excellent than all nature, to whose power they must be ascribed (who can be no other than God).

XX. Now these and the like arguments (drawn from the contemplation of the divine works and the inmost recesses of nature), which are sufficient to cover with confusion these impious fighters against God (*theomachoi*), are more clearly confirmed by the testimony of the irrefragable word which (since it bears on its front the conspicuous marks of its own divinity, as we have seen before, and everywhere declares its author to be God) has inscribed this persuasion upon the minds of believers in indelible character.

XXI. To these arguments *ad hominem* might also be added those of sufficient force to move even the atheist to believe in deity, if not for the

sake of vindicating God himself and religion, at least for his own sake and profit. For if there were no God, no republic, no society in the world would be safe. Without virtue, without religion, nothing can be safe. If there were no God, there would be neither virtue nor religion. What would the world be but a mere den of robbers in which license would be each one's law, no such thing as right or wrong, no right of government, no necessity of obedience—the most abandoned, the superior and the most powerful, the master? No check would be placed upon the oppression of rulers and the rebellion of subjects. Each one would follow the bent of his own inclination. Again, if there were no God, no mortals would even for a moment be safe or secure from violence, fraud, perjury, slaughter of blood. Every hour everything would have to be feared. Take away the barriers of divinity and what would become of confidence and innocence? What license or violence would not be witnessed? As to human edicts (besides the fact that they cannot change the mind for the better, but on the contrary make it artful and intent upon all the arts of deception), what place would there be for human laws, if (the sense of deity being removed) the conscience would shake off all relations of justice and injustice?

Sources of explanation.

XXII. Although God is not manifest to the senses comprehensively as he is in himself, yet he can be perceived apprehensively as shining in his works, appearing in signs, heard in the word and manifested in the fabric of the whole universe. (2) It is a false assumption that there is nothing in the intellect which was not before in some sense. For universals are in the intellect and never were in any sense. A mind is known as also an angel, yet they are never perceived or seen except from their effects. Why therefore may not God be most certainly known in the mind from his works and *a posteriori*, although we cannot perceive him with our eyes or any of the other bodily senses?

XXIII. It is one thing to acknowledge that there is an apparent confusion and disorder (*ataxian*) in the universe as to us (which we do); another, that there is a true and real confusion and disorder on the part of God (which we deny). For what to us may appear disordered, with God may be perfectly arranged.

XXIV. Although various things in the world seem to be useless, many indeed hurtful and dangerous, tending to its own destruction and the extreme misery of the human race (such as dreadful and volcanic mountains overwhelming by a perpetual eruption of flames and ashes fields, villages, cities and entire regions with men and other animals indiscriminately; whirlpools, ship-wrecking rocks, poisonous herbs, noxious animals and other things of the kind), it does not follow that the world was not created and is not now directed by some perfectly good and wise being. Besides the fact that the glory of the Creator is most strikingly exhibited by all these, yet there is nothing so useless and apparently hurtful as not to be conducive in various ways both to man and other creatures. Nor (if we cannot ascertain the various uses of these things) does it follow that they have none.

XXV. The prosperity of the wicked and the adversity of the pious exhibit a most wise dispensation which converts all these to its own glory and the salvation of the pious. But this ought not to weaken our faith in deity. Indeed they confirm the truth of a final judgment after this life where each one will receive a reward according to his faith and works.

XXVI. Infinite goodness does not immediately take away all evils if it is a perfectly free and not a necessary agent. It judges that the permission of evil for the purpose of extracting good from it pertains more to its wisdom and omnipotence than the not permitting the existence of evil.

XXVII. When God is said to be from himself, this must be understood negatively (because he is from no one, since he is self-living [*autozōē*] and self-existent [*autoōn*]), rather than positively, as if he were the cause of himself (implying a contradiction) because he would then be before and after himself.

XXVIII. It is one thing to use religion and the sense of deity to coerce people to obedience and preserve them in duty; another to impose upon them such a persuasion of deity, although false. I confess indeed that legislators have done the former and cunning men have contrived many things in religion for the purpose of inspiring the common people with reverence and striking them with terror, so that they might keep their minds under greater subjection. But they never could have succeeded in that unless the minds of men had been imbued before with such a constant persuasion of deity that the propensity to religion burst forth from it as from

a seed. Finally, who can believe that by the power or cunning of a few that constant opinion could be diffused through all parts of the world and through all ages, bringing so much terror to conscience even in the most secret crimes? Who does not see that if the persuasion of a divinity is due to the authority of laws and the fear of punishment, it would last no longer than the continuance of the yoke of slavery? On the contrary, we know in fact that it has pervaded all men, even the most free and those not bound by the chains of the law.

Second Question

Are there any atheists properly so called? We deny

Statement of the question.

I. As there is so large a number of atheists now in the world, it might at first sight seem amazing that anyone should either question or deny that there could be any. After laying down certain distinctions, it will be apparent in what sense it may be true that there can be many atheists, and yet that there are none.

Speculative or practical atheism.

II. First, an atheist may be either speculative or practical: the former as to faith, not acknowledging a God; the latter as to manners and life, recognizing but not worshipping him (who live just as if there were no God or wish in their hearts there was none). For although there is no practice which does not imply some knowledge (nor any knowledge at least concerning the worship of God which does not tend in some way to practice); so there is no practical atheism which does not arise from a depraved knowledge and corrupt judgment of mind and no speculative atheism which does not also draw after corrupt practice. Yet this does not hinder the denomination being made from the prevailing quality, so that the atheism which consists rather in ostentatious words and blasphemies should be called speculative, but that which is rather occupied with impious deeds

should be termed practical. Now while we admit there are many practical atheists, we deny that there are any speculative.

Speculative atheism.

III. Second, a speculative atheist is either direct and express or indirect and interpretative. The direct is one who shakes off all knowledge, sense and belief of deity. The indirect is one who attributes to or denies to God such things that by necessary consequence God is denied. For example, he who denies the providence and justice of God (although he may profess to acknowledge a God) by that very thing denies him because God cannot be without providence. We do not here treat of the latter, but of the former.

IV. Third, the direct atheist is either one externally disputing (yea even maliciously denying against his sense); or internally doubting (for a time vexed with doubts of the existence of God and appearing to yield to them for a moment in paroxysms of temptation); or studiously affecting a total want of perception of deity (*anaisthēsian*); or plainly and certainly persuaded in his heart that there is no God. Concerning the former we do not treat (who, moreover, we do not deny can be found), but concerning the latter (whom we do). The question then is whether atheists are supposable not practically, but speculatively; not indirectly and interpretatively, but directly; not those who externally dispute, or deny, or internally doubt and endeavor to persuade themselves that there is no God; but who expressly believe it in their hearts and profess with their mouth. This we deny.

Proof that atheism cannot be granted.

V. The reasons are: (1) There is implanted in man a knowledge of God and sense of divinity, of which man can no more be destitute than of a rational intellect. Hence he cannot divest himself of it without putting off himself (as was proved before, Topic I, Question 3). If in Scripture the saving and practical knowledge by which they may be converted is denied to sinners (1 Jn. 2:4), it is not as if a theoretical and inefficacious knowledge is therefore denied. And if the ignorance of a depraved disposition is attributed to them (1 Thess. 4:5; Eph. 4:17, 18), the ignorance of pure negation cannot be attributed to them equally.

VI. (2) The atheist has the work of the law written in him (Rom. 2:14), and a natural observation and conscience in which God has erected his throne to be extinguished only with the light of reason. For although men of desperate impiety often endeavor to shake it off, yet they cannot. And as for a time they may seem to have rendered themselves insensible and conscience may slumber, at length it starts up and pierces their hearts with severer pangs, so that involuntarily they are held captive and then feel deeply him whom they desire to be ignorant of (as was the case with Caligula, Nero and many others). Nor can it be properly objected that this conscience is not always joined with any knowledge or fear of God. The scourge of conscience might be occasioned by the fear of men; for although this might be the case in known crimes, in those secret sins which men are ignorant of and perpetrated by those recognizing no superior on earth, whence could such terror arise except from a sense of God's justice, smiting their consciences the more as they endeavored to escape it? Hence here truly there must be present something divine (*theion ti*).

VII. (3) God has so clearly manifested himself in his works that men even by feeling may find him (Acts 17:26, 27), and cannot open their eyes without being immediately struck with the majesty and splendor of so great a deity. Nor does the particle (*ei ara*) used by the apostle throw doubt upon the evidence and certainty of the divine revelation, but refers to the senselessness and negligence of the seekers (as in Acts 8:22). Thus what is added concerning the presence of God ("he is not far from every one of us") does not denote the special promise of grace to his faithful worshippers, but indicates the blessing of providence common to all men.

VIII. The acquired knowledge of God is usually obtained in the threefold way of causality, eminence and negation. By way of causality, when from the effects we infer the cause and from second causes we ascend to the first: "He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He that formed the eye, shall he not see?" (Ps. 94:9). By way of eminence, we eminently ascribe (*kat' exochēn*) to God whatever of perfection there is in creatures. By way of negation, we remove from him whatever is imperfect in creatures, as when he is said to be invisible, immortal, immutable. By way of negation we arrive at the knowledge of negative attributes. By way of eminence, we know the positive attributes. And by way of causality we ascend to the knowledge of relative attributes.

Sources of explanation.

IX. When it is said, "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God" (Ps. 14:1), the certain and firm persuasion of an atheist denying God is not so much described, as the doubt and endeavor of the impious man striving to extinguish this knowledge. Therefore he does not say he believes and maintains, but he "says" (i.e., silently says to himself and endeavors to persuade himself of it). (2) A direct speculative atheism cannot be meant here because it treats of the wicked and sinners in general, as is evident from a comparison with Rom. 3. Now it is certain that all sinners cannot in this sense be called atheists. (3) Here is denoted not so much a denial of the existence as of the providence of God (as is evident from Ps. 10:4 where what is said of the wicked man "who through the pride of his countenance, will not seek: God is not in all his thoughts"). Verse 11 refers to the denial of providence: "He hath said in his heart, God hath forgotten: he hideth his face; he will never see it." Hence Owen rightly says:

> The fool says in his heart, there is no God,
> He spoke, and no one believed this fool;
> The fool denies God to be if no one, who therefore
> Is an atheist? No one who wants God to be.
>
> —"De Atheo," *Epigrammatum* 3.16 (1622)

X. An external negation of God (or only an erratic thought and doubt concerning him) differs from a fixed and constant denial in the heart. We allow that the former may exist in man, but not the latter.

XI. Whatever authors say of the stifling and obliteration of the light of nature for a time in a paroxysm of fury and of the cauterization of conscience (its lethargy and senselessness [*anaisthēsia*]), ought not to be referred to the total extinction of that natural knowledge, nor to the certainty of a contrary assent and persuasion. Rather it ought to be referred to a certain suppression and darkening of that light and knowledge by which impious men cast off (as much as they can) the actual thought of God and endeavor to persuade themselves that there is no God; nor believe nor fear the vengeance of God as Judge.

XII. The Gentiles are called atheists (*atheoi*, Eph. 2:12) not because they recognize no deity at all, but because they are destitute of the knowledge of

the true deity. He who holds not the true God, must necessarily have no God. In fact the polytheist (*polytheotēs*) is an atheist (*atheotēs*).

XIII. Those who were branded with the infamous name of atheists among the ancients were not so much enemies of every deity, as despisers of idols and false gods (which Apuleius and Agellius testify concerning Socrates, who was declared by the oracle of Apollo to be the wisest man in all Greece).

XIV. It is one thing for the actual thought of God to be absent for a time from the mind of an atheist, and that through negligence and criminality. It is another for the knowledge of God (which is primarily impressed after the manner of a permanent disposition or habit, and thence by ratiocination receives its form from the book both of nature and of the Scriptures) to be absent. The former can sometimes occur, but not the latter.

XV. To the examples of atheists who seem to have abjured all sense of deity (as is said of Julius Caesar, Vaninus and others who persisted in their obstinacy even to the last gasp of life), we may reply that they indeed externally denied and internally zealously strove to extirpate this sense. However we cannot tell what their real persuasion was. Further, if their morals are considered, we can gather not obscurely that they were not free from internal tortures of conscience (whatever they might externally simulate for the purpose of obtaining glory by a profession of unyielding atheism). Nor does it hinder that they continued even to death in that madness because as the heart of man is deep and desperate, they could profess it (against the interior sense and the dictation of conscience) to merit the praise of unconquerable constancy and bravery among their surviving associates.

XVI. Although no one knows what is in man, save the spirit of man which is in him (1 Cor. 2:11), it does not hinder us from certainly maintaining that no one can utterly cast out of his heart all sense of deity, even as he can never divest himself of conscience. These are self-evident principles, depending upon the very consitution of man. So although an individual may profess that he neither knows, nor understands anything, does not perceive the truth of this principle (“nothing can be and not be at the same time”), has no law of nature or movement of conscience accusing or excusing; to such an insufferably vain sceptic, protesting falsely and contrary to the internal sense of his mind, universal experience, reason and

the Scriptures can rightly be opposed, so that whatever he may say, we may charge him with doing violence to his own conscience.

Third Question: The Unity of God

Is God one? We affirm against the heathen and Tritheists

I. The opinions concerning God can be reduced to three principal ones, according to Gregory Nazianzus: (1) to anarchy (*anarchian*), which atheists maintain; (2) to polyarchy (*polyarchian*), which the heathen hold; (3) to monarchy (*monarchian*), which Christians teach (*Oration* 29* [NPNF2, 7:301; PG 36.76]).

Statement of the question.

II. One numerically is used in two senses: either affirmatively only or also exclusively. In the former sense, that is one which is undivided in itself and divisible by any other, but besides which others of the same order and nature can be granted (as every human individual is one numerically). In the latter sense, that is one which is the only one and single (*monadikon*), besides which there is nothing else like it (as the sun is said to be one because the only one). The question here does not concern the unity of God in the former sense, but in the latter. God is so one affirmatively as to indivision that he is also one as to the exclusion of others.

III. The question does not concern the personal numerical unity. As will be proved hereafter, there are more persons than one in the Godhead. Rather the question concerns the essential numerical unity: whether God is one numerically as to essence. We defend this against the polytheism (*polytheotēta*) of the heathen and the error of the Tritheists.

IV. The question is not whether there are many Gods so called (*legomenōs*) (according to the absurd and false opinion of men which prevails among the heathen). Rather the question is whether there are more than one in reality and as to essence. The question is not whether there are more participatively and improperly (for we confess that in this sense even angels and magistrates are often called "gods" in the Scriptures on account of a certain participation in dominion and authority, Ps. 82:6; Heb. 2; Jn.

10:34). Rather the question is whether there are more properly and originally (which we deny).

The unity of God proved from the Scriptures.

V. That there is but one God both the Scriptures frequently assert and reason proves: “Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord” (Dt. 6:4); “But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things” (1 Cor. 8:6*); “God is one” (Gal. 3:20); “There is one God, and one mediator” (1 Tim. 2:5). Moses denies that there are or can be found more besides this one: “See now that I, even I, am he, and there is no god with me” (Dt. 32:39); and “I, even I, am the Lord; and beside me there is no savior” (Is. 43:11*; cf. also Is. 37:16; 44:8).

From reason.

VI. Reason also confirms the same thing. It is a contradiction to suppose more infinite, eternal, omnipotent and most perfect beings (such as God should be) and also more rulers of the world: “the government of the many is not good; let one be the ruler” (*ouk agathon polykoiranin heis koiranos estō*—Homer, *Iliad* 2.204 [Loeb, 1:64–65]). “If God is not one, he is not at all” (Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 1.3* [ANF 3:273; PL 2.249])—for if there are more, they would either be equal (and so neither would be the first and most perfect); or unequal (and so the inferior would not be God); or one would be the cause of all the rest (and so he alone would be the true God); or not (and so no one of them would be God because he would not be the cause of all).

VII. Nor was this altogether unknown by the heathen themselves when they assigned to one supreme God (called “the Father of men and of the gods”) the government of the universe. When they subordinated others to him and traced their origin from him, they divested of divinity those whom they called gods. Hence Hermes Trismegistus, the father of philosophers, in “Poimandres,” 4*.10.2 (in *Corpus Hermeticum* [ed. A.D. Nock, 1983], 1:53) and elsewhere, maintains that one God, one unity is the root of all which is (*hē monas*); says he, *pantōn archē kai rhiza*. Pythagoras, according to Cicero and Plutarch, says, “God is one, not as many think apart from the

administration of the world, but whole in the whole." Orpheus, who, if we credit (Pseudo) Justin Martyr, was the author of polytheism (*polytheotētos*) because he first introduced the names and genealogy of the gods, yet recognizes only one God (*Hortatory Address to the Greeks* [ANF 1:279; PG 6.269]). Clement of Alexandria says, "There is one only unmade God and all other gods and things are the offspring of this one" (*Eis d' hos autogenēs henos ekgona panta tetyktai*, The *Exhortation to the Greeks* 7.64 [Loeb, 166–67]). The same opinion was held by wiser heathen—Plato, Aristotle, Epictetus, Cicero, Seneca and others (whose testimony see in Plesseus, *A Worke Concerning the truenesse of Christian Religion* 3 [1617], pp. 26–43); also Justin, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius, Arnobius, Augustine and other fathers, who abundantly prove the unity of God against the heathen.

Sources of explanation.

VIII. The variety of divine names and attributes does not argue a plurality of gods. They are used to connote the perfection of the one God in order that by many inadequate conceptions we might comprehend in some measure what we could not by a single adequate one.

IX. Although there are more persons than one in God, yet there are not more natures. All persons partake of one and the same infinite nature, not by division, but by communication. If three persons in human things indicate three men, we ought [not] to infer that in divine things three persons are three Gods; or that the unity of the divine essence implies also a unity of person (as Socinus wishes). Of three human persons, there are three singular, numerically distinct essences, since even one subsistence exhausts and bounds their finite singular essence. But of the three divine persons, there is only one undivided and singular essence which, being infinite, is communicable to more than one.

X. Polytheism (*polytheotēs*) and atheism (*atheotēs*) are properly reckoned as springing from the same foolish origin. The apostle calls the Gentiles "atheists" (*atheous*, Eph. 2:12) because they were polytheists (*polytheoi*). He who holds not to only one God, holds to no God because he is destitute of the true.

XI. What of this inquiry—since reason and nature lead us to but one God, whence could the polytheism (*polytheismos*) of the Gentiles take its rise, who instead of the one God worshipped a tribe of gods (*dēmon theōn*) (as Nazianzus observes, *Oration* 38, "On the Theophany," 8 [NPNF2, 7:347; PG 36.320])? Prudentius thus sings of them, "Every marvel that earth and ocean produces they held a god. Hill, seas, rivers, fire" (*A Reply to the Address of Symmachus* 1:297–98 [Loeb, 1:372–73]). Hesiod makes the number of the gods thirty thousand: "for there are thirty thousand immortals upon the all-nourishing earth" (*Tris gar myrioi eisin epi chthoni poulyboteirē, Athanatoi*, *Works and Days* 252–53 [Loeb, 20–21]). Various answers can be given. The principal is the forgetfulness of the true God and the necessity of man. Pressed by his necessity, man looks around on every side for helpers and therefore makes many gods for himself. Pliny elegantly unfolds this: "Frail, toiling mortality, remembering its own weakness, has divided such deities into groups, so as to worship in sections, each the deity he is most in need of" (*Natural History* 2.5 [Loeb, 1:178–79]). Since there they were pressed by a manifold necessity, they sought manifold gods to relieve them, just as if one supreme God could not do all things.

XII. Second, the veneration and worship of those who bestowed remarkable blessings upon the human race introduced a multitude of gods. For they who either were illustrious in crimes, or rendered themselves worthy of praise by distinguished benefits, or because by some grand discovery were serviceable to the human race, or because they were successful in war, or were founders of nations or cities, were enrolled among the number of the gods. Hence Cicero: "Human experience moreover and general custom have made it a practice to confer the deification of renown and gratitude upon distinguished benefactors. This is the origin of Hercules, of Castor and Pollux, of Aesculapius, and also of Liber" (*De Natura Deorum* 2.24.62 [Loeb, 19:182–83]). Pliny also observes: "To enroll such men among the deities is the most ancient method of paying them gratitude for their benefactions. In fact the names of the other gods and also of the stars that I have mentioned above, originated from the services of men" (*Natural History* 2.5* [Loeb, 1:180–83]). Tertullian (*Ad Nationes* 10–11 [ANF 3:118–21]), Minucius (Felix) (*Octavius* 21 [ANF 4:185–86]), Lactantius and Arnobius show this at large (viz., that the gods held in the greater estimation among the heathen were

nothing else than men). And if we examine the subject closely, we may easily discover that the philosophers and poets borrowed (most of them) from the Hebrews; but these are so interpolated by the cunning of Satan and involved in fable that a large mass of filth would have to be stirred up in order to find a few grains of gold. For example, take Saturn with his three sons dividing among themselves the empire of the world. Learned men have observed that Noah and his three sons were latent here (as Bochart and Vossius have satisfactorily proved).

XIII. Third, an occasion of polytheism, among others, was not only the multitude of divine names, but principally the variety and abundance of the attributes and works of God. By this men influenced imperceptibly to the belief in many gods, sought so many and so great perfections divided among more, rather than combined in one.

Fourth Question: The Name "Jehovah"

Is his name so peculiar to God alone as to be incommunicable to creatures? We affirm against the Socinians

I. God is both a being singular in the highest sense, and in his own nature distinct from every thing whatsoever. He does not need a discretive name; nor does a name properly belong to him, either appellative (which is of the distinct species of the same genus) or proper (distinctive of the individuals of the same species). Therefore Trismegistus, according to Lactantius, says, "God has no name" (*anōnymon*, *Divine Institutes* 1.6 [FC 49:32; PL 6.139]). Yet because all our knowledge begins from a name, he assumes various names in Scripture to accommodate himself to us. Some are taken from might—as El, Elohim; some from omnipotence and all-sufficiency—as Shaddai; some from loftiness (*exelsitate*)—as Elion; others from dominion—as Adonai. But the first and principal name is Jehovah, which is derived from his essence or existence.

Statement of the question.

II. There are two principal questions concerning this name. One is grammatical, concerning its pronunciation, i.e., whether it can be

pronounced, and what is the true and genuine method of pronouncing it—Jehovah or Adonai. The other is theological, concerning its use, i.e., whether it is peculiar to God alone or common also to creatures. Dismissing the former question to the consideration of critics, we treat here only of the latter.

III. This question comes between us and the Socinians who (to elude the argument we are accustomed to draw from this name to prove the divinity of Christ) maintain that this name can be communicated to various creatures and is usually attributed in the Scriptures to angels and to Christ as ambassadors of God. They take for granted (as a rule of indubitable truth) "that an ambassador can bear the name and person of the sovereign." Still they do acknowledge a distinction, viz., if the word Jehovah has the word Sabaoth joined with it, it is peculiar to God alone, but if it is without it, it is also common to creatures. But we say that this name is so peculiar to God as to be altogether incommunicable to creatures. It is true that even among the orthodox themselves there exists a discrepancy about the use of this name, but it is rather verbal than real. While some confess that it belongs to no created person, but yet is used with reference to the ark of the covenant (by metonymy of the adjunct), others hold that it is attributed to and agrees with no creature at all. However all agree that this name taken absolutely and without a trope is peculiar to God alone. Nevertheless the latter opinion seems to be the truer and better adopted to strangling the error of the Socinians.

IV. The reasons are: (1) God claims this name as his own and peculiar to himself—"I am Jehovah; that is my name; and my glory will I not give to another" (Is. 42:8; 48:11*; Am. 5:8; 9:6). Hence Israel sings, "Jehovah is his name" (Ex. 15:3). The Jews call it absolutely *hshm* ("the name"); *shm h'tsm* ("the name of substance"); *shm hmpvrsh hmyrchdh* ("the peculiar and separate name").

V. The etymology and signification of the word is such as agrees with God alone. From Scripture, it is evident that it implies most especially three things which are seen to be connected (Is. 44:24–26): (a) the eternity and independence of God, inasmuch as he is a necessary being, and existing of himself, independent of any other, self-existent (*autoōn*)—"I am that I am" (Ex. 3:14). Hence he is called simply the being (*ho ōn*, as the ancient philosophers and Plato especially acknowledged). John describes him by

the three distinctions of time: “which is, and which was, and which is to come” (*ho ōn kai ho ēn kai ho erchomenos*, Rev. 1:4). In reference to this we have that expression of the ancient heathen: “Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus will be, O great Zeus” (*Zeus hēn, Zeus esti, Zeus essetai ō megale Zeu*, Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.12.10 [Loeb, 4:436–37]). (b) It implies causality and efficiency because what is the first and most perfect in each genus is the cause of the rest (for God is by himself so that he is the cause of being to all others, Is. 44:24). (c) It implies immutability and constancy in promises because he really performs and does what he has promised by giving to his promises being (*to einai*), not only self-existent (*autoōn*), but also essentially existent (*ousiōn*) and essence-making (*ousiopoios*). In this sense, he says that he had not been known to the patriarchs by his name Jehovah (Ex. 6:3), not as to the signifying word (for the contrary is evident from the book of Genesis), but as to the thing signified (because he had not as yet given being to his promises concerning the multiplication of seed, the bringing of the people out of Egypt, their introduction to Canaan, etc.). He had made himself known to the patriarchs by his power in the creation of the world, in its government and in the bestowal of many blessings and their wonderful defense; but he had not as yet really declared himself to be Jehovah, by fulfilling the promises given to the patriarchs. But since eternal existence, omnipotent power and immutable truth belong to God alone, the name Jehovah (which embraces these three) ought to be peculiar to him alone.

VI. The name Jehovah by its nature or grammatical construction cannot be common to more than one because it is per se individual and is never found with *h* emphatic or demonstrative. (2) It is always used in the singular, but never in the plural. (3) It nowhere occurs with an affix or in the construct state. Since then it is attributed to God, it must be peculiar to him.

Sources of explanation.

VII. If this name is anywhere applied to an angel (as Gen. 16:13; 18:17; 48:15, 16; Ex. 3:2), the “uncreated angel” is meant. He is not a created angel, but the Son of God, the angel of his presence, who in the prelude to his incarnation often so appeared (as is evident from the circumstances of the places where the properties, works and honor of God are ascribed to that

angel). He ascribes to himself a divine effect, "to multiply seed" (Gen. 16:10). He is called, "The God of vision" (Gen. 16:13). He is designated an uncreated angel (Gen. 18): (1) by the name because only one of the three angels who appeared is called Jehovah; (2) from the divine attributes, since he claims for himself omnipotence and omniscience, predicts future things (Gen. 18:10, 14) and is called the Judge of the whole earth (Gen. 18:25); (3) from honor because Abraham adores him, which yet the angel does not refuse (as he would undoubtedly have done if he had been a created angel as in Rev. 19:10). The angel is said to have redeemed Jacob from all evil (the prerogative of God alone) and he sought a blessing from him which no one but God can give (Gen. 48:16). The angel who appeared to Moses (Ex. 3) is immediately afterwards called Elohim and Adonai; is said to have sent Moses (Ex. 4:5) and to be the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who heard the cries of the people.

VIII. The angel of Jehovah is not always distinguished essentially from Jehovah (the one sent from the sender), but only personally. Thus he who is the angel of Jehovah is also the angel Jehovah.

IX. To do something by the authority of God (which applies to a created angel) differs from having the authority of God and to claim his name (which belongs to no one but the true and eternal God). A public servant (*apparitor*) or ambassador of a prince acts by his authority and in his name, but yet does not assume the titles of the prince or suffer himself to be called king or prince. So a created angel never assumes the person of God as to apply the name to himself or suffer to be applied by another any name of his whatsoever.

X. When the apostle commends hospitality because thereby angels have been sometimes entertained unawares (Heb. 13:2), he has no reference to the appearance made to Abraham (Gen. 18:1–15), but to that which happened to Lot (Gen. 19:1–11) where there were only two created angels. The third, who was uncreated, remained with Abraham to converse with him and afterwards met Lot as he was coming out of Sodom; so he addresses him as Jehovah (19:24).

XI. The supreme God cannot be sent imperatively, but by consent. Nor is it contradictory (*asystaton*) to be "the angel of Jehovah" and to be "Jehovah." As to the former, Jehovah is taken hypostatically, but as to the

latter, essentially. The Son, who is the very same God with the Father, can be sent by God the Father.

XII. The angel spoken of by Moses (Ex. 23:20) cannot be a creature because God orders him to obey him, not to provoke him. Hence he would not pardon the transgressions of men, and his name was in him, which is far different from being clothed with the authority of God. Otherwise it might be said equally of Moses and any of the prophets that the name of God was in him (which nowhere is said).

XIII. It is one thing to be and be called Jehovah; another for Jehovah to be and to dwell somewhere. The latter (not the former) is said of the church (Ezk. 48:35), when it is said she shall be called by that name "Jehovah is there" (*yhvh shmh*).

XIV. It is one thing to inscribe a symbol on an altar, but another to ascribe some name to an altar. The former (but not the latter) is said in Ex. 17:15, which denotes the title and inscription of the altar—"Jehovah [supply 'is'] my banner," just as certain inscriptions were usually placed on palaces and temples.

XV. It is one thing for the ark of the covenant to be called Jehovah, but another for God (of whose presence the ark was the symbol and pledge) to be so called. The latter is said in Ps. 24:7 and 47:6, not the former. Thus the customary expression when the ark was taken up or rested, "Rise up, Jehovah, and let thine enemies be scattered" (Ps. 68:1), was not directed to the ark itself (which was not capable of receiving such worship), but to God (to whom alone it belonged to scatter his enemies) adumbrated in the ark.

XVI. It is not said in Jer. 33:16 that Jerusalem shall be called "Jehovah, our righteousness." The prophet teaches that he who would call Jerusalem to salvation would be Jehovah, our righteousness, in order to denote the foundation of its faith and hope. Nor ought it to be objected that Jerusalem may be called Jehovah with the same propriety that the church is called "Christ" (1 Cor. 12:27). For the name Christ is common to many, from which believers are called Christians on account of the similarity of unction (1 Jn. 2:20), but there is not the same reason for the name Jehovah, which is singular and peculiar to God alone.

XVII. Although the word *Kyriou* ("Lord") when taken appellatively, is common to more than one, yet when taken absolutely it can be ascribed to no one but God alone (as answering to Jehovah, not otherwise than if it was

a proper name, as the Septuagint, and after them the apostles render *Yhvh* by *Kyrion*, for want of a more suitable word to express fully its emphasis).

XVIII. Although God hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son as incarnate (*ensarkon*, Heb. 1:2), this does not hinder his having already spoken to the fathers by himself as without flesh (*asarkon*). Otherwise it would be false that he is called the same yesterday and today (Heb. 13:8); that he was tempted by the Israelites in the desert (1 Cor. 10:9); that the law was given in "the hand of a mediator" (Gal. 3:19); and that he spoke to Moses and gave to him the "lively oracles" (*logia zōnta*, Acts 7:38). Therefore in the promulgation of the law, we must distinguish between the primary legislator (who was Christ the angel of the covenant mentioned in Acts 7:30*, who appeared to Moses in the bush and to whom, moreover, divine works and honors are ascribed) and the apparitors (attendants) who ministered as servants. In this sense, the law is said to have been "given by angels" (Gal. 3:19; Heb. 2:2) because Christ used their ministry, whether in establishing a magnificent splendor in the mountain with thunderings and fire and the sound of a trumpet, or in words themselves being formed. Hence they are called angels, in the plural, while the angel (who is also called Jehovah) is everywhere mentioned in the singular. The comparison drawn between the law and gospel (Heb. 2:2) (in that the law was given by angels, but the gospel by the Son) was not made simply with reference to the primary author who in both cases was Christ. It was made with respect to the mode of acting and the servants. In the former, God willed to use the ministry of angels, but in the latter Christ himself incarnate willed to speak directly. As therefore there is a difference between what the prince does by himself and immediately and what he performs by his servants, so the gospel is said to be more excellent in this sense—Christ incarnate (*ensarkos*) promulgated it immediately and by himself speaks to us, while he willed to give us the law by Moses and angels.

XIX. It cannot be said that the name Jehovah is given either to the golden calf (Ex. 32:5) or to Micah's image (Jdg. 17:3) because in both places that name is given to the true God. In the former, Aaron proclaimed a feast to be celebrated to Jehovah by the calf, which would be the symbol of the true god after the manner of the Egyptians (among whom Apis was worshipped under the form of an ox; hence they are called the gods which brought the people up out of Egypt, Ex. 32:4). In the latter, the silver of

which the image was made is said to have been dedicated to Jehovah (Jdg. 17:3) in reference to the end (i.e., to his worship).

Fifth Question

Can the divine attributes be really distinguished from the divine essence? We deny against the Socinians

What are the divine attributes?

I. To understand the question certain things must be premised concerning the divine attributes. The divine attributes are the essential properties by which he makes himself known to us who are weak and those by which he is distinguished from creatures; or they are those which are attributed to him according to the measure of our conception in order to explain his nature.

II. Attributes are not ascribed to God properly as something superadded (*epousiōdes*) to his essence (something accidental to the subject), making it perfect and really distinct from himself; but improperly and transumptively inasmuch as they indicate perfections essential to the divine nature conceived by us as properties.

III. Although the several attributes represent the most fertile and simple nature of God, yet they can represent it only inadequately (i.e., not according to its total relation, but now under this perfection, then under another). For what we cannot take in by one adequate conception as being finite, we divide into various inadequate conceptions so as to obtain some knowledge of him (which is not a proof of error in the intellect, but only of imperfection). Thus omnipotence is the divine essence itself apprehended as free from every obstacle in acting; eternity is the essence of God as without limit in duration; and so of the rest.

IV. These inadequate conceptions of the essence of God are presented to us by a precisive abstraction (*abstractionem praecisivam*) or by a simple and negative precision (as I may think of goodness by not thinking of power); but not by an exclusive or privative precision (as, for example, I may assert him to be omnipotent who is neither merciful nor just).

Statement of the question.

V. The question concerning the divine attributes as distinct from the divine essence is agitated with us by the Socinians (who, the more easily to prove that the Holy Spirit is not God or a divine person—although he may be called a virtue of God—maintain that the attributes of God are really distinct from his essence). The orthodox teach that they are really the same with his essence, but are to be distinguished from it virtually and eminently.

VI. Those things are said to differ really which are distinguished as things diverse according to essence, whether they agree with the subject or not. But to be distinguished virtually is nothing else than either by virtue to contain distinct effects, or to have unitedly in themselves what are distinct in others, or to have an eminent virtue which can be the principal of diverse actions. Its foundation cannot be intrinsic, but extrinsic; not on the part of the principal or subject, but in relation to the end and object; on account of the diversity of operations and effects arising out of the properties and according to which diverse formal conceptions of them are formed.

VII. The attributes of God cannot really differ from his essence or from one another (as one thing from another) because God is most simple and perfect. Now a real distinction presupposes things diverse in essence which the highest simplicity rejects. Things really diverse can become one only by aggregation (which is opposed to absolute perfection). Again, if they differed really, the essence would be made perfect by something really distinct from itself and so could not be in itself most perfect. Third, it would follow that God is not therefore immutable because he would have in himself passive potency (the root of mutability) by which the attributes might either be elicited from the essence or added to it. But since God is the first and independent being (which is whatever can be) nothing can be added to or taken away from him.

VIII. Yet that the attributes of God differ both from his essence and mutually from one another is evident from the diversity of conceptions. For where there is ground for founding distinct formal conceptions of anything (although one and simple in itself considered), there we must necessarily grant virtual and eminent distinction. Since therefore in the most simple divine essence there is ground for forming diverse formal conceptions

concerning the divine perfections (which is evident from their distinct definition and explanation), it is best to say that these attributes giving rise to such conceptions are virtually to be distinguished both from the essence and from each other.

IX. Although the attributes are essentially and intrinsically one in God, yet they may properly be said to be distinguished both intellectually (*noēmatikōs*) as to the diverse formal conception and objectively and effectively as to the various external objects and effects. Hence it is evident that this distinction is neither simply real between things and things, nor formal (which is only in our manner of conception), but eminent (which although it does not hold itself on the part of the thing as between thing and thing, yet has a foundation in the thing on account of the diversity of objects and effects).

Sources of explanation.

X. Although our formal conceptions of the essence and properties of God may be diverse, yet they cannot be called false. For there answer to them as many objective conceptions, actually indivisible indeed in God on account of his most perfect simplicity, but yet virtually and eminently distinct.

XI. Attributes may be mutually predicated of each other in an identical sense inasmuch as they may be considered as having unity and identity with each other (as when I say the divine intellect is the same thing with his will, or his justice is the same thing with his mercy). However this is not the case in the formal sense because they are formally distinguished in our conceptions and by their objects (so I cannot say justice is mercy because the formal conception of justice differs from the formal conception of mercy).

XII. He who conceives what is actually and really one and simple in God as actually and really diverse, conceives what is false. But he who conceives that which is actually one in itself as more than one virtually and extrinsically or objectively, does not conceive what is false. Rather he conceives the thing imperfectly and inadequately on account of the weakness of the human intellect and the eminence and perfection of the divine nature.

XIII. The divine attributes may be regarded either absolutely and subjectively in themselves (and on the part of God) or relatively as to their effects towards creatures (or on the part of the object). I confess that in the latter way punitive justice and sparing mercy are opposed, but not in the former (concerning which we treat).

XIV. The properties are many on the part of the object and end (or of the operations and effects), but not on the part of the subject or principle, which is one and perfectly simple.

XV. Where there is priority and posteriority as to absolute and real being, there is a real difference; but not where there is only priority and posteriority as to known and intelligible being (which is the case in God and his attributes).

XVI. The definition of a thing in itself differs from our conceptions of that thing. The former, not the latter, argues a real distinction. Now the definitions of the divine properties are rather of our conceptions (conceiving God under this or that relation) than of the thing itself (which is one and most simple).

SIXTH QUESTION

Is the distinction of attributes into communicable and incommunicable a good one? We affirm

I. Among the various distinctions of the divine attributes, none occurs more frequently than that by which they are distributed into communicable and incommunicable. Concerning this a few things must be spoken because it is not equally received by all.

Communicable and incommunicable attributes.

II. In order to understand the distinction, note that communication is twofold: one essential and formal (through the intrinsic being of a thing); the other by resemblance and analogy (with respect to the effects and works). As to the former, we say all the properties of God are equally incommunicable, no more capable of being communicated than the divine essence. Otherwise they would cease to be properties. But the latter we

confess can be granted since God produces in creatures (especially in rational creatures) effects analogous to his own properties, such as goodness, justice, wisdom, etc.

III. In this sense, those attributes can properly be called incommunicable strictly and in every way, which are so proper to God that nothing similar or analogous, or any image and trace can be found in creatures. Such are the negative attributes which remove from him whatever is imperfect in creatures (such as infinity, immensity, eternity, which are such that every creature is either without them or has their contraries). But others are not badly termed communicable (of which there is some appearance or certain faint vestiges in creatures) and by simple analogy of name and effects. Such are the affirmative attributes which are attributed to God by way of eminence or causality.

IV. The communicable attributes are not predicated of God and creatures univocally because there is not the same relation as in things simply univocal agreeing in name and definition. Nor are they predicated equivocally because there is not a totally diverse relation, as in things merely equivocal agreeing only in name. They are predicated analogically, by analogy both of similitude and of attribution. The former is when things are called by the same name on account of a certain similarity existing between them; the latter when one name is so attributed to more than one thing that it may be said of one primarily and principally or by priority, but of the others secondarily and by posteriority on account of dependence on that first. So these attributes may be predicated of God essentially and in a manner plainly singular (i.e., infinitely and most perfectly) and so also in the abstract. In this sense, God alone is said to be good (Mt. 19:17), i.e., originally, independently, essentially; but concerning creatures only secondarily, accidentally and participatively.

V. Believers are said to be partakers of the divine nature (2 Pet. 1:4) not univocally (by a formal participation of the divine essence), but only analogically (by the benefit of regeneration which impresses upon them the marks of holiness and righteousness most properly belonging to God, since they are renewed after the image of their Creator, Col. 3:10). Thus we must understand what often occurs in the fathers when they speak of the renewed man (*theousthai*) and the one made conformable to God (*theoeidē*); not essentially (which applies to the Son alone), but analogically.

VI. The distinction of attributes into communicable and incommunicable argues no inequality of the divine properties (as if some were more proper to God than others) because all are equally essential to him. But this commends the goodness and glory of God because he willed to express in his creatures some resemblance and shadow (*aposkiasmation*) of his own perfections.

VII. This distinction cannot favor the error of those who maintain that the divine properties were communicated to the human nature of Christ. As will be seen in the proper place, communication in the concrete, as to the person (which we acknowledge in Christ), differs from communication in the abstract, as to nature (which we deny). Communication may be formal and intransitive by a transfusion of the same properties which are in God into the human nature of Christ (which we reject); or it may be transitive and effective by analogy (which we hold can be granted in rational creatures in respect to the affirmative attributes).

Seventh Question: The Simplicity of God

Is God most simple and free from all composition? We affirm against Socinus and Vorstius

I. The Socinians agitate this controversy with us since they deny that simplicity can be attributed to God according to the Scriptures and think it should be expunged from the number of the divine attributes for no other purpose than to weaken more easily the mystery of the Trinity by establishing the composition of the divine essence (*The Racovian Catechism* 3.1 [1818], p. 33). Vorstius retained this error (with various others also) and introduced it into his *Tractatus theologicus de Deo* (1610) and in the notes to "Disputatione III: De Natura Dei" (cf. *Tractatus theologicus de Deo* [1610], pp. 19–28). With these the Remonstrants also agree. In their *Apology*, they deny that the simplicity of God is necessary to be believed or that anything occurs in Scripture relative to it, but that the whole doctrine is metaphysical whether you consider the word or the thing ("Apologia pro confessione sive declaratione … Remonstrantes," 2 in Episcopius, *Operum theologicorum* [1665], Pt. II, p. 129). But the orthodox

have constantly taught that the essence of God is perfectly simple and free from all composition.

II. Simple is used in two senses: either absolutely and simply; or relatively and comparatively. Absolutely is such as in every kind of being excludes composition; comparatively is such as excludes it only with respect to some. Heaven and the elements are called simple bodies with respect to mixed, but do not exclude composition from their matter and form and quantitative parts. Angels and souls are simple with respect to bodies, but not absolutely such because they always involve a composition. Here we speak of absolute and not of comparative simplicity.

III. The simplicity of God considered not morally, but physically, is his incommunicable attribute by which the divine nature is conceived by us not only as free from all composition and division, but also as incapable of composition and divisibility.

Proof that God is perfectly simple.

IV. This is proved to be a property of God: (1) from his independence, because composition is of the formal reason of a being originated and dependent (since nothing can be composed by itself, but whatever is composed must necessarily be composed by another; now God is the first and independent being, recognizing no other prior to himself); (2) from his unity, because he who is absolutely one, is also absolutely simple and therefore can neither be divided nor composed; (3) from his perfection, because composition implies imperfection inasmuch as it supposes passive power, dependency and mutability; (4) from his activity, because God is a most pure act having no passive admixture and therefore rejecting all composition (because in God there is nothing which needs to be made perfect or can receive perfection from any other, but he is whatever can be and cannot be other than what he is). Whence he is usually described not only by concrete but also by abstract names—life, light, truth, etc.

V. From the removal of all species of composition (such as physical—of matter and form, since he is incorporeal); or of quantitative parts (which do not apply to God); or of subject and accident (because no accident can make the most perfect still more perfect); logical (of kind and difference because God is above every genus, nor is his a common nature capable of being

restricted by difference); metaphysical act and power (since he is a pure act and incapable of change properly so called, to whom nothing new can happen or be received by him); of essence and existence (as in created things in which the nature of existence differs from that of essence, since their essence can be conceived without existence; nor does existence enter into their definition because they can be and not be, and existence with respect to them is something contingent, not necessary. For in God essence cannot be conceived without existence, and it is repugnant to conceive of God as not existing; hence philosophers call him a being by essence (i.e., which exists in virtue of its own essence) and of the nature of whose essence it is that he always exists. For this reason, God calls himself Jehovah (viz., he who is, "I am that I am" [*'hyh 'shr 'hyh*]) to signify that being belongs to him in a far different manner than to all created things, not participatively and contingently, but necessarily, properly and independently. Finally, his simplicity is proved from nature and subsistence; for persons and essence are not related as real component extremes from which a *tertium quid* may arise (as in human things from the nature of man and the subsistence of Peter arises that person whom we call Peter); otherwise not a Trinity but a certain quaternity would be conceived of in God; nor do modes (such as subsistences) compose, they only modify.

VI. But as God rejects all composition in himself, so his simplicity hinders him also from being compounded with any created things so as to hold the relation of some part either of matter or form (against the opinion of the Platonists who supposed God to be the soul of the world; and of the Manicheans who held that all creatures were propagated from the essence of God). This is so both because he is altogether diverse from creatures, and because he is immutable and incorruptible (he cannot coalesce in one with any mutable and corruptible created thing). For all composition infers mutation by which a thing becomes part of a whole, which it was not before.

Sources of explanation.

VII. If all things are said to be of God (Rom. 11:36), this must be understood not *hylikōs* ("belonging to matter") and materially, but *dēmiourgikōs* ("formatively") and efficiently. We are called the race and

offspring of God (Acts 17:28), not by a participation of the same essence, but by similarity of likeness; efficiently not essentially, as also he is called the "Father of spirits" (Heb. 12:9) with reference to creation, not to composition. The Son of God is God-man (*theanthrōpos*) not by composition properly so-called, but by hypostatical union (by which the Word [*logos*] indeed assumed human nature in one hypostasis, but was not compounded with it as part with part; but stood to it in the relation of perfecter and sustainer to make perfect and sustain an essential adjunct, so that the human nature indeed did thence receive perfection, but nothing was added by it to the divine nature).

VIII. Composition is in that in which there is more than one real entity, but not where there is only more than one mode because modes only modify and characterize, but do not compose the essence. But in divine things there are one essence and three hypostases (which are modes distinguishing indeed the persons from each other, but not composing because they are not real entities concurring to the composition of some fourth thing, since they have one common essence; but they are only modifications according to which the essence is conceived to subsist in three persons).

IX. Simplicity and triplicity are so mutually opposed that they cannot subsist at the same time (but not simplicity and Trinity because they are said in different respects): simplicity in respect to essence, but Trinity in respect to persons. In this sense, nothing hinders God (who is one in essence) from being three persons.

X. The decrees of God can be regarded in two ways: either subjectively (if it is right so to speak, i.e., on the part of the internal act in itself and absolutely); or objectively, extrinsically and relatively with respect to creatures (respectively). In the former manner, they do not differ from God himself and are no other than God himself decreeing. But in the latter, they do differ because they may be conceived as many and various (not as to the thing, since God has decreed all things by one single and most simple act, but as to the objects), even as the knowledge of God is conversant with innumerable objects without detriment to his unity.

XI. The decrees of God are free, not absolutely and as to the principle, but relatively and objectively and as to the end. For there could be no external object necessarily terminating to the divine will, for God stands in

need of nothing out of himself. Therefore they could be and not be. But this does not hinder them from being called necessary as to the principle and internal act because the act of intelligence and will could not be absent from God at all. He could not be God without intelligence and will. They are necessary, therefore, as to internal existence, but free as to external relation (*schesin*) and habit. Nor can the will of God be said to cease absolutely, but with respect to the external object on which it is terminated.

XII. The decrees of God are immanent acts of the divine will, but not properly its effect. God ought not to be called so much the cause as the principle of them. Hence there is no need that they should be posterior to God except in our order and in the manner of conceiving them.

XIII. Although the essence of God (considered simply in itself) is absolute and implies no relation to creatures, yet this does not hinder it (when considered with relative opposition to creatures and as determining itself in the manner of vital principle to the production of this or that thing out of itself) from having a certain reference (*schesin*) and relation to creatures. Nor can that manifold relation make composition in God, more than the relation which his omniscience and omnipotence bear to things *ad extra*, constituted a real difference between God and his omnipotence and omniscience.

XIV. Whatever in God is essential and absolute is God himself. Thus the absolute attributes may be identified really with the divine essence and are in it essentially, not accidentally. If they are predicated of God in the concrete, their subject is only of denomination, not of inhesion (*inhaesionis*). But whatever is personal and modal in God is indeed God himself in the concrete, though not in the abstract.

XV. The relative attributes do not argue composition, but distinction. The formal nature of relations is not to be in, but to be to. Nor do they superadd a new perfection to the essence, but only imply a habitude of the essence to other things. Paternity and dominion do not render him another being, but in a different manner dispose the possessor without superinducing a change in him.

XVI. The personal property of the Son does not make his essence different from that of the Father, nor of a simple essence make a composed, for nothing real is added to the essence, rather it only makes the Son distinct from the Father. Distinction is not composition.

XVII. The fathers often insist on this simplicity of God. “The nature of God is simple and immutable and undisturbed, nor is he himself one thing and what he is and has another thing” (Augustine, 1. 5, *de Trinit*. c. 1+). And after teaching that no creature is truly and perfectly simple, he adds: “Now although God may be called manifold, yet he is truly perfectly simple, for he is called great, wise, happy, and true, and whatever with propriety may be said of him. But his greatness is the same as his wisdom, for he is not great in mass, but in virtue, and his goodness is the same as his wisdom and greatness and truth” (*The Trinity* 6.6, 7* [FC 45:208–9; PL 42.929]). So too Athanasius: “God is not composed who composed all things that they might be; nor is he such as those things are which were made by his word; since he is a simple substance in whom there is no quality nor any shadow of change, as James testifies” (*To the Bishops of Africa* 8 [NPNF2, 4:493; PG 26.1043]).

Eighth Question: The Infinity of God

Is God infinite in essence? We affirm against Socinus and Vorstius

I. The infinity of God follows his simplicity and is equally diffused through the other attributes of God, and by it the divine nature is conceived as free from all limit in imperfection: as to essence (by incomprehensibility) and as to duration (by eternity) and as to circumscription, in reference to place (by immensity). We here treat of the first, leaving the others for future consideration.

Statement of the question.

II. We do not treat here of infinity (improperly so called and as to us) as the number of the stars and of the sands upon the seashore is said to be infinite. For we cannot count them (although in itself it is necessarily finite) since there is nothing actually and absolutely infinite but God. We treat of infinity proper and in itself.

III. We do not treat of syncategorematic and relative infinity, concerning which it is said there are not so many but there may be more (as quantity is said to be infinitely divisible). But we treat of categorematic and absolute;

not of potential infinity (in which sense the longing of matter with respect to forms is said to be infinite), but of infinity actually such (according to which the essence is not only indefinite [*aoristos*], but truly infinite [*apeiros*]); not only actually infinite in the oblique case, but also an infinite act in the proper case.

IV. The Socinians and Vorstius, who ploughs with their oxen, interfere with this infinity. As they do not acknowledge the immensity of God as to essence, so they deny that God is actually infinite simply, although with respect to us he may often be called such. And the Remonstrants agree with them (although indirectly) ascribing indeed infinity of power and operation to God, but either taking away or calling in question the infinity of his essence.

Proof that God is infinite in essence: from Ps. 145:3; Job 11:7.

V. The orthodox attribute absolute infinity to God with respect to essence. In the first place, Scripture clearly teaches it: "Great is the Lord, and greatly to praised, and of his greatness there is no end" (Ps. 145:3). Here the psalmist speaks not of the greatness of mass (which can in no way apply to the most simple God), but of the greatness, or better the infinity, of essence and virtue. Thus Zophar: "Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? Deeper than hell; what canst thou know? The measure thereof is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea" (Job 11:7–9). Nor ought it to be said that these words properly refer to perfection of wisdom, as Crellius wishes ("De Deo et Ejus Attributis," 1.27 in *Opera* [1656], 4:91). For besides the passage itself testifying that it treats of the incomprehensibility of God, if it had reference only to wisdom, the argument would not lose a particle of its force because the property of an infinite perfection cannot agree with a finite nature. To the same purpose are the following: "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span?" (Is. 40:12); "Behold, the nations before him are as a drop of a bucket, and as nothing" (Is. 40:15, 17).

From the perfection of God.

VI. Second, from the pure perfection of God. For since he has every perfection which can be and be possessed, it is evident that nothing can be or be conceived better and more perfect. Thus he must necessarily be infinite because an infinite good is better than a finite. Besides, the perfections in created things are included within certain limits beyond which they are not extended and all their activity has a certain sphere beyond which it cannot go. However in God it is different. Besides containing every perfection of every being, he has it in the most eminent manner (i.e., he embraces every degree of every perfection without any limitation).

And his power.

VII. This is further confirmed by the consideration of his power. Since power (as the other attributes) may be identified with the essence, the essence must be the same with it in nature and therefore infinite no less than it. That his power is infinite is evident from this—that with God nothing is impossible (for this cannot be said of finite and limited power). Finally, if the essence of God is finite, he must be limited by some cause (which cannot be said of him who has no cause superior to himself, but is the cause of all). Therefore we can join with the ancients in saying that "God is infinite and incomprehensible and that infinity and incomprehensibility are the one thing which can be comprehended concerning him" (*apeiron akatalēpton to theion kai touto monon autou katalēpton hē hapeiria, kai hē akatalēpsia*).

VIII. God is said to be infinite in essence in three ways: (1) originally, because he is absolutely independent, who neither has nor can have anything prior or superior to himself; (2) formally, because he has an absolutely infinite (*apeiron*) essence; (3) virtually, because his activity has no finite sphere, nor does he need the concourse of any cause in acting, but does all things whatsoever he wills.

Sources of explanation.

IX. Although God cannot produce an infinite effect (because it is not producible), yet he does not cease to be of infinite virtue because he acts in an infinite mode. The infinity, which cannot be found in the end on account of repugnancy, is found in that mode of acting.

X. Comprehension either denotes the full obtaining and fruition of the thing desired in reference (*schesin*) to those who reach the goal in a race (in which sense the saints in heaven are called "attainers" [Phil. 3:12; 1 Cor. 9:24] to distinguish them from believers who are still on the road); or it denotes the accurate and perfectly absolute knowledge of God, which is perfectly adequate to the object. In this sense, none can be said to have attained—neither men nor angels—because the finite is not capable of the infinite.

XI. Although God perfectly and adequately knows himself, it does not follow that his essence is finite because both the knowledge and apprehension which God has of himself are infinite. Thus the essence is said to be finite to God less properly. Not that God judges his essence to be finite, but that his knowledge is adequate to it.

XII. It implies a contradiction for something to be indefinite and to be actually infinite without any limits of essence, and actually this something (i.e., most singular) undivided in itself and divided from every other.

XIII. Although all creatures are at an infinite distance from the uncreated perfection, and between them and God there is no proportion of equality and commensuration, it does not follow that all creatures are equally perfect because the measure of the creatures' perfection is not taken from their distance from the perfection of God, but from the greater or lesser degrees of perfection which each thing partakes from God.

XIV. All perfections belong to God, either formally (as perfections simply such, i.e., which absolutely speaking it is better to have than not to have, and than which no greater perfection can be conceived); or eminently (as perfections relatively, which indeed in their kind indicate some perfection, but necessarily conjoined with some imperfection; and because it cannot have them properly and formally, yet is said to possess them virtually and eminently because it can produce that perfection or because it can perform without it whatever that can perform, all imperfection being excluded).

XV. That which is so that it is not anything else (neither formally nor eminently) is finite with respect to substance. Of God however this cannot be said, who is so something that nevertheless he is all things eminently, containing in himself eminently the perfections of all things.

XVI. Although local infinity requires that formal existence of a thing in all places, yet infinity of essence does not require the thing to be formally all substance, but only to contain the perfections of every substance, if not formally, at least eminently.

Ninth Question: The Immensity of God

Is God immense and omnipresent as to essence? We affirm against Socinus and Vorstius

I. After the infinity of God with respect to essence, the same is to be considered with respect to place and time by which he is conceived as uncircumscribed by any limits (*aperigraptos*) of place or time. The former is called immensity, the latter eternity. We must speak of these separately—first of immensity.

Statement of the question.

II. The question does not concern the presence of power and operation which is called energetic (*energētikē*) (as the sun is said to be present with us by the power of his rays although, very far distance in his body); for the adversaries do not deny this. Rather the question concerns the presence of nature (*ousiōdēs*), called essential, which they do not admit.

III. The question does not concern the various modes of the special divine presence, according to which it is said to be in Christ by hypostatical union and fulness of deity (Col. 2:9), in heaven by glory (1 K. 8:27), in the church by grace (Ezk. 48:35). The divine presence is either: a symbolical presence, when under some visible symbol he manifests himself to believers (as to Moses in the bush, to the people in the cloudy pillar, to the patriarchs under the form of angels and men); or a sacramental and mystical presence, when under external signs and elements he exhibits and confirms his grace to us; or a spiritual and vivifying presence and when by his Spirit

he dwells in the hearts of believers. No one denies that these various species of the presence of God are particular and proper to certain places. However the question relates to the general presence of God by essence, abstracted from all these singular modes.

IV. God may be said to be present with all things in three modes: (1) by power and operation; (2) by knowledge; (3) by essence. This is usually expressed by the Scholastics in the line: *Inter, praesenter Deus est, et ubique potenter* ("Meanwhile, God is present, and everywhere powerfully"). He is said to be everywhere by his power because he produces and governs all things and works all things in all (in which sense Paul says, "In him we live and move and have our being," Acts 17:28). He is present with all by his knowledge because he sees and beholds all things which are and become in every place as intimately present to and placed before him. Hence "all things" are said "to be naked and open unto the eyes of him" and "there is no creature that is not manifest in his sight" (Heb. 4:13). Finally, he is everywhere by his essence because his essence penetrates all things and is wholly by itself intimately present with each and everything. Now it is of this last presence we properly treat here, for our adversaries themselves do not deny that God is everywhere present by his power and knowledge (as has been said already).

V. Three modes of being in a place are commonly held: (1) circumscriptively—attributed to bodies because they are in place and space so as to be commensurate with parts of space; (2) definitively—applicable to created spirits and incorporeal substances (which are defined by certain places, and are so here as not to be anywhere else); (3) repletively—which is ascribed to God because his immense essence is present with all and, as it were, completely fills all places. But although this distinction (when cut to the quick) may be inaccurate and repletion may seem to belong properly to a body occupying place by its extension, yet since it has been by long use received among philosophers and theologians (and can take appropriate sense according to the mind of the Holy Spirit himself, who testifies that "God fills heaven and earth," Jer. 23:24), it ought not to be rashly rejected (if skillfully explained and understood in a sound sense, especially since we have no proper and accurate terms for explaining the ubiquity of God and are compelled here to use phrases borrowed from finite and corporeal things).

VI. Therefore God is so said to be repletively everywhere on account of the immensity of his essence, that this should be understood in a most different manner from the mode of being in place of bodies (i.e., beyond the occupation of space, and the multiplication, extension, division of itself, or its mingling with other things, but independently and indivisibly). For wherever he is, he is wholly; wholly in all things, yet wholly beyond all; included in no place and excluded from none; and not so much in a place (because finite cannot comprehend infinite) as in himself. Hence the rabbis call him place (*mqvm*) to intimate that he is not contained in place, but contains all things in himself. Theophilus (of Antioch) says, "God is the place of all things, and is place to himself" (*ho Theos topos esti tōn holōn, kai heautō topos esti*, To Autolycus 2.3 [ANF 2:95; PG 6.1049]).

VII. The Socinians with Vorstius argue with us concerning this immensity and omnipresence of God, admitting his presence as to virture and operation, but denying it as to essence. They maintain that God is contained in heaven (as Socinus, "De Jesu Christi Invocatione Disputatio … cum Francisco Davidis," in *Opera Omnia* [1656], 2:709–66 and Crellius, "De Deo et Ejus Attributis," 1.27* in *Opera* [1656], 4:90–93 often assert) and endeavor to sustain this by various arguments. Vorstius, although seeming to hold back (*epechein*) on this question, yet sufficiently opens up his opinion in his *Tractatus theologicus de Deo* (1610), p. 230 and his *Apologetica Exegesis* (1611), placing substantial omnipresence among absurdities (*asystata*) and impossibilities (*adynata*). He expressly teaches that God (according to his essence) is in heaven, but according to his virtue and efficacy is on the earth and present with all creatures.

VIII. But the orthodox believe and confess the immensity and omnipresence of God, not only as to virtue and operation, but principally as to essence. Still they think the mode of it should neither be curiously inquired into, nor be rashly defined. This only is to be held as certain—that it does not consist either in the multiplication of the divine essence (which is one numerically and individually); or in the extension and diffusion of any corporeal mass (since he is an uncreated spirit); or in physical contact (which belongs only to bodies); but in the simple and to us incomprehensible infinity of the divine essence, which is so intimately present with all things that it is both everywhere in the world and yet is not included in the world.

Proof of God's immensity from Scripture.

IX. The reasons are: (1) Scripture ascribes this omnipresence to God —"Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence. If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there: If I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me" (Ps. 139:7–10*). "Thus saith the Lord, the heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool; where is the house that ye build unto me?" (Is. 66:1). In the latter, he proves that he cannot be included in temples made with hands, not by a reason drawn from the distance of the place in which his proper seat is (as Vorstius feigns), but from the magnitude of his substance, which completely fills the universe. Yea, he elsewhere protests that he fills heaven and earth: "Do not I fill heaven and earth?" (Jer. 23:24). That no one might imagine he is contained within heaven or the world, elsewhere the Holy Spirit testifies: "the heaven of heavens cannot contain him" (1 K. 8:27).

X. To no purpose is it objected by Crellius that these passages treat of omnipresence of power and efficacy, not of essence. For (a) the words themselves teach the contrary (which refer not only to operation, but to the very essence itself; for what else can these words mean: "Thou art there; I fill heaven and earth; the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee"); (b) from parity, he ought to be in the sepulcher or in hell in the same way in which he is said to be in heaven because the presence of God is equally asserted of both places. Either he is everywhere as to essence or he is nowhere as to essence. (c) The design of the psalmist is to show that no one can be concealed from God so as not to be seen by him because he can be nowhere where God is not and can hide himself in no place where God cannot easily detect him (since the darkness and the light are both alike to him). (d) Things which ought to be composed are opposed. The presence of power does not exclude, but necessarily supposes the presence of essence. For where God is not, there he cannot operate because he operates immediately by his essence. Therefore, if he operates everywhere, he must be everywhere.

XI. (2) The same thing is proved by those passages which teach that God works all things in all and sustains them by the word of his power (Heb.

1:3), and that he is not far from everyone of us because in him we live and move and have our being (Acts 17:27, 28). The presence of a spirit cannot be known more certainly than by its operations, nor is it less impossible for anyone to effect something where he is not, than when he is not. Nor ought it to be said that God works all things in all, but by second (or physical or hyperphysical) causes, and therefore the presence of the essence is not to be directly inferred from the operation. For besides the fact that God does not always act by second causes (but often immediately by himself as in the creation of the world, its sustentation, the miracles and works of grace in the heart), when he uses second causes, he is most intimately present with them in order to work by them.

XII. (3) If God is not immense in essence, but finite, it will favor the contradiction that the creature is greater than God. For as nothing can be added to infinity, so it is of the nature of the finite that something can always be added to it. Indeed if the essence of God is not elsewhere than in heaven, the universe will be greater than God. Again if he is finite in essence, he must also be finite in power because infinite power cannot be in a finite subject. Third, if God is not immediately present with creatures by his essence, but only by operation, the belief of the incarnation of the Son of God could not rest upon a sure foundation. For what kind of an hypostatical union could have taken place with the human nature, if the divine essence remained concluded in heaven and was not present on the earth?

Sources of explanation.

XIII. God is said "to be in heaven," not exclusively of the earth, as if he is included in heaven as to essence; but because in heaven as a royal palace, he displays his glory in an eminent manner. Nor if worshippers raise their eyes to heaven, either by natural instinct or by command of the word, is this done because God is included in heaven (which the apostle proves, Acts 17:24), but (1) in order that when we are about to approach unto God, we may elevate all our thoughts above these terrestrial and fleeting things and think nothing concerning God but what is great and lofty; (2) that we may know heaven to be the seat and throne of God, where there is a more illustrious display and a richer communication of glory and grace, whence

all blessings are to be looked for and sought (as under the old dispensation the worshippers turned their faces towards the ark and temple and not because God was included in the ark or temple, but on account of the remarkable manifestation of grace usually made there); (3) that we may also remember that heaven is the habitation prepared for us by God, towards which we ought continually to press (as the Israelites driven into exile looked back to the temple, panting as it were in wishes for their country and liberty; so we should be kept in mind of our exile and pilgrimage, so as to breathe after liberty and seek our country with unwearied exertion); (4) to show that our prayers should no longer be directed to a certain fixed place on earth, but should be elevated to heaven, to be placed upon our altar (Christ in heaven) to be sanctified by him.

XIV. It is not unworthy of the divine majesty to be everywhere on earth, even in the most filthy places, because he is not there by physical contact or by any mingling or composition, but as the efficient and conserving cause of things. (2) If it was not unworthy of God to create all things even the most mean, why should it be unworthy of him to be perpetually present with them? The sun by his rays permeates sordid places without being polluted by them, and how much less God?

XV. God is far off from the wicked (as to the special presence of his favor and grace), but is always present with them by his general presence of essence. Where God is, there indeed is his grace originally and subjectively, but not always effectively because its exercise is perfectly free.

XVI. It is absurd to suppose God to be in the devils and the wicked as he is in believers (as a gracious God), but not to be in them as a Judge and the avenger of crimes; not as an approver of wickedness, but as the Creator and sustainer of nature. Although he is differently in heaven and in hell (here by grace, there by justice; here as blessing, there as punishing), yet he can be in both places as to the immensity of his essence.

XVII. Although the essence of God is abstracted from all created entities, it does not follow that he cannot be omnipresent as to essence. For it is said to be abstracted inasmuch as it is divided from them and is not a part of them; but it is said to be omnipresent, not that it comes into composition with them as a part or is contained by them, but inasmuch as it is terminated by the essence of none, nor excluded from it.

XVIII. When God is said to be immense (as so everywhere in the world that nevertheless he is not included in the world, which is finite, but may be conceived to be also beyond the world), this ought not to be understood positively (as if certain spaces are to be conceived of beyond the world which God completely fills by his presence), but negatively (inasmuch as the universal spaces of the world do not exhaust the immensity of God so as to be contained in and circumscribed by them). He is said, therefore, to be beyond the world because included in it, not as being in certain imaginary places, but in himself by the infinity of his own essence, as he was before the creation of the world in himself. "He was to himself both place, and world and all things," as Tertullian says (*Against Praxeas* 5 [ANF 3:600; PL 2.160]).

XIX. He who conceives God as everywhere present by his essence, does not therefore conceive him as extended like bodies through the whole world, but as containing the whole world in the most simple infinity of his own essence (or as coexisting indivisibly with all created things), just as eternity holds in its embrace all time as a point and coexists with it indivisibly.

XX. So far is the doctrine of the essential omnipresence of God from favoring atheism (as the Remonstrants in their "Apologia pro confessione sive declaratione … Remonstrantes," in Episcopius, *Operum theologicum*, Pt. II [1656], p. 130 maintain) that on the contrary the denial of it encourages it not a little because it takes away the reverence and fear of him, feigning that he is absent and therefore either does not see or cannot punish the sins of men. But the pious, who fear God, are said to walk before him because they are incited by his presence to his worship and service.

XXI. It is one thing to declare and demonstrate *a posteriori* the presence of God through the external operation; another thing to define *a priori* the presence of God by that operation or to maintain that God is not present except by power and operation. The former we acknowledge can rightly be done, but the latter we deny because the operation of God supposes his presence, and he must first be conceived to be and to exist before he can be conceived of as acting. Certain more modern thinkers (who limit the omnipresence of God by his operation), may be allowed their opinion if they understand it in the former sense for its manifestation *a posteriori;* but

if they refer it to its constitution *a priori*, it is deservedly rejected as contrary to Scripture and approaching too near the error of the Socininans.

XXII. Although the immensity and omnipresence of God are always connected together, yet they admit of distinction. The former indicates an absolute property belonging to him from eternity; the latter, based upon it, denotes a habitude to place existing in time. They are related to each other as a first and second act or a principle (*principii*) and a principiate (*principiati*). For out of immensity arises omnipresence, which supposes immensity as its foundation. God is therefore omnipresent because he is immense.

XXIII. When God is said to ascend or descend, to go away or to come, this does not take away his omnipresence because it is not said with respect to his essence, but only to the absence or presence of his diverse operations. God therefore comes when in a peculiar manner he works anywhere, either in grace or in justice; but he departs when he removes the symbols of his grace and denies to men the testimonies of his saving presence. Otherwise "in him we live, and move and have our being," as Paul says in Acts 17:28.

XXIV. The heathen themselves were not ignorant of this attribute of God. Trismegistus says, "God is a circle whose center is everywhere, but his circumference nowhere" (?cf. "Asclepius," 3.27b in *Hermetica* [ed. W. Scott, 1985], 1:324). Aratus says, "All things are full of Jove" (*Phaenomena* 1–4 [Loeb, 206–7]). Virgil says, "God they say, pervades all things, earth and sea's expanse and heaven's depth" (*Georgics* 4.221 [Loeb, 1:210–11]). To the same purpose are the following: *quo fugis Encelade,* quascunque accesseris oras sub Jove semper eris*+. Seneca says, "Wherever you turn yourself, there you will meet him; no place is without him; he fills his own work" ("De Beneficiis," 4.8.2 in *Seneca: Moral Essays* III [Loeb, 3:218–19]).

Tenth Question: The Eternity of God

Does the eternity of God exclude succession according to priority and posteriority? We affirm against the Socinians

Statement of the question.

I. The infinity of God in reference to duration is called eternity to which these three things are ascribed: (1) that it is without beginning; (2) without end; (3) without succession (i.e., the duration of a thing as to priority and posteriority, as to present, past and future). The question here properly is not whether God is eternal with reference to the two former (i.e., whether he is without beginning and end). Socinus and Vorstius cannot deny this against so many perfectly clear testimonies of Scripture. The question concerns the third—whether his eternity is without succession or whether it is subject to the differences of time as they pretend (see Crellius, "De Deo et Ejus Attributis," 1.18 in *Opera* [1656], 4:41–45). We maintain that God is free from every difference of time, and no less from succession than from beginning and end.

II. The question does not concern eternity improperly and relatively so called (as it is taken sometimes for the long duration of a thing, as circumcision is called "an eternal covenant" [Gen 17:7], i.e., constant, which ought to continue until the restitution of all things [*diorthōsin*]; and the hills are said to be "eternal" by Moses [Dt. 33:15] because on account of their long continuance and constant duration they seem to approach eternity; or it may be used for that which has no end, although it might have had a beginning, as the angels and souls are eternal). Rather the question concerns eternity absolutely and properly so called, both anterior as well as posterior.

The eternity of God proved.

III. Scripture teaches that such eternity belongs to God, not only when it calls God "eternal" (Gen. 21:33; "who inhabits eternity," Is. 57:15; "the king eternal, immortal, invisible," 1 Tim. 1:17; "who was before the world was formed … from everlasting and to everlasting," Ps. 90:1, 2), but also when it ascribes all the properties of eternity to him (Ps. 102:26–28): both dividedly that he is without beginning because he was before the foundation of the earth (Ps. 102:25*), without end—"who is ever the same, and whose years shall have no end" (Ps. 102:27*); without succession because he is said "to remain" without any change and "always to be the same" (Ps. 102:27*)—for he is not always the same from whom almost every moment something anteriorly is removed and by whom posteriorly something is

added. Conjointly when to the mutability of the most constant things (which have a beginning, end and succession) is opposed the perpetual continuance of God in the same state; "the heavens shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end" (Ps. 102:25–27*). The passage in Jam. 1:17 is similar: "with God is no variableness, neither shadow of turning" (*parallagēn, ē tropēs aposkiasma*). The succession and flow of the parts of duration (which exist successively) necessarily involve a certain species of motion (which cannot be applied to God).

IV. Again, he is said to be "the first and the last" (Is. 41:4) and "the Alpha and Omega" (Rev. 1:8). He is the beginning without beginning because while he is the beginning of all things, he himself has no beginning. He is the end without end because (since he is the end to which all things are referred) he can have no end. Now that which is without beginning is also without succession because succession depends upon a beginning and implies order according to former and latter. The name Jehovah necessarily includes this eternity because (as has been said) it designates God to be the first and independent being, liable to no change. Hence the French Version appropriately translates it everywhere by *l'Eternel* because eternity eminently (*kat' exochēn*) belongs to him alone.

V. The eternity of God cannot have succession because his essence, with which it is really identified, admits none. This is so both because it is perfectly simple and immutable (and therefore rejects the change of former into latter, of past into present, of present into future, which succession involves), and because it is unmeasurable, as being the first and independent. However that which continues by succession can in some way be measured.

VI. True eternity has been defined by the Scholastics to be "the interminable possession of life—complete, perfect and at once." Thus it excludes succession no less than end and ought to be conceived as a standing, but not a flowing, now. The reason is because nothing flows away with time from the life of God as from ours. God has every moment at once whatever we have dividedly by succession of time. Hence philosophers have well said that neither the future nor the past (he will be or was), but only the present (he is) can properly be applied to him. For the eternal

duration of God embraces indeed all time—the past, present and future; but nothing in him can be past or future because his life remains always the same and immutable.

Sources of explanation.

VII. The three differences of time are applied to God when he is called "the one who is, and was and is to come" (*ho ōn, kai ho ēn, kai ho erchomenos*, Rev. 1:4). This is not done formally, but eminently and after the manner of men (*anthrōpopathōs*), to describe (if possible) in this manner the eternity of God. This is not done dividedly as if they might be predicated of him successively, but undividedly because the eternity of God embraces all time at once. Hence the past is affirmed without the negation of the present and the future, and the present is asserted, but without the negation of the past and the future. "Although," says Augustine, "that immutable and ineffable nature does not admit of he was or will be, but only of he is, yet on account of the mutability of time, with which our mortality and mutability is concerned, we may say without error, he is, was, and will be. He was in the past ages, he is in the present, he will be in the future. He was because he never was not; he will be because he will never cease to be; he is because he always is" (Tractate 99, *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:383; PL 35.1888]).

VIII. Although eternity may coexist with all the differences of time, it does not follow that they equally coexist among themselves. It does not coexist with them taken together and existing at once, but coexists with them existing dividedly and mutually succeeding each other. Thus the past while it was, coexisted with eternity, the present now coexists with it, and the future will coexist with it.

IX. Things which agree with one third thing, agree together themselves, but only with respect to the same third thing. Thus all the differences of time agree together in this—that each when it exists, coexists with the whole of eternity. However they ought not therefore to agree among themselves so as to coexist at once because the whole eternity does not coexist with them taken at once, but dividedly as they mutually succeed each other (as the sun and its motion coexist with all the days of the ages; nevertheless it does not thence follow that they all coexist among

themselves because every day coexists in its own order with the sun, which is always the same).

X. Although time coexists with the whole of eternity, it is not therefore eternal because that coexistence is not adequate (as if they were of the same duration and nature), but inadequate (of a thing evidently heterogeneous both as to nature and as to duration).

XI. The indivisible eternity of God embraces all divisible times, not coextensively or formally, but eminently and indivisibly. Thus the immense God embraces in his immensity all the extended and divisible parts of the world (although indivisible in his nature) because wherever he is, he is wholly.

XII. A point is either mathematical (the beginning of a line or of time); or physical and political (viz., the shortest extension either of mass or of time); or metaphysical (which denotes the negation of extension and divisibility). In this third sense, it is not absurd that the world and time should be contained in a point of eternity.

XIII. When a thousand years are said to be in the sight of God as one day (Ps. 90:4), it refers not only to estimation (that God considers a thousand years as no more than one day), but also to the comparison of our duration (which is ephemeral [*ephēmeros*]) with the divine (which is eternal). It intimates that God is not to be measured by our rule, as if his promise could be retarded, even if in our judgment fulfilled too late. For God is not subject to any differences of time, but a thousand years in his sight are as one day.

XIV. God is called "the ancient of days," not as stricken with old age and sated with years (as the Saturn of the heathen), but as before and more ancient than days themselves and the birth of time. Therefore days and years are not ascribed to him properly, but after the manner of men. For we who live in time can conceive nothing unless by a relation (*schesin*) to time, in which we are.

XV. When the actions of God are considered either as past or present or future, this is said not with respect to the efficient reason, but in reference to the effects and objects (which are produced in diverse times and on which his acts are terminated).

XVI. Time and eternity are not related to each other as part and whole, but as species of duration mutually opposed. Eternity always was and will

be. However, time neither always was nor always will be, but will cease with the world.

Eleventh Question: The Immutability of God

Is God immutable both in essence and will? We affirm

I. Immutability is an incommunicable attribute of God by which is denied of him not only all change, but also all possibility of change, as much with respect to existence as to will.

II. The adversaries oppose this immutability of God, especially that which relates to the acts of his will. Hence God can now will what he before nilled and nill now what he before willed (Crellius, "De Deo et Ejus Attributis," 1.21 in *Opera* [1656], 4:47–49; Vorstius, *Tractus theologicus de Deo* [1610]). With the orthodox, we maintain that every kind of immutability is to be ascribed to him both as to nature and as to will.

The immutability of God proved.

III. (1) Scripture expressly attributes it to him: "I am the Lord, I change not" (Mal. 3:6); "the heavens shall perish, but thou shalt endure" (Ps. 102:26); "with God is no variableness, neither shadow of turning" (Jam. 1:17). In the latter not only change is denied of him, but even the shadow of change, that he may be contrasted with the sun, the fountain of material light, liable to various changes and eclipses by which its light is intercepted. But God, the father of lights, acknowledges no tropics and can be obscured by no clouds since there is nothing to intercept his influence. The immutability of the divine will and counsel in particular is often asserted: "God is not a man, that he should lie; neither the son of man, that he should repent; hath he said, and shall he not do it? Or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?" (Num. 23:19). "My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure" (Is. 46:10; cf. Pss. 33:11; 110:4; 1 S. 15:29; Heb. 6:17).

IV. Reason confirms it for he is Jehovah, and so a necessary and independent being that can be changed by no one. "All created things are mutable" (*pan ktiston trepton*), says John of Damascus (*Dialogus contra Manichaeos* 68 [PG 94.1568]) because they take their being from some

other than themselves. God is immutable because he is from himself and recognizes no cause above himself. (2) He can neither be changed for the better (because he is the best) nor for the worse (because he would cease to be the most perfect). Augustine says, "Whatsoever is changed from the better for the worse, and from the worse for the better, is not God, because perfect virtue can neither change for the better, nor true eternity for the worse" (Tractate 23*, *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:154; PL 35.1588]). (3) All causes of change are removed from him: dependence *a priori;* passive power; error of mind; inconstancy of will.

Sources of explanation.

V. Creation did not produce a change in God, but in creatures; not a physical change and properly so called (which supposes its material), but hyperphysical by which the creature passes from nonexistence to existence. An agent said to be changed (which in itself becomes different from what it was before), but which becomes different (not in itself but only relatively and in order to another thing) cannot be said to be changed. Now when God became the Creator, he was not changed in himself (for nothing new happened to him, for from eternity he had the efficacious will of creating the world in time), but only in order to the creature (because a new relation took place with it). And as to the act of creation being transient not immanent, it is not so much in God as from him.

VI. God was not changed by the incarnation; the Word (*logos*) was made flesh, not by a conversion of the Word (*tou logou*) into flesh, but by an assumption of the flesh to the hypostasis of the Word (*logou*).

VII. It is one thing to change the will; another to will the change of anything. God can will the change of various things (as the institution and abrogation of the Levitical worship) without prejudice to the immutability of his will because even from eternity he had decreed such a change. So from eternity he decreed to create the world and preserve it until a certain time, but afterwards to destroy it with a flood. In the same manner, we must reason concerning his knowledge. The knowledge of God does not change with the thing known because God who knew it not only knew that this change would take place, but even decreed it.

VIII. It is one thing to be indifferent to various objects; another to be mutable. The cause of indifference is not mutability, but liberty. The will of God could be indifferent before the decree, but after the decree it cannot be mutable.

IX. The power of varying his own acts is not the principle of mutability in itself, but only in its objects (unless it is understood of the variation of his own acts which a perfect will does not vary, but only an imperfect; for no one can vary his purpose unless some disadvantage is discovered attending it, which cannot be the case in God).

X. It is one thing to inquire whether God might have determined himself to other objects than those he has decreed before he had resolved anything concerning them; another whether the decree having been formed he could rescind it. The latter we deny, but the former we assert. And yet no mutability is thus charged upon God because he is therefore said to be changed (who begins to will what he nilled or to nill what he willed) which can have no place in God.

XI. Repentance is attributed to God after the manner of men (*anthrōpopathōs*) but must be understood after the manner of God (*theoprepōs*): not with respect to his counsel, but to the event; not in reference to his will, but to the thing willed; not to affection and internal grief, but to the effect and external work because he does what a penitent man usually does. If repentance concerning the creation of man (which he could not undo) is ascribed to God (Gen. 6:6, 7*), it must be understood not pathetically (*pathētikōs*), but energetically (*energētikōs*). Although he could not by a non-creation undo what he had done, yet by a destruction he could produce change.

XII. Unfulfilled promises and threatenings do not argue a change of will because they were conditional, not absolute. This is evident from Jer. 18:7–8*. Although the condition may not often be expressed, it must be understood as tacit and implied.

XIII. When the death of Hezekiah was predicted, there was not a declaration of what would happen according to the will of God, but of what (according to the nature of second causes) would happen unless God interposed.

XIV. The necessity of the immutability we ascribe to God does not infer Stoic fate. It is only an extrinsic necessity and from the hypothesis of the

divine will, without interference with the liberty and contingency of things, as will be proved hereafter when we come to the decrees.

Twelfth Question: The Knowledge of God

Do all things fall under the knowledge of God, both singulars and future contingencies? We affirm against Socinus

I. Among the communicable and positive attributes (which affirm some perfection of God), there are three principal ones by which his immortal and perfectly happy life is active: intellect, will and power. The first belongs to the principle as directing, the second as enjoining, the third as executing.

II. Concerning the intellect of God and the disquisition of his knowledge, two things above all others must be attended to: the mode and object. The mode consists in his knowing all things perfectly, undividedly, distinctly and immutably. It is thus distinguished from human and angelic knowledge: perfectly because he knows all things by himself or by his essence (not by forms abstracted from things—as is the case with creatures—both because these are only in time with the things themselves, but the knowledge of God is eternal, and because he can have no cause out of himself). (2) Undividedly, because he knows all things intuitively and noetically, not discursively and dianoetically (by ratiocination and by inferring one thing from another). If God is sometimes set forth as inquiring or reasoning, this is not said properly, but humanly (the Scriptures lisping with us to the perfect and certain knowledge of God). (3) Distinctly, not that by a diverse conception he collects diverse predicates of things, but because he most distinctively sees through all things at one glance so that nothing, even the most minute, can escape him. (4) Immutably, because with him there is no shadow of change, and as he himself remaining immovable gives motion to all, so he sees the various turns and changes of things by an immutable cognition.

III. The object of the knowledge of God is both himself (who most perfectly knows himself in himself) and all things extrinsic to him whether possible or future (i.e., as to their various orders and states; as to quantity—great and small; as to quality—good and bad; as to predication—universals

and singulars; as to time—past, present and future; as to state—necessary and free or contingent).

Whether God knows singulars.

IV. The principal question agitated here is that about singulars and future contingent things which some wish to withdraw from the knowledge of God; singulars indeed, as Averroes, who denies that they can be exactly known by God. This is also charged upon Jerome since he thinks it to be absurd and "unworthy of the divine majesty to let it down to this, that it should know how many gnats are born or die every moment, number of cinches and fleas on earth" (*Commentariorum in Abucuc* 1.1 [PL 25.1286] on Hab. 1:13*, 14*). This opinion is highly injurious towards God, if precisely urged. But these rather harsh words can be softened and understood comparatively; they mean nothing else than to withdraw these things from the special care exercised towards men, to teach their advantage over them. Jerome seems to intimate this by adding: "Nor are we such foolish flatterers of God as, while drawing down his power to the lowest things, to be injurious to ourselves, teaching that the same providence extends to irrational as to rational creatures" (ibid.).

V. Indeed Scripture is so clear on this subject as to leave no room for doubt. For why should Christ say that the hairs of our head are all numbered and not one sparrow can fall on the ground without the will of the Father (Mt. 10:29, 30)? How could Paul assert that all things are naked and open (*tetrachēlismena*) unto him, and there is no creature that is not manifest in his sight (Heb. 4:13)? How could the psalmist intimate that God tells the number of the stars and calls them all by their names (Ps. 147:4) unless God beheld individual things? And if God created and governs them, why should he not also know them?

VI. The divine understanding is no more debased by the knowledge of a mean thing than the sun is polluted by a filthy thing. And if the power of God was not lowered when he created them, why should his knowledge be debased by the contemplation of them? Yea, since all things (even the greatest) are the smallest before him in comparison with his infinity (as Is. 40:15 magnificently says) and, as it were, nothing, the knowledge of all things should be denied of him if the smallest are removed from his notice.

Statement of the question: the knowledge of future contingent things.

VII. Another question of greater importance refers to future contingent things, the knowledge of which the Socinians endeavor to wrest from God in order to establish more easily the indifference of free will (its freedom from all necessity, even from that which is usually placed upon it by the foreknowledge of God). They may sometimes seem to attribute to him a full knowledge of all things, even of those which are future. "Under the name of the wisdom of God in this place we embrace the knowledge of all things." And a little after: "As to future things, there are the most palpable proofs in Scripture that God knows them also" (Crellius, "De Deo et Ejus Attributis," 1.24, *Opera* [1656], 4:65). Yet elsewhere they openly withdraw from him the knowledge of future contingencies as not being in the class of knowable things, saying either that he does not know them absolutely or only indeterminately and probably. Socinus says, "Since, then, there is no reason, no passage of Scripture, from which it can be clearly gathered that God knew all things which happened before they happened, we must conclude that we are by no means to assert such a foreknowledge of God, especially when both many reasons and sound testimony are not wanting, utterly opposed to it" (*Praelectionis theologicae* 11 [1627], p. 38). So too Crellius: "They act inconsiderately who say that God knows determinately future contingencies because otherwise he would not be omniscient, since the rasher, therefore, he cannot conceive future things determinately because he is omniscient and never errs in this that can be known" ("De Deo et Ejus Attributis," 1.24, *Opera* [1656], 4:66, 68). And Smalcius in opposition to Frantzius, still more clearly: "But how can that be true which destroys itself and is repugnant to the Scriptures or does great violence to them? To say that God knows those things which are in no manner, such as future contingencies are, is to contradict himself; for what is knowable is not properly contingent, and what is properly contingent cannot be known" (*Refutatio Thesium D. Wolfgangi Frantzii*, Disp. XXII* [1614], pp. 436–37). On the other hand, the orthodox maintain that future contingent things fall under the infallible knowledge of God.

VIII. On the state of the question observe: (1) that a thing may be contingent in two ways—either with respect to the first cause (inasmuch as it can be produced or not produced by God, and so all creatures are contingent with respect to God because he might not have created any if he had so willed); or with respect to second causes (which can produce or not produce their effect and are thus distinguished from necessary causes). We here speak of future contingents in the latter and not in the former sense.

IX. (2) A thing can be considered either as to the certainty of event or as to the mode of production. A future contingent thing implies both; for as future it signifies the certainty of event, but as contingent the mode of production. It has the former from the decree of the first cause; the latter from the constitution of the second cause.

X. Thus the question is whether things, not any whatsoever and having a necessary cause (for there is no doubt as to these), but contingent (which have a free cause) and indifferent (*adiaphoron*); not logically as to the first cause, in which sense even the most necessary things are contingent (since they can be and not be), but physically (as to the contingent second cause) fall under the infallible knowledge of God, not as knowing them only indeterminately and probably, but determinately and most certainly. This the Socinians deny; we affirm.

XI. The reasons are: (1) Scripture frequently claims such a knowledge of God—"Lord, thou knowest all things" (Jn. 21:17) and "God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things" (1 Jn. 3:20). The objection is fruitless that "all things" refers to all knowable things and that future contingents are not such. This is the *prōton pseudos* (a thing to be proved, not taken for granted). However we say they are knowable not in themselves determinately, but in the decree of God.

XII. "Known unto God," said James, "are all his works from the beginning of the world" (Acts 15:18). If all works, therefore also the free and contingent; if known from eternity, therefore also the future. Nor ought it to be said: (a) that the reference here is not to every work of God or of men, but to that of which James was speaking—the calling of the Gentiles. For the universal mark admits of no restriction, but shows that James proceeded from the genus to the species, from the thesis to the hypothesis in this sense—whatever God does in time, he decreed and foreknew from eternity; therefore he decreed and foreknew that the Gentiles would be

introduced into the communion of the church without an observance of the Mosaic Law; (b) that it refers to works which are and not to those which neither have been, nor are, nor will certainly be, such as future contingents are. For although they are not as to real being, yet they are as to known being; although they will not certainly be as to second causes, yet they will certainly be as to the first by which they are defined, (c) The calling of the Gentiles was so a work of God that it ought also to be the work of the nations because they ought to respond to his call through grace. Therefore if God certainly knew that call, he ought to know future contingent things.

XIII. "All things are naked and open unto his eyes" (Heb. 4:13). If all things, therefore the thoughts and voluntary actions of men; and existing not only in act but also future, which God sees not only in their causes, but also in his decree. Hence he is said "to understand our thoughts afar off, and to know our downsittings and uprisings; for there is not a word in my tongue, but thou knowest it altogether" (Ps. 139:1–4*)—therefore not only actually existing, but also future: "Before I formed thee in the belly, I knew thee" (Jer. 1:5); "I knew that thou wouldst deal very treacherously" (Is. 48:8); "I know the things that come into your mind, every one of them" (Ezk. 11:5).

XIV. (2) Because God predicts future contingent things, therefore he knows them. For unless he infallibly knows, he could not certainly predict them, as he frequently does. "The foreknowledge of God has as many witnesses, as he has made prophets" (Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 2.5 [ANF 3:301; PL 2.290]). "He declares the end from the beginning and from ancient times the things that are not yet done" (Is. 46:10). "Show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods" (Is. 41:23). God thus distinguishes himself from false gods and creatures. The examples of prediction occur everywhere in the Scriptures. What do our adversaries reply here? That these predictions are of probabilities only, as they impiously speak. But who can stand the blasphemous expression: that the infallible knowledge of God is merely conjectural, and his word (which is stronger than heaven and earth, and of which not even an iota can pass away until all be fulfilled) is founded upon mere fallible probabilities; that these predictions are of things which God had decreed to bring about? But there is no future thing which God has not decreed, either to do if good or to permit if bad; nor can he foreknow unless he has decreed them. That they

are rather admonitions than predictions? But the passages themselves prove the contrary, for a prediction is simply the narration of a future thing, but an admonition is a persuasion to a work of virtue or a dissuasion from the contrary. For if some predictions can lead to the persuasion of men, it does not follow that they are not predictions; that this is said only of certain future things, not of all. But why should it be said of some and not of all? No reason can be assigned for the diversity.

XV. (3) Because the most perfect nature of God demands it; for if the knowledge of future things is a perfection in creatures, much more will it be so in God. Again, because he is omniscient (which he would not be unless his knowledge extended to all things not only past and present, but also future—contingent as well as necessary), (a) Because he is the searcher of hearts (*kardiognōstēs*), which would not be true if he did not most intimately know not only the thoughts, purposes and affections of the heart, but also the propensities and dispositions before their actual execution (Jer. 17:9, 10; Job 34:21; Jn. 2:24, 25; Acts 1:24; Rev. 2:23). (b) Because he is omnipresent—everywhere and intimately present with all his creatures and moving and directing them before they move or direct themselves.

XVI. (4) The decree of providence draws this necessarily after it because as whatever takes place in time, God immutably decreed either to effect or to permit, so he ought infallibly to foreknow it all. The reason is that the foreknowledge of God follows his decree, and as the decree cannot be changed, so neither can his knowledge be deceived: "Our God is in the heavens: he hath done whatsoever he pleased" (Ps. 115:3); "For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things" (Rom. 11:36); "He worketh all things after the counsel of his own will" (Eph. 1:11). Nor can these passages be referred only to the things which God himself does and not to those which ought to be done by men (as placed in their will, as Socinus maintains). For all things alike are subject to divine providence; nor does the liberty of human actions hinder them from falling under his knowledge and decree, as will be proved hereafter.

XVII. Although it is difficult to comprehend the mode in which God certainly knows future contingent things, yet the thing itself (confirmed by so many passages of Scripture and reasons) is not therefore to be denied.

Sources of explanation.

XVIII. The principal foundation of the divine knowledge about future contingent things is not either the nature of second causes (which is supposed to be indifferent [*adiaphoros*]) or simply the divine essence, as immutable by creatures and as capable of producing them because it is the foundation of the possibility of things; the decree alone by which things pass from a state of possibility to a state of futurition (in which he sees them as it were determined and certainly future); and because the decree of God is not occupied about the thing, but also about the mode of the thing (i.e., that the thing may take place according to the nature of its cause, necessarily if necessary, freely if free, God sees them in the decree not only as certainly future, but also as certainly future contingently).

XIX. Of whatever things there is not a determinate truth, of them there cannot be a certain and infallible knowledge if they are absolutely and in every respect indeterminate. But future contingent things are not such. For if they are indeterminate with respect to the second cause and in themselves, they are not so as to the first cause which decreed their futurition. If their truth is indeterminate with respect to us (who cannot see in which direction the free second cause is about to incline itself), it is not so with respect to God to whom all future things appear as present.

XX. It is not inconsistent (*asystaton*) for the same thing to be said to be possible and impossible at the same time (but as to different things [*kat' allo kai allo*]): possible with respect to potency or the second cause (considered in itself and in a divided sense) and impossible relatively (on the hypothesis of the divine decree and foreknowledge). So it was possible for Christ not to be crucified, if God had so willed, and impossible on account of the decree. What therefore in the compound sense and on the supposition of the decree of God concerning the futurition of the thing was impossible not to take place; yet in the divided sense (and the decree being laid aside) was possible not to take place.

XXI. It is one thing for a thing to be able to be done or not to be done (i.e., for a thing to be possible or not to be future hypothetically); another for a thing to be able to be at the same time future and not future. The former denotes only the temporal identity of power as much as the thing could be done or not; the latter implies the power of temporal identity

because it is supposed that something could at the same time be and not be. Contingency applies to the former method, not to the second which is absurd (*asystatos*).

XXII. We acknowledge a contradiction in these two propositions—the man is about to walk and he is not about to walk; but not in these—the man is about to walk, and he is able not to walk. The first speaks of the truth of futurition; the latter of the truth of possibility. There is no repugnancy between these two propositions, and they can be true at the same time. Adam is certainly about to fall, and Adam is able not to fall (the former speaks of futurition of a thing from the decree; the latter of the possibility of a thing from the disposition of the second cause).

XXIII. The infallibility and certainty of the event does not take away the nature of the contingency of things because things can happen necessarily as to the event and yet contingently as to the mode of production. If there is granted a prescience of future contingent things, all things would take place necessarily by necessity of consequence, by the necessity of infallibility; not by necessity of the consequent and absolute. Therefore, there remains always this distinction between necessary and contingent things. The former have an intrinsic necessity because they arise from necessary proximate causes and are such in themselves; while the contingent, although having an extrinsic necessity by reason of the event, yet in their nature take place by contingent causes.

XXIV. The freedom of the will is indeed overthrown by a physical and coactive necessity which is at variance with the formal reason of liberty, but not by a hypothetical necessity and of the infallibility of the event, for the same thing in this respect can be both free and necessary. Hence although men's actions may be free (because done spontaneously and by a previous judgment of reason), they do not cease to be necessary with respect to the divine decree and foreknowledge. Now the foreknowledge of God implies indeed the infallibility of futurition and of the event and the necessity of consequence, and yet does not imply coaction or violence, nor take away from the will its intrinsic liberty.

XXV. The infallible foreknowledge of God does not imply that God is the cause of sins because God foreknows sins as certainly about to be (for example, the selling of Joseph and the betrayal of Christ); not as if they were to be effected by him as sins, but to be permitted and yet regulated by

him. This mode makes him no more guilty in his foreknowledge and decree than in the execution because neither the decree nor the foreknowledge subject the man to an intrinsic necessity, but only to an extrinsic as to the event.

XXVI. God does not make trial of men from ignorance (in this way to gain knowledge which he was not possessed of before), but from his most wise providence in order to declare to others what was before unknown to them. Thus he tried Abraham (not in order that he might know his faith and obedience by this experiment, which he was previously ignorant of, since even before he professed that he knew his piety [Gen. 18:19], but in order to make known to the world and the church his remarkable faith). If it is said that God then knew that he feared him ("Now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thine only son from me," Gen. 22:12), this is not to be understood absolutely of the knowledge which God obtained, but transitively of the knowledge which he gave to others (as similar words are often used in the Scriptures).

XXVII. Although God testifies that he willed to go down and see whether the cry of Sodom which came to him was true (Gen. 18:21), it does not follow that he was ignorant of the nature and degree of the impiety of that city before. He had already said, "The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great." But this is said after the manner of men (*anthrōpopathōs*) to intimate that he performs the part of a good and exact Judge, and neither pronounces nor executes anything rashly (as an accurate judge inquires on the spot into the thing itself to avoid precipitate action).

XXVIII. God is said to expect grapes from the vineyard (Is. 5:4) not because he was ignorant of what would happen, but this is spoken after the manner of men because he seriously charged the people to be studious of good works; and such was the nature of the gifts bestowed that he was as much bound to expect fruit from them (unless they had fallen upon an ungrateful soil) as the industrious husbandman is accustomed to look for fruit from a vineyard properly cultivated.

XXIX. When God conceives future contingent things as certainly future, he does not conceive of them otherwise than they are; but he knows them relatively to the decree as necessarily about to take place and determinate which, relative to their cause, he knows as indeterminate and contingently future. Therefore, God foreknows them both in himself and in his decree (as

the first cause), and so they are necessary on account of the immutability of the decree and the infallibility of foreknowledge; and God foreknows them in the second causes on which they proximately and immediately depend, which are per se indefinite, and so they are contingent things.

Thirteenth Question: Middle Knowledge

Is there a middle knowledge in God between the natural and the free? We deny against the Jesuits, Socinians and Remonstrants

The twofold middle knowledge.

I. Although the knowledge of God is one and simple intrinsically no less than his essence, yet it can be considered in different ways extrinsically as to the objects. But it is commonly distinguished by theologians into the knowledge of simple intelligence (or natural and indefinite) and the knowledge of vision (or free and definite). The former is the knowledge of things merely possible and is therefore called indefinite because nothing on either hand is determined concerning them by God. The latter is the knowledge of future things and is called definite because future things are determined by the sure will of God. Hence they mutually differ: (1) in object because the natural knowledge is occupied with possible things, but the free about future things; (2) in foundation because the natural is founded on the omnipotence of God, but the free depends upon his will and decree by which things pass from a state of possibility to a state of futurition; (3) in order because the natural precedes the decree, but the free follows it because it beholds things future; now they are not future except by the decree.

The origin of the middle knowledge.

II. Besides these two species of divine knowledge, a third was devised by the Jesuits, Fonseca, Lessius, Molina. It is not agreed among themselves who is the true parent of this fetus (*foetus*) (each claiming it for himself) which they called “middle” because it is between the natural and the free and differs from both. It differs from the indefinite and natural because it is

occupied about future, but not about possible things. It differs from the free because it relates not to things certainly future, but only hypothetically so. The authors explain this middle knowledge to mean the foreknowledge of God about future conditional events whose truth depends not upon the free decree of God (being anterior to this), but upon the liberty of the creature (which God certainly foresees), whether in itself or in the thing (how it will determine itself if placed in certain given circumstances).

III. The design of the Jesuits was to defend the semi-Pelagian heresy of foreseen faith and good works in election, and to support the figment of free will in order the more easily to free themselves from the arguments of the Dominicans who rejected such a foresight (principally for this reason—that since there is no knowledge in God [unless either natural—of things possible—or free—of things future] all foreknowledge of faith and of the good use of free will ought to depend upon, not to precede the decree). This argument they supposed could be escaped in no other way than by inventing this middle knowledge. There is no need to take account of the disturbances this question executed among the Jesuits and Dominicans. The pope, in the meantime, to whose tribunal the whole matter was frequently referred for his infallible judgment, in an affair of so great moment, slept and did not dare to determine anything. It suffices to make this observation—that what the Jesuits contended for as their Helen was fiercely assailed as most false by the Dominicans (among whom were the eminent Cumel, Ripa, Alvarez, Nugno and others with whom the Jansenists of this day agree).

IV. This invention was afterwards adopted by the Socinians and Remonstrants who courageously defend it so as to preserve free will in the citadel; see Arminus ‘Certain Articles to be Diligently Examined and Weighed,’ “On God Considered According to His Nature,” *The Writings of James Arminius* (1956), 2:480–81; Vorstius, *Tractatus theologicus de Deo* (1610); Grevinchovius, *Dissertatio theologica de duabus quaestionibus ... controversis ... inter G. Amesium* (1615).

Statement of the question.

V. The question is not whether God knows future contingencies (for all agree that God knows from eternity by a certain knowledge not only things themselves, but all their combinations and connections, whether present,

past and future, or necessary and contingent). Rather the question is whether they belong to a kind of middle knowledge distinct from the natural and free. The latter we deny.

VI. The question does not concern necessary conditional future things, which on this or that given condition cannot but take place (as—if the sun rises, it will be day; if Peter heartily repents, he will be saved), for as these are necessarily connected together either from the nature of the thing or on the hypothesis of the divine decree, they fall under either the natural knowledge of God (if the condition is only possible) or the free (if it is future and decreed by him). Rather the inquiry relates to contingent conditional future things, which (the condition being posited) can be and not be; for example, if John would be of Lutetia, he would speak or would sin and the like. The inquiry relates to whether they can be certainly and determinately known antecedently to the decree of God; this we deny.

VII. The question is not whether the knowledge of conditional future things is in God antecedently to every decree (for our adversaries do not deny that a certain general decree precedes by which he has decreed to produce the second causes and is ready to afford at least a general and indifferent cooperation to the creature, as often as he willed that they should determine themselves to act). Rather the question is whether a special decree concerning the certain futurition of this or that thing precedes so that God may see that thing antecedently to such a decree (either in itself or in its causes). This they maintain; we deny.

VIII. Therefore the question is whether besides the natural knowledge (which is only of things possible) and the knowledge of vision (which is only of things future), there may be granted in God a certain third or middle knowledge concerning conditional future things by which God knows what men or angels will freely do without a special decree preceding (if placed with these or those circumstances in such an order of things). The Jesuits, Socinians and Remonstrants affirm this; the orthodox deny it.

Proof that no such middle knowledge can be granted.

IX. The reasons are: (1) Natural and free knowledge embrace all knowable things and entities and are not to be multiplied unnecessarily. There is nothing in the nature of things which is not possible or future; nor can future conditional things constitute a third order. For they are such either from a condition only possible or powerful, yet never to take place, or from a condition certainly future and decreed. In the former manner, they do not recede from the nature of possible things and belong to natural knowledge; in the latter, they are future and decreed by God and come under the free knowledge.

X. (2) Things not true cannot be foreknown as true. Now conditional future things are not true apart from the determination of the divine will; for example, the Sidonians would have repented if the powers had been supplied to them, for they would have been indifferently disposed in their nature to repent or not to repent, those powers being given; therefore from some other source ought to come the truth that they would repent, those powers being posited, if it is at all true. But no cause of this thing can be imagined except the will of God. There was nothing from eternity which could be the cause of the determination of a thing indifferent to either part except the will of God; not his essence or knowledge, for neither can operate *ad extra* separated from the will. Therefore, as no effect can be understood as future (whether absolutely or hypothetically) without the divine decree (because no creature can be in the world without the divine causality), so no future conditional thing can be knowable before the decree.

XI. (3) If all the acts of the created will fall under the divine providence so that none are independent and indeterminate, no middle knowledge can be granted (which is supposed to have for its object the free determination of the will, depending upon no superior cause). Now that there is such a subjection of the created will is evident from the dependence between the first cause and second causes, between the Creator and creatures. Nor can it suffice to save that dependence that the will may be said to be created and its liberty given by God for it would not cease to be the principle of its own determination, if its acts did not depend upon some decree. It would not be indeed the first being, but yet it would be the first operator (nor any more the second, but the first cause because if it depended in being upon God, it would not depend upon him in operation).

XII. (4) No uncertain knowledge should be ascribed to God. The middle knowledge can have no certainty because it is occupied about an uncertain and contingent object (viz., the indifference [*adiaphorian*] of the will). I ask, therefore, whence can God certainly know what will or will not take place? For either this can be done from the nature of the things themselves when he regards them (either in their causes or in themselves) as free acts in a created will (which pleases Bellarmine)—but how can an uncertain thing afford foundation to certain knowledge—or this can be done from the infinity of divine knowledge, which certainly foreknows in what direction moral persuasion will incline the will (otherwise free) to the opposite (which Vasquez and Suarez hold); but how could infirmity of knowledge change the nature of things and see a thing as certainly to take place which is contingent? Again knowledge either makes the event certain or foresees it as certain. If it makes it so, how can it foreknow it as such; where then is the indifference of the will? If it foresees it as certain, how could the foresight of an uncertain and indifferent thing be itself certain? Or from the eternal existence of things by which they are said to be present to God (as others prefer); but since they could have no real being from eternity (but only an intentional), they cannot be said to have existed from eternity otherwise than by reason of the decree in which they obtain their futurition. Since, therefore, the certain necessity of the event cannot be founded on the contingent connection of the ends or on the knowledge which recognizes but does not make the thing, it follows that it is only from the efficacious decree of the connector. Thomas Aquinas says most satisfactorily, "He who knows an effect contingent in its own cause only and not in some superior cause certainly determining it, has only a conjectural knowledge concerning it; since from an indifferent cause as far as it is indifferent, a determinate act cannot flow; and for the same reason from a contingent antecedent, as far as it is contingent, a necessary conclusion cannot flow before the decree of the divine will" (ST, I, Q. 14, Art. 13, p. 83).

XIII. (5) This middle knowledge takes away the dominion of God over free acts because according to it the acts of the will are supposed to be antecedent to the decree and therefore have their futurition not from God, but from itself. Indeed God would seem rather to depend upon the creature while he could decree or dispose nothing, unless a determination of the human will were posited which God would see in such a connection of

things. Nor ought the reply to be made that the dominion of God is not therefore taken away because he can remove that connection or some circumstance of it; for example, in the foreknowledge by which God knew that Peter would deny Christ if placed in a certain condition, God could hinder him from denying Christ by taking away some foreseen circumstance (for instance, the fear of death) or by adding greater light in the intellect and a greater inclination in the will to confession, and the like. For it is not sufficient for the support of the dominion of God that he could hinder Peter from denying Christ, for he might have deprived Peter of life before the apprehension of Christ (but this would be to have dominion over the life of Peter, not over his free will); but it is requisite that the free acts of Peter, of denying or not denying Christ, should depend upon him (which is denied on the supposition of this knowledge). In fine, if God can take away one foreseen circumstance, he can therefore change the event of the thing: if he can by a decree change the event of a thing, therefore it also pertains to the decree to procure it; for he who hinders the event by a removal of some circumstance ought to cause it by supplying the circumstances.

XIV. (6) On the supposition of such a knowledge, a reason for predestination can be assigned out of God besides his purpose and good pleasure (*eudokian*) because the foreseen consent of the will of Jacob placed in such circumstances would be at least the condition without which God could not predestine to salvation Jacob rather than Esau. But no reason for that election can be derived from Paul except the purpose (*eudokian*) of God: “For the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil” not on account of a foreseen good use of free will through middle knowledge, but “that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth; it was said, the elder shall serve the younger” (Rom. 9:11, 12*). Nor should it be said that this condition is assigned on the part of God who has the knowledge, not of men; for although it is God who foreknows, yet the object which he foreknows is maintained to be the good use of free will foreseen before the decree, so that the reason of the decree is put not in God, but in man. Thus grace might with greater propriety be called the servant of the human inclination than the mistress, and the companion than the cause, making God depend upon man rather than man upon God.

Sources of explanation.

XV. 1 S. 23:11, 12 cannot favor this middle knowledge because it is not so much a prediction of future things which were still in futurition (as a revelation of things which then existed although secret, viz., of the plans discussed among the men of Keilah about the delivery of David if he stayed there). For when David was doubtful concerning the design of Saul and the intention of the men of Keilah towards himself, and therefore inquired of the Lord whether Saul was about to descend against the men of Keilah, and they would deliver him up into the hands of Saul (if he stayed among them), God answered that David should withdraw himself and fly from their fury, and that Saul would descend and the men of Keilah would deliver him up (if he remained there), because in truth both Saul girded himself for the journey, and the men of Keilah were even then secretly plotting to deliver David up to him. "For they will deliver thee up," i.e., they have the will to do so, as the interlinear gloss has it. So the words "to descend" and "to deliver up" do not refer to the act itself as hypothetically future, but (as often elsewhere) they are put for the purpose and intention, i.e., to have in the mind to do this (as Acts 12:6 and 16:27).

XVI. The words of Christ ("If the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes," Mt. 11:21*) are not to be strained to the letter, as if they referred to something which on a certain condition would be determinately future. For it is a hyperbolical and proverbial kind of speech where Christ (by a comparison odious to the Jews) wishes to exaggerate the contumacy and rebellion of their cities (rendered illustrious by his miracles), which, as the searcher of hearts (*kardiognōstēs*), he knew to be greater and more obstinate than the wickedness of the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon. So Christ does not speak of the foreknowledge of any future conditional things, but wishes by using a hyperbole to upbraid the Jews for ingratitude and impenitence greater than that of the Tyrians and Sidonians; as if a teacher (addressing a slow and dull scholar) should say, if I had taught an ass as long, he would have known it; or of an inexorable judge, if I had beaten rocks and stones as long, I could have broken them; we do not mean either that rocks could be softened or an ass taught, but only that the slowness of the scholar and the hardness of the judge are extreme. In the

same manner, Christ says, “If these should hold their peace, the stones would cry out” (Lk. 19:40); not as if the stones could cry out, but to show that his person, doctrine and works were so clear and indubitable that they could no longer be concealed. There is a similar passage in Ezk. 3:6: “Had I sent thee to a people of a strange speech, they would have hearkened unto thee.”

XVII. In 2 S. 12:8, the prophet enumerates the blessings of God towards ungrateful David, to which he would have added greater if David had continued in obedience (not from any conditional decree or from middle knowledge, but according to the promise made to piety). So in Ps. 81:14, 15, we have a conditional promise with a reproof of ingratitude, but we read nothing concerning the foreknowledge of a future conditional thing before the decree. In the same manner are to be understood the words of Elisha to Joash: “Thou shouldest have smitten five or six times; then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed it” (2 K. 13:19); not that he knew this by middle knowledge, but because the prophet would from his own wish infer that from a divine revelation made indefinitely.

XVIII. It is one thing for God to foresee or know the connection of one thing with another (for example, of sin with death and of righteousness with life); another to know connection as future in such a subject placed in this or that state. This requires some decree to determine what ought to be done concerning that subject; but the former can be founded on possibility alone and the mutual habitude of things.

XIX. It is one thing for God to know all the connections of all things as necessary and the causes of things about to happen through them antecedently to the decree; another to know the contingent connections of events and of all possibly future things. If the former were granted, it would favor the middle knowledge, but it is false that God knows all the connections of all things as necessary and about to produce infallibly the event of things (especially in free acts) antecedently to the decree upon which all the futurition of things depends. But the latter, which we allow, does not countenance the middle knowledge because contingent connections of this kind belong only to natural knowledge, when considered antecedently to the decree, determining the certain futurition of their connections or means.

XX. What is conceived to be determinately from God can also be pronounced to be determinately; but what is conceived only to be possibly can be pronounced to be only possibly. Now it is denied that the coexistence of a free act on hypothesis can be conceived to be determinately antecedently to the decree; it is granted that it may be possibly. So it is true that Peter would possibly sin if placed in a given order of things antecedently to the decree; but not determinately so as to make it true that Peter would actually and in fact sin if placed in such an order of things. This could not be certain unless from a permissive decree of God.

XXI. Necessity and contingency have a different relation in simple terms from what they have in complex. In the first manner, being is divided into necessary and contingent, nor can they belong to the same; but in the second (inasmuch as they arise from the diverse habitude of causes to their effects) so far coincide that what in respect to the first cause is necessary with respect to the second can be contingent, the first cause so disposing it. This not only insures the existence of the thing, but in its own manner that it is a necessary thing necessarily, a contingent contingently. Yet that necessity as to the first cause does not take away the liberty of free will because it is not a necessity of coaction, but of consequence or infallibility which best conspires with liberty.

XXII. Although God antecedently to his decree can know of the various means which can be used to move the will (that this or that can have a greater influence than others if employed), yet he cannot know that they will actually persuade antecedently to the will of giving those means and of moving the will efficaciously to produce the effect. Nor has the illustration drawn from fire any force, which God knows to be possessed of the property of making warm antecedently to the will of creating fire which will actually warm. For the reason of natural agents determined in their nature to one thing is different from that of free agents, which can be inclined to one or the other of opposite things.

XXIII. The cause of the existence of things differs from the cause of their futurition. Second causes can concur with God to cause the existence of a certain thing because they exist and are active at the same time with God. But no second cause can concur with him to cause the futurition of things because futurition was made from eternity, while all second causes are only in time. Hence it is evident that the futurition of things depends

upon nothing but the decree of God, and therefore can be foreknown only from the decree.

Fourteenth Question: The Will of God

Does God will some things necessarily and others freely? We affirm

I. The will of God (whose object is only the good, as that of the intellect is the true) necessarily follows his understanding. But because good is either uncreated and infinite or finite and created, a twofold object can be assigned to the will: a primary (viz., God) as the infinite good; but the secondary (all created things out of God, holding the relation of finite good which also out of himself God wills, but not in the same manner); himself, indeed, necessarily by complacency, but all other things freely by decree—hence the proposed question arises.

Statement of the question.

II. On the state of the question observe: (1) that necessity is twofold; one absolute, which simply and by itself and its own nature cannot be otherwise, as that God is good, just, etc. The other hypothetical, which is not so of itself and simply such but that it could be otherwise, but yet on the positing of something it necessarily follows and could not be otherwise; as for example, if you posit that God predestinated Jacob to salvation, it is necessary that Jacob should be saved, namely on the hypothesis of the decree. Otherwise he could have been not predestinated and not saved. When, therefore, the question is asked whether God wills some things necessarily, but others freely I refer not only to the hypothetical necessity (for thus those things which God wills freely, the decree being posited, he no more not wills), but concerning the absolute necessity.

III. Free is said either with reference to spontaneity or indifference: the former what is done spontaneously and without compulsion, but the latter what is so disposed that it can be done and not be done. When it is asked whether God wills some things freely, not only the will of spontaneity is meant (for so the things which God wills most necessarily, he wills also

freely, i.e., without coaction), but properly the liberty of indifference (i.e., whether he so wills that he could have nilled them).

IV. Third, there are two kinds of things willed: one principal, which holds relation of the ultimate end; another secondary, which has the relation of the means. In the former, the will is carried necessarily so that it cannot but be carried to it; in the latter, it is carried freely and by election having a necessary and inseparable connection with the ultimate end (so that without it the end cannot be). For then by the same necessity by which we will the ultimate end, we will also that means (as he who wills the preservation of life, wills also the taking of food, without which life cannot be preserved).

V. This being established, I say that God wills himself necessarily, not only by a hypothetical necessity but also by an absolute necessity. He is the ultimate end and the highest good which he cannot but will and love, not only as to specification (that he can will and love nothing contrary), but also as to exercise (that he never ceases from willing and loving himself), for he cannot nill his own glory or deny himself. But other things he wills freely because, since no created thing is necessary with respect to God but contingent (as he could do without them), so he wills all things as that he could not will them (i.e., by the liberty not only of spontaneity, but also of indifference).

VI. This liberty of the divine will about created things must be understood absolutely and *a priori* and with respect to the things considered in themselves not hypothetically and *a posteriori* with respect to the decrees themselves. For in this sense God wills created things necessarily from hypothesis because (supposing he has once willed) he can no more will them on account of the immutability of his will; but speaking absolutely he wills them freely because he is influenced to will them at first by no necessity, but by mere liberty and could abstain from their production.

VII. But this indifference of the divine will, so far from lowering the majesty of God, is the greatest proof of his perfection who, as an independent being, needs nothing out of himself (which is the greatest testimony to the imperfection of creatures).

VIII. God wills all created things not to make himself perfect (as if he stood in need of them), but to communicate himself and to manifest his goodness and glory in them. Hence because he could be without them without any detriment to his happiness, he is said to will them freely. For

since God wills all things out of himself inasmuch as they are ordained for his goodness as the end (and the goodness of God is perfect without others so that no perfection can accrue to him from others), it follows that God wills other things from himself, not to be absolutely necessary, but only from supposition (*ex hypothesi*) (as Thomas Aquinas properly remarks, ST, I–I, Q. 19, Art. 3, pp. 104–5).

IX. Although God wills all things on account of his goodness and wills his goodness necessarily, yet it does not follow that he wills by the same necessity all other things which he wills out of himself. For he wills these things not to increase, but to diffuse his goodness and so that he might be without them.

X. There is not the same reason of the understanding in knowing and of the will in willing because the understanding has the things in itself and beholds them as they are in itself. However the will is carried towards them when in understanding they are understood after the manner of a recipient; but in willing, otherwise; the understanding beholds things as existing (at least in itself) and therefore cannot but understand them; whereas the will makes them, and besides is freely occupied about them. As therefore all things as they are in God have a certain necessity, but in themselves contingency; therefore whatever God knows, he knows from necessity; but not equally whatever he wills does he will from necessity.

XI. Although every volition in God is eternal, yet they ought not immediately to be called absolutely necessary. For what is necessary originally on the part of the principle can be free terminatively and on the part of the object.

XII. Here belongs the question concerning the will of God about sin (i.e., how God can be said to will sin), but this will come up more fitly under the head of providence.

Fifteenth Question

May the will be properly distinguished into the will of decree and of precept, good purpose (eudokias) *and good pleasure* (euarestias), *signified, secret and revealed? We affirm*

I. Although the will in God is only one and most simple, by which he comprehends all things by a single and most simple act so that he sees and understands all things at one glance, yet because it is occupied differently about various objects, it thus happens that in our manner of conception, it may be apprehended as manifold (not in itself and intrinsically on the part of the act of willing, but extrinsically and objectively on the part of the things willed).

II. Hence have arisen various distinctions of the will of God. The first and principal distinction is that of the decretive and preceptive will. The former means that which God wills to do or permit himself; the latter what he wills that we should do. The former relates to the futurition and the event of things and is the rule of God's external acts; the latter is concerned with precepts and promises and is the rule of our action. The former cannot be resisted and is always fulfilled: "Who hath resisted his will?" (Rom. 9:19). The latter is often violated by men: "How often would I have gathered you together, and ye would not" (Mt. 23:37).

III. As there are various passages of Scripture in which the will of God is taken either for the decree (Rom. 9:19; Eph. 1:11) or for the precept (Ps. 143:10; Rom. 12:2), so there are also some in which both wills of God are signified at the same time (i.e., Jn. 6:38, where Christ says, "I came down to do the will of him that sent me" [i.e., to fulfil the things decreed by God and to obey the command of the Father]). And when we say in the Lord's Prayer, "Thy will be done," we ask that our lives may correspond to his precepts and his decrees be fulfilled.

IV. Although the precept falls also under the decree as to proposition, still it does not fall as to execution. Thus they may be properly distinguished from each other, so as the will of decree may be that which determines the event of things, but the will of precept that which prescribes to man his duty. Therefore God can (without a contradiction) will as to precept what he does not will as to decree inasmuch as he wills to prescribe something to man, but does not will to effect it (as he willed Pharaoh to release the people, but yet nilled their actual release).

V. Hence it happens that although these wills may be conceived by us as diverse (owing to the diversity of the objects), yet they are not contrary. For as was just said, they are not occupied about the same thing. Undoubtedly if God by the power of his decree would impel men to do what he has by his

law prohibited, or if when attempting to obey the law he would by an opposite impediment recall them from obedience, he would will repugnancies and be himself opposed to his own will. But the decree of God does not contend with his command when he prescribes to man his bounden duty (for the performance of which, however, he does not will to give the strength because he wills indeed the thing as to the proposition of duty, but yet not as to the execution of the event).

VI. The preceptive will has a twofold object: sometimes affirmative (with respect to which it can also be called affirmative when the effecting of the thing is prescribed); sometimes negative (with respect to which it can itself also be called negative consisting in the prohibition of a thing). So the decretive will may have affirmative objects with respect to which it is called effectual and affirmative as well with respect to the end as to the principle; but others negative with respect to which the will ceasing can be called also negative (if not as to the principle at least as to the end) and then may be called permissive by which he determines not to hinder the creature from sinning. For although that volition may be positive as to the principle (inasmuch as he wills not to hinder), yet it is properly called negative as to the end (which is a non-hindering).

VII. The effective will cannot stand together with the negative preceptive. For God can never by himself will to effect what his law forbids as evil. Rather it best agrees with the affirmative preceptive will; for the same one who prescribes faith decrees to give it to the elect. The affirmative preceptive will can stand together with the negative decretive will, so that God may prescribe to the creature what nevertheless he does not will to effect in the creature. So he enjoins upon all the keeping of the law which, however, he does not effect in them. He enjoins faith in Christ upon the called which nevertheless he has decreed to withhold from many.

VIII. Besides this distinction of will, there is another by which it is distributed into the will of *eudokias* and *euarestias* (often used by theologians). The will *eudokias* answers to the decretive; *euarestias* to the preceptive. This distinction has the warrant of Scripture, which often calls the former *eudokian* and the latter *euarestian*. Thus Christ (speaking of the decretive will) says with respect to those things by which he either conceals or reveals his mysteries: “even so, Father, for so it seemed good (*eudokia*) in thy sight” (Mt. 11:26); and Paul says “God predestinated us according to

the good pleasure (*eudokian*) of his will" (Eph. 1:5). In Eph. 1:9, mention is made of good pleasure (*eudokias*) in this sense. The *euarestian* is frequently referred to the preceptive will, which is called both that of approbation and that of complacency (as in Rom. 12:2 where the will of God to which we ought to conform is called good and acceptable [*euarestos*]; cf. "proving what is acceptable [*euareston*] unto the Lord," Eph. 5:10); "for this is acceptable [*euareston*] unto the Lord," Col. 3:20). In this sense, *euarestia* indicates the preceptive and approving will by which God declares what is pleasing to himself and what he wills to be done by men; but *eudokia* indicates the decretive will by which God testifies his good pleasure about the things which he has determined to perform.

IX. Therefore it is not so to be understood as if that which depends upon the *eudokia* of God may not also be acceptable (*euareston*) to him. For whatever God has decreed to be done is truly grateful to him in that respect, nor can he be said to will to perform what it would not please him to perform. But it can be received only in this way by which it is made to consist in the will of decree and precept—that by the will *eudokias* may be designated precisely that will by which God decrees to do or permit something and concerning which you can for the most part render no other reason than because it so pleased God; but by the will *euarestias* may be designated that by which he wills to propose to the creature his duty as a thing pleasing to him and in which he takes complacency.

X. We may sometimes interchange the *eudokian* for the *euarestia*, when it is spoken of those things with which God is pleased because there is in them some quality or condition which agrees with the nature of God and therefore conciliates his favor; as the Father says of Christ, "In whom I am well pleased" (*en hō eudokēsa*, Mt. 3:17), i.e., most ardently love. Yet even this may with propriety be referred to the will of good pleasure which Christ fulfilled most perfectly by satisfying his justice. Still here it is taken strictly for the decree, no reason for which is to be sought except the good pleasure of God.

XI. *Euarestia* contradistinguished from *eudokian* in this connection means nothing else than the mere complacency by which God approves anything as just and holy and delights in it (and besides wills to prescribe it to the creature as his most just duty). Hence it does not properly include any decree or volition in God, but implies only the agreement of the thing with

the nature of God (according to which he cannot but love what is agreeable to his holiness). For the approbation of anything is not forthwith his volition, nor if I approve a thing, should I therefore immediately will it. So that it is less properly called the will of God.

XII. Although to the will *euarestias* belong also the promises of giving salvation to believers (which are proposed with the gospel precept), it does not follow that it ought to connote any condition, decree or volition (properly so called) concerning the giving of salvation to all. For such a decree cannot consist with the decree of reprobation, or with the wisdom of God, to which it is repugnant to will anything under an impossible condition (and which God, who alone can give it, has himself decreed to withhold from the creature). But from this we can only gather that there is an inseparable connection between faith and salvation, constituted by God himself so that no one can obtain salvation who does not possess faith, and no one can have faith without most certainly obtaining salvation. Thus the promises added to the precepts signify only what God will grant to believers and penitents, not what he wills to grant to all those to whom the precept is proposed.

Will of sign and pleasure.

XIII. The third distinction is into the will as *signi* and *beneplaciti*, introduced at first by Hugo St. Victor, taken from him by Lombard (*Sententiarum* 1, Dist. 45 [PL 192/2.641–44]), frequently used by all the Scholastics, and especially by Thomas Aquinas (ST, I, Q. 19, Art. 11, 12, pp. 111–13) and, when properly explained, retained by our theologians.

XIV. The Scholastics call that the beneplacit will which remains concealed previously in God and is left to his most free power and becomes at length known by some oracle or by the event. But the will of sign is that which by some sign (for instance by a precept or promise) is made known to us and which indicates some effect out of God as the sign of his will. Hence the Scholastics usually reckoned five signs by which the will of God is manifested: precept, prohibition, counsel, permission, operation. These were comprehended in this versicle: *Praecipit et prohibet, permittit, consulit, implet*. But this is false: (1) because there are more such signs, for instance promises and threatenings, prophecies and narrations; (2) operation

is not a sign of will, but its effect belonging to the beneplacit will; (3) permission does not fall under the signified, but under the beneplacit will; (4) counsel may be either referred to the beneplacit or included in the precept.

XV. With more propriety, therefore, the beneplacit will is made by us to answer to the decretive (which is nothing else than the decree of the good purpose of God about future external things); the will of sign is made by us to answer to the preceptive and approving (which prescribes to man his duty and indicates what is acceptable to God).

XVI. It is called the signified will, not because it signifies what God wills to do about man or concerning man (for in this sense it would not differ from the beneplacit will), but because it signifies what God wills to enjoin upon man as pleasing to himself and his bounden duty. Hence that will may well be said to fall under the decree and good pleasure as to the precept of the thing, not as to the thing of the precept because God prescribes nothing in time which he has not decreed from eternity to prescribe.

XVII. When the will of pleasure is contradistinguished from the signified will, the word "beneplacit" is not taken widely to denote the simple complacency and approbation of the thing or the decree of its injunction. In this sense, the will of sign can also be called the will of beneplacit because it is occupied about things approved by God and things which he decrees to enjoin upon the creature. But it is taken strictly to denote the *placitum* or decree of God concerning the effecting or permitting of a certain thing, just as the decrees of courts are called *Placita* ("decisions").

XVIII. There cannot be contrariety between these two wills because they do not will and nill the same thing in the same manner and respect. The will of purpose is the will of event and execution. The signified will is the will of duty and of the obligation to it. Thus God willed the immolation of Isaac by a will of sign as to the preception (i.e., he prescribed it to Abraham as a test of his obedience), but he nilled it by a beneplacit will as to the event itself because he had decreed to prohibit that slaughter. Now although these two acts of the divine will are diverse ("I will to command Abraham to slay his son" and "I do not will that immolation"), yet they are not contrary, for both were true—that God both decreed to enjoin this upon Abraham and

equally decreed to hinder the effecting of it. Hence God without contrariety willed Isaac to be offered up and not to be offered up. He willed it as to the precept, but nilled it as to the effect. The whole will of God about this affair was not either only to command Abraham to make that sacrifice or to hinder it, but ought to embrace those two diverse acts (the former of which is affirmative, occupied with the injunction of the thing; and the latter negative, respecting the hindrance of it). Nor does it follow from this that man is ordered to believe what is false. For we are ordered to believe what is revealed just because it is revealed. However the event is not already revealed by a command of this kind, but only the duty and the obligation to it.

XIX. Although God may be said to will the salvation of all by the will of sign and to nill it by the beneplacit will, yet there is no contradiction here. Besides the fact that the universal proposition is to be understood not so much of the singulars of the genera as of the genera of the singulars, the former will relates to the mere approbation of God and the command of duty, while the latter is concerned with its futurition and fulfillment. The former denotes what is pleasing to God and what he has determined to enjoin upon man for the obtainment of salvation, but the latter what God himself has decreed to do. But these two are not at variance: to will to call to faith and salvation, and yet to nill to give that faith and salvation; to will (i.e., to command man to believe) and to nill (i.e., to decree not to give him faith in order that he may believe).

XX. The will of sign which is set forth as extrinsic ought to correspond with some internal will in God that it may not be false and deceptive; but that internal will is not the decree concerning the gift of salvation to this or that one, but the decree concerning the command of faith and promise of salvation if the man does believe (which is founded both upon the connection established by God between faith and salvation and the internal disposition of God by which, as he loves himself, he cannot but love his image wherever he sees it shining and is so much pleased with the faith and repentance of the creature as to grant it salvation).

XXI. The promised salvation set forth by the will of sign does not indeed properly and directly fall under the precept because in their formal nature promise and precept differ. The former indicates a blessing, the latter a duty. However reductively and secondarily it can belong to it inasmuch as it is

added to the precept by way of stimulus as means and motive to excite the performance of that for which the precept is given. And although it is necessary that the promise should have some foundation as to the certainty of the event (in order to influence man), that must not be sought from the decree of God about particular persons (of bestowing salvation upon all which cannot consist with the decree of reprobation), but from his decree about the things themselves (i.e., from the ordination and inseparable connection established by God between faith and salvation as between the means and the end). Thus it happens that salvation is most surely in the gospel promised to all believers because so close is the connection between faith and salvation from the good pleasure of God that no one can have the former without being also possessed of the latter.

XXII. To that external word which is a sign (for example, every believer in Christ shall be saved) some internal word or thing signified ought to answer (viz., the will of God to connect inseparably faith in Christ with salvation and to propose to man such an order and way of salvation). But it cannot be the conditional will to save each and every individual under that condition because God would testify that he wills what in reality he does not will towards those passed by (from whom he withholds the condition).

XXIII. Although the will of sign signifies that God is merciful, it does not follow that he ought to be merciful with respect to each and every individual, but only with respect to those who are about to have the condition expressed by that will (viz., to believers), to whom alone (since they are no other than the elect) the mercy expressed by that will properly belongs. Besides, since that will of sign has never been universal with respect to each and every one (although universal and common with respect to all people and conditions), the mercy signified by it cannot be universal.

XXIV. If God by this will had signified that he willed the salvation of all without exception, he would have signified that he willed what he least willed (since by passing over the greater part, he has not willed to give them salvation). But when it signifies that he wills the salvation of all believers and penitents, it signifies that he wills that which he really wills and nothing is more true, nothing more sincere than such a declaration.

The secret and revealed will.

XXV. The fourth distinction of the will is into secret and revealed. The former is commonly applied to the decretive will, which for the most part lies concealed in God; but the latter to the preceptive will, which is revealed and manifested in the law and gospel. Its foundation springs from Dt. 29:29: "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed belong unto us, and to our children, that we may do all the words of this law." The former is called a profound and unfathomable abyss (Ps. 36:6; Rom. 11:33, 34); the latter is discovered to all, nor is it far from us (Dt. 30:14; Rom. 10:8). The former has for its object all those things which God wills either to effect or permit (and which he wills to do in particular concerning individuals and are therefore absolute and determined to one thing). The latter relates to those things which belong to our duty and are proposed conditionally. The former always takes place; the latter is often violated.

XXVI. It is called a secret will, not because always concealed from us and never revealed (for frequently God in his word manifests to men certain secrets of his counsel and lays them bare by the event), but because they remain hidden in God (until he reveals them by some sign, as by a prophecy or by the event).

XXVII. Although the secret will concerning our election remains concealed in God, it does not follow that we can have no certainty of salvation because although we cannot gain it *a priori*, yet we can *a posteriori*.

XXVIII. Whatever Christ willed to be done in time by men (from duty according to the law and gospel), that he has also revealed in time; but not forthwith whatever he has decreed to be done by himself from good pleasure (which God for the most part keeps to himself and manifests to us only by the event, Acts 1:7; Mk. 13:32).

XXIX. Although God is the best, it is not necessary that he should exercise a good will to all for salvation by an antecedent will because the exercise of his goodness depends upon his most wise will (which pities whom it wills and whom it wills hardens). Nor if he wills to pour out his goodness on the creature by the blessing of creation and of providence, ought he to exercise good will to it unto salvation.

Sixteenth Question

May the will be properly distinguished into antecedent and consequent, efficacious and inefficacious, conditional and absolute? We deny

I. Besides the previous distinctions of the divine will received by the orthodox, there are also others proposed by our adversaries. These are deservedly rejected because less proper and seeming to have in them something ulcerous (*hypoulon ti*).

Whether the will may be properly distinguished into antecedent and consequent.

II. Such is the distinction of the will into antecedent and consequent frequently met with among the Scholastics. John of Damascus appears to have introduced it first, saying that one will is leading (*proēgoumenēn*), but the other is following (*hepomenēn*) (*Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 2.29 [NPNF2, 9:42; PG 94.968–69]). It was afterwards eagerly seized by the Scholastics and employed by the Novatorians, Arminians, Socinians and other patrons of universal grace to help their cause.

In what sense it is admitted by some.

III. There are some even of our theologians who think it may be retained after the fathers, but yet in a most different sense from the Neopelagian (namely both with respect to the commands and with respect to the decrees). Indeed, as to the commands they wish the antecedent will to have place in precepts, but the consequent in promises and threats added to the precepts by way of sanction (and in the blessings or punishments following man's obedience or rebellion). As to the decrees, they wish the antecedent will to have place with regard to order and our manner of conception, so that it is termed that which is conceived to go before (for example, the will to create man, which precedes the will to redeem him); but the consequent is that which is conceived to follow another act of the will.

In what sense to be rejected.

IV. But our men constantly reject it in the sense of the Scholastics and Neopelagians who understand by antecedent will the purpose of God concerning the saving of all men universally, but by consequent will the decree concerning the salvation of believers and the damnation of unbelievers. The former is so called because it precedes the act (whether good or bad) of the human will; the latter is so called because it is posterior to the human will and depends upon its good or bad acts.

V. Thus the Arminians wish that to be the antecedent will by which God wills something to the rational creature before every or any act of that creature, but the consequent that by which he wills something to the rational creature after some act (or after many acts of the creature). So by the antecedent will God willed to establish the kingdom of Saul and by the consequent will he willed to hurl him from his kingdom; by the former he willed to gather the Jews together as a hen gathers her brood, but by the latter he willed to disperse them through all nations. The former can be resisted, but the latter can be resisted by no means (so Arminius, "Examination of a Treatise Concerning … Predestination … by William Perkins," *The Writings of James Arminius* [1956], 3:281; Corvinus, *Petri Molinaei novi anatomici* [1622]).

VI. This distinction is in many ways injurious to God: (1) because it attributes to him contrary wills (viz., that God wills the salvation of all and wills the salvation only of some); that from eternity he seriously willed the salvation of Judas and yet, at the same time and in the same moment, knew that Judas never would believe; and that he did not will to give faith to Judas by which he might infallibly have been converted; yea, would permit him to remain in his unbelief and to perish. Who would dare to attribute such wills to a man of sound mind, as to say that he willed seriously and ardently what he knew never would happen, and indeed would not happen because he nilled to effect it, on whom alone the effect depends? Nor can the examples adduced here by Arminius effect this. For example, the father who desires and seriously wills his son to obey him, but does not violently draw him to obedience; and the merchant who wills his merchandise to be saved, but driven by necessity throws it into the sea. Thus God (says he), forced by the wickedness of men, condemns those whom he had willed to save if obedient. Things altogether dissimilar are compared here. It is one thing to speak of men, who although very seriously wishing something, yet

cannot obtain their desire (unless through the appropriate means, which are not in their hands, and they are therefore frequently disappointed in their hope and frustrated in their intention); but another thing to speak of God, who is never without the just and appropriate means for accomplishing what he intends. In order to make the example pertinent, it ought to be stated thus—can the father, who knows that his son will not be obedient (unless he furnishes him with such a mind and disposition and yet does not will it) be said to seriously will his son to obey him? Or can the merchant, who knows that his goods cannot be preserved (unless the storm is appeased by himself and yet does not will it) be said seriously to desire the safety of his goods? If such examples were brought forward, evidencing that a rational creature can seriously and ardently will that which he knows he never will do (although having the power to do it and when upon it alone the event certainly depends), the fraud would easily be detected, and that would be attributed to God by the adversaries which cannot be ascribed to creatures using right reason.

VII. Second, this distinction cannot have place in God without ascribing to him not only folly and impotence (by making him intend seriously and desire with natural affection that which is not performed and cannot be performed through man because he himself does not will it); but also mutability because there can be no place for the consequent will until the antecedent is first rescinded. For how could God at the same time, by the same act of will, will to save all men and to damn the greater part of them?

VIII. Third, the antecedent will is not so much a will as a velleity, an empty and void desire incapable of accomplishment which cannot apply to God (the most wise and powerful). For how can he be called the most perfect and happy who cannot carry out the design and object truly intended, on account of the intervention and obstacle of the creature determining itself otherwise independently.

IX. Fourth, God in this way would be subjected to man since the consequent will is said to depend upon the determination of the human will so that no one is elected by God who does not first choose God by his faith and repentance.

X. Fifth, it is repugnant to the gospel which constantly teaches that God wills to save not all simply, but only the elect and believers in Christ and that the means of salvation are not offered or conferred upon all, but only

upon some. In fine, it overthrows the eternal election of God because it leaves it uncertain, founded not upon the good pleasure (*eudokia*) of God, but upon the human will (than which nothing is more uncertain and changeable). It makes it such as that no execution can answer to it (i.e., makes it void and inefficacious).

Sources of explanation.

XI. In 1 S. 13:13, the antecedent will is not set forth by which he willed to establish the kingdom of Saul forever. For how could he have willed this which he knew never would happen and the contrary of which he had already decreed? But when it is said "now would the Lord have established thy kingdom forever," it implies only that the sin and rebellion of Saul would be the cause of the speedy discontinuance and of the transference of his kingdom to another (which would not happen if he had remained in duty according to the promises made to piety).

XII. This twofold will cannot be proved from Mt. 23:37: (1) because it is not said that God willed to scatter those whom he willed to gather together, but only that Christ willed to gather together those whom Jerusalem (i.e., the chiefs of the people) nilled to be gathered together, but notwithstanding their opposition Christ did not fail in gathering together those whom he willed. Hence Augustine says, "She indeed was unwilling that her sons should be gathered together by him, but notwithstanding her unwillingness he gathered together his sons whom he willed" (*Enchiridion* 24 [97] [FC 2:450; PL 40.277]). Therefore, Jerusalem is here to be distinguished from her sons as the words themselves prove (and the design of the chapter, in which from v. 13 to v. 37, he addresses the scribes and Pharisees and rebukes them because "they neither went into the kingdom of heaven themselves, nor suffered those that were entering, to go in"); (2) the will here alluded to is not the decretive, which is one only and simple, but the preceptive, which is referred to calling and is often repeated by the preaching of the word—"How often would I?" (and so Christ here speaks as the minister of circumcision).

XIII. If God in the first world granted the space of 120 years to invite them to repentance, an antecedent will cannot be thence inferred (as if he had decreed to spare it) because it would be opposed to the eternal decree of

sending a deluge upon it. But the preceptive will only is indicated which prescribed to it the duty of repentance so as to render it inexcusable on the supposition of its contumacy.

XIV. In vain is it said that the distinction into antecedent and consequent will was invented to reconcile the various passages of Scripture which would otherwise seem contradictory (*asystata*) (as that he had promised to introduce the people into Canaan and yet he willed to destroy them in the desert [Ex. 32 and Num. 14]; that he wills to save all and yet to damn the many; to call many to the marriage whom nevertheless he determined to exclude from it). For there is a far more certain and truer method of reconciliation. The promise of introducing the people is not repugnant to the will of punishing them because it was made under a condition (Ex. 32:34) and was literally fulfilled, if not with respect to the individuals themselves who fell in the desert on account of their unbelief (Dt. 1:35; Heb. 4:6), yet with respect to the nation itself in general, which at length reached it. The will of saving all men does not overthrow the decree of reprobation of passing by many because it is neither the decretive will, but only the preceptive and approving will; nor the universal, which respects all and individuals, but only general, which is indiscriminately extended to any. So they can be called to the marriage by the preceptive will who nevertheless were excluded from it from eternity by the will of good pleasure.

Effectual and ineffectual will.

XV. The second distinction usually brought forward by the adversaries is that of effectual and ineffectual will, which is understood to mean that the effectual will corresponds with the decretive (and is so called because it is always fulfilled and cannot be resisted); but that the ineffectual will coincides with the preceptive (and is so termed because it often remains void on account of man's rebellion). Both can be tolerated (although the locution is less fit and capable of being abused [*eudiablētos*]). If it is referred to the decretive will alone (as understood by the adversaries who maintain that there are in God velleities and fruitless desires in which he fails of this purpose and does not accomplish his intentions as the conditional decrees attributed to him), it cannot be admitted. Scripture

testifies that the counsel of God is immutable and that his will cannot be resisted (Is. 46:10; Rom. 9:19). If it cannot be resisted, it must also accomplish what he intended. Second, the ineffectual will cannot be attributed to God without convicting him either of ignorance (as not knowing that the event will not take place) or of impotence (as not able to give effect to what he intended). Nor ought it to be said that this happens not from want of power, but from his good pleasure because he willed to use such a force as would infallibly carry the thing into effect; for that very circumstance would prove that God had not seriously willed it, for he who seriously intends anything uses all the means in his power to accomplish it. In fine, the same reasons which teach that there is no antecedent will prove there is no ineffectual will.

XVI. Although every will of God is effectual because the event intended is always brought about, it ought not immediately to be efficient for efficiency is only in good things, but efficacy also in evil.

XVII. The passages which attribute a desire or wish to God do not immediately prove any ineffectual will in him, but things spoken after the manner of men must be understood in a manner becoming to God (*theoprepōs*), unless we wish to adopt the deliriums of the Anthropomorphites. If referred to the past, these passages mean nothing else than a serious disapprobation of committed sins with a strong rebuke to the ingratitude of men and a declaration of the benefits lost and the evils incurred by their sins. Thus the following passages are to be understood: “O that my people had hearkened unto me, and Israel had walked in my ways” (Ps. 81:13*); “O that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river” (Is. 48:18). But if they relate to the future as “O that they were wise, that they would fear me and keep my commands, that it might be well with them” (Dt. 32:29), they imply only a serious command supported by promises and threatenings (by which he declares what he approves as honest and holy and the great delight he takes in those who obey him).

XVIII. When God testifies that “he has no pleasure at all in the death of the sinner, but that he should return from his ways, and live” (Ezk. 18:23), this does not favor the inefficacious will or the feeble velleity of God because the word *chpts* (which occurs there) does not denote desire so much as delight and complacency. Thus God may be said not to delight in

the punishment of the wicked inasmuch as it is the destruction of the creature, although he wills it as an exercise of his justice. So he is said to will the repentance of sinners approvingly and preceptively as a thing most pleasing to himself and expressed in his commands, although with respect to all of them he nills it decretively and effectively.

The absolute and conditional will.

XIX. The third distinction is in the absolute and conditional will. The former is that which depends upon nothing out of himself, especially an external condition; the latter is that which is suspended upon a condition out of God (for example, when God is conceived to will to save Judas if he believes). Although this is admitted by some less properly with respect to the preceptive will because promises and threatenings are proposed conditionally, yet if understood of the will of decree and good pleasure (as by the adversaries), it is deservedly rejected because it is unworthy of God as repugnant to his independence and wisdom and power (because it would remain doubtful and uncertain, viz., suspended on the mutable will of man and so ineffectual and frustrated, making God often to fail in his purpose).

XX. Again the condition upon which God is conceived to will anything, will either be certainly future from the decree of God or certainly not future, nor even possible. If the former, it will no longer be conditional, but absolute (since God is supposed to will the condition not as conditional, because then there might be an infinite series, but absolutely). If the latter, God would be made to seriously intend something under a condition never to take place (and even impossible), which God himself (who alone can) does not will to grant. If this cannot be said of a wise man, it cannot be attributed to God without the greatest detriment to his most wise and powerful divine majesty.

XXI. To avoid error in the meantime, the conditional will ought to be regarded in two ways: either *a priori* and antecedently, suspended upon a condition; or *a posteriori* and consequently, viz., whose execution depends upon the intervention of some condition in the creature. In the latter sense, the will less accurately can be called conditional because the decrees of God ordain with the end the means also for carrying it into execution. He who decrees us to salvation, decrees also faith and repentance as the means

of obtaining it. But in the former sense (of which we here speak), it cannot be admitted because thus every good pleasure of God is absolute.

XXII. It is one thing for the condition to be such on the part of the internal act or of the volition itself; another to be such on the part of the external object or of the thing willed. In the latter sense, we grant the things willed to be conditional, but not in the former (i.e., that the volition itself depends on a condition). For example, the salvation decreed to us by God can be called conditional because not granted without the intervention of faith. However the decree of salvation itself is absolute, as much with respect to the end (i.e., salvation) as to the means (which God has absolutely and unconditionally determined to bestow upon all his elect).

XXIII. Thus this proposition that God wills the salvation of men, provided they believe, may have a twofold sense. It may signify either that God wills or determines salvation to come to us under the condition of faith (i.e., provided we believe), which is certainly true. But here our salvation only is conditional and not the will of God; yea, the will of God has determined the condition as much as the salvation. Or it may signify that from the condition of faith posited (or at least foreseen), there arises in God the will of conferring salvation upon men. In this sense, the proposition is false because nothing temporal can be the cause of that which is eternal. The will in God is not to be conceived of as suspended upon a condition antecedently, but as imposing the condition itself consequently as the means. He does not will to save men if they believe, but he wills them to believe in order to salvation (or he wills to save them through the faith which he has determined to give them). But we will treat of these things more at large when we come to the decrees.

Seventeenth Question

Can any cause be assigned for the will of God? We deny

I. This question depends upon those preceding and is rendered necessary by the Pelagians who, in the matter of predestination, seek in the foresight of faith or of the good use of free will the causes of the divine will out of God. But with the orthodox, we think that no cause (properly so called) of the divine will is to be sought out of God.

Statement of the question.

II. On the state of the question, observe that it is one thing to seek for the reason of the will of God; another for the cause. The question here is not whether any reason of the will of God can be given; for the will of God (who made all things most wisely) cannot be without reason (*alogos*) (although for the most part that reason is concealed from us). Augustine says, "The cause of the will of God can be secret, it cannot be unjust" (*Letter* 149 [59], "To Paulinus" [FC 20:256; PL 33.639]). Here he takes cause for reason because elsewhere he maintains that it is absurd to seek for a cause of the will of God: "They uselessly seek the causes of the will of God, since his will is itself the cause of all things which are" (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1.2 [PL 34.175]). Rather the question concerns a cause properly so called, moving the will of God to will this or that (which the adversaries maintain can be granted; we deny).

III. As the will of God is the cause of all things, so it can have no cause of itself. It is as certain that there can be no cause of the will of God out of himself, as it is that nothing can be prior to him. For if his will has a cause, there is something which preceded it. Thus it would be the second cause, not the first; the thing ruled, not the rule. Hence Lombard says, "He that seeks a cause of the divine will, seeks something greater than it, while there is nothing greater" (*Sententiarum* 1, Dist. 45.4 [PL 192/2.642]). Besides, since the will of God is eternal, it can have no cause out of itself not eternal.

IV. It is one thing to grant a cause on the part of the act of willing, another on the part of the thing willed. In the former sense, no cause of the will of God can be granted, but in the latter sense there can because among the things willed by him, some may be the causes of others. Thus Christ can be said to be the cause of the salvation decreed because it is given to us on account of Christ; but not of the decree of salvation because this flows from the sole good pleasure of God. The Scholastics mean this when they say that God wills this on account of that, but not on account of that, wills this; for example, that he wills salvation on account of Christ, but not on account of Christ wills salvation. Thus Christ, the meritorious cause of salvation, holds himself on the part of the salvation he acquired for us, but not on the part of the decree itself by which it is assigned to us. So there is an order

and causality among the things willed by God (so that one may be for another), but not in the divine volition which recognizes no cause out of itself.

V. Some of the properties of God are absolute, founded upon his absolute right and supreme dominion (such as his autocratic [*autokratorikē*] potency and power); others are relative, founded upon right modified by virtues and requiring for their exercise some condition or quality in the object about which they ought to exert themselves (such as justice, which supposes sin, and mercy, which supposes misery). Thus we must reason concerning the acts of the will operating according to them. For when he operates from the absolute properties as supreme Lord and arbiter of all things (for example, when he wills to create or elect one in preference to another, not only is there no cause of his will besides his good pleasure, but neither any condition or quality in the object to move it; for potency indeed does not suppose its object but constitutes it; and since election is among equals, it sees nothing in one preferable to another, as mutually distinguishing them, and therefore acts from mere good pleasure). But when it acts from the relative properties (as from justice to punishing or from mercy to saving) although some quality is always supposed in the object (viz., either sin or misery), it cannot have the place of a cause properly so called (because then either all would be damned because they are sinners, or all would be saved because they are miserable), but only the place of a quality in the object required for the exercise of these properties. If some cause or motive must be sought, it is not to be sought out of God, but only in his justice and mercy by which the will is incited to action.

VI. Although among the effects of the divine will some have the relation of causes with respect to others (as God has willed that there should be an order both in nature and in grace by which they should be mutually connected), yet their power is not such that they can move the divine will to elicit its own act, since they are the effects of it as the first cause. No other cause can be assigned why the Lord has done this or that than this—because he so willed. If you ask further, why he so willed, you seek something greater and more sublime than the will of God (which cannot be found). Therefore human temerity ought to restrain itself and not to seek what is not, lest perchance it fail to find that which is.

EIGHTEENTH QUESTION

Is the will of God the primary rule of justice? We distinguish

I. This question not only was agitated among the Scholastics (who differed about it), but is also mooted among the orthodox themselves. Some hold the affirmative—that all moral good and evil depend upon the free will of God and nothing is good and just unless God wills it. Others contend for the negative and recognize some essential goodness and justice in moral acts antecedently to the will of God, so that the things are not good and just because God wills them, but God wills them because they are good and just.

Statement of the question.

II. We follow the latter opinion with these distinctions. (1) The will can be called the primary rule of justice either intrinsically or extrinsically (i.e., either with respect to God or with respect to all things out of him). In the former sense, his will is regulated by his justice; in the latter sense, the justice in us is regulated by nothing else than his will. (2) As the law of God is either natural and indispensable (founded on his nature and holiness) or free and positive (depending only upon his will), so the goodness or the badness of things can be referred either to the natural or to the positive law.

III. This being posited, I say that the will can be called and in reality is the first rule of justice extrinsically and in reference to us, but not intrinsically and in reference to God. This is so with respect to us because the fount of justice ought to be sought nowhere else than in the will of God which, as it is most perfectly just in itself, so it is the rule of all recititude and justice; for the first in every genus is the rule of all the rest. In this sense, theologians say that the will of God is the supreme rule of justice, and consequently whatever God wills is therefore just and good because he wills it. But with respect to God, the will cannot always be called the first rule of justice. It is a rule in those things which have only a free and positive goodness, but not in those which have essential goodness (i.e., in ceremonial, not in moral). For in the latter, God's will is regulated, not indeed extrinsically but intrinsically (viz., by his most holy nature). Hence

it has been well said that certain things are good because God wills them (such as the observance of ceremonies and all positive commands), but that God wills others because they are just and good per se and in their own nature (such as the love of God and our neighbor). If (which is impossible) God had not commanded them, they would not cease to be just and therefore to be attended by us.

IV. The reasons are: (1) As there is granted in God natural justice and holiness antecedently to his free will, so the moral goodness and justice founded upon the justice and holiness of God and bearing his image, must be natural. And as God cannot deny himself or hate his own holiness, so he cannot but love his image and prescribe it to the creature as the most perfect rule of justice and holiness.

V. (2) There is in God an eternal and indispensable right (antecedent to every free act of will) by which as Creator he has dominion over the creature. Thus the creature ought to depend upon God not only in relation to being as to conservation, but in relation to morals as to worship and obedience; and that obligation is such and so close that its contrary is absurd (*asystaton*) and cannot be maintained without repugnance. God can no more be conceived to absolve the creature from this duty than to deny himself. Therefore since there is such a right in God antecedently to his will, there must be some rule of justice independent of his will.

VI. (3) If the will of God was the first rule of justice even intrinsically so that nothing would be good and just unless God wills it, it would follow that there would be no atheism, magic, Epicureanism, hatred and blasphemy of God and other crimes of like kind which he cannot command (and by it render them morally good as commands). Whatever can fall under the precept of God can also be made honest and just. Thus God could dispense with all the precepts of the decalogue and command the creature to believe that he is not good and holy, ought not to be adored, but rather ought to be regarded with hatred; yea, that he even does not exist—at which the mind revolts. Thus God, if he willed, might be the author and approver of man's disobedience for he might command him not to obey his precepts or prohibitions; for there is supposed to be no obligation in man or right of obligation in God antecedently to the will of God. Thus there would be no essential vindicative justice in God or any necessity of satisfaction to be

pressed against Socinus (which nevertheless they do who embrace this opinion).

Sources of explanation.

VII. God is not under any moral duty outwardly because he is a debtor to no one, and there is no cause out of him which can place him under obligation. Yet he can be under obligation inwardly because he is a debtor to himself and cannot deny himself. As the Son, in divine things, is obliged to work by the Father, and the Father is obliged to love the Son, so in external acts (supposing the creature to be produced), God cannot but command him and give just and holy precepts.

VIII. The law is called the rule of all good and bad actions as to us and our knowledge because the relation of good and evil becomes known to us from no other source than the law. But with respect to God and his right of obliging or commanding, it exists antecedently to the will of God because founded on this very majesty and holiness.

IX. It is absurd to say that God depends upon something out of himself, but not that he depends upon himself (provided this is understood in a manner becoming to God [*theoprepōs*], i.e., that he wills nothing unless according to his own holiness and justice).

X. God is not bound to the law which he imposes on man (viz., formally, by taking the law as a law), but he is not free and absolved from all the matter of the law, so that he can either command or himself do the opposite of it (for example, believe that he is not God and command others to believe so—which sounds horrible to pious ears).

XI. Although the divine will is simply free outwardly, yet from the supposition of one free act it can be necessitated to another (as if he wills to promise absolutely, he must fulfill the promise; if he wills to speak or reveal himself, he must necessarily make a true revelation; if he wills to govern, he is bound to govern justly). So the divine will cannot be determined from itself to willing that something should be or not be, but can well be determined with respect to complexities to the rectitude of those things which are or which he wills to be.

XII. Man sins immediately against the revealed law of God, but also mediately and consequently against God, the author of the law, and the

supreme Lord who imposed it. Thus sin remains always as transgression (*anomia*) as much with respect to the revealed external law as to the eternal (which is based on the holiness of God).

Nineteenth Question: The Justice of God

Is vindictive justice natural to God? We affirm against the Socinians

I. To the will of God belong the virtues which are usually ascribed to him not under the relation of habit after the manner of human virtues, but inasmuch as they denote that perfection which resides in habit and the promptness of acting (although otherwise they do not differ from the essence). However these can be referred to two principal ones, which embrace the others under them: justice and goodness. The former is that by which God is in himself holy and just and has the constant will of giving to each his due. The latter is that by which he is conceived as the supreme good and the giver of all good.

Justice is either universal or particular.

II. The word "justice" (to speak of it first) is generally used in two senses: either for the universal comprehension of all virtues (as injustice is taken for every kind of sin) and is called universal justice (*justitia universalis*) by which, as God is in himself perfectly holy and just, so in all his works he preserves an incorruptible rectitude and justice. To this belongs in a higher sense what the poet says of human justice: "In justice is all virtue found in sum" (*En de dikaiosynē syllēbdēn pas' aret' esti*, Theognis, *Elegy and Iambus* 146 [Loeb, 244–45]). To this pertain, in particular, benignity and beneficence, constancy and fidelity in fulfilling promises (which very frequently in Scripture come under the name of justice). Or justice is taken for particular justice, which gives to each his due, is occupied with the distribution of rewards or punishments and is called distributive (*distributiva*), although in reference to the rewards of the pious (as will be shown hereafter) it does not crown their merits, but its own gifts and "gives what is its own, rather than restores what is ours" (as the Concil. Araus. cap. xxii.+ expresses it). Hence it is ascribed to God not so much properly

as analogically. As to commutative justice, which preserves an arithmetical proportion (being based upon an equality of what is given and received and through which authority may be transferred, neither of which can be said of God—for "who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed to him again?" Rom. 11:35), we (with the sounder Scholastics) think this should be removed from God.

III. Again, divine justice can be considered either absolutely in itself (as nothing else than the rectitude and perfection of the divine nature; called by us universal justice and by others the justice of God; belonging to him as God) or relatively (with respect to its egress and exercise through the divine will according to the rule of his supreme right and eternal wisdom). It may be regarded as twofold: either in the rule and government of creatures (called Lordly justice, belonging to him as Lord and supreme arbiter of things who does with his own what he wills and directs all his actions in governing and administering created things according to the rule of his own rectitude and wisdom; for that which in the administration of affairs is to us a law, is in God his own right, conjoined with his perfectly wise and just will); or in judgments, and these either "premiative" (*praemiantibus*) (granting rewards) or vindictive (and this latter either for chastisement or for punishment) which is called *justitia vindicatrix* or punitive justice concerning which the proposed question treats. To understand this, certain things must be premised.

Statement of the question.

IV. The rational creature and his moral dependence upon God being supposed, the first egress of this justice is in the constitution of the penal law; not simply as a law (for this properly depends upon the justice of rule), but as penal. The second egress is in the infliction of punishment; but this again can be regarded either as to the thing and substance of punishment in general or as to the mode and circumstances attending it; either in time or degree or persons. Again, the right of God with regard to punishment is either supreme and rigorous (called accurate right, *akribodikaion*) or it is a right tempered by a certain moderation (*epieikeia*). As to the former, punishment is imposed not only on sin but also on the very person of the sinner. As to the latter, there is granted a manifold moderation in the

exercise of justice either in time (by delay) or in persons (by transfer) or in degree (by mitigation). Hence arises a twofold right with regard to the infliction of punishment: one necessary and indispensable with respect to sin iteslf; the other free and positive with respect to the sinner. Justice demands necessarily that all sin should be punished, but does not equally demand that it should be punished in the very person sinning or at such a time and in such a degree. The Scholastics expressed this properly when they said that impersonally punishment is necessarily inflicted upon every sin, but not personally upon every sinner.

V. Now although we hold the egress of justice to be necessary, yet we do not deny that God exercises it freely. This necessity is not exclusive of concomitant liberty, but only of antecedent indifference according to which we say that on the hypothesis of the sinful creature God is inclined to inflict punishment freely indeed (i.e., spontaneously and without coaction), but not indifferently (as if he might or might not punish at pleasure).

VI. Hence it is evident in what sense this justice may be called natural; not as if it drew with it a physical necessity, but because it is founded in the very nature of God and even identified with it (although it cannot exert itself outwardly, unless by means of an act of the intellect and will, in the same way in which the other attributes, as goodness, wisdom, etc., although natural, are not exercised except by means of the free will).

VII. This justice can be regarded in three ways: as a *dynameōs* or potentiality, in which sense it is the will of God itself turning away from and willing to punish sinners; or as an actuality (*energeia*) itself and the act of judgment or punishment by which it carries out its judgments towards sinners; or for its effect or the punishment inflicted by justice. Here we treat not the third signification, but the first and second, which are seen joined together in Ps. 119:137: “Righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright are thy judgments.”

VIII. A question is agitated here with us by the Socinians concerning vindictive justice. The more easily to destroy the satisfaction of Christ, they deny that vindictive justice is natural to God, but is only the effect of his most free will (which can be and not be in the same way, as it was free to God to create the world and not to create). Socinus indeed confesses that such a justice belongs to God, which if he willed to use perpetually, it would be right to destroy all sinners without waiting for their repentance

and thus to leave no sin unpunished (*De Iesu Christo Servatore*, Pt. 1.1 [1594], pp. 1–11). He concedes also that God willed to pardon sin save only upon repentance. He does not deny that God constituted the punishment of sin according to the rule of his right and wisdom, but denies that there is any attribute in God necessarily demanding a satisfaction for sin. If he punishes sin, this is the perfectly free effect of his will from which he might abstain. Thus Socinus: "Nor is there any justice in God obliging him to punish sin altogether, from which he cannot abstain. There is indeed in God perpetual justice, but this is nothing else than equity and rectitude" (*Praelectionis theologicae* 16 [1627], p. 87). And a little after: "That which is commonly called justice as opposed to mercy is not a quality of God, but only the effect of his will" (ibid., p. 88). Confirmations of this occur in Socinus, *De Iesu Christo Servatore*, Pt. I.1 (1594), pp. 1–11 and Pt. III.1, pp. 221–28; Ostorodt, *Unterrichtung ... hauptpuncten der Christlichen Religion* 31 (1612), pp. 229–45; Crellius, "De Deo et Ejus Attributis," 1.23 in *Opera* (1656), 4:45–64.

IX. On the other hand, the orthodox maintain that this justice is an essential property of God and not merely the effect of his free will. Nevertheless it must be confessed that there is among them some diversity of opinion about the exercise of this justice—some holding it to be necessary, others that it is free and indifferent (viz., such that God can abstain from it if he will). Hence they think diversely concerning the necessity of the satisfaction. Some maintain that it is only hypothetical (viz., from the hypothesis of the divine will and decree) so that God could not remit sins without a satisfaction; not that his justice would demand this absolutely and necessarily, but because he so decreed (which opinion Twisse follows walking in the footsteps of some of our teachers who spoke with more freedom before Socinus arose). But others make it absolute, not only depending on the decree, but also taking its rise from the divine justice. But although both agree as to the hinge of the question against the Socinians (who deny the necessity of a satisfaction), still it is certain that the latter opinion (now the most commonly held) is far more efficacious to the strangling of that most pestilent heresy and more in accordance with the nature of God and the words of Scripture.

Statement of the question.

X. Therefore the question comes to this—whether the vindictive justice of God is so natural to him that he cannot but exercise it (the sinning creature being granted); and to leave sin unpunished would be repugnant to it; or whether it is so free in God that its exercise depends upon his will and good pleasure alone. They with whom we treat maintain the latter; we defend the former.

Vindictive justice is proved from Scripture.

XI. That vindictive justice is essential to God, these four arguments especially prove: (1) the voice of Scripture; (2) the dictates of conscience and the consent of nations; (3) the sanction of the law with the whole Levitical priesthood; (4) our redemption through the death of Christ. Scripture frequently ascribes this justice to God. First, in those places in which the praise of perfect holiness and justice is given to God by which he is said to utterly detest and turn away from sin: "Thou art a God that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children" (Ex. 34:7); "Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil" (Hab. 1:13); "Thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness: neither shall evil dwell with thee" (Ps. 5:4*); and frequently elsewhere. Hence we conclude, if the hatred of sin is necessary in God, justice is equally necessary because the hatred of sin is the constant will of punishing it, which cannot fail in him who is not destitute of power. In us indeed there can often be an abhorrence without punishment either from want of power or because vengeance does not belong to private persons, but to the rulers and magistrates. In God the case is different as he is furnished with both the highest power and authority. Therefore if he hates sin necessarily, he must necessarily punish it. Now that he does necessarily hate sin is manifest from his love of justice opposed to it. As he necessarily loves justice so that he cannot but love it, so he must necessarily from the nature of contraries abhor sin and abhorring, punish. For as he who loves a person or thing wishes well and, if he can, does well to it, so true hatred and abhorrence cannot exist without drawing after them the removal and destruction of the contrary. Otherwise if he cannot punish, he cannot hate; if he cannot hate,

he can love it, which is absurd (*asystaton*). Nor, if he does not punish the sins of the elect, does it follow that he leaves them unavenged because he has punished them in Christ.

XII. Second, in those places which speak of God as a just Judge: "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" (Gen. 18:25); "Is God unrighteous who taketh vengeance? God forbid: for then how shall God judge the world?" (Rom 3:5*, 6); "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men … who know the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death" (Rom. 1:18, 32); "It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you" (2 Thess. 1:6). For since the office of judge and ruler belongs naturally to God, the rectifying right (*epanorthōtikon*) concerning punishment which depends upon it must be essential; and so also avenging justice founded on that.

From the sense of conscience and the consent of people.

XIII. Second, the dictates of conscience and the consent of nations confirm the testimony of Scripture: the former when it places man before the tribunal of God and either accuses or excuses him in good or evil deeds (Rom 2:14, 15); the latter by which among all people (even the most savage) this persuasion has prevailed that God is the just Judge of crimes, and if he did not exercise this justice, he would not be God. Hence they feigned *Dikēn* to be the daughter of Jupiter and held that she was set over human affairs to avenge injuries and inflict punishment upon those who transgressed against the gods. But whence that public voice of conscience convicting and striking terror into men? Whence those secret lashes by which they are tormented after a crime committed (even unknown to anyone) unless from the most firm persuasion of avenging justice (by which, as it is known to them that God has a vindictive eye [*theon echein ekdikon omma*], so they tremble and are terrified at his vengeance)? They prove this public consent, testified in various ways, especially by sacrifices (concerning which Pliny affirms that the whole world agreed in them), although discordant and unknown to itself. For since sacrifices were

instituted for this end most especially, that by them the wrath of the deity might be averted, it is evident that this notion (*prōlēpsin*) was implanted in them—that the just God could not but be the avenger of crimes. And such deep roots has this notion struck in their minds that they were driven to the horrible wickedness of human sacrifices (*anthrōpothysias*) that (namely by a more excellent sacrifice) they might the more happily appease an angry deity.

From the law.

XIV. Third, the moral and ceremonial law itself establishes the same thing. Since the precepts of the former (as to a great part) are indispensable and founded upon the eternal and natural right of God, it is necessary that the penal sanction added to them should be of the same nature; also because (as has been shown before) there is a natural and necessary connection between sin and punishment, moral and physical evil, just as moral and physical good are mutually connected by an indissoluble bond. The same is true of the tendency of the ceremonial law since the whole apparatus of legal sacrifices were designed for no other purpose than to show the necessity of the expiation of sins in order to satisfy divine justice. Paul would not so often have insisted that these sacrifices could not take away the guilt of sin if it could be taken away without the necessity of justice by the mere will of God. For that which depends on the free will of God could be accomplished by the intervention of legal victims as well as by the blood of another. Therefore since it was impossible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins (Heb. 10:3, 4), not only from the will of God, but also from the nature of the thing itself (because sin is so foul a thing that it cannot be wiped away by the blood of goats), it follows so to speak that the necessity of such sacrifices depended not on the mere will, but on the very essential justice of God.

From the death of Christ.

XV. Fourth, the death of Christ no less plainly demonstrates this. For if it was free and indifferent to God to punish or not to punish sin without compromising his justice so that no reason besides the mere will impelled

God to send his Son into the world to die for us, what lawful reason can be devised to account for God's willing to subject his most beloved and holy Son to an accursed and most cruel death? Will the supreme goodness and wisdom of God suffer us to believe that this was done gratuitously and without the highest necessity? Was God, who delights not in the death of the sinner, delighted in the death of his most innocent Son (if this depended absolutely on his mere pleasure and he was moved by no other reason to devote him to destruction)? Thus his offering himself for us was not a work of bare will, but of justice, which demanded this sacrifice for its own satisfaction. Hence he is said "to have been set forth by God to be a propitiation to declare his righteousness" (Rom. 3:25*) and "to have reconciled us to God through his blood" (Col. 1:20).

Sources of explanation.

XVI. It is not always lawful to dispense with one's right. It is lawful indeed as to positive and free right, but not as to natural. It is lawful as to the private right of a creditor (which regards his own interest), not as to the public right of a ruler and judge (which regards the majesty of the laws and rectitude and the performance of duty). Thus a magistrate would err, if by a too great indulgence he would dispense with the right of punishment as this would give impunity to crimes. Now the penal right of which we speak is not a positive but a natural right, founded on the very holiness and justice of God. It springs from the essential dependence of the creature (subjecting it to its Creator) both as to obedience by reason of precepts and as to punishment by reason of their sanction. It is not the private right of a creditor; for although sins are sometimes compared to debts, yet they are also crimes which cannot remain unpunished without prejudice to the laws. Rather it is the public right of a ruler because God does not punish as the offended part, but as Judge and the supreme ruler of the world.

XVII. Now although by not punishing sin God would do injury to no one out of himself, he would do it to his own justice, which ought not to be offended with impunity. He would do injury to the laws enacted by him, whose majesty ought to be unimpaired. He would do injury to the public good whose guard and administrator he is. He cannot deny himself or divest

himself of the natural dominion which he exercises over creatures (which however if he would do, he would injure no one).

XVIII. Although the effects of justice depend upon the free will of God, it does not follow that justice itself (as it is conceived in the first act) is equally a free act of will. Rather it is an essential property requiring in its exercise and egress the intervention of free will, to determine the mode, the time, the degree and the persons upon whom it wills to inflict punishment.

XIX. It is one thing to punish sins from a physical necessity (such as exists in fire to burn); another to do so from moral and rational necessity. If God would punish sin according to the first, it is true that he would always act in the same manner, would punish equally and as much as he could. But this does not hold good of the moral necessity because the exercise of this attribute depends on the most wise will of God (which in the infliction of punishment can, according to moderation [*epieikeian*], use various modifications without detriment). This is true of justice which indeed necessarily demands that every sin should be punished, but not that every sinner should be punished immediately (or in this or that degree).

XX. Although the effects of justice and mercy may be contrary on account of the diversity of their objects, still it does not follow that these attributes are contrary in themselves any more than the sun is contrary to itself when it melts wax and hardens clay.

XXI. The justice and mercy of God differ in their exercise. Mercy indeed is perfectly free, able to exert or not exert itself without injury to anyone because it consists in a merely gratuitous act which it is not bound to exercise towards anyone. For whether he had pitied us or not, he would have done injury to no one because he owed this to no one. But the act of justice, although most free, is nevertheless necessary because due. It consists in rendering to each one his own. Although nothing is properly due to the creature (and properly speaking there is here no right of the creature in him), yet this is due to himself and to the preservation of the laws enacted by him. Thus if he would not do this, he would not be just.

XXII. If there were no sinful or miserable creature, there would be no justice or mercy as to relative being and in the exercised act. Still there would always be justice as to absolute being and in the signified act (just as omnipotence was in God from eternity, although he had created nothing).

XXIII. Although God can exercise some forbearance (*epieikeian*) as to the degree of punishment, it does not follow that he can equally take away all degrees of punishment because justice has a certain latitude of degrees beyond which, if it should go, it would not be justice; but although such a degree cannot be defined by us, yet God has it in the best manner defined and perfect.

XXIV. The question here is not simply whether God can through his potency not punish sin; but whether he can through his justice, which is properly exercised about punishment (which, because repugnant to it, it is therefore well said that God cannot do). But although it is not a formal contradiction in terms to say that sin is not punished, yet it is in reality because this would imply that God does not hate sin and is able to love it.

XXV. Although from his absolute right God is able to annihilate creatures, he cannot equally inflict upon an innocent person infernal and everlasting torment. For the former is an effect of supreme dominion, but the latter necessarily involves a relation (*schesin*) to justice (which does not allow the infliction of such torment upon the undeserving, as it cannot bear that the whole punishment should be taken away notwithstanding whatever demerit). See the "Disputation on the Necessity of Christ's Satisfaction," Parts I and II (Turretin, *Opera* 4:385–435).

Twentieth Question: The Goodness, Love, Grace and Mercy of God

How do they differ from each other?

I. As vindictive justice (treated of in the preceding question) and hatred, wrath and severity (pertaining to it) are concerned with the infliction of physical evil or of punishment, so goodness and the qualities contained under it (viz., love, grace and mercy) are occupied with the communication of good, but diversely.

II. The goodness of God is that by which he is conceived not only absolutely and in himself as supremely good and perfect (as it were) and the only good (*autoagathon*, Mk. 10:18) because he is such originally, perfectly and immutably; but also relatively and extrinsically as beneficent towards

creatures (which is called benignity) because it is of the reason of good to be communicative of itself.

What is the goodness of God?

III. Although the goodness of God extends itself to all creatures, yet not equally, but exhibits the greatest diversity in the communication of good. Hence one is general (by which he follows all creatures, Ps. 36:6, 7); another special (which has respect to men, Acts 14:17) and another most special (relating to the elect and referred to in Ps. 73:1: "God is good to Israel"). If you seek the causes of this diversity, various ones can be assigned besides his will. (1) It was in accordance with his supreme dominion to show the most free power in diffusing his gifts (which in this inequality is exhibited in the highest manner). (2) The wisdom of God demanded that a certain order should exist in things (which is beheld in the connection of superiors and inferiors). (3) It conduced to the beauty of the universe (which creatures differing in form, actions and qualities render perfect). (4) It afforded a better demonstration of the inexhaustible fountain of divine goodness, since one creature could not receive the full communication of good (thus it should be imparted to more).

What is the love of God?

IV. From goodness flows love by which he communicates himself to the creature and (as it were) wills to unite himself with and do good to it, but in diverse ways and degrees according to the diversity of the objects. Hence is usually made a threefold distinction in the divine love: the first, that by which he follows creatures, called "love of the creature" (*philoktisia*); the second, that by which he embraces men, called "love of man" (*philoanthrōpia*); the third, which is specially exercised towards the elect and is called "the love of the elect" (*eklektophilia*). For in proportion as the creature is more perfect and more excellent, so also does it share in a greater effluence and outpouring (*aporroēn*) of divine love. Hence although love considered affectively and on the part of the internal act is equal in God (because it does not admit of increase and diminution), yet regarded

effectively (or on the part of the good which he wills to anyone) it is unequal because some effects of love are greater than others.

It is threefold: benevolence, beneficence, complacency.

V. A threefold love of God is commonly held; or rather there are three degrees of one and the same love. First, there is the love of benevolence by which God willed good to the creature from eternity; second, the love of beneficence by which he does good to the creature in time according to his good will; third, the love of complacency by which he delights himself in the creature on account of the rays of his image seen in them. The two former precede every act of the creature; the latter follows (not as an effect its cause, but as a consequent its antecedent). By the love of benevolence, he loved us before we were; by the love of beneficence, he loves us as we are; and by the love of complacency, he loves us when we are (viz., renewed after his image). By the first, he elects us; by the second, he redeems and sanctifies us; but by the third, he gratuitously rewards us as holy and just. Jn. 3:16 refers to the first; Eph. 5:25 and Rev. 1:5 to the second; Is. 62:3 and Heb. 11:6 to the third.

VI. These four things in the highest manner commend the love of God towards us: (1) the majesty of the lover; (2) the poverty and unworthiness of the loved; (3) the worth of him in whom we are loved; (4) the multitude and excellence of the gifts which flow out from that love to us. (a) God loves us (who, constituted in the highest preeminence [*hyperochē*] and happiness, needs us not and is not bound to love us; indeed can most justly hate and destroy us if he so willed). (b) Men are beloved, not only as empty and weak creatures, but as sinners and guilty, rebellious servants, who so far from deserving it, are on the other hand most worthy of hatred and punishment (viz., enemies and covenant breakers). (c) He in whom they are beloved is Christ (Eph. 1:5, 6*), the delight of his heavenly Father and the "express image of his person" (Heb. 1:3*), than whom he could have given nothing more excellent, nothing dearer, even if he had given the whole universe. (d) The effects of his love are both many in number and great in value (viz., all the benefits by which salvation is begun in this life and

perfected in the other and, what is the crown and sum of all blessings, the gift of God himself, who imparts himself to us as an object of fruition both in grace and in glory).

Grace may be taken either affectively or effectively.

VII. Grace succeeds love from which it is called *chnvn* ("gracious," Ex. 34:6) by which God is conceived as willing to communicate himself to the creature from gratuitous love without any merit in the creature and notwithstanding its demerit. Now it is usual to understand it principally in two ways: either affectively (as they say), i.e., with respect to the "internal act" in God; or effectively, with regard to the effects which it produces outwardly in creatures. The former is towards us, and we stand objectively related to it; the latter is in us, and we stand subjectively related to it. In the former sense, it denotes the favor and benevolence of God (or his benignant and disposed will) bestowing all things liberally and gratuitously, not from our merit or desert. Again, this implies either the favor by which he loved and elected us to life from eternity (in which sense election is called "the election of grace" [Rom. 11:5], and we are said to be "predestinated to the praise of the glory of his grace" [Eph. 1:6], i.e., of his glorious grace) or that by which he regards us as graceful and accepted in the Son of his love (in which sense, most especially, the apostle often invokes "grace and peace" upon the believers to whom he writes, i.e., both the favor and benevolence of God and its effects of every kind, which are signified by the word "peace," according to the Hebrew idiom). In the same sense, mention is made of the grace of God in Rom. 3:24, Lk. 1:30 and Tit. 3:7.

VIII. In the latter sense, grace (taken effectively) indicates all the gifts (*charismata*) of the Holy Spirit gratuitously given to us by God: whether ordinary—of faith, hope and love—for each one's salvation bestowed upon us in calling, conversion and sanctification (in which sense the word "grace" is used in 1 Cor. 15:10 and Eph. 2:7, 8); or extraordinary and miraculous—for the common edification of the whole church (which are designated by the name of grace in 1 Cor. 12:4, 7, 8 and Eph. 4:7). The Scholastics were accustomed to calling the latter gifts by the name of grace gratuitously given (*gratiae gratis datae*), but the others by the name of grace making acceptable (*gratiae gratum facientis*). But this is false both

because the ordinary gifts no less than the others are gratuitously given and because they cannot make us acceptable to God (since this is the effect of the sole grace and righteousness of Christ imputed to us). Therefore grace making acceptable with more propriety implies the benevolence of God towards us by which (not from our merit, but by his gratuitous love) he makes us acceptable in Christ. By grace gratuitously given are indicated all the gifts gratuitously conferred on us through the Holy Spirit. And this grace in reference to the variety of its acts is distinguished into operating or preventing (which moves the will to will) and cooperating and subsequent (which effects the performance of the volition). We will treat the latter in the proper place.

IX. Again, grace is distributed into decretive and executive. The former denotes the eternal purpose of God concerning the electing of us before the foundations of the world were laid. The latter embraces the universal dispensation of that wonderful mystery (according to the variety of degrees and times) which exercised itself towards the elect in redemption and in calling, justification, sanctification and other salutary effects (which Paul alludes to in Eph. 1 and 2 Tim. 1:9, 10).

How mercy is to be ascribed to God.

X. Mercy attends upon the grace of God. For as the latter exercises itself about man as a sinner (granting the pardon of his sin) so the former is exercised about man as miserable (relieving his misery). This is properly ascribed to God not as signifying grief arising from the misery of another (as it is in men), but as indicating a prompt and disposed will to succor the miserable without any anguish or perturbation of mind.

XI. It does not spring from any external cause which usually excites this effect in men (as the tie of blood, of friendship, the company of misery, imbecility of age, sex, etc.). Rather it springs from his goodness alone (as he loves to communicate himself to the creature and as he does not refrain from succoring the miserable). Indeed it requires misery in the object, but only as holding the relation of condition and quality and not of a cause. So freely is it occupied about it, that it can exert or not exert itself without injury to anyone. Hence it is said “he hath mercy on whom he will have mercy” (Rom. 9:18).

General and special.

XII. Mercy is commonly considered as twofold: the one general by which God succors all creatures subjected to any misery (Ps. 104:27); the other special by which he has compassion on his own, electing out of the mass of fallen men certain ones to be saved through Christ (who are, therefore, called "vessels of mercy"). The former is temporal, occupied only with secular things (*ta biōtika*) and the good of this life; but the latter is saving and eternal, blessing us with the possession of salvation and of eternal life.

XIII. The magnitude of his mercy may be collected from various sources: (1) with regard to the principle of pitying, (viz., God who, perfectly happy in himself and in want of nothing, yet moved by his good pleasure [*eudokia*] alone, condescended to have mercy upon us); (2) with regard to the objects (i.e., men upon whom he takes pity who not only deserved nothing, but are totally unworthy of this favor as sinners and enemies of God); (3) with regard to the mode and effects because he pardons our innumerable sins, removes eternal misery from us and bestows an infinite and eternal good (to wit, life and salvation); (4) with regard to duration because it is eternal (*chmd 'vlm*, Is. 54:8; Hos. 2:19; Lam. 3:22; Lk. 1:55*). Hence it is to be opposed: (a) to the severity of the divine justice, in which sense it is said "to rejoice against judgment" (Jam. 2:13); (b) to the number and heinousness of sins (Mic. 7:18); "For where sin abounded, grace did much more abound" (Rom. 5:20), and "God hath concluded all in sin, that he might have mercy upon all" (Rom. 11:32*); (c) to the multitude of miseries and temptations because there is not one so great from which the supreme mercy of God, according to his inexpressible riches, does not free us (Ps. 103:8; Eph. 2:4, 5); (d) to the terror of death and the divine judgment because in that decisive day all the pious will obtain mercy (2 Tim. 1:18).

XIV. Although the mercy of God is most ample and manifold with regard to the effects which are innumerable (in which sense he is called "abundantly merciful" [*polyeleos*, Ps. 51:1; 1 Pet. 1:3], *oiktirmoi* [i.e., commiseration and bowels of compassion are ascribed to God, Rom. 12:1]), yet it has its own objects and vessels into which it is poured out (viz., the elect and believers upon whom he determined to have mercy from eternity, who are distinguished from others whom he decreed to pass by and are

therefore called "vessels of wrath fitted to destruction," Rom. 9:22). It is an asylum for the penitent and pious, but not a refuge for the impenitent and impious.

Twenty-First Question: The Power of God

What is the omnipotence of God, and does it extend to those things which imply a contradiction? We deny

I. The power of God (the executing principle of the divine operations) is nothing other than the divine essence itself productive outwardly (through which he is conceived as able to do whatsoever he wills or can will). Here (before all things) this comes to be distinguished from such a power or *exousia* as implies the right and authority to do anything, while the power of which we speak indicates in its conception only the force and faculty of acting.

Statement of the question.

II. It is not queried whether passive power (which is the principle of suffering from another) may be granted in God. Since this cannot be supposed without imperfection and change, it is evident that it should be removed far from him. Nor if the generation of the Son or the spiration of the Spirit is expressed in passive terms, does it immediately follow that there is in God passive power (since this denotes a mere relation [*schesin*] to the persons generating and spirating). But we treat only of the active power, the principle of acting on another.

III. The question does not concern the actual and ordinate power according to which God actually and irresistibly does whatsoever he wills to do, yet in the time and manner which seems best to him: "Our God is in the heavens; he hath done whatsoever he pleased" (Ps. 115:3). With regard to this, it is well said that from the actual power to the work or effect the consequence holds good, but concerning the absolute (through which he is conceived as able to do more than he really does, viz., those things which are not repugnant to his most perfect nature or imply no contradiction, through which God could have raised up from stones children to Abraham

[Mt. 3:9] and sent twelve legions of angels to Christ [Mt. 26:53]). With regard to the latter, we must remark that from the absolute power to the work, the consequence does not hold good because God can do many more things than he actually does.

IV. Although power and will do not really differ, it does not follow that the power is not more extended than the actual volition itself. As the actual volition answers to the actual power (through which he does whatsoever he wills), so the faculty or possibility of willing ought to answer to the absolute power (through which God is conceived to be able to do whatsoever he can will).

V. Some of our theologians appear to reject the absolute power as a profane and detestable invention (as Calvin, ICR 3.23.2, p. 950). They understand this not absolutely, but relatively, with regard to the abuse of the Scholastics who deduced from it many monstrous doctrines. The latter suggested the nature of absolute power consisted in this—that God can do whatever can be imagined by us whether good or evil, contradictory or not: for instance, that he could lie and sin; that he could do what would be repugnant to the nature of things. Calvin rightly denies this absolute power because it would not belong to power and virtue, but to impotency and imperfection. But he was unwilling to deny that God (by absolute power) can do more things than he really does by his actual power.

In how many senses "possible" and "impossible" are used.

VI. The object of God's power is nothing other than the possible, i.e., whatever is not repugnant to be done (as the object of his omniscience is the knowable). But the impossible falls not under the omnipotence of God, not from a defect in his power, but from a defect in the possibility of the thing because it involves in its conception contradictory predicates (as vision, although it might be infinite, could be extended only to visibles, not to audibles).

VII. Impossible and possible are used in three ways: (1) supernaturally; (2) naturally; (3) morally. The impossible supernaturally is what cannot be made even by the divine power (as a sensitive stone, an irrational man). The

possible supernaturally is what can take place at least divinely (as the resurrection of the dead). The naturally impossible is what cannot be done by the powers of nature and second causes, but yet can be done by supernatural power (as the creation of a world, the conception of a virgin, etc.). But the naturally possible is that which does not exceed the powers of finite nature. The morally impossible is what cannot be done according to the laws of holiness; but the morally possible is what is agreeable to the laws of virtue. God can indeed do the naturally impossible, but not what is said to be such either morally or supernaturally.

VIII. The impossible to nature with respect to second causes, i.e., which surpasses the usual and customary course of nature (as for the sun to stand still, for fire not to burn) differs from the impossible by nature, i.e., which is repugnant to the nature of a thing with respect to all causes. When it is said that the impossible does not fall under the power of God, it is understood in the second sense not in the first; for otherwise what is impossible with men is possible with God.

IX. The impossible is so either on the part of the thing (repugnant to its nature) or on the part of God (because he cannot do it). Not that it is absolutely impossible in itself because it can be done by others (and often is done), but because it cannot fall on God (for example, to lie, to sin, to die—things not impossible absolutely in themselves, but with respect to God). Whatever implies any defect or imperfection (whether moral—such as a lie, sin, the denial of himself [Heb. 6:18; 2 Tim. 2:13; Jam. 1:13, 14]; or physical—such as death or corruption) cannot fall on him because he is omnipotent. As Augustine excellently notes: "God is omnipotent and since he is omnipotent he cannot die, nor be deceived, nor deny himself. He cannot do many things, and yet he is omnipotent; and he is therefore omnipotent because he cannot do these things, for if he could die he would not be omnipotent" (*The Creed* [*De symbolo: sermo ad catechumenos*] 1 [FC 27:290; PL 40.627]). "The power of God is not diminished when it is said that he cannot die and be deceived; for so he cannot do it that if he could, he would have rather the less power. Rightly, indeed, is he called omnipotent who yet cannot die and be deceived for he is called omnipotent by doing what he wills, not by suffering what he does not will" (CG 5.10 [FC 8:263; PL 41.152]).

X. Hence is evident what must be determined concerning the object of God's power (viz., that it is not all which can in any way be conceived or imagined; since many false things and evil things and things which cannot be are conceived of; nor even only that which God wills, for that God can do many more things than he wills, the thing itself exclaims and Scripture expressly teaches [Mt. 26:53; Mt. 3:9]). Rather it is all that which is not repugnant, both on the part of the thing and on the part of God (i.e., what can be done and what God can do).

XI. Hence we gather what must be judged concerning contradictories; for that is said to be contradictory which is logically impossible, i.e., which has a repugnancy and includes contradictory predicates (for example, a corporeal God, an irrational man). Now a repugnance may be immediate and explicit when the terms are explicitly contradictory (for example, a deed undone, a man not man). Or it may be mediate and implicit when the repugnant terms only virtually and implicitly include a contradiction (for example, when inseparable properties are denied or contrary predicates are affirmed of the subject—as God corporeal and mortal, man not risible, the body not extended, accident not inherent). For such things involve contradictory predicates which strike against this first principle of indubitable truth (i.e., "it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be at the same time").

Contradictories do not fall under the power of God.

XII. That such things do not fall under God's power is evident: (1) because impossibilities cannot be done by him and contradictories are impossible because they are incompossible; for a contradiction is of eternal disjunction and to affirm and to deny, to be and not to be are eternally opposed; (2) the power of God is concerned with being (i.e., what can be); but a contradiction is a non-entity; (3) if he could perform contradictories, he could make the same thing to be and not be at the same time so that two contradictory propositions might be true at the same time; (4) then evidently nothing would be impossible any more because there would be nothing greater than that which contradicts.

Sources of explanation.

XIII. Now although his power is not extended to contradictories, its infinity must not therefore be considered as limited. The power of every agent must be estimated from its proper object. Now the proper object of divine power is that which is not repugnant. Therefore when he is said to be omnipotent or able to do all things, the word "all things" distributes only entities, under which impossible and contradictory things are not contained.

XIV. God can indeed do things which are above man's reason because he is able to do above all that we ask or think (Eph. 3:20), but not things contrary to reason. If he can do things which are impossible to men (i.e., surpassing human strength), it does not immediately follow that he can do things impossible with the reason (i.e., repugnant to reason). Indeed it is true that the divine surpasses our logical and ratiocinative intellect, but it cannot be thence inferred that God can do those things which in our logic imply a contradiction. For although our right reason may fail in an equalizing (*adaequatione*) of divine truth (so as not to take in the whole), yet it contains nothing contrary to that truth.

XV. It is one thing to say that God can do more than we can understand and our mind conceive. It is another to say that he can do things which imply a contradiction. The former our theologians have taught in accordance with Scripture, but not the latter (which they have constantly denied without any fear of limiting the divine power).

XVI. With God no word or thing (which can have the relation of true being) is impossible (Lk. 1:37). But that which is contradictory is not such; rather it is a nothing and a non-entity.

XVII. To do contraries is one thing; to do contradictories another. God can do the former, but not the latter. If God had constituted the nature of things differently and had implanted in us other ideas of things, he might indeed do things diverse and contrary, but not contradictory. Nor would that first principle be false, for it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be at the same time (which is the true foundation of contradiction).

XVIII. God could have made the past not to be the past in the divided sense and before it was past; but in the compound sense, he cannot make what is past to be not past because it is no less impossible for a thing to

have been and not to have been at the same time than for it to be and not to be.

XIX. Although we assert that God cannot do certain things, we ought not therefore to be considered as denying his omnipotence (as we are charged by the papists and Lutherans). For we understand this only of those things implying a contradiction and arguing some fault or imperfection in the first cause; to do such things would be a proof of impotence, not of power. Nor can the power of God be convicted of impotence for not being able to do things impossible anymore than the vision because it cannot see sounds or the hearing because it cannot hear colors. Now we reckon those things to be contradictory which we deny that God can do (as that accidents can subsist without subjects, that any body can be illocal or everywhere [*polytopon*]).

XX. What John says (that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham, Mt. 3:9) does not prove that God can do contradictories. It only rebukes the vainglory of the Jews and the hope of impunity on account of the holiness of their ancestors and the supposed dignity of the nation by declaring that if they were destroyed God could miraculously father another people to himself from stones to be the sons of Abraham (not by generation but by imitation). Now this locution can be understood either figuratively of stones, not physically but ethically (i.e., of the foreign nations which worshipped stones and are compared with them in Scripture); or literally in this sense—if you should all miserably perish, yet God will not be false to his promises, nor will a posterity be wanting to Abraham. As he formed Adam from the earth, so from these stones he is able to raise up unto Abraham children, not carnal, but spiritual; or proverbially and hyperbolically—as it is said that the stones would cry out (Lk. 19:40) to intimate that God could, by extraordinary means and beyond the course of nature, collect a people for himself. Thus absolute power is here intimated (to wit, a power surpassing the constituted order in nature), but not actual power which observes and follows that order.

XXI. Although all the works of God are finite (nor can anything infinite in act and properly so called be done by him), the omnipotence of God is not therefore limited because it does not cease to be infinite (both with respect to essence, with which it is interchangable, and with respect to the mode of operation, which ought to be infinite in finite works—whether on account of the infinite distance between being and nothing or because an

infinite agent ought necessarily to be concluded, to which nothing upon which it may act is presupposed; and with respect to the objects which can be called infinite, not in act, but in power).

XXII. God exercises this infinite power either mediately (by the intervention of second causes, which he uses as instruments of operation) or immediately (when he operates through himself without other causes). In the former sense, he exerts his power in a finite degree because he cannot communicate his virtue to a creature unless in a finite degree of which the creature is capable (for example, when God exerts his power in the nourishment of man by food). In the latter sense, he exerts it in an infinite manner because he alone operates (as when he exerts his power in the conversion of man).

XXIII. Although the impossibility of a thing arises more on the part of the thing (on account of the repugnancy of terms) than on the part of God (in which not any impotence, but rather the highest power and perfection is indicated), yet nothing is impossible on the part of the thing which is not also so on the part of God (as whatever is said to be possible is not so called simply on the part of the thing, as if it had an intrinsic entity in itself from eternity [according to the erroneous opinion of some], but on the part of God and with respect to the power of the agent, inasmuch as that is said to be possible which the first agent can produce).

XXIV. If God could make an infinite in actual extension and number, it would be such as to have an infinite actual extension or a really infinite number. Thus would be granted more infinites in act and reality; yea, something of so great extension or of such a number, as that God could not add to it either a unit or one cubit, since nothing can be added to that which is actually infinite (which strikes everyone as most absurd). Indeed, to suppose any creature to be infinite in act or extension or number is as great a contradiction as for a creature to be eternal and not made.

XXV. This proposition that God can deceive if he will (although he neither will nor can will it), by whatever interpretation softened, is deservedly rejected as too crude and dangerous. Yea it is openly repugnant also to the truth delivered in Scripture concerning God. For if God can deceive, he can also lie and sin if he so willed (which is opposed to his most perfect truth and holiness). For a long time, this concept was condemned therefore as blasphemous among the Scholastics. To deceive another by

words, what else is it than to lie or to speak falsely? Therefore if God can deceive by words, he can also lie (which is expressly repugnant to Scripture [Tit. 1:2; Heb. 6:18] and to the nature of God, in which there can be neither ignorance nor error of judgment nor malice nor any such thing from which a lie could take its origin). Yea, if we could say this, I shudder to relate, we could also say that God could be made not God; if God can deceive, he can sin; if he can sin, he can become not God because he who sins (or can sin) is not God. (2) God through his own goodness, holiness and justice cannot be said to be able to do what is evil, unjust and impure, even if he willed. Therefore by the same consequence, he cannot be said to be able to deceive (on account of his immutable truth, which must be ascribed to God even before every conception of the will). (3) God cannot do that which he cannot will; for he cannot do anything without his will, since the will deduces power into act and whatever God can do, that he can also will to be done (unless we maintain that a thing may be said to be possible and impossible at the same time, to the same most simple and most true God—which is absurd [*asystaton*]). Now no one but an atheist will deny that God cannot will to deceive. (4) If God can deceive if he will, he could oblige us, if he willed, to believe a lie and that too with divine faith on account of his authority. (5) God cannot perform contradictions. Therefore he cannot deceive if he will. For that God can deceive is that he can be untrue and so not God. (6) If he can deceive, our faith in the Scriptures would always be wavering. If the Scriptures were given by a God who can deceive, how could we persuade an atheist that he had not deceived? To no purpose would you say that he did not will to deceive, for how could he be assured of this? Not from Scripture (which expressly says this) because he could immediately reply, this was said by that God who can deceive, and how do we know that he has not here given the effect which he is said to be able to give? Not from the nature of God because it is not repugnant to God's nature to give that effect which he has the power to give. In vain also would you say that it is repugnant to his nature to will to effect it because if it is not repugnant to his nature to be able to perform it, neither will it be repugnant to his nature to be able to will to perform it.

XXVI. Although the power of God extends itself to more things than his will in the exercised act (because he can do many more things than those which he actually wills are future); yet it is not more widely extended than

the will in the signified act (i.e., God cannot do more than he can will since both his power and will form the law to himself from his nature).

XXVII. It is one thing for God to decree the commission of an error by a creature and to permit a creature to be deceived, but another for him to be able immediately by himself to deceive anyone. The former can justly be done and is in fact done by God, but not the latter, which involves the relation of sin.

XXVIII. Although it may with propriety be said that God can do anything if he wills (with respect to those things which he cannot will from the hypothesis of his immutable decree because such an operation does not involve any repugnancy to the nature of God), this cannot be said with the same truth in relation to those things which he cannot will through his goodness and justice because such things are not only impossible from hypothesis with respect to the decree, but absolutely and in themselves on account of the repugnance which they bespeak to the nature of God.

Twenty-Second Question: The Dominion and Sovereignty of God

What is the dominion of God, and of how many kinds? May an absolute and ordinate right be granted?

The foundation of God's dominion.

I. With the power of God (treated of in the preceding question) ought always to be connected his sovereignty from which the right and authority of doing what he does belongs to him. But sovereignty arises from his dominion, concerning which this question is now taken up.

II. That God is Lord of heaven and of earth (if the Scriptures themselves did not so often testify), the very nature of God (which is independent, most perfect and the cause of all things) would evince. Its foundation is considered to be twofold: (1) preeminence (*hyperochē*) and eminence of nature; (2) amplitude and excellence of beneficence. As among men, there are two foundations of lawful dominion. First, eminence of power above others, for it is in accordance with the nature of things that the superior and

more excellent should have dominion over the inferior and more ignoble (whence Aristotle expressly asserts if anyone could be found far surpassing other mortals in all virtues, he should be constituted king over all the rest). Second is beneficence by which one man acquires a right over another. He is therefore lord because he is kind. Since, then, God is established in the highest preeminence (*hyperochē*) and has bestowed (and every day bestows) upon his creatures as his work innumerable blessings, he is most justly called the Lord of all, as the artificer is lord of his own work.

How the natural and economical dominion differ.

III. That dominion is called natural and essential to distinguish it from the economical which belongs to Christ (Phil. 2:9) and differs from it in many respects: (1) with regard to principle and origin the former is called natural, *kata physin* (because given by no one), but the latter is called economical and *kata thesin* (because given by another, viz., by the Father—"All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," Mt. 28:18*); (2) with regard to the foundation. The former is founded upon the decree of providence by which he predetermined all things and events; but the latter upon the decree of predestination according to which he predestinated us to adoption through Jesus Christ (Eph. 1:5). (3) With regard to the objects—the kingdom of nature is universal, embracing all creatures; the kingdom of grace is especially terminated on the church, whence by a peculiar reason he may be called the King and Lord of the church (for although he exercises his power and justice also over the wicked themselves who are in subjection to him and whom he rules and breaks with a rod of iron [Ps. 2:9], yet he especially reigns in the elect and believers through grace). (4) With regard to their effects; for the effects of divine providence in the natural kingdom are common and diffused over all creatures although in different ways; but the effects of the kingdom of grace are saving benefits peculiar to the elect alone—calling, adoption, justification, sanctification, etc. (5) With regard to administration; that is, exercised by Christ as God together with the Father and the Holy Spirit—whence it is called essential because common to the whole divine essence; but this is exercised by him as Mediator and God-man (*theanthrōpō*)—whence it is called personal because it pertains to the person of the Son and is appointed to his economy. (6) With regard to

duration; that is eternal and immutable (Ps. 145:13). But this will have an end, at least as to mode, because he will deliver up the kingdom to God the Father (1 Cor. 15:24).

IV. The principal property of God's dominion is that it is not only universal, but also absolute and unlimited. For as God is an independent and truly self-powerful (*autexousios*) being, so he is evidently not accountable (*anypeuthynos*), liable to no censure or judgment (Job 9:12; Dan. 4:25) who can do with his own what he will (Mt. 20:15) and with whom no one can contend or say to him, why hast thou done this? although the reason of his works and judgments may be hidden from us (Job 33:13): "Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus?" (Rom. 9:20, 21).

Absolute and ordinate right.

V. Hence arose the distinction of God's right into absolute and ordinate; that is, the dominion and sovereignty which God holds over all his creatures of determining concerning them at pleasure without injustice. Its foundation is double. The first is the excellence of his nature above all creatures, for that supreme preeminence (*hyperchē*) which he possesses over all things conciliates for him the highest sovereignty. The other is the dependence of all creatures upon him, both in being and in operation (Act 17:24), through which, as he is the first from whom all things proceed, so he must also be the last to whom they should be referred (Rom. 11:36).

VI. The ordinate right is the order or reason of justice which God has declared to us by the word of the law and gospel, both as to the duty of man in both covenants (viz., works and faith), and as to the promise and threat annexed to it in life and death, in salvation and condemnation. Its foundation is the covenant entered into with the creature or the will of God manifested to us by the external word of the law and gospel. Hence it has place in the ordinary dispensation of God towards men; but the other in the extraordinary (which God can indeed exercise without impairing his justice, but which nevertheless he very rarely does exercise).

VII. The proof of both occurs in predestination. For in election it belongs to the absolute right that God, according to his most free good pleasure, destines sinful and guilty men to salvation; and although all are equal, yet

he elects this one instead of another, as in the case with Esau and Jacob, concerning which the apostle says: “the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth; it was said the elder shall serve the younger” (Rom. 9:11, 12*). Hence it is immediately added, “He hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth” (Rom. 9:18). But it favors the ordinate, both that he is gracious to sinners and saves them not without the satisfaction of Christ (Rom. 3:25), and that he rewards faith and works graciously according to his promise (2 Thess. 1:5–7). In reprobation, the absolute right is beheld in this—that although all men are equal, yet he passes by this one instead of another, acting from his good pleasure (*eudokia*) alone; not as Judge, but as an autocrat (*autokratōr*) and Lord who has the power to make a vessel unto honor and unto dishonor (Rom. 9:21; Mt. 11:26). But the ordinate is found in this—that he reprobates and condemns no one except on account of sin (Rom. 1:32).

VIII. Although the absolute right is not revealed by the law, it must not therefore be held as contrary to the law. It is above and beyond the law, but not against it; nor moreover can it be called unjust, inasmuch as it is not conformed to the law because (as was proved before) the adequate rule of justice is not the law alone, but partly the nature of God and partly his will. Thus it is one thing to act from the rule of ordinary justice, but another from a superior order (viz., from an autocratic right, to which justice is not repugnant but subordinated). So a prince in pardoning crimes, acts not from justice as a judge, but from clemency as lord and prince (who can dispense with the law instituted by himself). So God in the exercise of this absolute right, although he can do nothing opposed to his justice, yet does not act from it, but from the most free good pleasure belonging to him as supreme Lord.

IX. The extent of the absolute right of God must not be curiously searched into, much less rashly defined; nor is it in our power or place to put any limits either to the power or the sovereignty of God. If no one could endure a little worm disputing the authority of men and setting bounds to it, how much less is this to be suffered in a man who, compared with God, is far more insignificant than a worm? Therefore, it becomes us to dismiss the curious and useless questions of the Scholastics, who by a rash presumption undertake to define the incomprehensible secrets of God’s majesty. Only

two things are important for us to remember here: on the one hand, that the right of God is supreme and absolute, and above what we can either think or speak, and that he can do with his own what he pleases; and on the other, that it is always holy and agreeable to the most perfect nature of God, so that in its use he does nothing in opposition to his wisdom, goodness and holiness.

X. When the Scriptures speak of the absolute right (as Rom. 9 and Job 33, 42*), they do not so much mean what God actually does as what he can do in order that thus the mouth of the obstinate and impudent (who jeer at the liberty of God) may be stopped.

Natural and free right.

XI. Here belongs the distinction of the right of God into natural and free. The former is founded on the very nature of God, but this depends upon his pleasure and will; that is eternal and indispensable (whose contrary he cannot will without a contradiction), but this is positive and dispensable (whose opposite he could will without repugnancy). Thus it belongs to the natural right that God cannot deny himself and give his glory to another; that the rational creature should obey and be under the law of God or pay its penalty; that God cannot but govern the world as long as it is a world and prescribe to the creature holy and just commands. For all these things are such that God cannot will their contraries without repugnancy. But to the free right belongs the permissions of sin, the bestowal of distinguishing grace, the institution of the symbolical and ceremonial law; for these are of such a nature that God could have willed or nilled them without detriment to his justice.

Twenty-Third Question: The Holy Trinity

What are the meanings of the words "essence," "substance," "subsistence," "person," "Trinity," homoousion *in this mystery; and may the church properly use them?*

I. The absolute consideration of God (as to his nature and attributes) begets the relative (as to the persons). Here we are occupied with the

adorable mystery of the Trinity, which neither reason can comprehend nor example prove, but the authority of divine revelation alone proposes to be received by faith and adored with love.

II. As it can be prudently explained as to the fact (*to hoti*) from Scripture (because clearly delivered in it), not as to the wherefore (*to dioti*) or the how (*to pōs*) (incomprehensible [*akatalēpton*] to the angels themselves), the genuine sense and use of the words (usually employed to make it more easily understood) must be unfolded.

Essence.

III. First, here occurs the word *ousias* or "essence" and "nature" which denotes the whatness (*quidditatem*) of a thing and is often met with in Scripture, not only in the concrete when God is called *ho ōn* (Ex. 3:14; Rev. 1:4), but also in the abstract when deity (*theotēs*, Col. 2:9), nature (*physis*, Gal. 4:8), divine nature (*theia physis*, 2 Pet. 1:4) is attributed to God. The Hebrew word *tvshyh* applies here; it designates the real essence (*tēn ontōs ousian*, ?Job 12:16).

Substance.

IV. (2) Substance is attributed to God by the fathers not as it is called from standing under the accidents (which do not fall on God), but from subsisting (because he subsists through and from himself). But we must notice here that the ancients sometimes stand opposed to each other and do not use the word substance in the same manner. Some take substance from subsistence such as Hilary (of Poitiers) who acknowledges "three substances in the deity" (*On the Councils* 32 [NPNF2, 9:13; PL 10.504]). Others evidently taking substance for nature and essence acknowledge only one and deny that there are three (such as Augustine, *The Trinity* 5.9 [FC 45:187–88; PL 42.917–18]; Tertullian, *Against Praxeas* [ANF 3:597–627] and others).

Subsistence.

V. (3) Hence the word "subsistence" (called by the Greeks *hyparxis*) marks a mode of subsisting (*tropos hyparxeōs*) or personality. Now to subsist

differs from to exist. To exist means that a thing actually is without its causes in the nature of things, which applies to accidents no less than to substances; but to subsist means a mode of existing proper to substances. Now subsistence is commonly held to be twofold: the one by which it is consituted a substance in the being of a substance; the other which is constituted in the being of a suppositum. The former is usually explained by independence from the subject; it belongs to all substances, incomplete as well as complete; the latter is usually explained by incommunication or incommunicability, inasmuch as the singular substance is neither a part nor an adjunct of another; if it is intellectual, it is called a person. The former is the very existence of the substance, but the latter is said to superadd some mode to the existence of the singular substance (which mode is called entitative, ultimately terminating and completing the substantial nature and giving to it incommunicability, so that to subsist in this sense belongs to a singular nature ultimately completed and incommunicable). Thus the humanity of Christ has the former subsistence by which it is constituted in the being of a substance because it is a true substance independent of the subject, but not the latter (which constitutes a suppositum) because it is not a human suppositum, since it is united with and adjoined to the word to constitute the God-man (*theanthrōpou*). But here the word "subsistence" is used in the latter, not in the former sense.

Hypostasis.

VI. (4) To designate this subsistence the Greeks employed the word *hypostaseōs*, which formerly gave occasion to great disturbances in the church on account of the equivocal sense of the word. For among the fathers, it is taken either generically and wisely for the very substance of a thing. Thus the ancient Romans and Africans made no distinction between essence and hypostasis. Hence the Synod of Sardica (cf. "Synodica Concilii Sardicensis," in Mansi, 6:1215–16) declares it to be heretical to assert three hypostases, but orthodox to assert only one. Athanasius writes, "Hypostasis is substance and means nothing else than that which exists" (*hypostasis ousia estin, kai ouden allo sēmainei, ē auto to on*, *Letter to the Bishops of Africa* 4 [NPNF2, 4:490; PG 26.1035]). This was also the opinion of Jerome who would not suffer the mention of three hypostases, lest three

divine essences, and so three Gods might be implied (*Letter* 15, "To Pope Damasus" [NPNF2, 6:19]). Or it is taken strictly for the subsistence of a thing and a *suppositum* (as the Council of Alexandria [A.D. 362*] against the Sabellians determined that one essence [*ousian*] could be held, yet three hypostases [*hypostaseis*]—see Basil, *Letter* 38, "To his Brother Gregory" [NPNF2, 8:137–41]). Hence the reconciliation is easily made between the apparently contradictory passages of the fathers, as Athanasius showed in the Council of Alexandria (cf. "Epistola Synodica Concilii Alexandrini," in Mansi, 3:350) of which he was president. He prudently and happily put a stop to the sharp controversy arising from this cause between Eastern and Western parties, the Greeks and Latins (which Gregory Nazianzus notices in his *Oration* 21, "On the Great Athanasius" [NPNF2, 7:269–80]). According to the testimony of Augustine, they were accustomed to say *mian ousian, treis hypostaseis*, viz., "one essence, three subsistences" (*The Trinity* 5.8 [FC 45:187; PL 42.917]). But afterwards, lest the ambiguity of the word might give occasion to error (as Aquinas remarks, ST, I, Q. 29, Art. 2, p. 157), the opinion of the Greeks (who use *hypostasin* for subsistence) obtained, and this is now the common opinion received by all. Further, Scripture appears to precede us here, for in comparing the person of the Son with the person of the Father (whose image he bears), it calls him "the express image" of the subsistence of the Father (Heb. 1:3).

Person.

VII. (5) Hence it is evident what must be understood by the word "person." That which among the Greeks is called "hypostasis" is with the Latins called *persona*. It is not as the word is drawn from the stage denoting the mask of players (according to Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 5.7 [Loeb, 1:398–99]), where actors, masked, are called *personati*; or when it is taken from some quality or external appearance which adds nothing to the importance of a cause—in which sense a judge ought not in a trial to regard the person of the rich above that of the poor and respect of persons [*prosōpolēpsia*] is denied of God; or for some office and function, as when one is said to put off the person of judge and to put on that of an accuser. But rather properly and strictly, it denotes an intellectual *suppositum*, as it is used in 2 Cor. 1:11

(and constantly among lawyers, when an action is divided into the thing or person).

VIII. The word "person" is properly concrete and not abstract. Besides the form (which is personality), it also marks the subject with the form from which it is denominated. However, sometimes it is taken abstractly. Hence it happens that the divine persons come to be considered in two ways: either in the concrete, as when the Son is said to be *hyparchein* ("to be in the form of God," Phil. 2:6); or in the abstract when he is called "the express image of the person of the Father," Heb. 1:3). In the latter sense, it is contradistinguished from the essence as the mode of a thing. In the former sense, it includes the essence with the mode. Hence arose a twofold definition of a divine person: one abstractive, employed by our Calvin (ICR 1.13.6, p. 128) defining a person to be a "subsistence in the essence of God by which (related to others) he is distinguished by an incommunicable property"—having followed here Justin and John of Damascus who called it *tropon hyparxeōs* ("a mode of subsisting") (cf. [Pseudo-] Justin Martyr, *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad orthodoxos*, Q. 139 [488C] in *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum* [ed. J. Otto], 5:224, 225; John of Damascus, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1.8 [NPNF2, 9:8; PG 94.816, 818], cf. also his *Contra Jacobitas* 52 [PG 94.1461]); the other concretive, given by Melancthon and Ursinus, who define a person as "the individual that subsists, is living, intelligent, is not sustained by another, nor is a part of another." The former expresses more fully the perfection of the divine persons; the latter more clearly sets forth the truth of their subsistence.

Trinity.

IX. (6) The word "Trinity" (proper to this mystery) follows. Although not existing in Scripture in the abstract, it is nevertheless found in the concrete (1 Jn. 5:7), so that there was no necessity for the papists to derive it from tradition to betray the cause of faith to heretics, since Bellarmine himself ("De Christo," 2.5 in *Opera* [1856], 1:205–6) confessed that the Trinity can evidently be deduced from Scripture. And although the Greek word *Trias* may seem from the first imposition of the name to denote only the number three, yet this word (like many others) was consecrated by ecclesiastical custom and applied to this mystery alone by way of eminence (*kat'*

exochēn). “Trinity” however is the appropriate word, not “triplicity,” which implies a multiplication of essence. God, therefore, is said to be triune (*trinus*), not triple because there are three persons, but only one numerical essence.

Homoousion.

X. (7) After the word “Trinity,” we must explain *to homoousion*, the subject of so many controversies in the ancient church. The origin of the word is to be traced to the Arian heresy. Arius always endeavored to escape in various ways by confessing that Christ was God (but created before the world; yea, begotten, possessed of the divine essence, yet participated and dependent). At length the orthodox, to cut off every way of escape for him, declared in the Council of Nicea that the Son was *homoousion* (i.e., of the same nature and essence with the Father). No one but a stranger to ecclesiastical history is ignorant of the great controversies springing from this word. For example, the Arians accused the orthodox of introducing a recent invention of the Nicene fathers, altogether unknown to the ancients (whom, moreover, they called Homoousians). Nevertheless, Athanasius (who often used this word before the rise of the Arian heresy) demonstrated this to be false from Dionysius of Rome and Dionysius of Alexandria (cf. NPNF2, 4:167, 181, 473). But when the Arians saw that they were caught by this word (having recourse to fraud), they endeavored by the addition of a letter to destroy the entire force of it, acknowledging the Son to be *homoiousion*, i.e., of a similar substance with the Father, but not *homoousion* (as Theodoret says, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.16*–18 [NPNF2, 3:82–84; PG 82.1049–58] and 5.21+). Hence it happened that in the Council of Ariminum/Rimini (A.D. 359) (cf. Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* 4.17 [NPNF2, 2:312]), the more simple ones (deceived by the Arians) agreed to put the word *homoiousion* in the place of *homoousion*. Hence the Arians boasted that the Catholics had passed over to their side, but the others constantly resisted. Athanasius detected the subterfuge and taught that there was not a similar, but the same essence in the Father and Son.

XI. Curcellaeus, who vigorously attacks the word *homoousion*, falsely maintains that it refers to a “specific” and not “numerical unity” so that the essence in the Father and Son may be said to be one in species indeed, but

not one and the same in number (as Peter and John may properly be said to be *homoousioi* because they are *homoeideis*, partakers of the same specific essence). If the fathers only meant a specific unity, they would have introduced Tritheism, holding not only to three persons, but to three diverse numerical essences in the three persons (as three human persons mean three men). Again, there would be nothing strange and incomprehensible (*akatalēpton*) in this mystery (which all men confess) because every day we see that very thing among men. Third, since human nature is divisible, it can indeed remain the same in species when propagated by generation, although it is not the same in number because it detaches a certain part of its substance, which passes over to the begotten. This is not so with the divine, which is indivisible. For either it cannot be communicated or the same numerically can be communicated. Therefore either Christ is not the Son of God or he ought to have the same numerical essence communicated to him. But this will be more fully proved hereafter.

XII. The word *homoousion* is used rather than *monoousion* or *tautoousion*; not that the former demonstrates a specific and the latter a numerical unity, but because the last two can be used consistently with the only one hypostasis of Sabellius; for *monoousios* rather denotes him who has one singular essence, than him who is of the same essence with another or designates him whose nature and essence is so the only one, i.e., that there is nothing like him (as the sun is *monoousios* because it is the only one of its species, but the other heavenly bodies are called *homoousia* because they mutually possess the same nature, or one not very different). So God is *monoousios* (because the only one and having no partaker of his nature), numerically separated from his essence. Now the persons of the Trinity cannot be called *monoousioi* because they are three persons, not one only. *Tautoousios* also is not free from ambiguity for it can designate him who has his essence from himself, not by communication from another (in which sense the Father alone would be *tautoousios* with respect to person); but *homoousion* denotes here more than one person (partakers of the same numerical essence).

Emperichōrēsis.

XIII. Here belongs the word *emperichōrēseōs* which the fathers frequently used and Curcellaeus rails at (as unwritten [*agraphon*], ambiguious and employed to signify a thing nowhere taught in Scripture). But that it was not used without reason to describe the intimate mutual union of the persons can be inferred not obscurely from Scripture itself when "the Son is said to be in the Father, and the Father in the Son" (Jn. 10:38; 14:11). They thought this mystery could not be better expressed than by the phrase *enallēlon emperichōrēsin* (i.e., a mutual intertwining or inexistence and immanence), so as to designate thus that union by which the divine persons embrace each other and permeate (if it is right to say so) each other. So that although always remaining distinct, yet they are never separated from each other, but always coexist; wherever one is, there the other also really is. And if believers are said to dwell in God and he in them (1 Jn. 3:24; Jn. 14:23) on account of the intimate presence of the Spirit (who is the strictest bond of their communion with God), does it not follow that such an *emperichōrēsis* can be attributed to them? There is the widest difference between the mystical union of believers with God and the divine union of the persons of the Trinity in nature, or of the human and divine natures in the person of Christ.

XIV. The words "property," "relation" and "notion" (used by the Scholastics) can have their use when understood in a sound sense. "Property" denotes the peculiar mode of subsisting and diacritical (*diakritikon*) character by which this or that person is constituted in his personal being and is distinguished from the others. "Relation," again, intimates the same property inasmuch as it indicates the relation (*schesin*) of one person to another. And "notion" designates the same character inasmuch as it signifies that one person is distinct from another (so as to be the index and mark of distinction between the persons). However some difference can be observed between them because notion has a wider extension than relation, and relation has a wider extension than property. For there are only three properties—paternity, filiation, procession; four relations—paternity, filiation, spiration (active and passive); and five notions—unbegottenness (*agennēsia*), paternity, filiation, spiration (active as well as passive).

XV. From a notion arise notional acts (frequently mentioned by theologians) properly to be distinguished from essential acts which flow

from the essential properties and are terminated upon something external (which is essentially other than and diverse from God); hence they are common to the three persons. But the notional proceed from the personal properties, which belong to the persons singularly and are terminated upon an internal work such as generation and spiration.

Concerning the use of the words "Trinity," "person," etc.

XVI. The meaning of the words commonly used on this subject being explained, we must now say a few things concerning their use (i.e., whether it is lawful to use them in explaining this mystery). The occasion of the question arose from the importunity of heretics who, the more easily to get rid of the thing itself, endeavored to eliminate the words themselves from Scripture as new, foreign and having no authority. The Arians, Sabellians and other anti-Trinitarians pressed this against the orthodox in their day—that the names *ousias, homoousios, hypostaseōs*, etc. did not occur in the Scriptures and so ought not to be admitted in the church. Arius asks, "Why is the word, of which neither the prophets nor the apostles make mention, added to the apostolic faith?" (*Vigilii Tapsensis Contra Arianos* 1.10 [PL 62.161]). Treading in their footsteps, the Socinians and the Arminians (who agree with them) in their turn oppose this, especially Curcellaeus who, in a special dissertation, labors to prove that the use of these words is neither useful, nor necessary. Therefore it is better "to return to the simplicity of the sacred writings, and reject from them all words invented by men, or at least compel no one hereafter to swear by them" ("Prima Dissertatio Theologica: De Vocibis Trinitatis," Section 11, *Opera Theologica* [1675], p. 816).

XVII. Verily if there was an agreement about the thing itself, we think there should be no anxiety about the words because it is not becoming for the theologian *nosein peri logomachias* ("to contend about words"). And in this sense must the words of our Calvin be understood (which have been so shamefully perverted by the papists and Lutherans): "O that the names of the Trinity, of the homoousia, etc. were buried, should only this faith be established among all, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one God, yet that the Son is not the Father, nor the Spirit the Son, but that they

are distinct from each other by some peculiarity" (ICR 1.13.5, p. 126). But it is often found that they who litigate more pertinaciously than others against the words, cherish a secret virus. It is sufficiently evident that those new corruptors of religion condemn the words adopted by the ancients for no other reason than that they are unwilling to receive the things designed by them. Knowing that with the words they might abolish the doctrine also, we therefore did right in retaining them and insist on their use being not only lawful, but also beneficial and necessary for repressing the pertinacity of heretics and for bringing them out of their lurking places.

Statement of the question.

XVIII. The question is not whether it is lawful to introduce into the church rashly and unnecessarily foreign and new words unauthorized by the Scriptures. All agree on this point, lest occasion of calumny be given to the adversaries, the seeds of dissension be sown in the church and the suspicion of singularity arise. Indeed often new things and recent doctrines are veiled under new words—applicable to which are the various dicta of the fathers which command the avoidance of the newness of words and freedom of expressions (cf. Augustine, CG 10.23 [FC 14:157–58] and Jerome, Letter 15, "To Pope Damasus" [NPNF2, 6:18–20, esp. p. 19]). But the question is whether it is lawful (under the exigency of some weighty reason) to enunciate inwritten (*engrapha*) doctrines by unwritten (*agraphois*) words for the plainer explication of the truth and the more complete refutation of errors.

XIX. The question is not whether the word of man is to be preferred to God's word, but whether it can be admitted for the elucidation of the latter in which the adversaries are accustomed to seek for hiding places. Indeed the question is whether we are bound to stick so tenaciously to the words of Scripture that in the explication of doctrines no others but them can be devised and used. This the adversaries maintain; we deny.

XX. The reasons are drawn: (1) from their utility which is manifold, whether for the richer explication of that mystery or for the stronger refutation of the heresies opposed to it; (2) from necessity, because unless it were lawful to use words not to be found exactly (*autolexei*) in Scripture, we could not interpret it and apply it to uses both theoretical and practical.

Thus it would be useless for instruction and correction, for the conviction and reproof of heretics because there never was anyone who did not attempt to confirm his errors by the Scriptures and did not think that they had some support in them. Hence whatever was sanctioned by the words of Scripture alone could be received by them and their error be all the while retained. Thus Sabellius did not deny that they were three—the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit—because Scripture says this; but he made one person of those three, calling them by various names by reason of diverse operation. Arius did not deny that Christ was God, but he understood him to be a factitious and dependent God. Socinus confesses Christ to be the Son of God, but with respect to office and power, not with respect to nature. He does not deny that he redeemed us by his blood, but improperly and metaphorically, not truly and meritoriously. So invariably heretics are accustomed to laud the Scriptures "speaking the same things, but thinking differently" (*homoia men lalountes, anomoia de phronountes*, as Irenaeus says in "Preface," *Against Heresies* 1 [ANF 1:315; PG 7.441]). Therefore it was a matter of Christian prudence to employ such words as would more clearly confirm the orthodox faith and so bind heretical perverseness as to allow no chance of escape anymore by an ambiguous and deceitful equivocation. (3) From parity, because in other articles, ecclesiastical terms are fitly employed (as "original sin" and "sacrament"). Why then can they not be lawfully used in this mystery?

XXI. (4) This was the mind of the ancients in using these words. Athanasius says, "It is always the custom of ecclesiastical discipline, if at any time new heretical doctrines arise, against the insolent changes of questions, to change the terminology, the things remaining immutably" (*Disputatio cum Ario coram Probo Judice*, libri 1; cf. Vigilii Tapsensis, *Contra Arianos* [PL 62.162]). Gregory Nazianzus says, "We must not contend spitefully about terms as long as the syllables lead to the same opinion" (*Oration* 39, "On the Holy Lights" [NPNF2, 7:355; PG 36.346]). "We confess that these terms were produced by the necessity of speaking, since there would be need of a copious disputation against the snares and errors of heretics" (Augustine, *The Trinity* 7.4 [FC 45:233; PL 42.941]). And Augustine again: "Against the impiety of the Arian heretics they introduced the new name homoousios, but did not signify a new thing by that name" ("Tractate 97," *On the Gospel of St. John* [NPNF1, 7:376; PL

35.1879]). Hence Thomas Aquinas says, “The necessity of disputing with heretics compelled them to invent new terms expressing the ancient faith” (ST, I, Q. 29, Art. 3, p. 158).

Sources of explanation.

XXII. “The form of sound words” spoken of by Paul (*hypotypōsis hygiainontōn logōn*, 2 Tim. 1:13) is not an external form of locution, so bound down to the words of Scripture that it would be unlawful to use even a syllable or word not found in Scripture. Otherwise sermons and comments on Scripture would be all wrong. Rather it denotes that method of teaching which does not depart from the intention of Scripture and the analogy of faith, and which rejoices not in the swelling arrogance of empty eloquence, but in the religious simplicity of true wisdom.

XXIII. It is one thing to speak of the mode of enunciating things; another to speak of the things themselves. When Paul forbids to teach otherwise (*heterodidaskalein*, 1 Tim. 6:3), he refers to the things themselves—that no one should teach other (*hetera*) things (i.e., doctrines alien from the truth and simplity of the gospel). But he does not speak of the mode of delivering, as if he thought it unlawful to use other words besides those inwritten (*engraphois*). For God did not give the church the gift of prophecy in vain; for its purpose is the interpretation of Scripture which would evidently have been useless if it were wrong to express in other words the things delivered in Scripture.

XXIV. A newness of words only differs from that which (with the words) introduces a newness of things. The one is useful and necessary for the elucidation of truth and the confutation of error; but the other is deceitful and deadly, smuggling in foreign doctrines under new and foreign words. Paul condemns the latter not the former when he orders us to avoid “profane and vain babblings” (*tas bebēlous kainophōnias*, 1 Tim. 6:20). Hence Augustine says, “The apostle does not say the newness of words must be avoided, but [he adds] profane; for there are doctrines of religion agreeing with the newness of words … the things themselves called by new names were before their names” (“Tractate 97,” *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:375–76; PL 35.1879]).

XXV. It is one thing under the penalty of anathema to obtrude words upon the church for her reception, but another to obtrude the things signified by the words. The latter can rightly be done, but not the former.

XXVI. Not to be in Scripture expressly and according to the letter (*kata to gramma*) differs from not being there equivalently and as to the thing signified (*kata to pragma*). The words "Trinity," "consubstantiality" (*homoousiou*), "inhabitation" (*perichōrēseōs*), "person" are not in Scripture in the former manner, but in the latter.

XXVII. Those words ought to be avoided which afford matter for strife per se in the church, but not those which only accidentally do so on account of the pertinacity of heretics (who attack the words in order to get rid of the things signified by them).

XXVIII. Although the Council of Alexandria (according to Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.7* [NPNF2, 2:81]) decreed that such terms should not be used in addresses to the people, yet it acknowledged that they might lawfully be employed in controversies when we have to do with skin-changing (*versipellibus*) heretics, who force us to it.

XXIX. The foundations of faith differ from its defenses: the former are built upon Scripture alone and are derived from it; the latter are drawn even from beyond Scripture to ward off the attacks of besiegers. The latter kind are the various words devised by theologians to guard against the fraud and unscrupulousness (*panourgian*) of heretics.

XXX. Concerning God, we must not speak except with God (i.e., nothing must be asserted except what he himself has asserted in his word as to the things themselves, but not therefore as to the words). Otherwise we could not speak of them in any other than the Hebrew language (in which God spoke).

Twenty-Fourth Question

Is the mystery of the Trinity a fundamental article of faith? We affirm against the Socinians and Remonstrants

I. Before discussing the truth of the mystery of the Trinity, we must premise some things concerning its necessity, not only against the Socinians (who directly deny it to be an article of faith), but also on account of the

Remonstrants (who, although seeming to profess their belief of it, still deny it a place among the fundamental articles, so that the ignorance of it does not bring salvation into peril; as they not obscurely testify to this in "Apologia pro confessione sive declaratione … Remonstrantes," 3 in Episcopius, *Operum theologicorum* [1665], Pt. II, pp. 132–36; "Responsio Remonstratium … per quatuor Professores Leydenses," ibid., Pt. II p. 294); and Episcopius, "Institutiones theologicae," 4.34 in *Opera theologica* [1678], pp. 338–40). Thus they who would secretly subvert the truth of Christian doctrines oftentimes begin by agitating the question concerning their importance and necessity so that men, lulled into the sleep of security, may the more easily suffer themselves to be robbed of the truth and refuse to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints.

Statement of the question.

II. On the state of the question observe: (1) that the discussion concerns not only the negation, but the simple ignorance of this article. For certain things revealed in the word are of such a nature that without peril of salvation they can be unknown (although they cannot be denied without that peril). However not only the denial, but also the simple ignorance of the Trinity is damnable.

III. The question is not whether there ought to be an equal degree of this knowledge in all. For we confess it can be various and manifold: in some greater and fuller; in others less and more obscure (for example, in the Old Testament believers in comparison with those of the New; in ignorant and simple persons compared with the teachers). Rather the question is whether some knowledge of it at least is necessary to all in regard to state, persons and time in which they live.

IV. The question does not concern the full and perfect comprehension of this mystery; nor does it concern an intuitive knowlege of it. The former belongs to the glorified saints alone; the latter belongs to the Trinity alone; in which sense Cyprian says, "The Trinity is known to itself alone" (cf. "De Baptismo Christi" [attributed to Cyprian] in "Arnold Carnotensis, Opera," p. 32 in Cyprian, *Opera* [ed. John Oxoniensem, 1682]). Rather the question is only whether the knowledge and confession of the three divine persons is required for the catholic faith and necessary to all who would be saved.

V. The question is not whether the knowledge of the Trinity is necessary absolutely as to the constructive (*kataskeuēn*) and destructive (*anaskeuēn*) reasoning bearing upon it (either as to all the proofs by which theologians confirm it or as to the refutation of the sophisms by which heretics attack it). Rather the question concerns the positive and simple knowlege and confession of the doctrine.

VI. Thus the question comes to this: whether the mystery of the Trinity is a fundamental article, necessary to the faith of all believers, so that not only the denial, but even the ignorance of it cannot consist with salvation. This the adversaries deny; we affirm (influenced principally by the following arguments).

The doctrine of the Trinity is a fundamental article.

VII. First, eternal life is placed in the knowledge of it. "This is life eternal," says Christ, "that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou has sent" (Jn. 17:3). And in answer to the objection that Christ is here spoken of not as God, but as the Mediator sent by God, parallel passages can be adduced where Scripture speaks of him as of the true God, the primary object of faith: "This is the true God and eternal life" (1 Jn. 5:20); "Ye believe in God, believe also in me" (Jn. 14:1). Furthermore Christ could not be a Mediator without being truly God; now he is distinguished here not from God, but from the Father by whom he was sent.

VIII. Second, it contains the primary object of faith and worship, the confession of which our baptism necessarily includes (Mt. 28:19). For it is not sufficient to know that God is (*quod sit*) as to existence or what he is (*quid sit*) as to his attributes; but we must know also who he is (*quis sit*) (as to the persons as he presents himself to be known by us in his word). Hence "whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father" (1 Jn. 2:23); and "he that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father which hath sent him" (Jn. 5:23). Therefore, God has revealed himself as one in essence, three in persons (viz., the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit). Thus he who does not acknowledge and believe the Trinity has not the true God, but has erected for himself an idol in place of God.

IX. Third, various fundamental doctrines depend upon this article: such as the doctrines concerning the sending of the Son, his advent in the flesh, his satisfaction, the mission of the Holy Spirit and his divine works and the like. Without it, the principal causes of salvation would be unknown (i.e., the grace of the Father, the merit of the Son and the sanctification of the Holy Spirit). These cannot be ascribed to a created being without blasphemy. Therefore since it is necessary to salvation that we should distinctly know God (from whom all saving benefits flow to us), so the doctrine of the Trinity deserves to be reckoned among the principal articles of faith.

X. Fourth, it is the stay of the whole Christian religion and of our salvation. By it, we are distinguished from the Jews of this day, Mohammedans and the heathen. Fifth, it was the uniform faith of the ancients, as may readily be gathered from the symbols, councils, fathers, imperial rescripts and confessions of the churches. Hence that of the Athanasian Symbol: "He who wishes to be saved, must before all things hold to the catholic faith, which if anyone does not preserve entire and inviolate, he will undoubtedly perish forever; now the catholic faith is this, that we reverence one God in Trinity, and Trinity in unity" (Schaff, 2:66).

Sources of explanation.

XI. Although the mystery of the Trinity was more obscure under the Old than under the New Testament, it does not follow that it was then altogether unknown. For otherwise, they could neither have known the true God nor have been able to believe in the Messiah. Therefore we must distinguish knowledge from its degrees. The same knowledge was given as to substance (as will hereafter be proved), but it varied in degree. Now the degree does not change the species.

XII. The Trinity is contained in the Symbol (Apostles' Creed) if not in the signified act, at least in the exercised inasmuch as we seal our faith in the three persons. Nor is the faith by which I believe in God the Father different from that by which I believe in the Son and the Holy Spirit.

XIII. It is one thing to believe the fact (*to hoti*) of the Trinity; another to know the wherefore (*to dioti*) and the how (*to pōs*). We do not say it is a fundamental article in the latter sense because not even the angels

themselves comprehend this, much less the most sagacious men; but we say this only in the former sense. In this latter manner, the ignorant and the simple are bound both to believe and to profess the doctrine of the Trinity.

XIV. A belief in the Trinity cannot but be required from the baptized when they are sprinkled in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Yea, the confession of faith required from them and contained in the Apostles' Creed did not (from the beginning) extend beyond the doctrine of the Trinity. Hence the most ancient expositions of the Creed (extant in Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Justin) extends no further; yea, Socrates, Sozomen and Nicephorus teach that the Nicene Creed also was contained within these heads. Baptism administered in the name of Christ does not exclude, but includes a belief in the Trinity because Christ cannot be acknowledged without the Father and the Spirit.

XV. For any article to be fundamental, it is not necessary that it should always exist literally in Scripture, as to all the words by which it is usually set forth. It suffices if it is contained there as to the thing (and equivalently) and may be thence deduced by evident and necessary consequence. Thus although the word "Trinity" does not occur in Scripture in the abstract, it suffices that the thing itself is found there in the concrete and as to sense.

XVI. The dissent of scholars (which occurs in the exposition of this mystery) ought not to detract in the least from the truth of the thing (especially when the dissent is not in reality, but in the manner of conceiving or the mode of explaining or the method of defending it—which is allowable among theologians, even the Protestant ones). As to the Scholastics, we do not hesitate to say that they have miserably darkened the whole doctrine by their curious and presumptuous questions. But their contentions, we do not make ours; yea, we wish the man of God to be far removed from their fooleries and logic-choppings (*leptologēmasi*).

XVII. The fundamental topics are called catholic not so much with respect to persons as to doctrine. Not that all Christians (whether true or only nominal) thus far agree concerning them, but because they are retained by all true Christians who profess the catholic faith.

XVIII. The article of the Trinity is not only theoretical, but also practical because it contributes to the gratitude and worship of God. Thus we devote our faith and service to the Triune God who has revealed himself to us. It

also contributes to consolation so that we may know that Christ has truly redeemed us and that our salvation is securely positioned.

XIX. Episcopius falsely pretends that the Ante-Nicene Fathers held a different belief. Yet it can easily be shown from Justin, Athenagoras, Ignatius and others that this doctrine was constantly both believed and confessed. Also that very confession of faith which Episcopius mentions sufficiently attests this; for how could they believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit unless they believed in the Trinity? Nor can it be conceived how when so suddenly and unexpectedly Arius opposed it, 318 fathers should so unanimously have condemned him, unless this opinion had been certain among the ancients. Socinus very candidly confesses that on this subject he differs from the fathers and councils.

XX. Indeed the truth of the matter can be clearly gathered from the surviving monuments of the first centuries. We give only a few out of the many. Pliny, the younger, in his letter to Trajan speaking of the Christians, teaches that they worshipped Christ as God. "They affirmed," says he, "that the whole of their fault, or error, lay in this, that they were wont to meet together on a stated day before it was light and sing among themselves alternately a hymn to Christ, as God, and bind themselves by an oath, not to the commission of any wickedness, but not to be guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them, when called upon to return it" (Pliny, 10.96* [Loeb, 2:288–89]). By these words Pliny testifies that the Christians esteemed the Lord Jesus Christ as God and adored him with divine worship and religious hymns of praise. Such testimony, drawn from the enemies themselves, does not suffer us to doubt the faith of the primitive Christians. Tertullian (referring to it) says that Pliny (the second, i.e., the younger) writing to Trajan concerning the Christians discovered nothing concerning their sacraments besides their meeting together before it was light to "sing to Christ as God"—for so we must read; not as it is commonly read "to Christ and God" (*Apology* 2 [FC 10:11; PL 1.321]). The words of Pliny clearly show this (and from him Eusebius, "Chronicorum liber Posterior," in *Thesaurus Temporum* [ed. J.J. Scaliger, 1606/1968], p. 165).

XXI. Clement of Rome in his letter to the Corinthians (a genuine work of venerable antiquity) speaks of Christ not only as a man, but as one whom he does not fear to join with God together with the Holy Spirit. "Have we

not one God and one Christ, and one Spirit poured out upon us?" (*ouchi hena theon echomen, kai hena christon, kai hen pneuma charitos to ekchythen eph' hēmas*, "First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians," 46 [ANF 1:17; PG 1.303–4]). In the same place, he calls him "the sceptre of divine majesty" (ibid., p. 9; PG 1:239) to remove him from the humble position of men. Aristides, who lived a little after Clement of Rome in the time of Aelius Hadrianus, confirms the same thing in his *Apology* presented to the Emperor Hadrian (cf. *Apology of Aristides* [ANF 11:263]). Eusebius mentions this (in his *Chronicorum* 2 [PG 19.557–58]), and Jerome (in his list of ecclesiastical authors, Letter 70, "To Magnus" [NPNF2, 4:50; PL 22.667]), and especially the most ancient of the Roman Martyrologies, the words of which are these: "[Aristides] presented to the emperor Hadrian a treatise on the Christian religion containing the reasons of our doctrine. He also, in the presence of the emperor, delivered a discourse in which he clearly demonstrated that Jesus Christ was the only God" (*Roman Martyrology* [1869], p. 290). With a similar reason, Ignatius confirms the same mystery. "We have," says he, "one physician, Jesus Christ the Lord our God, from eternity the only begotten son, but afterwards also man from the Virgin Mary" (*echomen iatron ton Kyriou hēmōn theon lēsoun Christon, ton pro aiōnōn hyion monogenē kai logon, hysteron de kai anthrōpon ek Marias tēs parthenou*, Pseudo-Ignatius, "Ad Ephesios," 7.2 in *Patres Apostolici* [ed. F.X. Funk, 1913], 2:188–91). Nothing could be more explicit than this. Theodoret alludes to this passage (cf. *Dialogues* 1 [NPNF2, 3:176; PG 83.82]). Elsewhere Ignatius calls "Christ his God" (Pseudo-Igantius, "Ad Romanos," 6.3 in *Patres Apostolici* [ed. F.X. Funk, 1881], 2:211); in Pseudo-Ignatius, "Ad Magnesianos," 8.2 (in *Patres Apostolici* [ed. F.X. Funk, 1881], 2:87), he says that "Christ is the Word of the Father, not projected but essential." Athenagoras, the Athenian philosopher, in his apology for the Christians (cf. *Embassy for the* Christians [ACW 23:29–78]) which he presented to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Verus (a work mentioned by Epiphanius, *Adversus haereses* [*Panarion*] 64.20, 21 [PG 41.1102–3] and in Fronto Du Duc, *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum* [1624]) in many places perspicuously and solidly lays down the faith of the holy Trinity. "So that we assert that God and the Son, his Word, and the Holy Spirit are one according to power, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit" (*Embassy for the Christians* 24 [ACW 23:61; PG

6:946]). In various passages (which we do not have space to quote), Justin Martyr states the same doctrine. Consult his *Dialogue with Trypho* [FC 6:147–366]), where he triumphantly proves against him that Christ is God from the prophecies of the Old Testament which refer to him; and his *Apology* (FC 6:119–35) which is commonly considered the second. Irenaeus, following in the footsteps of Justin Martyr, says, "Christ himself with the Father is the God of the living, who spake with Moses, who also was manifested to the fathers" (*Against Heresies* 4.5* [ANF 1:467; PG 7.985]; ibid., 3.6, pp. 418–20 and 2.5, 6, pp. 364–66). Clement of Alexandria frequently inculcates the divinity and the worship of the Word (*Stromata* 7 [ANF 2:523–56]); *Christ the Educator* 1.11 [FC 23:84–86] and 3.12 [ibid., p. 275]).

Twenty-Fifth Question

In the one divine essence are there three distinct persons: the Father, Son and Holy Spirit? We affirm against the Socinians

Statement of the question.

I. To understand this primary question which we agitate with the ancient as well as the more modern anti-Trinitarians, take notice that the orthodox faith is this: in the one only and most simple essence of God there are three distinct persons so distinguished from each other by incommunicable properties or modes of subsisting that one cannot be the other—although by an inexpressible circum-insession (*emperichōrēsin*) they always remain and exist in each other mutually. Thus the singular numerical essence is communciated to the three persons not as a species to individuals or a second substance to the first (because it is singular and undivided), nor as a whole to its parts (since it is infinite and impartible); but as a singular nature to its own act of being (*suppositis*) in which it takes on various modes of subsisting. Hence it is evident: (1) that the divine essence is principally distinguished from the persons in having communicability, while the persons are distinguished by an incommunicable property; (2) that it differs from other singular natures in this—that while they can be communicated to only one self-existent being (*supposito*) and are

terminated on only one subsistence (because they are finite), the former (because infinite) can admit of more than one.

II. Hence it is that the three divine persons are not three gods (as among men) because the divine persons partake of the same numerical essence, and that infinite. But three men partake of the same specific essence only, not numerical. Thus the three persons of the Trinity are not to be called *synousioi* or *homoiousioi*, but *homoousioi* because they have between themselves not only a similar, but the same numerical essence (nothing like which exists in creatures). Nor do the properties by which they are mutually distinguished constitute unequal degrees (although they may designate their order as diverse modes of subsisting). By this neither is the essence divided in the persons nor are the persons separated from the essence, but they are only so distinguished that the one cannot be the other.

III. The question is not whether God is one numerically; or whether these three names (the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit) may be spoken of God. This the Sabellians and Socinians readily grant. Rather the question is whether these three names designate three distinct persons subsisting in but one, undivided essence, which the orthodox maintain and the anti-Trinitarians deny. The latter consist of both they who, with Sabellius, recognize only one person, who in different respects puts on now the name of Father, then of Son and again of Holy Spirit (which most pestiferous error in a former age that monster of a man Michael Servetus recalled from the pit); and they who, with the Tritheists, from three persons make up three essences (*essentia*)—one essentiating (*essentiantem*), two essentiated (*essentiatas*) (which the impious Valentine Gentilis asserted); and they who, with the wretched Socinus, blasphemously dare to traduce this most sacred mystery as a figment of the human brain. Against these, the orthodox faith must be established.

The Trinity can be satisfactorily proved, not from the light of nature, but from revelation alone.

IV. But as this mystery far transcends the reach of the human reason, so it can be solidly demonstrated from the revealed word alone. Whatever proofs of it some are wont to adduce from nature and reason, or from the

perfection and power of God, or from his understanding, or from the communication of good (although on the supposition of a revelation, they may with respect to believers serve in some measure to illustrate it), yet they cannot convince and obtain the force of solid proof. The same is the case with the various similitudes usually employed here: from the human soul, the rainbow, a tree, a fountain, the sun and light. These seem to afford some resemblance to the Trinity, though very obscure as they always labor under a great dissimilitude. Thus they ought to be proposed soberly and cautiously, not for the purpose of convincing adversaries, but for confirming believers and showing them the credibility at least of this great mystery.

V. The things pertaining to this mystery occurring in the monuments of the heathen are either adulterated or supposititious (as the things drawn from Trismegistus and the Sibylline Books, which have been for a long time condemned as spurious by the more acute). If there were no other proof, this would suffice—that this mystery is there more clearly unfolded than was done by any of the prophets. Or the things pertaining to this mystery are of no importance, as the allusions in Plato and the Platonists to three principles—"Mind," Word" and "Spirit" (which if they prove anything, favor three essences or separate gods). All the truth they contain appears to have been drawn from the ancient doctrine of the Hebrews and the reading of Moses and the prophets. It must be ascribed to tradition grounded on revelation rather than to reason grounded on the light of nature.

VI. Therefore whatever it is permitted to know concerning this mystery must be learned from the word of God alone. The only certain and invincible proof is to be drawn neither from the obscure and corrupt light of reason, nor from the rivulets of the fathers, nor from the stagnant pools of the Scholastics ("air-walkers" [*aerobatountōn*] and rashly rushing into that deep of deeps) who, while laboriously striving to leave nothing undiscussed by their subtle acuteness, at length feel that the searchers into majesty are oppressed by it; rather it is to be drawn from the perfectly limpid fountains of Scripture in which the Holy Spirit has condescended to reveal to us the whole of this mystery as far as it is necessary to be known for salvation; in the Old Testament, indeed rather obscurely, but in the New more clearly. Hence we start with our proofs.

1. The Trinity is proved from the baptism of Christ.

VII. The first is drawn from the baptism of Christ (Mt. 3:16, 17*) in which three persons manifested themselves in distinct personality: the Father who spoke from heaven; the Son who ascended from the Jordan; and the Spirit who descended from heaven in the form of a dove and rested upon the Son. One is heard, but is neither seen nor descends. Another is not heard, but descends in a visible form. Another descends to and ascends from the river, baptized in the sight of all. Hence the saying of the ancients, "Arian, go to Jordan, and there you will see the Trinity." The Son here meant is not a common, but the singular and proper, and "beloved in whom the Father was well pleased," who must baptize with the Holy Spirit (Lk. 3:16). This cannot be said of a created person, but only of a divine person. The Spirit mentioned cannot only designate some will or property of God because the properties of God are never in Scripture said to descend from heaven upon anyone (which is a personal act) much less to assume any corporeal and visible form. Nor ought the particle *hōsei* (which is attached) to be referred to the mode of descent (as the Socinians wish, as if it meant descending gradually and lightly in the manner of a dove, not impetuously as a hawk eager after its prey); but to the mode of appearing (which was made under that visible and bodily form to designate better the character of the Spirit of Christ). Hence both the descent itself, and the remaining upon Christ sufficiently prove a descending person, not a simple quality. Nor is it an objection that we are said "to be baptized with him." We can as properly be said "to be baptized with the Spirit" (viz., figuratively and mystically) as to "be clothed with and be nourished by Christ" (although he is a person).

2. From our baptism.

VIII. Second, the same thing is proved by our baptism instituted by Christ: "Teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Mt. 28:19). Here also three distinct persons are mentioned of the same nature, authority and power to whom we equally give our names and promise obedience. We are baptized into the name common to them, not into the names (which denotes unity of essence). To be "baptized into the name of God" signifies particularly three things: (1)

the authority of God who instituted it and confirmed by this sacrament (as a seal) the covenant he made with us; (2) the promise of grace and protection of those whom he receives by baptism into his fellowship; (3) the stipulation of worship and obedience to which the baptized are bound by the covenant. It is also necessary that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit should be that only one and true God who, as the author of the covenant of grace, has the authority to institute sacraments, to seal it, who can promise and bestow covenanted grace, and to the worship of obedience of whom the covenanted are introduced and obligated (which Paul clearly testifies can be said of no mortal [1 Cor. 1:13] when he denies that the Corinthians were baptized in the name of Paul). Nor can it weaken the force of this argument that the Israelites are said to have been baptized into Moses (1 Cor. 10:2) since it is one thing to be baptized into the name of God, another to be baptized into Moses, i.e., by the ministry of Moses, "by the hand of Moses" (*bydh msch*, as the Syrian and Arabian versions have it); or, what is better, "into the doctrine of Moses," to the confirmation of the doctrine delivered by Moses (just as Moses is often used for the law or the doctrine delivered by him; cf. Jn. 5:45, 46—"Moses" [i.e., the doctrine of Moses] "in whom ye trust and whom ye believe accuses you"). "They have Moses and the prophets" (Lk. 16:29) not in their persons, but doctrines. So "to be baptized unto the baptism of John" is to be baptized unto the confirmation of the doctrine which John sealed by his baptism (Acts 19:3).

3. From 1 Jn. 5:7.

IX. Third, it may be proved from 1 Jn. 5:7 where three are expressly mentioned who are said to be one: "for there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one." Three witnesses are brought forward not as qualities, but persons. For as the Father is a person, so also is the Word and the Spirit who are placed in the same order and degree. Witnesses, not human or angelic, who utter a divine testimony (v. 10) are opposed thereby to a human and created witness. Still they so distinctly testify that they are one not only in consent and will but in essence, that they are called "one" (Jn. 10:30). To no purpose do the adversaries (in order to avoid this dart) endeavor to weaken confidence in this passage, as if it were interpolated because it is wanting in various

Greek manuscripts, is not found in the Syriac and Arabic versions and is omitted by various fathers. For the most ancient and approved manuscripts, which retain this text, support our opinion. Jerome in his prologue to the Canonical Epistles (*Prologus Septem Epistolarum Canonicarum* [PL 29.870–74]) remarks that it existed in the Greek manuscripts, and Erasmus confesses that it was extant in the Codex Britannicus. The most approved editions (that of Complutensis, Antwerp, Arias Montanus, Robert Stephen's and Walton), which are founded upon the best manuscripts, have it. Hence, if in some it is wanting, this must be attributed either to the fraud and treachery of the Arians (as Jerome acknowledges) or of the more ancient heretics whose sacrilegious hands evidently tampered with the Scriptures. In addition, the connection of the text itself and the series of the apostle's discourse demand it. For there would be no sense to the following words ("and there are three that bear witness in earth") unless there were supposed to be three preceeding witnesses testifying in heaven with whom a comparison could be made of the witnesses in earth.

X. Falsely also they maintain that it treats only of the unity of consent or *homoboulia:* (1) because perfect unity of consent (*homoboulia*) supposes also sameness of essence (*homoousian*); hence they of our party who refer it to consent do not exclude, but suppose an identity of nature; for whatever is not God (since what is mutable and fallible can fail), its testimony cannot be called divine and one with God; (2) not only are they said to agree in one thing (*eis to hen*, as is said of the earthly witnesses, which is properly referred to consent), but that they are one (*to hen*, which properly implies identity of nature). Nor if believers are said "to be one" (Jn. 17:21) as "the Father is one with the Son," does it follow that the unity is the same in both cases. Nor does the word *kathōs* always denote equality, but some analogy and similitude (as 1 Pet. 1:19; Mt. 5:48). It is not said of believers that they are one with God, but that "they are one spirit" (1 Cor. 6:17); not referring to an essential, but to a mystical and spiritual union, so that to be one spirit (*einai hen pneuma*) is the same as to be "one in spirit" (*einai hen tō pneumati*) because the same spirit operates both in the head and in the members.

4. From 2 Cor. 13:14.

XI. Fourth, the apostolic benediction not obscurely evinces the same thing. "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all" (2 Cor. 13:14). For these three blessings, embracing the whole plan of salvation, are sought by believers from three distinct persons and distinguished by three names. Therefore if the Lord who confers grace, and God who bestows love are persons, why should not also the Holy Spirit (who is classified with them) be of the same order and dignity? Nor can it be objected here that the communion of the Spirit must be understood passively, not actively (as if this were a wish that the grace of Christ and the love of the Father would communicate the Holy Spirit to believers). It is one thing to seek the Spirit from the love of God and the grace of Christ; but another to seek that the communion of the Spirit may be with believers, no less than the grace of Christ and the love of the Father (which is done here). For in this manner the three blessings flowing from the three persons in the work of redemption are designated according to the mode of operation proper to each one; the love of God in the destination; the grace of Christ in the acquisition; and the communion of the Spirit in the application (as the Spirit is elsewhere set forth as the author of gifts and as the object of prayer, not as its matter, when grace and peace are sought from him, Rev. 1:4, 5).

5. From Jn. 15:26.

XII. Fifth, here belong the passages in which express mention is made of three, mutually distinct from each other, to whom divine works are equally ascribed; as "when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me" (Jn. 15:26); and "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever" (Jn. 14:16). Here we see that mention is made of the Comforter sent, of the Son sending, and of the Father from whom he proceeds, and in whose name he is sent (who as the one from the other in turn—the Son from the Father and the Spirit from the Son—yet are placed in an equal grade of authority and power for the accomplishment of the work of redemption, which belongs to God alone without the intervention of creatures). Thus the mission and execution show only an order among the persons and a distinction of

personal relation, not a diversity of essence or of causality. Nor is it an objection that Christ says that he prays to the Father and that the Father is greater than he (Jn. 14:16, 28) because he says this with respect to office and economy, not in relation to essence; or that the Spirit is said to be given to many (which belongs not to a person). For the Son also may well be said to be given to many, not by destroying or dividing the person, but by communicating blessings; or that the Spirit is said to speak not of himself (Jn. 16:13). For this must not be understood absolutely as if he did not speak anything, but because he did not teach anything different from what Christ had taught (to intimate that he is the end-accomplishing [*telesiourgikon*] principle, consummating the work begun by the Father and carried on by the Son).

XIII. "Now there are diversities of gifts," says Paul, "but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all" (1 Cor. 12:4–6). Now since it is evident that no one but God alone can be the author of gifts, operations and administrations, it is necessary that the Spirit, the Lord and God the Father (from whom they proceed) must be that one God. Nor can it be said that those are subordinate not principal causes because they are placed in the same order, and the Spirit is said to distribute to every man severally gifts as he will (just as much as the Father is said to be the author of operations). The apostle wishes to reduce to unity the Corinthians (quarrelling among themselves about gifts) by this argument: whatever you possess—whether gifts, or administrations, or miraculous operations—proceed from the one God. Yet these are bestowed partly by the Holy Spirit, partly by the Lord Jesus, partly by God the Father (who is called God by way of eminence, *kat' exochēn*). Therefore the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are that one God in whom you ought to cherish unity.

Sources of explanation.

XIV. It is impossible to be and not to be the same in the same respect. But in the Trinity they who are distinguished personally can be the same essentially. Therefore, although the Son is of the same essence with the

Father, he is rightly said not to be the Father; for the former is said only with respect to essence and the latter with respect to person.

XV. Three numerical Gods are not one numerical God. Although the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are three numerical persons, still they are not three numerical Gods because they partake of the same divine essence. The Father is one, the Son is another (but not another God). He is another personally, but not essentially.

XVI. The principles which are true concerning finite natures must not be transferred to the infinite; otherwise they become false (for example, three cannot be one; the begetter and the begotten are not one in essence; the singular and individual cannot be communicated to more than one). Thus the inference is faulty—three human persons are three men, therefore three divine persons are three gods. The reason is that these three human persons partake only of the same specific and not numerical essence and a similar rather than the same essence (for they have each one his own essence and singular existence); but the divine persons partake of the same infinite, numerical essence.

XVII. Although there are three divine persons, it does not follow that there are three infinites. For as the Trinity of persons does not imply a Trinity of gods (on account of the identity of essence), so it does not imply a Trinity of infinites because the three persons have the same numerical infinity (which is an essential property). Thus they are the one infinite God.

XVIII. Where there are one and three really distinct, there are four. But here, the three persons are not really distinguished from the essence, but only the mode of subsisting (so that another may be found among the persons, but not another thing between them and the divinity because these three persons are nothing else than the one God who subsists diversely in three persons).

XIX. Although the true God is the Trinity, yet not whatever is true God is the Trinity. Rather it is either the Trinity or some one of the persons.

XX. He who conceives God as one has a complete conception as to the complement of essence, but not immediately as to the complement of personality. Nor if our conception of God is incomplete, does it therefore follow that the divine essence itself is incomplete because the essence is inseparable from the persons.

XXI. One in number substantively as to essential unity cannot be three in the same respect; but it can be three adjectively and personally as to the personal Trinity.

XXII. Things which are the same with a third are the same with each other (viz., with respect to that third in which they agree). Thus because the persons agree in essence, they are also the same among themselves as to essence. Thus they may properly be said to be *idem*, but not *iidem*, the same God, but not the same persons. (2) Things which are the same with a singular and incommunicable third are the same with each other, but when they are the same with a universal (or at least a communicable third), they are not mutually the same (for example, Paul and Peter are one in human nature specifically, but they are not mutually the same numerically because human nature is universal). The Father and the Son are one in the divine nature and yet are not mutually the same because the divine nature in which they agree (although singular and individual) is nevertheless communicable to more than one person.

XXIII. Hence appears what must be answered to the sophism of heretics who bring forward as an expository syllogism: "The divine essence is the Father; the divine essence is the Son; therefore the Son is the Father" (viz., that it is of mere particulars and is composed of four terms because the middle term [to wit the divine essence] is not incommunicable as it ought to be in such syllogisms and is taken diversely in the major and minor). For in the major, either it is taken universally and completely in this sense—the divine essence is the Father (i.e., whatever is the divine essence) and thus it is false; or it is taken particularly and incompletely—the someone who is the divine essence is the Father; and so it is true, but concludes nothing because they are mere particulars.

XXIV. Although the divine nature taken precisely may be conceived to have singularity and existence, yet it cannot be called a person because it does not have incommunicability. Although it extends more widely than the single persons taken separately, yet with respect to the persons taken together it is adequate to and identified with them. So each person partakes indeed of the whole divinity, but not totally and adequately (if it is proper so to speak) because it is so in the Father as it is also in the Son.

XXV. In what essence the Father is the only God opposed to the Son and Holy Spirit and not only to creatures and the false deities of the heathen, in

that there are not three distinct persons; but thus we deny the Father to be the only one in the divine essence. Nor is this proved by Jn. 17:3 because the exclusive particle *monon* ("only") does not limit the subject "thee," but the predicate "true God." It is opposed not to the Son or the Holy Spirit, but to creatures and false gods in this sense, that "they might know thee, who art the only true God" (which the structure evidently teaches). For if it referred to the subject "thee," it would have been written without the article (*monon ton alēthinon theon*, "thou alone art the true God"); not as it is written here (*se ton monon*, "thee, who art the only true God") where the article placed before the word *monon* intimates that it belongs to the following predicate and not to the antecedent subject.

XXVI. Besides the essence and relation taken separately, there is the person consisting of both; not as of composing parts, but as of a thing and its mode. The person begets, or is begotten, or proceeds. Essence is communicated by generation or spiration. The relation begetting is distinguished from the begotten and the proceeding.

XXVII. The thought concerning three to be worshipped with equal reverence does not distract the mind of the worshipper lest perchance he might divide the worship due to the one God among more than one, since he ought to be convinced that, on the ground of the unity and consubstantiality (*homoousia*) of the persons, the Son and the Holy Spirit are invoked by the same act of invocation which is addressed to the Father. He ought always to recollect that expression of Gregory Nazianzus, "I cannot think of one without being instantly surrounded with the splendor of three; nor can I discern the three without being suddenly attracted to one" (*ou phthanō to hen noēsai kai tois trisi terilampomai, ou phthanō ta tria dielein, kai eis to hen anapheromai, On Holy Baptism* 41 [NPNF2, 7:375; PG 36.417]).

Twenty-Sixth Question

Can the mystery of the Trinity be proved from the Old Testament, and was it known under it? We affirm against the Socinians

I. From the arguments adduced by us before to prove the necessity of this doctrine as a fundamental article, it might be satisfactorily inferred that

it was revealed and known under the Old Testament (since fundamentals are the same among all believers admitting neither of increase nor of diminution). Yet the Socinians (in order by any means to destroy the belief of this mystery) are wont to urge peculiarly that it is a new doctrine invented after the time of Christ and his apostles (whom the Arminians also carry on their shoulders here). It therefore becomes necessary to establish against both the truth of this mystery not only from the New, but also from the Old Testament.

The Trinity was not unknown under the Old Testament.

II. Indeed, we confess that it was not revealed under the Old Testament with the same clearness as it is now taught in the New. It was delivered far more obscurely because the reason of that economy and the (as yet) infantile condition of the ancient church required it. Yet this is no objection to its having been made known even to the patriarchs sufficiently for salvation. The orthodox thus far have constantly asserted this against the Socinians, and it can be proved by various arguments.

III. For the proof we must make a choice of the passages of Scripture that we may contend not so much by number as by weight. For it is not becoming in us to be so anxious about the number as about the solidity, lest the Christian religion be exposed to derision and an opportunity of cavilling be afforded to the adversaries. When our Calvin labored to do this, he was undeservedly and most unjustly traduced by them as a Judaizer or an Arianizer. On the contrary, scarcely has anyone more strongly and triumphantly confirmed the Christian faith against the impiety of the Arians and the Jews.

A plurality of persons is proved from Gen. 1:26, etc.

IV. But as God has condescended to reveal himself here “at sundry times and in diverse manners” (*polymerōs kai polytropōs*), there is a double kind of proof. First, we may adduce those passages from which a plurality of persons may be gathered; second, those in which the Trinity is expressly

mentioned. Among the former are a large number which introduce God speaking of himself in the plural number. The principle ones are these three: at the creation of man, “Let us make man in our image” (Gen. 1:26); at the transgression of Adam, “Behold, the man is become as one of us” (Gen 3:22); and at the confusion of tongues, “Let us go down and there confound their language” (Gen 11:7). No reason can be assigned why God (who elsewhere so frequently speaks of himself in the singular) should use the plural verb, unless to intimate a certain (at least) plurality of persons in the unity of essence. Hence he does not say “let me make,” but “let us make,” so that more than one is intimated. As in creating, there is a common operation to them, so there ought to be a common nature. He does not say in “images,” but in “our image,” so that the identity of image designates the identity of essence common to these more than one. Nor ought it to be objected here: (1) that God for the sake of honor speaks of himself in the plural by enallage (like kings and princes) because the idiom of the language forbids it. For although the second or third person can be so addressed for the sake of honor, yet it is altogether unusual for the first person to speak thus of himself (as Aben Ezra himself on Genesis 29:27 remarks+). Nor can any example to the contrary be adduced. Those which are sought from various passages of Scripture are synecdochical, where one speaks in the name of more: Laban of himself and friends who were present (Gen. 29:27); Bildad of himself and companions (Job 18:2, 3); Daniel of himself and companions (Dan. 2:36); Christ of himself, John the Baptist and his disciples (Jn. 3:11); the church of herself and daughters (i.e., believers, Cant. 1:4). The present custom of kings does not imply that this practice existed among the Hebrews, since Pharoah, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar and the most ambitious kings are introduced speaking of themselves in the singular. When kings do thus speak, it is done not so much for the purpose of exalting as of depressing themselves, that they may seem to speak not only of themselves, but also the opinion of the nobles. (2) If God spoke thus of himself for the sake of honor, he ought always to have spoken so (which he certainly did not do). Third, this enallage would be not only useless but also dangerous because the believer would thus be easily induced to believe a plurality of persons (which however would be false on that hypothesis).

V. Of no force either is the objection that angels are here addressed because in no one of the three passages can they be understood. Not in the first, because the angels neither assisted in the least in the creation of man nor is he anywhere said to have been formed in their image. Although men are in various respects similar to the angels, yet they cannot be said to have been made in their image because for this would be required no kind of similitude, but also a dependence of the type upon the prototype and examplar (which does not occur here). Not in the second (Gen. 3:22), because those whom God addresses are equal to him and their likeness (man) aimed at according to the promise of the serpent (which cannot be said of the angels). Not in the third (Gen. 11:7), because they are addressed whose work is the confusion of tongues (which does not pertain to the angels, but to God alone). Besides the deep silence here concerning the angels, Jehovah alone is said to descend, to see, to confound (which ought not to have been said if he had employed angels as his ministers in this work).

2. From Gen. 1:2.

VI. Second, a plurality may be proved from those passages where the discourse concerns God as about different persons. "The Spirit of God" (Gen. 1:2) is said to move upon the face of the waters. By the Spirit cannot be understood the "air" or "wind" because neither had as yet been created. And no distinction of things had been made, nor any angel because it is not known whether angels had as yet been created (nor is God said to have used their help in creation). Nor can it be understood of any virtue and efficacy of God as the cause of the fecundity of things because that is described by incubation and is distinguished from the Spirit (as the effect from the cause and actions belong to self-existent things [*suppositorum*]). Therefore by the Spirit must necessarily be meant some *suppositum* or person concurring to this work; to wit, the same Spirit who is elsewhere termed the author of creation (Ps. 33:6; 104:30; Is. 40:13, 14, expressions applying to no created thing). Nor is it an objection that he is called the Spirit of God for he is so the Spirit of God considered hypostatically as to be also God the Spirit essentially (*ousiōdōs*) as the Son of Man is also man. Nor if that incubation (as an external work) is common to the whole Trinity originally does it

follow that it cannot belong appropriatively to the Holy Spirit because he performs it immediately and by himself (although from the Father and the Son); just as redemption (which is ascribed to the whole Trinity) yet singularly and terminatively is attributed to the Son.

From Hos. 1:7.

VII. The same thing may be proved from those passages in which God is distinguished from himself, not essentially but personally. Jehovah says, "I will save them by Jehovah their God" (Hos. 1:7). Where two are spoken of —one who saves, another by whom he saves (viz., the Messiah)—and both Jehovah. "Jehovah rained fire and brimstone from Jehovah" (Gen. 19:24), i.e., the Son from the Father. For if he had wished only to denote that this had been done immediately by God, it would have sufficed to say Jehovah rained without adding "from Jehovah." Therefore undoubtedly a mystery lies concealed in this locution, although an apodictical argument cannot be drawn from this passage taken by itself. So "Jehovah said to my Lord" (Ps. 110:1) and "God, thy God, hath annointed thee with the oil of gladness" (Ps. 45:7*), where mention is made of God anointing and anointed (viz., hypostatically not essentially). Here belong the passages in which divine names and attributes are ascribed to the Messiah: when he is called "Jehovah our righteousness," "the mighty God," "the angel of his presence." These manifestly prove a divine person distinct from God the Father. Nor can the heretics bring forward anything here to weaken the force of this argument, as will be shown in the proper place when we come to treat of the deity of the Son.

The Trinity may be proved from Gen. 1.

VIII. As the passages which connote a plurality of persons are various, so those in which that plurality is restricted to a Trinity are not a few. First, it is collected with some clearness from the history of the creation where Moses distinctly mentions Elohim creating, the Spirit of God moving upon the waters, and the Word producing all things. That Elohim is God, the adversaries do not deny; that the Spirit of God is a person distinct from him has been already proved; and that the Word is not a simple command and

mandate of God, but a personal Word is evinced by a comparison of Moses with John who, alluding to Moses, describes the Word spoken of by Moses as a person subsisting with God the Father, by whom all things were created (Jn. 1:1–3). Nor can it be understood either of "an external word" by which God commanded the angels as his ministers because they were not yet created—they themselves ought to be produced by that Word who made all things without exception; or of an internal word by which he enjoined this upon himself—because God is introduced speaking in the third person, as if commanding another person not himself (and that too repeatedly). This cannot be explained as being done either undesignedly or in accommodation to an internal word. It remains therefore that we must understand a "personal Word" (i.e., the Son of God, who is often set forth in the Chaldee paraphrase by *mymr* or "the Word"). Nor is it an objection that the verb "said" connotes an efficacious command of God. For although objectively and terminated on the creatures about to be produced, it implies the efficacious command of God (to whom they would owe their origin), yet it supposes within and originally the personal Word of God as the principle which that mandate ought to obey (as by him he works all things and made the worlds, Heb. 1:2). In reference to this David says, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made; and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth" (Ps. 33:6). Here distinct mention is made of three concurring in creation: "Jehovah," "the Word" and "the Spirit." For the Word can be no other than that by whom John says all things were made (1:3). Nor can any other Spirit be meant than him who moved upon the waters in the first creation. And if the Spirit of the mouth of God is elsewhere usually applied to his efficacious word (cf. 2 Thess. 2:8), it ought here also to be taken in the same sense, since such express mention had been made of him in the first part of the verse.

2. From the liberation of the people from Egyptian bondage.

IX. Second, the same may be proved from the deliverance of the people out of Egyptian bondage, the guidance of them through the wilderness, and introduction into Canaan. He is that true God whom the Israelites

acknowledged and worshipped, who brought them out of Egypt, lead them through the wilderness and introduced them into the land of promise. For no other besides God could have performed so great a work, as he himself testifies in the preface to the law: "I am the Lord thy God who brought thee out of the land of Egypt." Also he often claims this as his prerogative (Ex. 3:8; Dt. 33:29). Now this work is ascribed to the three persons of the Trinity —the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Concerning the Father, the adversaries do not doubt; concerning the Son, the following passages prove (Ex. 3:2; 23:20; 32:34), in which this work is ascribed to the "angel of Jehovah." That this angel is not a created angel, but the uncreated Son of God himself, sent by God for this work and often manifesting himself under this form to the patriarchs, is evident from the description of him and the various attributes given to him (which are such as cannot apply to a creature, but belong to God alone). (1) He says he is the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob (Ex. 3:6); calls the Israelites his people (Ex. 3:7); sends Moses to Pharaoh (Ex. 3:10); promises himself divine worship after their deliverance from Egypt (Ex. 3:12). (2) He is said to have gone before the Israelites in a pillar of cloud and fire (Ex. 14:19), which is expressly attributed to Jehovah (Ex. 13:21; Num. 11:25; 14:14). (3) It is said that "the name of God" will be in him so that they will not escape unpunished who rebel against him (Ex. 23:20, 21*). (4) He is called "the very presence of God" ("My presence shall go with thee," Ex. 33:14) because he is the image of the invisible God, the express image of the person of the Father. That the Holy Spirit also here concurred as a person with the others is evident from the noted passage: "I will mention the lovingkindnesses of the Lord" (Is. 63:7–14). He said "surely they are my people, so he was their Savior." "The angel of his presence saved them in his love, but they rebelled and vexed his Holy Spirit." Here three distinct persons are enumerated: "Jehovah," "the angel of his presence," and "the Holy Spirit." Distinct operations are ascribed to each: to Jehovah, lovingkindness towards the people; to the angel of his presence, redemption; and to the Holy Spirit, vexation and contention with the people, while he was turned to be their enemy. Since, then, a truly divine work is ascribed to these three, it is necessary that they should be the one true God essentially (although mutually distinguished in mode of subsisting and personally).

3. From the descriptions of the Messiah.

X. Third, the same thing is evidenced by the descriptions of the Messiah. Since he is everywhere proposed not only as the seed of the woman and the fruit of the womb (i.e., a true man), but also as the true and eternal God, to whom divine names and attributes and works are ascribed (as will be demonstrated hereafter), who was to be sent from the Father and the Holy Spirit, it is evident that the mystery of the Trinity was thus revealed with sufficient clearness. Here belongs the passage, "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek" (Is. 61:1, 2). Christ himself authorizes us to refer these words to the Messiah (Lk. 4:21); nor can the Jews, although obstinate, deny it. Such things are predicated of him as can apply neither to Isaiah nor to any other mortal. As therefore the work ascribed to the Messiah proves him to be God, so when mention is made of Jehovah and his Spirit sending and anointing him, two persons distinct from him are connoted. The passage in Haggai 2:4, 5* is pertinent here, which mentions these three: "I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts: according to the word that I covenanted with you, so my spirit remaineth among you."

4. From the threefold repetition of the name Jehovah, Num. 6:24–26.

XI. Fourth, from the threefold repetition of the name Jehovah, as in the blessing of the priest: "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace" (Num. 6:24–26). For this threefold repetition can be employed for no other purpose than to designate those three persons from whom, as from one true Jehovah, that blessing is sought. Thus Jacob mentions three times the God from whom he seeks a blessing for his sons: "God, before whom my fathers did walk; the God which fed me all my life long unto this day, the Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads" (Gen. 48:15, 16). Now the angel who redeemed him from all evil and from whom he sought the blessing could not be a creature. Here also must be referred the seraphic trisagion: "Holy, holy, holy

is Jehovah God of Hosts" (Is. 6:3). For although this threefold repetition can denote the unwearied assiduity of the heavenly inhabitants in praising God and the excellency of the divine holiness, still this does not hinder it from being considered as also designating a sacred Triad. The latter may be gathered from this—that these are ascriptions to Jehovah, the plurality of whose persons is implied even from this—not only that he says, "Who will go for us" (Is. 6:8), but also that the mandate issued there is to be attributed not only to the Father, but also to the Son and Holy Spirit (from a comparison of Jn. 12:41 and Acts 28:25, where the things spoken here of Jehovah are attributed to the Son and the Holy Spirit, who consequently are understood to be designated in this trisagion). To no purpose does Volkelius endeavor to destroy the argument from those passages where a threefold repetition is found (as Jer. 27:4; 22:9; Ezk. 21:32) because it is not founded simply upon the repetition, but upon that in connection with other circumstances of the text.

XII. Fifth, to these must be added those passages from which the divinity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit is proved (of which we will treat hereafter when we take up their divinity). These would have no force, unless a Trinity of persons in unity of essence had been connotated.

XIII. Sixth, there is not one Old Testament and another New Testament God (as the Marcionites and Manicheans formerly pretended), but one and the same revealed in both as the sole object of faith and worship. Under the New Testament, he has revealed himself as one in essence and three in persons. Therefore he must necessarily have been revealed to the Jews as such and known and worshipped by them. Otherwise they would not have worshipped the true God who is no other than the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit (because he who has not the Son has not the Father either, 1 Jn. 2:23).

XIV. Finally, if the Trinity was not revealed in the Old Testament, the orthodox thus far (the ancient as well as the more modern) have labored falsely to prove it from the Old Testament (which cannot without grievous injustice be charged upon so many great men and faithful servants of God). Nor ought it to be said that we can now indeed gather this from the Old Testament assisted by the light of the gospel; but that it could not be done equally by the fathers. For although we confess that the light of the New Testament serves in a great measure to illuminate for us the obscurity of the

ancient oracles, yet it cannot be denied that God, who condescended to reveal them to the fathers for their instruction and consolation, adapted them to their comprehension so that they might from them be instructed in this mystery (as far as was necessary for their salvation). Otherwise to no purpose were these things revealed to them.

XV. Although the Jews of our day refuse to acknowledge this mystery, it does not follow that it was unknown under the Old Testament (no more than the various other mysteries which are denied by them now, although it is certain that they were formerly revealed). For the knowledge of a thing ought not to be measured by the ignorance of this or that subject, but by the revelation made in the word. In addition, the modern Jews, bearing a veil of unbelief over their hearts and bewitched by the nefarious hatred with which they persecute our Messiah, voluntarily shut their eyes to that light which the ancient believers, not blinded by prejudice, contemplated with great consolation, assisted by the Holy Spirit.

Twenty-Seventh Question

Can the divine persons be distinguished from the essence, and from each other, and how?

The persons may be distinguished from the essence.

I. A Trinity of divine persons having been established, we must now treat of their distinction both from the essence itself and from each other. The persons are manifestly distinct from the essence because the essence is one only, while the persons are three. The former is absolute, the latter are relative; the former is communicable (not indeed as to multiplication, but as to identity), the latter are incommunicable; the former is a something broader and the latter are narrower. For although the essence is adequate to the three persons taken together, yet it is broader than each one of them because each person has indeed the whole divinity, but not adequately and totally (if it is right so to speak), i.e., not to the exclusion of the others because it is still communicable to more. The former is the common principle of external operations, which are undivided and common to the

three persons; the latter are the principle of internal operations, which belong to the single persons mutually related to each other.

II. About the nature of this distinction theologians are not agreed. Some maintain that it is real; others formal; others virtual and eminent (of reasoned ratiocination, which although it may not be on the part of the thing, still may have its foundation in the thing); others personal; others, finally, modal. We think these various notions ought not to be troubled and cut to the quick since, being drawn from human and finite things, they can but very imperfectly adumbrate this mystery. It is better to be satisfied with this general notion that there is a distinction, although what and how great it is cannot be comprehended and expressed by us.

Not essentially, but modally.

III. Now although all these species of distinction come far short of the sublimity of this great mystery, still no one seems to us to approach nearer to it than the modal distinction (*distinctione modali*) by which the mode is said to be distinguished from some thing. For the personal properties by which the persons are distinguished from the essence are certain modes by which it may be characterized; not indeed formally and properly (as modes are said to be in created things, which as finite can be differently affected and admit modes really distinct and posterior to the thing modified, which cannot fall on the infinite and most perfect essence of God); but eminently and analogically, all imperfection being removed. Thus the person may be said to differ from the essence not really (*realiter*), i.e., essentially (*essentialiter*) as thing and thing, but modally (*modaliter*)—as a mode from the thing (*modus a re*).

IV. Hence it follows that there is no composition in God because composition arises only from diverse things. Here we do not have a thing and a thing, but a thing and the modes of the thing by which it is not compounded but distinguished. Again, composition belongs to those things which are related to each other as power and act (which cannot be granted here). Nor can the term composition be applied to God without implying imperfection.

V. Whatever is in God essential and absolute is God himself (such are the divine attributes, power, wisdom, justice, etc.). But whatever is in God

personal, relative and modal may not immediately in every way be identified with the divine essence. It is indeed God in the concrete, but not in the abstract. It is God the Father or God the Son or God the Holy Spirit, but cannot be called formally the divinity itself.

VI. While infinity is an essential property belonging to the divinity, it is not necessary that it should be properly ascribed to the personalities. It suffices that they be called modes of the infinite essence.

VII. The wisdom and power of God taken precisely and essentially are attributes which are identified with the divinity. Yet they are spoken of the Son and the Holy Spirit personally, and relatively as they are affected by the personalities of the Son and the Holy Spirit.

VIII. The distinction of the persons from each other seems to be greater than from the essence. For the essence can be predicated of the person, nor is there granted an opposition between the person and the essence in the exercised act or in the concrete. Thus it may be said, this person is not God, for the Father is God, the Son is God, etc., although in the signified act and in the abstract, a person is not the essence. But the persons cannot be mutually predicated of each other, for the Father cannot be called the Son or the Son the Father.

In explaining the distinction between the persons Sabellianism must be avoided.

IX. In explaining this distinction two extremes must be avoided—the sources of the most grevious heresies. On the one hand, there is Sabellianism, introduced about the year 260 by Sabellius, the Pentapolitan of the city of Ptolemais in Egypt. He was followed afterwards by Praxeas, an Asiatic, and Hermogenes, an African. In a latter age, Michael Servetus restored this error, maintaining a distinction only of reason between the persons, so as to make only one person (who on account of various effects may be called now the Father, now the Son, and then the Holy Spirit). On the other hand, there is the Tritheism of Philoponus and Valentine Gentilis (who from the three persons make three eternal, unequal spirits, essentially distinct from each other).

X. The orthodox hold a middle ground. Against Sabellius, they deny that the distinction of reason alone has place here because the Father is another than the Son and the Son than the Father (on the part of the thing beyond the operation of our conception). Against the Tritheists, they reject the real (*realem*) or essential distinction because although there are more persons than one mutually distinct, yet there is only one essence. But they hold to a modal (*modalem*) distinction because as the persons are constituted by personal properties as incommunicable modes of subsisting, so they may properly be said to be distinguished by them.

XI. Although theologians may seem in some measure to differ from each other here (some urging a real, others only a modal distinction), yet they are easily reconciled. Those who say that they differ really are nevertheless unwilling to express it as a real major distinction (*distinctionem realem majorem*) which exists between things and things (as if there was in the Trinity a difference of things or one and another essence, which would be opposed to the unity and simplicity of the divine essence). But they say it is only a real minor distinction (*distinctionem realem minorem*, as the Scholastics have it) which exists between a thing and the mode of the thing or between the modes themselves, which coincides with the modal distinction held by others. Although in God there is not one and another thing (i.e., different essences), still there is one and another subject (a difference of persons).

XII. To authorize this distinction in the deity, it is not necessary that there should be any adequate or equal example among creatures. It is sufficient if there is anything similar or analogous as a foundation; yea, it would even be sufficient to attend to the persons themselves which would be distinct only in name (as Sabellius held) if there were no real modal distinction.

XIII. Things incommunicable to each other (*allēlois*) can be said to differ really (i.e., not only by reason); but it does not immediately follow that they differ essentially and specifically. The persons differ from each other in the first manner, not in the second.

XIV. These modes of subsisting (*tropoi hyparxeōs*) by which the persons are distinguished from each other may well be called real (*reales*) because they are not a work of reason, but imply something positive on the part of the thing (by which the persons are constituted and distinguished from each

other). Yet they cannot well be called either substantial (*substantiales*) or accidental (*accidentales*) since this division applies only to a finite being and indeed to things, not to modes. If at any time, they are said to be substantial, this is done improperly with respect to the subject modified (*subjecti modificati*) (if we may so speak) and not with respect to the form or quiddity of the modes themselves.

XV. But although these modes are wont to be explained mostly negatively by incommunicability, it does not follow that nothing positive is meant, but indicates only a bare negation of the conjunction of the divine essence with any other thing in order to constitute one self-existent thing (*suppositum*). That negative term implies positively the ultimate complement by which the thing is so complete in itself, as that it cannot be further united with or communicated to any other. Hence that communicability is founded upon something positive, which is formally constitutive of the person, and not upon something negative. Otherwise the conception of the Trinity would be purely negative, and the three persons of the Trinity in their personal being would be constituted and be mutually distinguished from each other by negation alone, and the personal internal works would have only a negative principle. Since these cannot stand, we are necessitated to say that the mode of subsisting in the divinity superadds something positive to the unity of the divine essence. Now although we cannot easily conceive what that something positive is, it ought not, therefore, to be said to consist in a mere negation.

The distinction of persons is found: (1) in the persons themselves as to order.

XVI. This distinction of the persons may be principally observed in two things: (1) within (*intus*), in the persons themselves; (2) without (*foris*) in their operations. First, as to the persons, with respect to order, because the Father is proposed in Scripture as the first person, who is from no one; the Son as the second, who is from the Father; and the Holy Spirit as the third who is from the Father and the Son. With respect to that order a certain preeminence (*hyperochē*) is attributed by theologians to the Father, not indeed as to essence and deity (because the persons being consubstantial

[*homoousioi*] the highest equality exists among them), but as to mode (both in subsisting and in working): in subsisting, because both as to order and as to origin, he precedes the Son and the Holy Spirit (as having no principle either of order or of origin, but existing from himself—not positively, but negatively). In this sense, he is called by the fathers "the fountain of deity" (*pēgaia theotōtos*), not absolutely as to existence, but respectively as to the communication of it. In working (*operando*), because the order of operating follows the mode of subsisting. Hence the Father operates from himself, but the Son from the Father.

And personal properties.

XVII. Second, as to personal properties—which are not common to the single persons, but singular to each person (and so incommunicable because they agree with the persons as persons and constitute the very incommunicability of the persons). Thus to the Father is ascribed *agennēsia;* to the Son *gennēsis;* to the Holy Spirit *ekporeusis*. The Father is said to be self-begotten (*autogennētos*)—not affirmatively (otherwise he would be the principle of himself and prior and posterior to himself), but negatively (because he is unbegotten, *agennētos*). As Athanasius explains this in the Athanasian Creed (*ap' oudevos esti poiētos, oude men ktistos oude gennētos*), "He is made of none, neither created nor begotten," in contradistinction to the Son (who although not created or made, still is begotten from the Father) (*Symbolum Quicunque*, PG 28.1587). So the Son is said to be from the Father by generation; not with respect to essence and absolutely as God, but with respect to person and reduplicatively (*reduplicative*) as Son. The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son by spiration; for generation and spiration are communicative of the essence to the term of personality.

XVIII. Because these personal and characteristic properties are usually expressed by the relative names of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, it happens that they may well be said also to be distinguished from each other by relations (not indeed predicamental, which are accidental, but transcendental). For as to each person there is a peculiar subsistence and a peculiar property, so also to them singly there is a peculiar relation. Now although these relations can be called real (*reales*) on the part of the

foundation (which is constituted in the internal operations because there is a real difference between the persons, and the Father is really distinct from the Son); still they cannot be called real beings (*realia*, as the Scholastics term them) because they are not absolute entities, but only modifications and characters of the essence.

XIX. Yet the persons are so distinguished by these relations as to be not so much principles constitutive of the persons, as declarative of them *a posteriori;* to wit, inasmuch as they are regarded in their external and respective being. So paternity (which is the relation of the Father to the Son) notifies to us the first person, filiation the second, spiration the third. And although there may be granted in the Father two relations—paternity and spiration—yet the Father is not distinguished into two persons. Besides what is common to the Father and the Son cannot be a distinguishing property (*diakritikē*) of the Father, only the opposed relations here make the distinction (which does not occur in paternity and spiration).

2. In the external works.

XX. Second, the distinction is collected from the works of the persons. For although the external works are undivided and equally common to the single persons (both on the part of the principle and on the part of the accomplishment), yet they are distinguished by order and by terms. For the order of operating follows the order of subsisting. As therefore the Father is from himself, so he works from himself; as the Son is from the Father, so he works from the Father (here belong the words of Christ, "the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do," Jn. 5:19). As the Holy Spirit is from both, so he works from both. They also differ in terms as often as any divine operation is terminated on any person. So the voice heard from heaven is terminated on the Father, incarnation on the Son and the appearance in the form of a dove on the Holy Spirit.

Twenty-Eighth Question: The Deity of the Son

Is the Son true and eternal God, coessential and coeternal with the Father? We affirm against Socinus

I. That the divine majesty and glory of the Son of God, our Redeemer, may be established against those most pestilent heretics (who with execrable impiety oppose it), the state of the question must be properly laid down so that the things irrelevant (*exagōnia*) and uncontroverted may be separated from the controverted. Thus also the genuine opinion of those who are wont often to conceal it under ambiguous words (in order to impose upon the more simple) may be ascertained.

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not whether the Son is a divine person and whether he may be called God (for the adversaries profess to believe this). Hence Smalcius wrote a treatise *De Divinitate Jesu Christi* (1608) and *De Christo vero et Naturali Dei Filio* (1616). He also says, "We do not deny that the son is a person and divine" (*Refutatio Thesium D. Wolfgangi Frantzii*, Disp. I [1614], p. 5). And Socinus: "We say that we acknowledge Christ to be the natural son of God" ("Responsio ad libellum Jacobi Wuieki Jesuitae," chap. 5 in *Opera Omnia* [1656], 2:569). Thus they often ascribe to Christ such things as seem to prove his true divinity. Still if we search more deeply into their sense, it will readily appear that they are only words and expressions devised to raise a smoke, so that they may seem to agree with us in this primary head of the Christian religion (although in reality they differ from us most widely). For whatever they predicate of Christ, it is certain that they do not rise beyond his human nature. They ascribe to him only a precarious and dependent divinity (with respect to his miraculous conception and divinity or with respect to the office imposed upon him). But they have no reference to his consubstantiality (*homoousian*) with the Father which is the real hinge of the question.

III. In order then to clear away all this smoke, the question ought not to be conceived—whether the Son is God; but—whether he is true and eternal God, coessential with the Father. The question is not whether he can be called the natural son of God in such a sense as to leave his divinity precarious and dependent upon him by reason of preeminence, authority, dominion and office. Rather the question is whether he is the proper Son who received from the Father by ineffable generation the same numerical essence with the Father, not in time, but from eternity. The Socinians (with

the ancient Arians) deny this (Ostorodt, *Unterrichtung ... hauptpuncten der Christlichen Religion* 6, 7 [1612], pp. 38–56; Volkelius, *De vera Religione* 5.10 [1630], pp. 420–56); but we affirm it.

IV. The Remonstrants evidently lean towards the Socinians. For although they may wish to appear to differ from them by asserting the generation of the Son, yet in explaining it they sufficiently betray their agreement denying the consubstantiality (*homoousian*) of the Son with the Father and maintaining that the Son (not only in order, but also in dignity and power) differs from the Father and is not coordinate and consubstantial with him, but only subordinate (as Episcopius has it, "Institutiones theologica," 4.32 and 4.35 in *Opera Theologica* [1678], pp. 332–34, 340–44).

The deity of the Son may be proved: (1) from the names of God.

V. That the Son is true God, both consubstantial (*homoousion*) and eternal with the Father, these four things ascribed to him (and belonging to God alone) invincibly prove: (1) the names of God; (2) the attributes of God; (3) the works of God; (4) the worship due to God. First, the names; frequently, both in the Old and in the New Testament, he is called God ("God, thy God, hath anointed thee," Ps. 45:7*) which is proved to be applicable to Christ from Heb. 1:8, 9 where God the Father is distinguished from God the Son, not essentially (*ousiōdōs*), but hypostatically (*hypostatikōs*). He is called "his God," not by reason of nature, but by reason of office and economy. In Is. 9:6, the child and the Son given to us is called "the mighty God." The thing itself exclaims that this title (with the others accompanying it) is not a description of God calling and imposing the name (as the Rabbis contend), but of the Messiah called in order to designate his majesty and glory. In Jer. 23:5, 6, the Branch of David is said to be called "Jehovah our Righteousness." That this must be understood of the Messiah is proved by the connection, the appellation of "Branch" and "King," and the enumeration of his benefits. A similar passage occurs in Jer. 33:16. The passage in Is. 7:14 belongs here; the son whom the virgin shall conceive and bear shall be called "Immanuel"; not only because through and in him the supreme God is truly with us, i.e., favors and assists us (as Socinus

holds, for thus it would not be a name of the Messiah and yet that it is may be gathered from Is. 8:8; but rather an undetermined enunciation [which is foreign to the mind of the Holy Spirit]). He is the God who is with us (as Mt. 1:23* interprets it, "God with us" [*meth' hēmōn ho Theos*]). In Mal. 3:1, he is called "the Lord" who shall come to his temple (which the evangelists indicate is to be spoken of the Messiah, Mk. 1:2; Lk. 1:76). Now who is the Lord to whom the temple belongs by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*), but God? Hence the day of his coming is called the great and dreadful day of Jehovah (Mal. 4:5).

VI. This may be still further confirmed by a comparison of the various passages of the Old and New Testaments in which what is said in the Old of Jehovah, the God of Israel, the Creator of heaven and earth, is applied in the New to Christ, the Son of God (cf. Num. 14:22; 21:5, 6 and Ps. 95:9 with 1 Cor. 10:9; Ps. 102:26 with Heb. 1:10, 11; Is. 6:9, 10 with Jn. 12:40, 41; Is. 45:23 with Rom. 14:11; Joel 2:32 with Rom. 10:13; Ps. 68:18 with Eph. 4:8, 9).

VII. In the New Testament, he is still more clearly called God. "The Word was God" (Jn. 1:1), which cannot be understood of a secondary and factitious God by reason of office (as the adversaries wish), but of the true God by reason of nature. He does not say *egeneto* (as in v. 14 when speaking of the incarnation, which he had before noticed); but *ēn* ("he was") to designate his eternal existence. Again, he must be God in the same manner as he must be in the beginning before the creation of all things (v. 1), as its author (v. 3). This applies to no one but the supreme God. Third, it is not credible that John in the very first words of his history would have been willing to use the name of God improperly and ambiguously without adding any explanation and thus be the means of drawing believers readily into a most dangerous error—to believe this Word to be true God, while yet he is not. Now although his Word may be said to have been with God (personally considered, i.e., the Father, in which sense he could not be the same person with whom he is said to be), this does not militate against his being God, essentially the same with the Father.

VIII. He is called "the true God, and eternal life" (1 Jn. 5:20), which words must not be referred to the Father, but to Christ (as is evident both from the pronoun *houtos*, which refers to Christ the antecedent immediately preceding, and from the scope of the apostle, which is to teach that Christ is

come to lead us to the knowledge of and communion with the true God). We therefore are in that true God because we are in his Son Jesus Christ, since Jesus Christ himself is also "the true God and eternal life." A confirmation arises from the fact that the expression "eternal life" is never applied by John to the Father, but repeatedly to the Son (Jn. 1:4; 11:25; 1 Jn. 1:2; 5:11, 12).

IX. He is called "God blessed for ever" (Rom 9:5). This cannot be referred by a doxological (*doxologikēn*) apostrophe to the Father because neither the thing demands, nor will the series of words admit it. The article with the participle (*ho ōn*) is relative; not beginning a new sentence, but continuing one already begun. Nor can it be referred to the Father, but to Christ, the immediately preceding antecedent. Then, the limitation *kata sarka* (which is opposed to the blessed God) shows that the two natures in Christ are designated: the human (according to which he descended from the fathers) and the divine (according to which he is God, blessed for ever). He is called "the great God" (Tit. 2:13)—certainly not the Father, but the Son because only one article is prefixed to the words God and Savior (which would not be the case if they were two persons). *Epiphaneia* is never attributed to the Father, but always to Christ. He, whose advent we look for, is said to have given himself for us (Tit. 2:14), which applies to Christ alone.

X. The exclamation of Thomas to which he gives utterance after seeing and touching Christ ("My Lord and my God" [*ho Kyrios mou, kai ho Theos mou*, Jn. 20:28]) necessarily refers to Christ; nor can it without violence be wrested from this application because it is preceded by the words "he said unto him" (*eipen autō*, viz., to Christ) to approve his faith by this notable confession as if he would say, "Thou art truly he, my Lord and my God." Hence we find the prepositive article (*ho*) and not the mark of admiration (*ō*). So he is said to be "God manifested in the flesh" (1 Tim. 3:16) and "God, who purchased the church with his own blood" (Acts 20:28) which can be said of no other than the Son, who assumed our flesh and by his blood acquired eternal redemption for us.

XI. Nor must we omit the celebrated passage Phil. 2:6 where "the form of God" is ascribed to Christ—"who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God." Hence various arguments are drawn: (1) because Christ is said to be in "the form of God" (which could not apply to

him if he were not God by nature). For as the form of a servant opposed to it necessarily denotes the human nature in a servile condition, so the form of God fitly designates the divine essence shining (*coruscantem*) with glory and majesty. (2) Because he is said to be "equal with God" both as to nature (because the same with the Father) and as to person (because he is his most perfect image) and as to state (because he enjoyed the same glory from eternity). (3) Because he was in the form of God before he was in the form of a servant, i.e., before he was born and was made a man, which the word *hyparchein* indicates. In vain does Socinus wish "the form of God" to be referred to the glory and "the power of miracles" which Christ laid aside in his passion. For then others possessed of the gift of miracles might be said to be in the form of God (which not only is not said, but cannot be said). The antithesis of the form of a servant does not prove that the form of God is only some external appearance and quality. Indeed it evinces the contrary; for as a similar condition could not be except in the human nature, so the form of God can be only in the essence of God. Nor does this emptying, ascribed to Christ, consist in the absolute deposition of the divine form, but only in the concealing (*occultatione*) of it under the veil of the flesh in this state of humility. Although *isos* sometimes means only similar, not equal, it cannot be taken in that sense here. For such an *isotēs* is meant as arises from the possession of the form of God (which imports not only a certain similitude, but a true equality and identity).

XII. Although the name of God can improperly, restrictedly and in the plural be attributed to creatures (as to angels and magistrates who are sometimes called "gods"), yet never is it properly, absolutely and in the singular given to anyone but the true God. Hence the Son of God, to whom it is thus given, must be true and eternal God.

2. From the attributes: eternity.

XIII. The same deity is proved by the divine attributes, which being proper to God alone to the exclusion of creatures, he cannot but be God of whom they are predicated. Such is eternity, which is often attributed to him; as when it is said, "The Lord possessed me [Wisdom] in the beginning of his way … I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was" (Prov. 8:22, 23*). We will prove hereafter that this Wisdom is a

person. It is also said in Mic. 5:2 that "his goings forth have been from the days of eternity." Here a twofold going forth is mentioned: the one future in time at Bethlehem, from the fathers as to his human nature—"out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler"; the other past (or better, eternal) by generation from the Father according to the divine nature —"whose goings forth have been from of old, from the days of eternity." Thus no one might suppose he began to exist just when he was born. He is called "the first, and the last, who is, who was, and who is to come" (Rev. 1:11* and 4*); "the Father of eternity" (Is. 9:6); having neither beginning of days, nor end of life (Heb. 7:3). For these are such things as cannot fall on a finite and temporal duration.

XIV. Here pertains the passage where the Word is said to have been "in the beginning" (Jn. 1:1); not, certainly, in the beginning of the gospel or of the new creation (as the adversaries maintain), but in the beginning of time. For no other beginning can be meant here than that of which Moses speaks (Gen. 1:1)—to which John manifestly alludes (as the scope demonstrates, which is to describe the person of Christ partly from this, that he was before his incarnation—thence from the beginning—partly from this, that he was made through the incarnation, where he uses the word *egeneto* and not *ēn*). Then again the thing itself evinces this. For who can think it probable that John meant only this, that the Word (i.e., Christ the orator of the Father) was just in the beginning of the gospel (i.e., when he began to preach the gospel)? So absurd a sense is unbecoming the Holy Spirit.

XV. "Before Abraham was, I am" (Jn. 8:58), which the adversaries falsely apply to predestination, so that he may be said to have been before Abraham by reason of predestination. But he was not treating of the predestination of Christ, but of his real existence, since indeed the question was whether Christ could say that Abraham had seen his day (which the Jews of that time denied concerning Christ and Christ affirmed, drawing his argument from the fact that he already existed before Abraham was). Much less can that other unblushing corruption of Socinus be admitted, who interprets these words thus: "Before Abraham has become" (to wit, the father of many nations) "I exist." But it does not treat here of the time in which the nations were to be called, but of that in which Abraham lived (which they thought Christ, who was less than fifty years old, could not have preceded; not concerning the future, but the past). In the same sense

Christ is said to have had glory with the Father before the world was (Jn. 17:5); not only because it was predestinated to him by the Father, but also because he actually possessed it from eternity (which he could not have done unless he had then existed). Grace, indeed, can be said to have been given to us by God through predestination before we were (2 Tim. 1:9), but no one can be said actually to have glory, save he who actually exists.

Immensity.

XVI. His deity is proved by immensity and omnipresence since he is said to be in the midst of his people wherever they may be gathered together (Mt. 18:20): "Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Mt. 28:20). Also "No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven" (Jn. 3:13)—where Christ speaking on the earth says that he is in heaven. Now no one can be both in heaven and on earth at the same time, but he who fills heaven and earth. Nor can Socinus be listened to who changes the present into the past so as to make it mean the Son of man descended from heaven and was in heaven. This contradicts the words of Christ, *ho ōn en tō ouranō* ("the one which is in heaven"), which the thing itself declares to refer to his present existence in heaven even after he had descended from it and not to the past. Therefore he is said to have descended from heaven by incarnation, who always was in heaven by immensity.

Omnipotence.

XVII. Omnipotence is ascribed to him in Rev. 1:8 and 11:17 where he is called the Almighty (*pantokratōr*). In Jn. 5:17 he is said to do all things which the Father does; and in Heb. 1:3, to uphold all things by the word of his power. Nor, if the Son can do nothing of himself by reason of order and origin, does it immediately follow that his power is limited and dependent. For a diversity of order does not make a diversity of essence and virtue. In Mt. 28:18, all power is said to be given him, which necessarily supposes omnipotence; for he could not have all power in heaven and earth as Mediator, unless he has omnipotence as God.

Omniscience.

XVIII. Omniscience is predicated of him: “Lord, thou knowest all things” (Jn. 21:17); “Now are we sure that thou knowest all things” (Jn. 16:30). He is called the searcher of hearts (*kardiognōstēs*, Rev. 2:23); knows the very thoughts of the heart (Lk. 6:8; Jn. 2:24, 25). Nor can it be said that Christ has this by revelation because God keeps this to himself alone (1 K. 8:39). Christ is said to be ignorant of the day of judgment (Mk. 13:32), not as the Son of God, but as the Son of man (such as he seemed to his interrogators). And if the Father alone is said to know this, it does not exclude the knowledge of the Son and of the Spirit (who searches the deep things of God) no more than the Father can be said to be ignorant of himself, when it is said, “No one can know the Father, save the Son” (Mt. 11:27). The word “only” therefore does not absolutely exclude all, but those in a particular genus for whom it was better that they should not know it (viz., men) so that they might always be prepared and watchful; lest that day should surprise them sleeping and unprepared.

Immutability.

XIX. Immutability: “the heavens shall perish; but thou remainest; thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail” (Heb. 1:11, 12). These words apply to the true God alone, as is evident from Ps. 102:26, 27 (from which the apostle quotes). So in Heb. 13:8, he is said to be “the same yesterday, today, and forever,” with regard not only to doctrine and operations, but also to essence and person (because effects suppose their cause).

XX. Finally, the “fulness of the Godhead” is said to dwell in him (i.e., the essence with the attributes, Col. 2:9), and the life of God is attributed to him (Jn. 5:26). Nor if it is said to have been given him by the Father is his dignity therefore lessened, because this marks only order, not inferiority (since he received the same numerically with the Father, not from grace, but from nature; not in time, but from eternity).

3. From the divine works.

XXI. Third, the same thing may be proved from the divine works ascribed to him: as creation, which God ascribed to himself alone (Is. 40:12; 44:24) and which demands infinite virtue. "When he prepared the heavens, I was there" (Prov. 8:27ff.)—where eternal Wisdom is speaking. "All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made" (Jn. 1:3). "He made the worlds" (Heb. 1:2). "Thou, Lord, hast laid the foundation of the earth" (Heb. 1:10). "By him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, thrones" (Col. 1:16, 17). (2) The creation, conservation and government of the universe; because "he upholds all things by the word of his power" (Heb. 1:3); "By him all things consist" (Col. 1:17); "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work" (Jn. 5:17). (3) The working of miracles which he performed either himself per se or by the instrumentality of the apostles (as appears everywhere in the gospels); and especially the resurrection of the dead (Jn. 5:21; 6:40) which prove Christ's absolute dominion over creatures. Hence he appeals to these works as unanswerable proofs of his divinity (Jn. 5:36 and elsewhere).

XXII. The second creation cannot be meant in Jn. 1:3, as Socinus cavils. (1) John speaks absolutely and without any restriction which he is wont to use whenever he treats of the new creation. (2) He treats of the universal creation in which all things were made by him and without whom nothing was made. (3) He mentions the creation of the world which knew not Christ (Jn. 1:10); thus not so much of the church. (4) Paul extends that creation absolutely to all creatures, visible and invisible, and even to angels, and distinguishes the first creation from the second (concerning which he treats only in Col. 1:16–18*). And if all things are said to have been created by the Son, this does not imply an instrumental cause (which cannot be in creation), but the principal efficient cause (just as all things are said to be by God [Rom. 11:36]; and the particle *dia* is often so taken [Gal. 1:1]). And not only "by him" (*di' autou*), as the principle, were all things created, but "for him" (*eis auton*), as the end (Col. 1:16), which does not belong to an instrument. Indeed all things are said to have been made "in him" (*en autō*), just as we are said to live, move, and have our being in him (*en autō*) (viz., God—Acts 17:28). And if creation is ascribed to the Father appropriatively, is it therefore denied to the Son (as the Father is not excluded from the work of redemption, although it is ascribed peculiarly to the Son)?

XXIII. The power of working miracles was not adventitious and ministerial to him (like that of the apostles and prophets), but proper and innate because it is said to have flowed from him (Lk. 6:19; 8:46). (2) The apostles deny that they wrought miracles by their own power, but in the name of Christ (Acts 4:7, 10, i.e., by his power and authority). They sought that power from Christ (Acts 9:34). If Christ sometimes used prayers in the working of miracles (as Jn. 11:41), it does not follow that he had no power of his own to perform them. For he did this not from a defect of potency, but partly according to the voluntary economy by which he submitted himself to the Father in his mediatoral office and referred all things to him; and partly to accommodate himself to those in whose presence he wrought the miracles—to teach them that all things are to be obtained by prayer.

XXIV. The works of grace and of redemption are also ascribed to Christ: such as election (Jn. 13:18); redemption (Acts 20:28); calling (Jn. 10:16; Mt. 9:13); sanctification (Eph. 5:26); the mission of the Holy Spirit (Jn. 16:7, 14; 15:26); defense against all attacks of enemies and the bestowal of eternal life (Jn. 10:10, 28); the vivification and resurrection of the dead (Jn. 5:21); and the raising of himself, which is adduced as an invincible proof of his divinity (Jn. 2:19; 10:18; Rom. 1:4); the universal judgment (Jn. 5:22; Acts 17:31). For all these belong to the true God alone. Nor ought it to be said that these things are ascribed to Christ as the instrumental cause by which the Father works. Most of these works require that they be done immediately by God without the intervention of any instrument. Although Christ may act here as Mediator (who by reason of economy is inferior to the Father), he does not cease to be equal to him as to power and essence and performs these things as Lord. Speaking of the constitution of the church (Heb. 3:3, 4), the apostle says that Christ built that house and so proves beyond contradiction that he was counted worthy of far more honor than Moses, who was only a faithful servant in it. He immediately adds: "for every house is builded by someone; but he that built all things is God" (to wit, intimating most clearly that Christ, who built the church, is God). Thus he is called by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*) the Lord and Husband of the church (Eph. 4:5; 5:25), which Is. 54:5 teaches pertains to God alone, the Holy One of Israel.

4. From worship.

XXV. Fourth, the religious worship due to God alone (on account of his infinite power, glory and majesty) is given to him. Faith—"Ye believe in God, believe also in me" (Jn. 14:1); hope—"Blessed are all they that put their trust in him" (Ps. 2:12); and "cursed be the man that trusteth in man" (Jer. 17:5); adoration—"Let all the angels worship him" (Heb. 1:6); "Kiss the Son" (Ps. 2:12); "The Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son; that all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father" (Jn. 5:22, 23*); "There is given him a name which is above every name: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and every tongue confess that Jesus is Lord, to the glory of the Father" (Phil. 2:9–11*). His deity is proved from invocation, because grace and peace and other spiritual blessings (which can be expected from God alone) are sought from Christ no less than from the Father in the epistles of Paul. Believers are described as "callers upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord" (Acts 7:59; 9:14; 1 Cor. 1:2). Glory and honor—every creature is induced to ascribe glory to the Lamb no less than to the Father: "Blessing, and honor, and glory and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever" (Rev. 5:13).

XXVI. In vain is it objected here: (1) that faith can be terminated on a creature also because the Israelites are said to have "believed God and Moses" (Ex. 14:31); this does not refer to the person of Moses, but to his doctrine; (2) that Christ is the secondary and not the primary object of faith for a subordination is not admissible in the object of faith, nor can faith and religious worship be divided between the Creator and creatures anymore than divinity—"That is my name: and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images" (Is. 42:8). Nor ought it to be said that the honor of God is not alienated when we worship anyone according to his command, for this would be done for the sake of God alone and the honor would be terminated on God himself. For the supposition is always false that such honor can be lawfully exhibited to a creature, since faith and adoration demand an object infinite, omniscient, omnipotent and possessed of eternal glory (which can fall on no creature, even the most perfect).

XXVII. But although Christ must be adored as Mediator, it does not follow that his divinity cannot be satisfactorily inferred from his adoration. For the Mediator in his very conception indicates a divine person which the

economical minority does not destroy. He is not to be adored directly as man reduplicatively, i.e., with respect to the human nature (which is not an adorable object of itself, but specifically he who is man may be adored), but with respect to the divine nature. Thus three things are with propriety to be distinguished here: the object of adoration, which is the person of Christ; the foundation, which is the divine nature; and the adjunct, without which the adoration is not made (viz., the human nature).

XXVIII. To these four classes of arguments we can add others also. (1) From the equality of the Son with the Father (Jn. 5:17, 18), since Christ says that he continually worked with the Father. The Jews interpreted equality of essence and power and therefore endeavored to kill him as a blasphemer because he said that God was his Father, making himself equal with God. This inference Christ was so far from reproving and denying that, on the contrary, he confirmed it still further by various arguments both from the equality of life and of living essence—"as the Father hath life in himself; so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself" (Jn. 5:26). From equality of operation—"for what things soever the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son in like manner (*homoiōs*)" (Jn. 5:19); and from the equality of honor and worship due to God alone—"that all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father" (Jn. 5:23). These imply absolute equality, and not only limited with respect to operation (as the adversaries maintain), but on this account the more—that equality of operation with God presupposes necessarily equality of essential power and therefore of essence itself. Nor is it an objection that it is said "he can do nothing of himself" (Jn. 5:19), for this denotes, it is true, the order of operating (which follows the order of subsisting), but does not prove the inequality of essence or power. Otherwise it would not be said that he operates in like manner (*homoiōs*).

XXIX. (2) From his unity with the Father—"I and my Father are one" (Jn. 10:30). To refer this only to unity of consent and not of essence is to do violence to the words of Christ: (a) because Christ reasons from the unity of power to the unity of essence (Jn. 10:28, 29), which two do not differ in God; (b) because the Jews wished to stone Christ, not on account of the unity of will, but on account of the unity of essence with God (which in their opinion he blasphemously ascribed to himself)—"For a good work we stone thee not; but for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man,

makest thyself God" (Jn. 10:33). (c) Christ does not recall and correct what he had said, but defends and confirms it in the following verses by an argument drawn from magistrates, who are called gods in Scripture. Hence he deduces not only from comparison, but even from the lesser to the greater (*a minori ad majus*); if political magistrates are called gods on account of some temporal office entrusted to them, how much more can I (whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world clothed with the office of Mediator, demanding divine virtue, and who do the works of the Father, so that the Father is in me and I in the Father, which can be said of no creature) lawfully call myself God and the Son of God? His sanctification and mission into the world is brought forward by Christ, not as the antecedent cause of filiation and *a priori* (as if on that account only he was to be called Son), but as an argument and sign *a prosteriori* whence it might be inferred.

XXX. (3) From the mediatorial office of Christ. A mediator ought to be a Prophet to illuminate the mind (not only externally, but also internally) and incline the heart; a King to defend the church against the assaults of Satan and the world, and by his Spirit to govern it powerfully; a Priest to satisfy the infinite divine justice by the infinite merit of his death and obedience and to purchase eternal redemption for us. All these could not be done by a mere man, but demanded one possessed of infinite essence and power (as will be proved in its place). This very thing also can be invincibly deduced from the filiation of Christ, as will be demonstrated in the following question.

Sources of explanation.

XXXI. Christ was made Lord after the resurrection (Acts 2:36), not in essential dominion (which he had even from the foundation of the world as the maker of all things [Heb. 1:2] and inasmuch as he is the Word [*Logos*]), but in personal and economical dominion. This belongs to him because he is the God-man (*theanthrōpos*) (and indeed not simply, for long before, David had called him "Lord" [Ps. 110:1]; nor as to its authority and foundation, which he had from the beginning, but relatively and by reason of the full manifestation and inauguration).

XXXII. He who is constituted heir by a gift of grace (not by propriety of nature) is not true God. But the Son is not so called heir because he is the proper Son of God; not the Son because heir, but heir because the Son. Again he is called heir by reason of the dominion he obtains over all things.

XXXIII. He who is distinguished from God considered essentially (*ousiōdōs*), is not God; but Christ is distinguished from God considered only hypostatically (*hypostatikōs*) inasmuch as the name of God is by appropriation given to the Father, not to the exclusion of the Son and the Holy Spirit, but economically. For Christ holds the office of Mediator and the Holy Spirit that of Comforter, while the Father as the first person sustains the majesty of the deity.

XXXIV. He who is set forth as a mere man, cannot be God; but not he who is set forth as a true man because he can be both—man and God. The passages which predicate humanity of Christ assert its truth, but do not deny his divinity. When Christ is denominated from the humanity, divinity is not therefore excluded (as when the divinity is asserted, the humanity is not excluded because the denominations attributed to the person can be drawn from either nature).

XXXV. A thing can be received either in time, or from eternity, or from grace, or from nature. The former method of receiving truly argues inferiority and inequality of nature and cannot fall on the true God; but the latter can belong to the divine persons without any inequality because the order of subsisting of the persons does not take away the equality of essence. So the Son can be said to have received all things from the Father either as the Word (*Logos*) (by a communication of the same essence from eternity) or as God-man (*theanthrōpos*) and Mediator in time by the imposition of office (in respect to which he confesses that he is less than the Father).

XXXVI. A principle may be either of communication or of inchoation (*inchoationis*); the Son as a principle of communication (viz., the Father), but not of inchoation because the essence was communicated to him from eternity.

XXXVII. Christ is called *prōtotokos*, not *prōtoktistos*—"the firstborn of every creature" (Col. 1:15) by reason of dominion (because as all things were made by him, so he had authority over all); but not by reason of

creation (as if he was the first produced among creatures). Otherwise it would not be said he was even in the beginning and made all things. In this sense, he is called "the beginning of the creation of God" (Rev. 3:14); not passive (as if he was the first creature), but active because from him all creatures take their origin as Paul explains in the place cited.

XXXVIII. The Father is said to be "one God" (1 Cor. 8:5, 6), not in relation to the Son or the Holy Spirit, but to idols. This appears from the antithesis "an idol is nothing in the world, and there is none other God but one" (1 Cor. 8:4), and 1 Cor. 8:5, 6 which treat of those who are called gods in heaven and in earth. (2) As one Lord does not exclude the Father from lordship, since he is called the "Lord of Lords" (1 Tim. 6:15); therefore neither does one God (the Father) exclude from deity the Son who is also said to be true God. The one God (the Father) and one Lord Jesus Christ are indeed distinguished from each other, but personally and not essentially.

XXXIX. When Christ denies that he is good contrasted with God, who alone is good (Mt. 19:17), this must not be understood absolutely, but relatively to the mind of the young man who looked upon him as a bare man (*psilon anthrōpon*). It is as if he would say, why do you call me good, since you do not esteem me as God, and no one is truly and perfectly good except God?

The Son is properly called Autotheos.

XL. Although the Son is from the Father, nevertheless he may be called God-of-himself (*autotheos*), not with respect to his person, but essence; not relatively as Son (for thus he is from the Father), but absolutely as God inasmuch as he has the divine essence existing from itself and not divided or produced from another essence (but not as having that essence from himself). So the Son is God from himself although not the Son from himself. Hence it is evident how unjustly Genebrardus and other papists charged Calvin with heresy here. For in order to confute the heresy of Valentinus Gentilis (who attributed divine essence to the Father alone [whom therefore he called the primary God and *autotheon*] and said the Son and the Holy Spirit received their essence from the Father), he said that the Son no less than the Father is *autotheon*, but with respect to essence alone (which is no less self-essence [*autousia*] in the Son than in the Father), but

not with respect to the person (which Bellarmine approves, "De Christo," 2.19 in *Opera* [1856], 1:217–19).

XLI. That Christ is said to have been born of a virgin, suffered and died, not to be everywhere present and to be less than the Father, shows indeed that he was a true man like to us in all things, but does not deny him to be God. Yea, he is so set forth as born from a virgin in time as to be begotten from God from eternity (Prov. 8:22). He is so less than the Father by reason of voluntary depression (*exinanitionis*) and assumed flesh as nevertheless to be equal to him with respect to eternal deity communicated to him from eternity (Jn. 5:18). He was so mortified in the flesh as to be quickened by the Spirit (1 Pet. 3:18).

Twenty-Ninth Question: The Eternal Generation of the Son

Was the Son of God begotten of the Father from eternity? We affirm

I. The preceding question established the consubstantiality (*homoousian*) and essential identity of the Son with the Father. This question will demonstrate his personal distinction from him, his ineffable and eternal generation against the blasphemies of anti-Trinitarians.

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not whether Christ can be said to be begotten of God by the miraculous conception of the Holy Spirit; or whether he can be called the Son of God by a gracious communication of existence, power and divine glory (for this the adversaries readily grant and acknowledge no other cause of his filiation). But the question is whether he was begotten of God from eternity, and whether he may be called Son on account of the secret and ineffable generation from the Father. The Socinians blasphemously deny this; we affirm it.

III. But in order that the truth of this eternal generation may be built up better, something must be premised concerning its nature. Not that it can be conceived or explained by us. "For here the voice is silent, the mind fails; not only mine, but even that of angels," as Ambrose says (*Of the Christian*

Faith 1.10*.64 [NPNF2, 10:212; PL 16.566]). Gregory Nazianzus puts a stop to our curiosity when he wishes it to be reverenced in silence: "The begetting of God is to be honored by silence; the great thing is for you to learn he was begotten" (*Theou gennēsis siōpē timasthō, mega soi to mathein hoti gegennētai, On the Son* 8 [NPNF2, 7:303; PG 36.84]). The words of Is. 53:8, although having another bearing, may be rightly used here—"Who shall declare his generation?" But only that it may be distinguished from human generation and be explained negatively rather than positively.

IV. As all generation indicates a communication of essence on the part of the begetter to the begotten (by which the begotten becomes like the begetter and partakes of the same nature with him), so this wonderful generation is rightly expressed as a communication of essence from the Father (by which the Son possesses indivisibly the same essence with him and is made perfectly like him). Whatever may be the analogy between natural and human generations, and the supernatural and divine, still the latter is not to be measured by the former or to be tried by them because they greatly differ (whether we consider the principle, the mode or the end). For in physical generation, the principle is not only active, but also passive and material; but in the divine it is only active. In the former, a communication is made not of the whole essence, but only of a part which falls and is alienated from the begetter. In the latter, the same numerical essence is communicated without decision and alienation. In the one, the produced is not only distinct but also separate from the begetter because the begetter generates out of himself terminatively. In the other, the begetter generates in himself and not out of himself. Thus the begotten Son (although distinct) still is never divided from him. He is not only of a like (*homoiousios*), but also of the same essence (*homoousios*).

V. This generation was made without time (*achronōs*); not in time, but from eternity. Therefore not priority or posteriority of duration can be observed here, although there may be priority of order according to which the Son is from the Father, although not after the Father. (2) Without place (*achōristōs*) because the Father did not beget out of himself, but in the same essence. Hence the Word (*Logos*) is said to have been with God, and the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Father. (3) Without any passion (*apathōs*) or change, either in the Father or in the Son, since that he begat

denotes no imperfection, but is rather the reception of all perfection. Although, therefore, with respect to the Father generation may well be called active, still it cannot well be called passive with respect to the Son because otherwise the Son could be said to be in the power of the begetter. Nor is there a difficulty in his being said to be begotten; for this, which is spoken after the manner of men (*anthrōpopathōs*), must be understood worthily of God (*theoprepōs*) by removing all imperfection. Hence what has place in transient and physical and material generation ought not to be transferred to the hyperphysical, immanent and divine.

VI. A person is properly said to generate a person because actions belong to self-existence (*suppositorum*); but not an essence to generate an essence because what begets and is begotten is necessarily multiplied (and thus the way would be paved to Tritheism). Essence indeed is communicated by generating; yet the generation, as it is originally made from the person, so it terminates on the person.

VII. That the Father begets the Son, and the Son is begotten, can both be said in a sound sense: the former with respect to generation considered in itself because the works of the Trinity inwards (such as to beget and to be begotten) are eternal and unceasing. Otherwise, if personal acts had an end, they would also have a beginning, and all mutation in God could not be denied. As therefore in work they are perfect, so in operation they are perpetual. Nor, moreover, can any imperfection of generation be inferred because even in nature there are things which are while in the act of becoming (as the rays of sun). The latter however is said better with respect to us to whom that which is in a state of becoming is imperfect, but that which is in actual being is perfect. Hence Scripture (in accordance with which we must speak) uses the past tense rather than the present (Ps. 2:7; Prov. 8:22–31). The generation therefore may well be said to be terminated by a termination of perfection, not by a termination of duration, as the Scholastics express it. When the Son is said to be always begotten, the perfection of termination is not denied, but only the end of communication.

The generation of the Son may be proved from Ps. 2:7.

VIII. This generation may be proved: (1) from the remarkable oracle, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee" (Ps. 2:7)—which not only the apostles acknowledge to be spoken of the Messiah (Acts 4:25; 13:33; Heb. 1:5), but the Jews themselves (pressed by the force of truth) are compelled to confess. Now he is called the Son of God, not generally, but he who is such by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*) and to the exclusion even of the angels themselves. "For unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son" (as the apostle argues, Heb. 1:5). Consequently he is true and eternal God with the Father. For who but God could extend the bounds of his kingdom even to the ends of the earth (Ps. 2:8); break and dash in pieces like a potter's vessel kings and people (v. 9); whom the kings of the earth ought to kiss (i.e., religiously worship, vv. 11, 12); who has absolute power of life and death? Who, even when his wrath is kindled but a little, can destroy nations and princes; in whom trust is to be placed; and from whom happiness is to be expected, except the true and eternal God? To this Son is ascribed a generation, not temporal and physical, but hyperphysical and eternal—such as can belong to him who is the eternal Son of an eternal Father and so true God with him, by which he is exalted not only above men, but even above the angels themselves. Now, if he could be so called on account of a gracious communication of existence or of glory, this could be attributed not to him alone, but also to others (although in a different degree). Nor is the passage in Acts 13:33 an obstacle, where Paul seems to refer this oracle to the resurrection of Christ. For Ps. 2:7 is adduced by the apostle not so much to prove the resurrection of Christ (which he does, Acts 13:35 from Ps. 16:10), as to prove the fulfillment of the promise given to the fathers concerning the raising up of Christ and the sending of him into the world. These things are not to be opposed, but composed; not that this generation consists in his resurrection, since even from the beginning he was with God (Jn. 1:1), yea even from everlasting (Prov. 8:22), and God speaking from heaven at his baptism testified that he was his Son; but by reason of manifestation (*phanerōseōs*) and declaration *a posteriori* because he is made known by it (as Paul interprets when he says that "Christ was declared [*horisthenta*] to be the Son of God by the resurrection from the dead," Rom. 1:4) according to Scripture usage by which things are said to become or to be born when they are manifested (Prov. 17:17). Because, therefore, the resurrection was an irrefragable proof of his divinity and

eternal filiation, the Holy Spirit, with the psalmist, could join both together and refer as much to the eternal generation as to its manifestation (which ought to be made in the resurrection). And Paul properly says that the oracle was fulfilled when its truth was exhibited, since by the resurrection the Father has most fully declared that he is really (*ontōs*) and peculiarly (*idiōs*) his own Son; even as James says that the oracle concerning the justification of Abraham by faith ("Abraham believed God and it was imputed to him for righteousness," 2:23) was fulfilled when he offered up his son; not because the justification just then took place through that obligation, but because it was then declared. And so with regard to the word "today" (*hodie*), which is added not to point out a certain time in which that generation began; but that we may understand that all things are present with God, and that that generation is not successive, but permanent in eternity (viz., in it there is nothing past or future, nor any succession of time, but an indivisible "now" [*to nyn*] embracing however all the circumstances of time). As, therefore, with God there is no yesterday or tomorrow, but always today, so this filiation being eternal can properly be designated by the today of eternity.

IX. Equally vain is the objection that it is such a generation as is the part of a decree (or its effect) and so a merely arbitrary work. "I will declare," says he, "the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance" (Ps. 2:7, 8). This generation is not set forth as a part of this decree, but only as its foundation upon which the universal kingdom (granted to him) is built. For unless Christ had been the true and eternal Son of God, begotten by him from eternity, he never could have been appointed Mediator and obtain a universal kingdom. Finally, the difficulty is not increased by the fact that these things pertain to David who nevertheless cannot be said to have been begotten by God from eternity. For although this oracle can in some measure pertain to David as the type (by reason of the dignity to which he was exalted), yet for a far different reason would it apply to Christ in whom alone it could receive its perfect fulfillment and to whom especially David in the spirit of prophecy had regard. Thus the same thing is said of Melchizedek and of Christ (Heb. 7:3): that he is without father (*apatōr*), without mother (*amētōr*), having neither beginning of days nor end of life. Still no one denies that it is said in a far different sense

concerning Christ and Melchizedek. Indeed if the words are carefully weighed, it will plainly appear that although many things in this psalm apply to David, as the type, yet this oracle peculiarly and by way of eminence (*exochōs*) is proper to Christ. For such things are predicated of him as cannot fall on mortal man. This is often the case in composite oracles. Some things agree both with the type and the antitype and some either with the type alone or with the antitype alone. That this is the case here is apparent from the circumstances of the text.

From Prov. 8:22ff.

X. Second, the same thing is gathered from the passage in which Wisdom is introduced speaking thus: "Jehovah possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works; before any time, I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was. When there were no depths, I was brought forth … When he prepared the heavens, I was there … when he appointed the foundations of the earth, I was with him as his delight" (Prov. 8:22–30). No words could more clearly confirm the mystery of which we treat. The eternal Wisdom of the Father says Jehovah possessed him! How? Only by a true generation by which he is said to have been begotten and held as a most cherished delight by the Father; and this not in time, but from eternity ("in the beginning of his way, before his works," Prov. 8:22). And that no scruple may remain, he adds in Prov. 8:24, 25 that this was before the beginning and foundations of the earth, before there were any depths and mountains (which denotes absolute eternity). Now this wisdom cannot be only some quality or virtue, but must necessarily be a subsisting person because whatever things are attributed to him are personal (as that "he teaches, cries out, calls and constitutes kings," Prov. 8); "builds her house, kills beasts, prepares a feast, and sends forth her maidens" to call men, and the like (Prov. 9:1–3)—which can belong only to a person. Nor can there be a personification (*prosopopoeia*) here by which wisdom in general and in the abstract is introduced as speaking; for although prosopopoeia is admissible in amplifications and exaggerations (especially in fables), yet not in short and collected precepts, where the same thing is so often repeated and no intimation of a figurative locution is anywhere given. Otherwise there would be no certainty in Scripture if it were lawful to recur

to prosopopoeia everywhere. Nor can a similar example be shown, for that which is adduced from Prov. 9:13 (concerning foolishness introduced as speaking under the image of a simple woman) is far from the point as mere inspection proves, and can best be referred to an adulterous woman and her enticements. That which is drawn from 1 Cor. 13:7 concerning charity (which is said to bear and to believe all things) makes no more for the adversaries because the abstract is put for the concrete—charity for the man possessed of charity (to whom such things belong). So here Wisdom is put in the abstract, not qualitatively, but personally (for him who is endowed with wisdom; who, because he possesses it most perfectly, is called not only Wisdom in the singular, but Wisdoms [*chkhmvth*], in the plural, according to the Hebrew idiom).

XI. Now that this is none other than the Son of God, Christ our Lord, is collected not only from the name itself, Wisdom (by which he is often distinguished in the New Testament, Lk. 7:35; 1 Cor. 1:24), but also from the attributes ascribed to this Wisdom (which most aptly square with him and can belong to no other). For who else can deserve the name of Wisdom and indeed of Wisdoms? Who else calls men to him, teaches the true way of salvation, wishes the law and his precepts to obtain in the church, convicts sinners of foolishness, promises life to those who regard him and denounces final destruction upon the unbelieving? Who else was with God before the world was and was perpetually with him while creating the world? If Jehovah is said to have possessed Wisdom from the beginning, is not the "Word" said "to have been in the beginning" and "to have been with God" (Jn. 1:1)? If it is said to have been a delight to the Father, is not Christ "the beloved Son" (*huios agapētos*, Mt. 3:17)? If ordained and anointed by the Father, was not Christ foreordained before the foundation of the world and anointed for the mediatorial office (1 Pet. 1:20)? If Wisdom is said to have been brought forth before the hills, was not Christ before all things (Col. 1:17)? If by her kings reign, is not Christ the King of Kings and Lord of Lords (Rev. 19:16)? If Wisdom teaches and cries out, calls and exhorts men to repentance in high and low places, both immediately by herself and immediately by her maidens, do we not read the same of Christ both immediately by himself preaching the gospel and mediately by his servants the apostles whom he sent through the whole world to call men to a participation of his grace?

XII. The word *chvllthy* ought not to be translated "I was created," as Vatablus (cf. "Annotata ad libros Hagiographos," in *Critici Sacri* [1660], 3:4091 on Prov. 8:25) and Pagninus hold, but "I was begotten" (as the Chaldee and the Greeks render it). For the Piel of the word *chvll* (from the root *chvl*) denotes not only "to bring forth" (in reference to women), but also "to beget" (with respect to men, according to Buxtorf, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* [1646], pp. 198–200). And if elsewhere this verb can be referred to a formation (as Ps. 90:2; Dt. 32:18), it does not follow that it must always be used in the same sense when the thing spoken of cannot suffer it (as here where mention is made of Wisdom begotten before the ages). When the Septuagint translates it "created me" (*ektise me*), it is either an error for *ektēse* or *ektēsato*; or it was so given because among the Greeks the words "to create" (*to ktizein*) and "to beget" were sometimes used reciprocally for each other (Ps. 90:2; 104:31; Dt. 32:18); or because they did not sufficiently attend to the mind of the Holy Spirit. For the word *khnh* (used here) is a general term denoting acquisition or possession. In particular, this can be obtained either by creation (as Gen. 14:19) or by generation (Gen. 4:1). The latter signification must be retained here, as is evident: (1) from the other phrases here accumulated "in the beginning of his way," "before his works," "before the ages," "before the foundations of the earth," which are simply the description of an absolute age; (2) from the word *chvll*, which is added to explain that possession and which means generation when the Septuagint translates it *genna me*.

3. From Mic. 5:2.

XIII. Third, it may be proved from Mic. 5:2 where "his goings forth" are said "to have been from of old, from the days of eternity" (viz., in opposition to his temporal egress from the city of Bethlehem by his birth of a virgin in order to distinguish his temporal egress and generation from the eternal). For he cannot but have been begotten from the essence of the Father whose goings forth are said to have been from the beginning, from the days of eternity. And that this prophecy refers to the Messiah, Jonathan (ben Uzziel) acknowledges (Chaldee Paraphrase) and substitutes in place of *mvshl*, the word *mshych*' ("Messiah") (cf. Walton, *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, [1657], 3:74 on Mic. 5:2). The things predicated prove it because he is

called ruler in Israel by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*); to him is ascribed the calling of the nations, a pastoral kingdom, the strength of Jehovah, the extension of glory and peace unto all the ends of earth (Mic. 5:4, 5). The various objections brought forward are easily answered. Although the going forth has a broader extension than generation, still it cannot be denied that generation is a going forth. Just as all the sons and posterity are said to go forth from the thigh of the fathers, and often the Son is said to have proceeded and gone forth from the Father (Jn. 13:3; 16:27, 28), so he could not have proceeded from the Father unless by a substantial generation, whose going forth preceded all creation and the production from nothing. If *mqdm* elsewhere does not signify eternity, it does not follow that it nowhere does because God is said to be *mqdm* (Hab. 1:12) "from the beginning" (*ap' archēs*), "from everlasting"; and God is called *qdm*, i.e., the eternal God (Dt. 33:27). So here the going forth is said to be from the beginning, i.e., from eternity; and the rather because another phrase is added pertaining to the same thing for emphasis (*epitasin*)—*mymy 'vlm* ("from the days of eternity"). For although *'vlm* and *qdm* (taken separately) refer to some time, yet when joined (as here) they signify eternity. That is indeed an audacious perversion to refer this to the antiquity of Christ's family because he sprang from David of Bethlehem, who lived long before. It does not treat of the antiquity of the family of the Ruler, but of the Ruler himself (as not so much in the remote potency for being born, but as having actually existed). Nor is it better to say that he was from the beginning by reason of predestination because it had been decreed from eternity by God that he should some time go forth from the family of David. For the prophet does not speak of the decree concerning the Messiah to be manifested at some time, but of his actual going forth. Otherwise the goings forth of all things might be called eternal, because decreed.

4. From the filiation of Christ.

XIV. Fourth, it may be proved from the filiation of Christ, which (as most peculiar and perfectly singular) ought necessarily to imply a communication of essence from the Father in the most perfect manner (viz., by generation). Therefore he is not only called "the Son" (*ho hyios*) by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*) (Heb. 1:5) and "thou art the Christ, the Son of the living

God" (Mt. 16:16), but also his own Son—"he that spared not his own Son" (Rom. 8:32); who has his own Father (Jn. 5:18); who begot the Son even from his essence—"the only begotten Son"; and "we beheld the glory of the only begotten" (Jn. 1:14); and "the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father" (Jn. 1:18); and "highly beloved" (Mt. 3:17). Now if he were called Son only on account of a gracious communication of existence and glory (with respect to the human nature, whether in this miraculous conception or in this resurrection and exaltation or in this vocation), he could not be styled either the one or the only begotten Son of God (because such a filiation can belong to others also, if not in the same degree, yet in the same kind). For the angels also are called sons on account of excellency of nature; and magistrates on account of dignity of office; and Adam on account of adoption and regeneration, as well as resurrection. Therefore there must be some other mode of filiation proper and singular to him (which can be no other than by generation), so that by nature he may obtain that which is conferred by grace upon others. This the apostle contends for when he teaches that Christ is so the Son that with respect to him not even the angels are or can be called sons (Heb. 1:5).

XV. When Christ is said to have been seen "as the only begotten (*hōs monogenēs*) of the Father" (Jn. 1:14), the *to hōs* is not assimilative as if he were only like unto the only begotten. Rather it is expressive of truth (as often elsewhere, 2 Cor. 3:18; Lk. 22:44; 1 Cor. 4:1) because he was truly such. This is inferred even from this, that he is said to have been in the beginning with God; yea, also to be God by whom all things were created. And if Christ has many brethren (Rom. 8:29), he does not cease to be the only begotten by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*) because the generation is evidently dissimilar and totally different in kind: not mystical, but natural; not by an expression of qualities, but by a communication of the essence itself. Isaac is called the only begotten (Heb. 11:17) not simply, but relatively (because alone begotten from free Sarah in lawful wedlock with Abraham and therefore made sole heir). Now although *monogenēs* and *agapētos* may be enunciated of the same subject (Gen. 22:2; Mt. 3:17), it does not follow that they are absolutely equivalent. Otherwise whoever are the "well-beloved of God" (*agapētoi Theou*) might also be called "the only begotten from the Father" (*monogeneis para patros*) (which is false).

XVI. Christ is said to be "the own Son of the Father" not only inasmuch as it is opposed to one of another family, for thus he would not be distinguished from believers who also (in this sense) can be called the own sons of God (since they are not another's); but inasmuch as it is opposed to an adopted and metaphorical son. Thus he may be called the natural son who is such by the privilege of his nature and not by the grace and benefit of adoption only (in opposition to believers who are adopted sons, Eph. 1:5). Just as the Father is called his own Father (Jn. 5:17), not in a loose way, but in a most proper way (because the Jews, when they heard it, wished to stone him as if he had blaphemed—which they would not have done if he had merely spoken of an adoptive paternity).

From Col. 1:5; Heb. 1:3.

XVII. Fifth, he is the "image of the invisible God" (Col. 1:15) and "the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person" (*apaugasma tēs doxēs, kai charaktēr tēs hypostaseōs autou*, Heb. 1:3). For that ought to be a true generation whose end he is, who is the image of the begetter and the character of his person (such as Christ is said to be). Not without reason does Paul here join together *apaugasma* and *charaktēra* to denote the truth and perpetuity of the image. It is not only a brightness quickly vanishing, but a mark (*character*) which once impressed always remains. Nor is the objection of force here, that man is the image of God and yet not begotten from his essence. For an image may be accidental and analogical, consisting in a similarity of virtues (as in man with respect to God, who in this sense is said to be a partaker of the divine nature, 2 Pet. 1:4); or essential and natural (as existing in fathers and their sons, who are of the same nature with them). Such is Christ who is therefore said to be not only like to, but also equal with the Father. Now although Christ is the image of God considered hypostatically (i.e., of the Father and of the same essence with him), it does not follow that he is the image of himself because he can be the image of another (as to the mode of subsisting, who is of the same essence with him). He cannot be the same person with him of whom he is the image, but this does not hinder him from being the same in essence. Although he may even be called the image of God (as God-man [*theanthrōpos*] and in relation to his mediatorial office) because he perfectly

represents to us the Father, so that he who sees him sees also the Father (Jn. 14:9); still the idea of the essential image is not excluded, but supposed. Because inasmuch as he is the *Logos*, that substantial image glitters in Christ incarnate, and from him (as a mirror) is reflected the most clear image of the divine virtue—hence he is called "God manifested in the flesh" (*Theos phanerōtheis en sarki*, 1 Tim. 3:16).

XVIII. Christ cannot be called the Son of the living God with respect to unction and office (as if the name of Christ and the Son of God were coincident because they are expressly distinguished by the Lord). Nor is Christ said to be the Son of God because he was the Messiah. On the contrary, he is recognized as the Messiah just because he is the Son of God (who alone could be equal to this office). Hence it follows that because these two things are mutually joined together by an indivisible bond, no one can confess Jesus to be the Messiah without at the same time acknowledging him to be the Son of God, and vice versa. For Christ and the Son of God designate the same person, but not the same thing in the same person; for Son expresses the person, Christ the office. Nor ought it to be added that believers are often called the sons of the living God, who nevertheless, no one would say, are coessential with God (Hos. 1:10; Gal. 3:26; Rom. 8:14). For who does not know that the filiation of believers, no one of whom can be called the only begotten (*monogenēs*) and proper Son of God (to wit, by gratuitous adoption in Christ) differs far from that by which Christ is by way of eminence (*kat'exochēn*) called the Son of the living God (by antithesis to the son of dying man as something far more excellent). Even as Peter would intimate that he (with the other disciples) regarded him not only as the Son of man (as others considered him, supposing him to be either Elijah or one of the prophets or John the Baptist), but also the Son of that eternal God who always lives and never fails. Therefore as he was of the same nature with his mother as the Son of man, so he necessarily must be also of the same nature with the Father as the Son of the living God.

XIX. Although Christ might be called "the brightness of the Father's glory" (*apaugasma tēs doxēs*) and the "express image of his person" (*charaktēr tēs hypostaseōs*) by reason of his mediatorial office and as he is God-man (*theanthrōpos*) because the Father has most perfectly expressed in him his own image and stamped it, as it were, with his own seal (Jn. 6:27),

yet this does not hinder it from being attributed to him as he is the *Logos* and by reason of the eternal filiation. According to this, he is the "light of light, and God of God" (as the Nicene Council declares) and bears the most express image of the person of the Father in himself (by which he so differs from him according to subsistence as to agree with him according to essence). Indeed that relation (*schesis*) cannot have place unless these things are supposed because he could not have exhibited to us by incarnation the glory of God and the mark of his person unless he had been such before by an eternal generation.

Sources of explanation.

XX. Christ is called the "firstborn" in diverse ways: (1) by reason of his temporal nativity when he is called "the firstborn of Mary" (because no one was born of her before him and no one after him); (2) by reason of his resurrection as "the firstborn from the dead" (Col. 1:18), both because he first arose, not so much by priority of time as of causality (because he arose by his own power [Jn. 2:19], while all others rose by the power of Christ) and because he arose to immortal life, never again to die; (3) by reason of authority and dominion, in which sense he is called the "firstborn of every creature" (Col. 1:15) and "among many brethren" (Rom. 8:29) because all the prerogatives of primogenitureship—a kingdom, priesthood, a double portion—most properly belong to him; (4) by reason of his eternal generation when he is called the "first begotten of God" (Heb. 1:6) because begotten by the Father from eternity (*pro pasēs ktiseōs monogenōs genētheis*, as the Greek Scholia have it). Nor ought the first begotten always to belong to the number of those of whom he is said to be the first begotten, since it often denotes the only begotten, before whom no one was and after whom no one will come. Thus Christ is called the firstborn of every creature, not because he is the first of creatures, but because he was begotten before creatures. Thus we must not understand here a ranking (*connumeratio*) with creatures, but a going before and a preexistence. For if he is before every creature, he ought not to be reckoned among creatures and so must be eternal.

XXI. The Father begat the Son as neither now existing because he would be supposed to have been already before, nor as not yet existing (for so he

would not be eternal), but coexisting (because he was with the Father from eternity). Therefore division applies only to physical generation where the begotten passes over from not-being to being. But it cannot be accommodated to this hyperphysical generation, which is an eternal act of the eternal Father (from whom the Son emanates and in whom he remains without any abscission [*praecisione*] by coexisting). Hence the Son was not properly before generation, nor did he begin to be through generation, but always emanated from the Father by an eternal and internal act (like the rays emanating simultaneously with the sun, only in a more eminent, inexplicable manner). (2) In fine, by generation the divine essence is communicated to the begotten, not that it may exist, but subsist. Thus it is not terminated on the absolute existence, but on the mode of subsisting; nor by it is he constituted God absolutely, but the Son relatively.

XXII. Necessary and voluntary may in a measure be distinguished in God as to our manner of conception, yet they are not really opposed. Hence the Father is said to have begotten the Son necessarily and voluntarily; necessarily because he begat by nature, as he is God by nature, but voluntarily, because he begat not by coaction (*coacte*), but freely; not by an antecedent will, which denotes an act of willing (free outwardly), but by a concomitant, which denotes the natural faculty of willing in God; not by the liberty of indifference, but of spontaneity.

XXIII. Although the Son may be said to be begotten by the Father, it does not follow that the Son is the Son of himself because the essence does not generate an essence, but a person (the Father, the Son, who is another one, although not another thing).

XXIV. That which is most perfect does not generate a thing differing from itself essentially, but a person differing from itself personally. For the essence of the Father is the essence of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, although to be the Father is not to be the Son, nor to be the Holy Spirit. Hence one thing remains always the most perfect (viz., God), although he is not one person because it is communicable to three self-existences (*suppositis*), not diverse in essence, but distinguished by characteristic relation.

XXV. When the Son is said to be one God with the Father and yet to be a distinct person from him, there is no contradiction. Although he has the same essence (according to which he is said to be one with the Father), yet

he has not the same mode of subsisting. If in finite and created things a diverse essence is required for a diverse person, does it not thence follow that this holds good in divine things where the same numerical and singular essence can nevertheless be communicable to more than one (because infinite)?

XXVI. Although believers may be said "to be begotten" or "to be born of God" on account of a similarity of virtues (and not by a communication of essence), it does not follow that it can be understood in the same sense of Christ (because the discussion concerns a proper generation by which he is the proper and only begotten Son of God).

XXVII. The miraculous conception of Christ can be an argument *a posteriori* by which his eternal filiation is known, but is not immediately its cause *a priori*. Thus we must understand the words of the angel to the blessed virgin: "Therefore that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the son of God" (Lk. 1:35). Here the particle *dio* is a mark of consequence, not of a consequent; of sign why he should be called the Son of God, not of cause. For before his conception, he is said to have existed (Jn. 1:1; Phil. 2:6). Hence he does not say simply "he shall be," but "he shall be called" (*klēthēsetai*, i.e., "manifested").

XXVIII. The Son of God is not called Christ because he was sanctified by the Father (Jn. 10:36). He adds other reasons for filiation, both from unity of essence (Jn. 10:30) and from identity of works (Jn. 10:38). He was sanctified (i.e., consecrated to the mediatorial office) because he was the Son (which otherwise he could not have undertaken). Nor is he the Son because beloved (Mt. 3:17), but beloved because he is the Son (as the order of the words teaches).

XXIX. While this hyperphysical generation is altogether different from physical and finite generation, the adversaries falsely argue from the latter to the former (as if any change, or imperfection, or priority of nature, or of time could fall on God). Every substantial generation is a change from not-being to being because everyone begotten is posterior to the begetter; he who begets communicates a part of his substance to another, and the begetter is essentially different from the begotten. These and similar things drawn from human generation are improperly transferred to the divine by a change to another kind (*metabasin eis allo genos*). And if these generations are mutually compared, they are to be considered as coequal. Indeed while

whatever of perfection occurs in finite generation is attributed to it (as that the begetter begets a thing similar to himself by communication of essence), whatever denotes any imperfection must be carefully removed from it.

XXX. To no purpose do the Scholastics weary themselves in investigating and explaining the mode of this generation, since it is not only ineffable, but also incomprehensible (*akatalēptos*) to the angels themselves. "It is undecorous to seek," says Athanasius against Arius, "how the Word is from God, or how he is the brightness of God, or how God begets and what is the mode of his generation. For he is crazy who would attempt such things, since he would essay to interpret in words a thing ineffable and proper to the divine nature and known only to himself and his Son" (*Four Discourses Against the Arians* 2.36 [NPNF2, 4:367; PG 26.223]). And Hilary: "As the Father is inexpressible in that he is unbegotten; so the Son in that he is the only begotten cannot be expressed because he who is begotten is the image of the unbegotten" (*The Trinity* 3.18 [FC 25:80; PL 10.86]).

XXXI. The similitudes usually employed to explain this mystery (drawn either from the mind, which by understanding itself, excites the idea and image of itself in itself, which always remains in the mind whence it may emanate; or from the sun from which rays simultaneously emanate as it was neither before nor without them) can in some measure serve to illustrate this mystery, and the more because Scripture sometimes alludes to them when it calls the Son of God *Logon*, "Wisdom," "the image of God" and "the brightness of the Father's glory" (*apaugasma doxēs*). But they cannot set forth a full and accurate determination of the mode of this generation. Hence here (if anywhere) we must be wise with sobriety so that content with the fact (*tō hoti*) (which is clear in the Scriptures), we should not anxiously busy our thoughts with defining or even searching into the mode (which is altogether incomprehensible), but leave it to God who alone most perfectly knows himself.

Thirtieth Question: The Deity of the Holy Spirit

Is the Holy Spirit a divine person, distinct from the Father and the Son? We affirm

I. As the anti-Trinitarians do not deny the personality, but the eternity of the Son; so they do not detract from the eternity, but the personality of the Holy Spirit. Therefore as we have just proved the eternity of the Son, the personality of the Spirit must now be demonstrated against the same.

Statement of the question.

II. The question does not concern the Spirit considered essentially (*ousiōdōs*), in which sense God is called a "Spirit" (Jn. 4:24), and the divine nature of Christ often comes under this name (1 Tim. 3:16; 1 Pet. 3:18, 19), for this equally belongs to the three persons. Rather the question concerns the Spirit regarded hypostatically (*hypostatikōs*) and designating one of them singularly.

III. The question is not whether the Spirit, called Holy by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*), not only subjectively (because he is most holy), but also efficiently (because he sanctifies us), is a thing or a creature or some virtue of God (as the other attributes), for this the adversaries do not dispute. Rather the question is whether he is a divine person, not divided, but distinct from the Father and the Son. The fighters against the Spirit (*pneumatomachi*), the ancient as well as the more modern, deny it. We affirm it.

The Holy Spirit is a divine person.

IV. The reasons are: (1) Various personal actions are attributed to the Holy Spirit (as to teach [Jn. 14:26]; to testify [Jn. 15:26; Rom. 8:16]; to reveal future things [1 Tim. 4:1]; to search the deep things of God [1 Cor. 2:10]; to separate some and send them to minister by an express command [Is. 61:1; Acts 13:2; 20:28]; to create [Gen. 1:2]; to make pregnant a barren virgin [Lk. 1:35]; to exercise operations of every kind and confer upon men ordinary as well as extraordinary gifts—"all these worketh that one and the self-same spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will" [1 Cor. 12:11], where what he had said of God, that "he worketh all things" [*ho de autos esti Theos ho energōn ta panta*, 1 Cor. 12:6], is here applied to the Holy Spirit [*panta de tauta energei to hen kai to auto pneuma*]. This could not be said if the Holy Spirit was not a divine person of the same order and virtue

with the Father). Nor is the objection valid that personal properties are often ascribed to things, and yet the things themselves are not to be considered persons: as to sin, that it deceives and kills (Rom. 7:11); to the law, that it speaks (Rom. 3:19); to charity, that it believes and hopes all things (1 Cor. 13:7); to the blood of Abel, that it cried out (Gen. 4:10). For it is plain that the passages adduced do not denote the principal causes of acting, but the means to which the action of the principal agent is by a usual interchange ascribed. For sin properly can neither deceive (rather the devil through sin) nor actively kill (but meritoriously). The law properly does not speak, but the legislator speaks in or through the law. Charity (i.e., the man imbued with it) believes. Blood cries out, not effectively but objectively. Those things however which are ascribed to the Holy Spirit, so belong to persons and living beings that in Scripture they cannot be transferred to inanimate things.

V. No better do they succeed, who refer this to personification (*prosopopoeia*) because the subject of a prosopopoeia is ordinarily some corporeal thing lacking life and sense (as when the heavens are commanded to hear, and the rivers to clap their hands—which do not apply to the Holy Spirit). (2) If Scripture had spoken of the Holy Spirit figuratively in one or another place, it would have explained this elsewhere in proper words (which it does not do; indeed it uniformly speaks of him so). (3) If the opinion of the adversaries is correct, the whole gospel history can easily be transformed into jejune allegories, and the expressions concerning Christ be transferred with the same propriety to the virtue of wisdom. (4) Although some figures of speech occur in Scripture with respect to other things, it does not follow that whatever we read concerning the Holy Spirit should be understood figuratively and by a prosopopoeia. A collation of the passages will readily prove the disparity.

VI. Second, because he is set forth not only as distinct from the Father and the Son, but also as another one and sent from both (Jn. 15:26; 16:7); cf. Jn. 14:16—"I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete." Now no one will say that one called another than the Father and the Son and sent by them is not a person equally with them. And the name "Paraclete" ascribed to him (which as it implies a personal office in Christ inasmuch as he acts as our intercessor and patron by pleading our cause with the Father, 1 Jn. 2:1) ought to denote the same in the Holy Spirit—that

he is personally the Paraclete of the Father and the Son for us (i.e., their interpreter) by performing towards us the duty of counsellor and consoler. Third, the exchange of gender teaches this, joining to *pneumati* (which is of the neuter gender) the masculine pronoun better adapted to denote a person: *hotan elthē ekeinos to pneuma tēs alētheias* (Jn. 16:13). In Eph. 1:13, 14, we are said to be sealed with "the Holy Spirit of promise" (*tō pneumati hagiō hos estin arrabōn*). For no reason can be given why such a change should be made in Scripture except that thus the person of the Holy Spirit may be more clearly designated.

VII. Third, because he concurs with the Father and the Son (who are undoubtedly distinct persons) with equal power, authority and virtue in sealing believers and conferring benefits upon the church. This is evident from the prescribed formula of baptism (Mt. 28:19), the apostolic benediction (2 Cor. 13:14) and the testimony concerning Christ (1 Jn. 5:7) (which could not be the case unless he were a person distinct from them and of the same condition and authority with them). The objections of the adversaries have been discussed before (in the Question concerning the Trinity).

VIII. Fourth, because he appeared in a visible form (as in the baptism of Christ, in the form of a dove [Mt. 3:16] and on the day of Pentecost, in the form of tongues which seemed to the apostles cloven like fire sitting upon them [Acts 2:3]). It belongs to persons (not to attributes or accidents) to assume visible forms and to appear in or with or under such forms. Nor without absurdity can anyone say that the justice or mercy of God or any other virtue manifested itself by a visible form. Nor should it be objected that not everything which appears is per se subsistent since accidents appear and yet do not subsist per se. For although it is true that accidents immediately strike the eye, yet they always suppose a substratum or person. Hence under that visible form there must have been some subsistence (which the text asserts was the Holy Spirit and expressly distinguishes from the persons of the Father and the Son in the baptism of the Savior). Nor can it be said that the fiery tongues should be restricted to the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The text draws a plain distinction between the Spirit and his gifts: "They began to speak with other tongues, as the Holy Spirit" with whom they were filled "gave them utterance" (Acts 2:4).

IX. Fifth, because there is a sin against the Holy Spirit. Hence mention is made of Israelites who grieved the Spirit of holiness (Is. 63:10); and of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit as an unpardonable sin (Mt. 12:31, 32); and of Ananias and Sapphira who are said to have lied to the Holy Ghost (Acts 5:3)—whence they immediately paid the penalty of their crime. Now he against whom we sin must be a divine person. For as God alone is the object of worship and adoration, so he alone is properly and ultimately the object of sin. And as the blasphemy directed against the Father and the Son supposes them to be persons, so also the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. Indeed this is the more certainly evinced from the fact that the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is reckoned a far more grievous crime, since it is unpardonable—capable of being remitted neither in this world nor in that which is to come, i.e., never (according to Mark's interpretation). This could not be said if he was not a person. Now although in Scripture some things are said to be blasphemed which are not persons (as "our good," Rom. 14:16; "doctrine," 1 Tim. 6:1; "the word of God," Tit. 2:5; "the way of truth," 2 Pet. 2:2); it does not follow that the same may be said of the Spirit because things are always said to be blasphemed relatively to God himself. Thus the blasphemy of our good is an offense against God himself from whom we receive that good; the blasphemy of doctrine and the word extends to God the author of them. But it is different with the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit because it is expressly distinguished from that against the Father and the Son.

X. It is falsely said that Ananias lied to the Holy Spirit as a gift of God (possessed by Peter) and not as a divine person. For no one can lie to anyone but to an intelligent and living person. Hence Peter says, "Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God" (Acts 5:4), to wit, by lying to the Holy Spirit. This is explained in Acts 5:9 by tempting (*to peirazesthai*) the Holy Spirit (which can be said only of a person). And although to *pseudesthai* with the accusative means rather "to falsify and deceive" than "to lie" (which cannot be said absolutely, since this verb is joined not only with the dative but also with the accusative in the same signification, Prov. 14:5; Is. 57:11), still it comes to the same thing (since he ought to be a person whom others desire to deceive equally with him to whom they endeavor to lie).

XI. Sixth, the distinction between the Holy Spirit and his gifts (so often drawn) proves this. For why should Scripture so carefully make such a

distinction if the Spirit was nothing else than a gift of God? It is true indeed that the Spirit is sometimes put for his gifts, but it is evident also that he is elsewhere expressly distinguished from them as their author and efficient cause: “There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit” (1 Cor. 12:4); “To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge” (1 Cor. 12:8); “All these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will” (1 Cor. 12:11). And that no one may imagine it is some virtue or power of God belonging to him as an attribute, the Scripture distingushes power (*dynamin*) from the Spirit: “Jesus returned from the desert in the power of the Spirit” (Lk. 4:14); “ye shall receive,” said Christ, “the power of the Holy Spirit coming upon you” (Acts 1:8). In the latter, power (*dynamis*) denotes the effect, but the Spirit is cause and source (viz., a person endowed with this power, which he pours out upon others).

The divinity of the Holy Spirit may be proved: (1) from the names.

XII. Now that the Holy Spirit is not only a person but a divine person can be most incontestably evinced from the four arguments by which we have proved the names, the attributes, works and worship of God are ascribed to him. The names, indeed, because what is said of Jehovah of Hosts (Is. 6:9) is applied to the Holy Spirit: “Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet, saying, go unto this people” (Acts 28:25, 26*). He who is called the Spirit of God is immediately afterwards said to be God and the Rock of Israel: “The Spirit of Jehovah spake by me, and his word was in my tongue. The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me” (2 S. 23:2, 3*). Here pertains that Ananias is said to have lied to God because he lied to the Holy Spirit (as we have seen before); also that believers are said to be temples of the living God because they are the temples of the Holy Spirit who dwells in them: “Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?” (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19). And since the temple and the divinity are related, he cannot but be God whose temple we are said to be. Nor ought this to be understood only of his presence or indwelling; for not all things said to be dwelt in are on that account temples, and we are never

called temple of the divine word, which however ought to dwell in us largely. But a temple necessarily involves a relation to the religious worship of him to whom it is erected. Hence Augustine: “If we commit sacrilege by building a temple to any creature, how is not he the true God to whom we do not build a temple, but whose temple we ourselves are?” (*Collatio cum Maximino**, PL 42.722).

2. From the attributes.

XIII. Second, divine attributes belong to him. Eternity, because he was even in the beginning of creation for “he moved upon the face of the waters” (Gen 1:2). Now he who preceded the creation of all things is not himself created and is therefore eternal. Omnipresence and immensity: “Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?” (Ps. 139:7, 8). That this is to be referred to the presence of his essence and not only of his virtue has been proved before in the question concerning the immensity of God. “The Holy Spirit dwells in you” (1 Cor. 3:16), not assuredly by his efficacy only, but also by his essence because he is there as God in his temple. Omniscience, because he searches the deep things of God, not effectively because he makes us search. It does not belong to us to search the deep things of God (*ta bathē tou Theou*, 1 Cor. 3:16) lest we should be overwhelmed by his glory (Prov. 25:27); but subjectively and formally because he is said to bear the same relation to the things of God as the spirit of man to the things of man (properly and formally searching into the interior things of each by reflex operations). The design of the apostle leads us to this, which is to prove that God’s Spirit (omniscient and searching all things) can alone certainly reveal to us those things which God has prepared for them that love him (which otherwise neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, 1 Cor. 2:9). Now he is said to search, not by inquiring (which would imply some doubt), but by penetrating (just as God is said to search the heart and reins). Here pertains that he is said “to announce future things” (Jn. 16:13), which belongs to God alone; and that the prophets, who predicted future things, spoke by him (2 Pet. 1:21). Omnipotence, because he is called the “power of the Highest” (Lk. 1:35), not simply essential, but personal. Life, because he is a vivifying Spirit (1 Cor. 15:45) who quickens our mortal bodies (Rom. 8:11).

3. From works.

XIV. Third, the works both of nature and of creation (Gen. 1:2; Ps. 33:6); conservation and government (Ps. 104:30); the working of miracles (Mt. 12:28; 1 Cor. 12:4) and of grace; the conception of Christ (Lk. 1:35); unction and mission (Is. 61:1); remission of sins and regeneration (1 Cor. 6:11; Jn. 3:5); government of the church (Acts 13:2; 15:28; 20:28); prediction of future events (Jn. 16:13; Acts 11:28); bestowal of gifts (1 Cor. 12:7); illumination (Eph. 1:17, 18); sanctification (2 Thess. 2:13; 1 Pet. 1:2); the resurrection of the dead (Rom. 8:11).

4. From worship.

XV. Fourth, divine worship is given to him because we are baptized in his name as well as in that of the Father and the Son. In the Apostles' Creed, we are commanded to believe in him as well as in the Father and the Son. We seek grace and peace and other benefits from him no less than from the Father and the Son (2 Cor. 13:14*). In Rev. 1:4, grace and peace are sought "from the seven spirits which are before the throne." The Holy Spirit is thus represented not with respect to personality (which is one only), but with respect to the sevenfold (i.e., the multiple) variety of gifts which he bestows upon believers. The number seven is used, not only on account of his perfection, but in allusion to the seven churches written to (in order to intimate that he will pour upon them copious showers of his gifts, as if a single spirit were given to each church). Nor can it be said that by these seven spirits is not meant a person, but is expressed the medium through which the apostle wishes grace and peace to come from the Father. For he seeks grace from the spirits in the same way as from the Father (from the spirits [*apo pneumatōn*] as the principle and cause). Thus because we are the temple of the Holy Spirit, Paul concludes that we must glorify God both in our body and in our soul, which are God's (1 Cor. 6:20). What God? (to wit, that God whose temple we are, not to the exclusion of the Father and the Son, but economically designating the Holy Spirit, whom to invoke is to glorify). Hence the Spirit who speaks by the prophets is invoked by the church: "Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven and earth, who, by the mouth of thy servant David hast said" (Acts 4:24, 25). By this example

also the ancient church always invoked him in the hymn of the Holy Spirit —"Come, Creator Spirit;" and "Glory to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit."

XVI. If Scripture less frequently makes mention of the adoration and worship of the Holy Spirit, it is not because he is not to be adored equally with the Father and the Son (for there are not wanting precepts and examples of this adoration); but because in the economy of salvation (which answers to the order of the persons) as the Father works through the Son and the Son through the Holy Spirit, so the glory of the deity arising from adoration is carried from the Holy Spirit who excites prayers in the hearts of believers through the Son as Mediator to the Father. For this reason he is more often set forth as the author and principle of prayers than as the object towards which they may be directed (as the one who rather invokes [i.e., causes us to invoke] than the one who may be invoked).

Sources of explanation.

XVII. A gift of God considered essentially (*ousiōdōs*) cannot be God; but this does not hinder the gift of God taken personally from being a divine person (just as Christ, who is a divine person, is nevertheless called the gift of God, Jn. 3:16; 4:10; Is. 9:6). Thus the Holy Spirit can be called the gift of God. Nor does it always imply a contradiction for one to be both a gift and the giver of himself, since Christ gave himself for us and to us for the support of our eternal life: "The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world" (Jn. 6:51).

XVIII. If some things are at times attributed to the Holy Spirit which seem to be less proper to a person (as that we are anointed, baptized and filled with him; that he is poured out by God and given to us), these must be understood of his gifts in us. However the truth of his person still remains (just as Christ is said to be put on, received and eaten by us, and to be given to us by God without prejudice to his personality).

XIX. The gifts (*merismoi*) of the Holy Spirit (Heb. 2:4) do not so much mean (passively) partitions of the Spirit, as (actively) distributions of the gifts mentioned—made by the Spirit who distributes his own gifts to whom he will (1 Cor. 12:11). Therefore although we acknowledge a distribution of

the gifts of the Spirit, yet we deny a division or partition of the person of the Spirit (which is undivided in itself and divided from any other).

XX. As the Holy Spirit is often by metonymy put for his gifts, so he is said to be increased or diminished not with regard to the principle but with regard to the gifts which he scatters among men. Thus God is said to have taken of the same Spirit which he had bestowed upon Moses (i.e., of the same gifts and grace which were necessary for the government of the republic) that he might give to the seventy elders in order that they might bear a part of the burden (Num. 11:17). Elisha seeks for himself a double spirit (2 K. 2:9, i.e., graces twofold more than those commonly seen in other prophets or a double portion of the gifts of the Spirit [viz., a great abundance] to enable him to perform the great and difficult duty required of him). If this is called "the power and spirit of Elijah" (Lk. 1:17), it must not be understood originally, but subjectively because it resided in Elijah.

XXI. The true God cannot be sent by command because he acknowledges no superior; but he can be sent by consent (which denotes diversity of office indeed, but not of essence). The Son and the Spirit are sent in the latter way, not in the former.

XXII. The Holy Spirit was not before the glorification of Christ (Jn. 7:39)—not simply and absolutely, as if he just then began to be according to his personality (*kath' hypostasin*) (the contrary which his effects demonstrate), but relatively, by reason of the more copious outpouring about to take place afterwards, upon the apostles and others.

Thirty-First Question: The Procession of the Holy Spirit

Did the Holy Spirit proceed from the Father and the Son? We affirm

I. As generation (*gennēsis*) is ascribed to the Son, so procession (*ekporeusis*) is ascribed to the Holy Spirit—taking the word not only widely (as denoting "to have origin from some one"; for thus it can also be applied to the Son, to whom *exodos* and *exeleusis* is attributed, since he is said to have come forth from the Father [Jn. 16:28] and to have eternal goings-forth [Mic. 5:2]), but strictly (inasmuch as it denotes an emanation from the Father and the Son, distinct from the generation of the Son).

Statement of the question.

II. The question does not concern the temporal and external procession (which is terminated on creatures by which the Holy Spirit is sent to sanctify us and make perfect the work of salvation); but the question concerns the eternal and internal procession (which is terminated inwardly and is nothing else than the mode of communication of the divine essence, i.e., that by which the third person of the Trinity has from the Father and the Son the same numerical essence which the Father and the Son have).

How procession differs from generation.

III. That this procession differs from the generation of the Son cannot be denied because they are different persons who stand related to each other in origin. But the nature of this distinction cannot be explained and may more safely be unknown than inquired into. Hence John of Damascus says "that there is a difference between generation and procession, we have learned, but what the nature of the distinction is we by no means understand" (*Hoti men esti diaphora geneseōs kai ekporeuseōs memathēkamen, tis de tropos diaphoras mēdamōs, Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1.8* [NPNF2, 9:9; PG 94.824]). And Augustine: "There is a difference between generation and procession, but I know not how to distinguish them because both are inexpressible" (*Contra Maximinum* 2*.14, PL 42.770). I know that the Scholastics wish to derive this difference from the operation of the intellect (*modum intellectus*)—hence he is called the Wisdom of God; but procession by way of the will (*modum voluntatis*)—hence he is called Love and Charity. But as this is unsupported by Scripture, so it entangles rather than explains the thing. They speak more wisely who, stammering in a matter so difficult, place the distinction in three things: (1) in the principle, because the Son emanates from the Father alone, but the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son together. (2) In the mode, because the Son emanates by way of generation, which terminates not only on the personality, but also on the similarity (on account of which the Son is called the image of the Father and according to which the Son receives the property of communicating to another person the same essence; but the Spirit by way of spiration, which terminates only on the personality and by which the proceeding person does

not receive the property of communicating that essence to another person). (3) In the order, because as the Son is the second person and the Spirit the third, generation in our mode of conceiving precedes spiration (although they are really coeternal).

The Greeks and Latins dispute concerning the principle of procession.

IV. As to the principle of procession, there is a celebrated controversy between the Greeks and Latins who, however, are agreed about the unity of the Godhead and the Trinity of persons. The question is whether he proceeds from the Father only or from the Father and the Son. The Greeks held the former; the Latins the latter. The Greeks accuse the Latins of adding to the Nicene Creed (explained at Constantinople) the words *filioque;* the Latins, on their part, charge the Greeks with inserting the word *monou* in Article 7 of the Athanasian Creed (*apo tou monou patros*, cf. PG 28.1581, 1585, 1587, 1589). The Eastern and Western churches frequently disputed violently about this thing. At length, at the Council of Florence (A.D. 1439), concord was brought about by determining that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. But the orientals who subscribed to this receded from the transaction and still vehemently persist in their former opinion.

V. Although the Greeks ought not to have been charged with heresy on account of their opinion, nor ought it to have been the occasion of a schism arising or continuing, still the opinion of the Latins may be properly retained as more agreeable to the words of Scripture and the truer. (1) The Holy Spirit is sent from the Son as well as from the Father (Jn. 16:7). He therefore ought to proceed from him because he cannot be sent by the Son unless he proceeds from him. (2) He is called the Spirit of the Son as well as the Father (Gal. 4:6). (3) Whatever the Spirit has, he has from the Son no less than from the Father (Jn. 16:13–15), and as the Son is said to be from the Father because he does not speak of himself, but of the Father (from whom he receives all things), so the Spirit ought to be said to be and to proceed from the Son because he hears and speaks from him. (4) He breathed the Holy Spirit on his disciples in time (Jn. 20:22). Therefore he

breathed him from eternity; for temporal procession presupposes an eternal.

VI. The Father and the Son breathe the Holy Spirit not as two diverse principles (since the breathing power is the same in both), but as two self-existent (*supposita*) concur in that procession by the same power.

VII. Although the Spirit may be said to proceed from the Father (Jn. 15:26), it is not denied of the Son. Indeed it is implied because the mission of the Spirit is ascribed to him and whatever the Father has, the Son is said to have equally (Jn. 16:15).

VIII. Since breathing virtue is numerically one in the Father and the Son, it is not good to say that in this respect the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son (as if he was principally from the Father, but secondarily and less principally from the Son). If the mode of subsisting is considered (according to which the Father is the fountain of deity from whom the Son emanates), not improperly in this sense is he said to proceed from the Father through the Son (as to the order and mode of procession).

IX. If in certain primitive creeds the expression *filioque* was omitted (proving the procession from the Son), this was because at that time there had been no controversy agitated concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit. Yet it was prudently added afterwards on account of rising errors.

FOURTH TOPIC

The Decrees of God in General and Predestination in Particular

First Question

Are decrees in God, and how?

I. After consideration of the absolute essence of God, his attributes and the relation of the persons comes the discussion of the essential internal acts of God commonly called the decrees. With respect to these the inquiry here is: whether they are in God and how they are in him.

Decrees are in God.

II. That there are decrees in God both Scripture testifies (which repeatedly attributes to him to *prognōsin, prothesin, hōrismenēn, boulēn, eudokian*) and manifold reason evinces. This is true both from the highest perfection of God (to which it pertains that nothing shall take place without his will) and from his omniscience (by which he knows from eternity all his works, not only possible but also future—which he could not behold otherwise than in his decree) and from the dependence of second causes upon the first (and of all things and events upon the supreme being and agent).

III. The decree is ascribed to God not inasmuch as it is the effect of previous deliberation and consultation with reasoning passing from one thing to another (of which he has no need "to whose eyes all things are naked and most open," Heb. 4:13), but by reason of the certain determination concerning the futurition of things (according to which he does nothing rashly, but designedly, i.e., knowingly and willingly).

IV. The divine acts admit of a threefold distinction. (1) There are immanent and intrinsic acts having no respect to anything outside of God (such are the personal acts—to beget, to spirate—of which there is an absolute necessity without power to the opposite). (2) Others are extrinsic and transient acts which are not in God, but from him effectively and in creatures subjectively (as to create, to govern)—these are temporal acts and God is denominated extrinsic only from them. (3) There are acts immanent and intrinsic in God, but connoting a respect and relation (*schesin*) to something outside of God (such are the decrees, which are nothing else than the counsels of God concerning future things out of himself).

V. Concerning these decrees the question is How are they in God—essentially or only inherently (*inhaesive*) and accidentally? The former the orthodox maintain; the latter is maintained by Socinus and Vorstius who, to overthrow the simplicity of God and to prove that there is a real composition in him, maintain that they are accidents properly so called. Against these, we thus argue.

They are not in God as accidents;

VI. No accident can be granted in God; therefore decrees cannot be in him inherently and accidentally. This is evident: (1) from his simplicity because he on whom accidents fall is not absolutely simple, being composed of subject and accident; (2) from his infinity and perfection because whatever is added to a thing tends to make it perfect. Now God is most perfect in every respect and not merely perfectible, as all creatures. (3) From his immutability, because accident is the root of all change. Now God is immutable in will as well as in essence.

But as immanent acts of will.

VII. Since then they cannot belong to God accidentally, we must necessarily say that they are in him essentially, as immanent acts of his will with a relation (*schesei*) and termination outside of him. Thus they do not differ really from his essence, since the will of God (with which they are identified) is nothing else than the essence itself willing (apprehended by an inadequate conception by us). In this sense, the decrees are rightly said to

be identified with the essence, conceived after the manner of a vital act determining itself to the production of this or that thing out of itself. Hence they take on the notion of a double cause, efficient and exemplar. Efficient because all future things are for this reason future—that God has decreed them (nor can any prior cause of his works be assigned). Exemplar because the decree of God is (as it were) the idea of all things out of himself, after which as the archetype (*archetypon*) they, as the ectypes (*ektypa*), are expressed in time.

And are properly called ideas.

VIII. As every agent freely and from counsel acts after an idea, the ideas of all things may not improperly be said to be in the mind of God—not as meaning some intelligible species or some form of things elicited from the things themselves, coming from an external source and impressed upon God (as is the case with human ideas); but as implying a notion or exemplar cause, preexisting the things themselves in the mind of God and impressed upon them at their production, and is nothing else than the very divine essence itself (as it is understood by God himself, either as imitable by creatures [if it is a thing merely possible belonging to natural knowledge] or to be imitated [if it is future and has respect to free knowledge]).

IX. Hence it appears that idea is ascribed to God and to man in different ways. In man, the idea is first impressed and afterwards expressed in things. In God, it is only expressed properly, not impressed because it does not come from without. In man, the things themselves are the exemplar and our knowledge is the image; but in God the divine knowledge is the exemplar and the things themselves the image or its expressed likeness.

X. Although the ideas of things possible and future are maintained to be in the mind of God, it does not follow that God equally can be conceived of either as possible or as future. It suffices that we gather that the possibility and futurition of all things depend on God and that God in this sense is all things not formally, but eminently.

XI. Although an idea suggests (a reason of) similitude and agreement, still there is the greatest distance between God and the creature. Thus no similitude seems to be possible. Nevertheless the idea must not cease to be granted because we must distinguish first the similitude of univocation,

when two things agree in one univocal and common conception (as Peter and Paul are said to be similar because they agree in humanity which is common to them). Thus there is not granted a similitude between God and creatures because those things which are said concerning God and concerning creatures are not said univocally, but analogically. Second we must distinguish the similitude of expression or of representation (as one thing distinctly represents and expresses another, whether they agree in another common thing or not; for the idea which is in God represents most perfectly the creature itself and so the idea is properly called the similitude of the thing known).

XII. It is one thing to act in accordance with an adventitious and accidental idea; another to act after an essential idea. It argues imperfection to act after an adventitious idea—one borrowed from without; but not after an essential idea (as God does, having regard to no example out of himself, but to his own essence).

Sources of explanation.

XIII. The liberty of the divine decree does not hinder it from being God himself because it is free only terminatively and on the part of the thing, but not subjectively and on the part of God. It is free in the exercised act inasmuch as it resides in the liberty of God to decree this or that thing. It is not free in the signified act because to decree anything depends upon the internal constitution of God by which he understands and wills. It is free as to the respect and relation (*schesin*) outside himself, but not as to the absolute existence within. Therefore three things come to be carefully distinguished in the decree: (1) the essence of God willing and decreeing after the manner of a principle; (2) its tendency outside himself, without however any internal addition or change because it indicates nothing but an external respect and habitude towards the creature, after the manner of a relation; (3) the object itself or the things decreed, which have a reason of the end. In the first mode, the decree is necessary, but in the latter free (see above Topic III, Question VII, “On the Simplicity of God,” Section 11).

XIV. What is dependent on another as on a cause properly so called is not God; but not what depends on another as on a principle (such as the

decree does) which is posterior in the sign of reason (*in signo rationis*) and on the part of our conception (not by reason of the thing and time).

XV. A transient act differs from the agent and is not so much in God as from him; but an immanent act (such as the decree) is identified with the agent because in God there is no difference between "to be," "to be able" and "to operate." God does not act like creatures through something superadded to his nature, but through his own essence determining itself to this or that thing as a vital principle. Thus it is well said that no action proceeding from a free will can be God absolutely and in itself, but still can well be called God considered relatively (*schetikōs*), as a vital act determining itself spontaneously. In this sense, the decree is nothing other than God himself decreeing.

XVI. As God is a being absolutely necessary, so the decree is necessary intrinsically on the part of the principle (*a parte principii*). Notwithstanding this, it is free extrinsically and terminatively. Nor does this imply any real distinction in God because it is a mere relation (*schesis*) and respect outside himself which modifies but does not compound.

XVII. The decrees of God are not many intrinsically and differently (*allōs kai allōs*) in God (although relating to different things [*pros allo kai allo*] extrinsically). Hence the things which in finite beings are formally diverse are eminently identified in the infinite being.

Second Question

Are the decrees of God eternal? We affirm against Socinus

The Socinians deny the eternity of the decrees.

I. In order to prove that the decrees differ really from God, the Socinians teach that they are not eternal, but temporal (or at least relatively temporal or at least relatively eternal). Hence they maintain that some were made before the creation of the world (as the decree concerning creating, preserving and governing it and the like), while others were temporal, made at different times after the creation as the exigency demanded (as Crellius says according to Volkelius, *De vera Religione* 1.32 [1630], pp. 420–56).

Vorstius and the Remonstrants do not think differently. We believe that all the decrees are absolutely eternal.

The orthodox assert it.

II. The reasons are: (1) Scripture ascribes eternity to them (as when a kingdom is said to have been prepared for the pious "from the foundation of the world" [Mt. 25:34]; when we are said to have been chosen "before the foundation of the world" [Eph. 1:4]; and grace is said to have been given in Christ "before the world began" [*pro chronōn aiōniōn*, 2 Tim. 1:9]; and Christ to have been foreordained by God "before the foundation of the world" [*pro katabolēs kosmou*, 1 Pet. 1:20]—i.e., from eternity, for that which preceded the beginning of time must be eternal). Nor does the adverb of time "before" (used here) imply a temporal act because it is taken not so much positively (to indicate a difference of time) as negatively (to denote its removal). Nor ought it to be said that this is asserted only of certain decrees and not of all (to show the singular excellence of the persons or things or their preeminent certainty) because the same ought to be the case with all the decrees. Hence the fixing of some does not exclude, but includes and supposes the others analogically. Indeed Scripture extends it not to some decrees only, but to all.

III. A second proof is the passage where James asserts that "known unto God are all his works from eternity" (Acts 15:18). If the foreknowledge of God is eternal, it is necessary that the decree upon which it is founded should also be eternal (since he does not know things as future except in the decree, through which they pass from a state of possibility to a state of futurition).

IV. Third, if the decrees were made only in time, he would take counsel as needed (*pro re nata*) just like men. This agrees neither with his infinite wisdom nor with his most absolute perfection and immutability, since for him to be susceptible of any new decree is just as absurd as if something could happen to him unexpectedly.

V. Fourth, Vorstius (after Socinus) makes a false distinction between (so-called) eternity absolute and restricted, simple and relative. But Scripture always speaks in the same way of eternity and never hints at such a

distinction. Nor does the nature of the thing itself admit of it because eternity is not successive, but indivisible and simultaneous.

Sources of explanation.

VI. Although some decrees may be said to be prior or posterior to others, it does not follow that they are not eternal in themselves because this is not said on the part of God (for so they are one only and a most simple act in God), but with respect to our own manner of conception (who, on account of the distinct objects, cannot conceive of the decrees except distinctly by priority and posteriority). So this priority and posteriority is to be considered not so much in reference to the decrees as to things decreed (which in the execution have their order—some are before or after others).

VII. That is not eternal to which something is prior in the order of time and duration; but that can be called eternal to which something is prior by a priority of order and of nature. God is prior to his decrees in the latter way (as their principle), not, however, in the former.

VIII. A cause is not always prior to its effect in the order of time, not even in creatures. Indeed it often happens that effects are simultaneous with their causes: for instance when they proceed from them by emanation—as the light of the sun, thought of the mind, the act of knowledge and love in the angelic intellect (and the human just created) are synchronous (*synchronoi*). So nothing hinders the decree from being coeternal with God by whom it is made, although he ought to be called not so much the cause of the decree as the principle of it.

IX. Although God changes his dispensation towards men in time, either for good or for evil, it does not follow that the decree itself is changed or is made only in time because this very change was decreed even from eternity. Rather these things, said in accommodation to men (*anthrōpopathōs*), ought to be understood in a manner becoming God (*theoprepōs*); not with respect to a change in God, but with respect to a change in his works. Thus the following passages are understood: Jer. 18:10; 31:28; Dt. 28:63.

X. Although the decrees of God are maintained to be eternal, it does not follow that creatures are eternal. It follows only that God decreed from eternity what would take place concerning them in time. Therefore they are said to have been only as to being as known and intentional (on account of

their decreed futurition, in the same sense that all his works are said to have been known to God from eternity [Acts 15:18]), not as to real being.

XI. If the decrees are deemed by some to be eternal *a posteriori* because they cease with the execution itself, this must be understood only with respect to the objects which are produced outside of God, not with respect to the divine act (which undergoes no change). So after the execution, the thing decreed ceases indeed to be in a state of becoming because it has already taken place; but still the decree itself does not cease because it is most true that God from eternity decreed some such thing.

XII. Although the decrees can be diverse with respect to the things decreed, yet there are none opposed to each other with respect to the same objects (as he wills to destroy by one decree, him whom, by another, he wills to save). If God decreed that good and evil should happen to the same man successively, it does not follow that there are contrary decrees. Yea, as they are from one God, so they ought to be considered as the effects of one and the same decree always consistent with itself. For this reason, God willed foresight to man (just as diverse and often contrary remedies are successively used by the decree of the same physician for the cure of a sick man).

XIII. The eternity of God's decrees does not take away his liberty in decreeing. Although no moment can be assigned in which God was actually indifferent to decreeing this or that thing, still it is certain that the nature of God was in itself indifferent to decreeing this or that thing. For there was no necessary connection between God and creatures as exists between the Father and the Son (whom he could not but beget). On the other hand, he might (if he had willed) have abstained from any production of things.

Third Question

Are there conditional decrees? We deny against the Socinians, Remonstrants and Jesuits

I. No distinction of God's decrees is more frequently urged by the Socinians, Remonstrants and others who contend for the idol of free will, than that of the absolute and conditional. Yet none is attended with greater absurdities or has fewer claims to acceptance. The design of the Socinians

and their followers on this subject is to confirm the figment of middle knowledge (*scientia media*), to establish election from foreseen faith and to extol the strength of the human will.

Statement of the question.

II. The question does not concern the absolute or conditional decree *a posteriori* and consequently; or with respect to the things decreed and the objects willed outside of God (whether such decrees may be granted as either have no condition and means in execution, or include something). For in this sense, we do not deny that various decrees can be called conditional because they have conditions subordinate to them (although it must be confessed that it is a less proper way of speaking because the condition ought not to be confounded with the means; and it is one thing for a thing to be decreed under a condition, but another for it to be decreed as to be brought about through such means). Rather the question concerns the decree absolute or conditional *a priori* and antecedently on the part of the decree itself (whether the decrees are such as are suspended upon a condition containing power and of uncertain event outside of God; or whether they are absolute, depending upon his good pleasure alone). The Socinians and others assert the former; we the latter.

There are no conditional decrees.

III. The reasons are: (1) every decree of God is eternal; therefore it cannot depend upon a condition which takes place only in time. (2) God's decrees depend on his good pleasure (*eudokia*) (Mt. 11:26; Eph. 1:5; Rom. 9:11). Therefore they are not suspended upon any condition outside of God. (3) Every decree of God is immutable (Is. 46:10; Rom. 9:11). Now a conditional decree is mutable because every condition is mutable (especially if not decreed by God, but placed in the free will of man—such as is meant here). Hence, the conditional decree ceasing, God would fail in his purpose and would be obliged to enter upon new counsels by a second thought (*deuteras phrontidas*). (4) It is repugnant to the wisdom and power of God to make such decrees as depend upon an impossible condition (which neither will nor can be because he upon whom alone it depends does

not will to grant it). If this can take place in men weak and ignorant of the future, does it not follow that it can take place in God—the most wise, omniscient and omnipotent (to whom all things are not only foreseen but also provided for)?

IV. (5) It is absurd for the Creator to depend upon the creature, God upon man and the will of God (the first cause of all things) upon the things themselves. But this must be the case if the decrees of God are suspended on any condition in man.

V. (6) There is no middle knowledge (*scientia media*) having for its object future conditional things (as was proved before, Topic III, Question 13). Therefore there is no conditional decree, usually placed under it as a foundation.

VI. (7) Conditional decrees cannot be granted without supposing that he who decreed either was ignorant of the event or that the event was not in the power of the one decreeing or that he determined nothing certainly or absolutely concerning the event. All this, being highly derogatory to God, cannot and ought not to be ascribed to him.

VII. Hence with great wisdom the French Synods repeatedly proscribed the conditional decrees as inefficacious acts of willing (*velleitates*) and deceitful and vain desires (being contrary to the wisdom, power and constancy of God).

Sources of explanation.

VIII. It is one thing to maintain that God has not decreed to save anyone except through legitimate means; another that the decree to save these or those persons through legitimate means is conditional and of uncertain event (which the adversaries feign). Although faith and perseverance are related as the condition prerequisite to the decreed salvation (so that without them it ought not to be expected), yet they hold not the relation of powerful conditions to God's eternal decree of bestowing salvation upon this or that one in Christ. Indeed so far from God having decreed salvation to them under such a condition, on the contrary (by the very same decree by which he decreed salvation to them) he also decreed faith and perseverance to them and all the other means necessary for salvation.

IX. It is one thing for the thing decreed to be conditional; another for the decree itself. The former we grant, but not the latter. There can be granted an antecedent cause or condition of the thing willed, but not immediately of the volition itself. Thus God wills salvation to have the annexed condition of faith and repentance in the execution, but faith and repentance are not the condition or cause of the act of willing in God, nor of the decree to save in the intention.

X. Conditional promises and threatenings do not favor conditional decrees because they do not pertain to the decreeing will, but to the preceptive will and are appendages to the divine commands, added to stimulate and excite men. So he who promises and threatens under an uncertain condition does not predict or decree what will actually happen, but only what may happen by the performance or neglect of the condition. Hence such promises and threats show only the necessary connection of the condition with the thing conditioned, but involve no futurition of the thing. Now the decrees have a categorical verity concerning the thing about to be or not about to be.

XI. Although every hypothetical promise or threat ought to be referred mediately to some decree upon which it depends, it ought not to be a conditional, but an absolute decree; not indeed concerning the execution of the thing itself or its certain futurition, but only concerning its infallible connection with another. For example, the gospel proposition—to save sinners if they believe—is founded upon some decree. Not indeed of the futurition of the thing (as if it decreed to give salvation to all under the condition of faith), but of the connection by which God willed indissolubly to join faith with salvation. So when Paul threatens "death to those who live after the flesh" (Rom. 8:13), it would be improper to infer that God had made a conditional decree concerning the death of all if they live according to the flesh; but only that God has joined together sin and death by the most strict connection. Thus it is true that brutes would have a sense of humor (*risibilia*), if they were rational. Yet no one would say from this that God conditionally decreed that brutes should have a sense of humor, if they were rational. It is sufficient for such a proposition to be founded upon a general decree by which he willed a sense of humor to be a property of reason and that reason should always be attended by a sense of humor. In the same sense, I properly infer that all sinners would be saved if they would believe

—not from any conditional decree, but from this most certain general truth which God has sanctioned by his absolute decree (viz., that faith is the infallible means of salvation). For as he has appointed faith as the only way of bringing men to salvation, hence arises the truth of this hypothetical proposition—if a sinner believes he will be saved (which denotes only the certainty of consequence, but does not involve the positing of the consequent).

XII. The counsel which the Pharisees are said to have rejected against themselves (Lk. 7:30) does not denote any conditional decree concerning saving the Pharisees under the condition of faith and repentance, but the will of command (viz., the testimony of John concerning Christ by which God gave counsel to them about the mode of obtaining eternal salvation, as the word "counsel" is used in Ps. 107:11; Prov. 1:25, 30; Rev. 3:18 and elsewhere).

XIII. In 1 S. 2:30 ("I said indeed that thy house and the house of thy father, should walk before me forever; but now the Lord saith, Be it far from me") and 1 S. 13:13 ("If thou hadst kept the commandment of the Lord thy God, he would have established thy kingdom forever"), the promise was made to Saul on the supposition of his obedience (which was not founded upon any conditional decree concerning a thing which neither ever was, nor would be, but only upon the connection established by God between piety and life).

XIV. The various passages of Scripture which speak of future things, this or that condition being fulfilled (such as Gen. 20:7; 2 S. 17:1–3 with v. 14; 24:13; Jer. 16:3, 4; 17:24–26; 38:17, 18; 42:9, 10), do not favor any conditional decrees, but only denote various promises and threats. Indeed they show the certainty of the connection of one with the other: for example, of obedience and preservation and salvation, of rebellion and destruction. But they do not show the futurition of the event either absolute or conditional or what God has particularly decreed concerning these or those things. Therefore this is the more true, that since God (who has all things in his own power) knows that such a condition will never take place (since he himself has not decreed it), he cannot be said to have decreed anything under that condition. For nothing can be conceived more absurd than to maintain that God decrees something under a condition which at the very moment of decreeing he knows never will take place.

XV. Although the decrees (on the part of the objects) often include some condition, they do not cease to be absolute formally and in themselves because the condition and the thing conditioned depend immutably upon God, either as to permission (as in evil) or as to effecting (as in good things).

XVI. So far is God from changing his decrees to suit the changes of men, that on the contrary every change of human acts proceeds from the eternal and irrevocable decree of God (who in this way brings to pass what he had decreed should take place through promises and threats). Nor does he change his former opinion by the prayers of the pious, but by those very prayers accomplishes what he had determined should come to pass. Thus when God changes what he has made, when he takes away from man the life he has given, when he destroyed the world he had created, the change is in the things, not in God. For from eternity, he decreed to make the change and unless he did so, the decree to make the change would be changed.

XVII. The passage in Num. 14:30, where God protests by Moses that the Israelites should not enter the land (which he had promised them by a solemn oath) teaches indeed that the solemn promise was made to that people by God of introducing them into the land of Canaan, but under the condition of their obedience (which ceasing, the promise and the contract also ceased). But it does not argue that there was a conditional decree concerning their introduction. Indeed as he had decreed to make such a promise, so for his own reasons he determined to permit their contumacy and not to introduce an individual of that generation into the Promised Land. Again, as the promise had been made to the nation in general, it was not necessary that it should refer to each individual in it and be fulfilled in them. It was sufficient for it to apply to those who belonged to the following generation in whom it should be fulfilled.

XVIII. Although the relative properties of God (such as mercy and justice) suppose for their exercise in the objects about which they are occupied, some quality (as for instance misery and sin), it does not follow thence that the decree made concerning the salvation or condemnation of men is conditional. For although it is supposed in order to its formation, still it is not suspended on it, but will be most certainly and infallibly fulfilled according to the good pleasure of God.

XIX. Whatever is said against conditional decrees applies equally to the hypothetical will because there can be no act of will concerning future things out of itself which does not involve the notion of a decree. Hence they cannot escape who, while omitting the expression conditional decree, still retain the hypothetical will; for they mean the same thing, the name only being changed. See further Topic III, Question 13 concerning middle knowledge (*scientia media*) and Question 16, Section 19ff. concerning conditional will.

Fourth Question

Does the decree necessitate future things? We affirm

I. The question is agitated between us and the Pelagians and semi-Pelagians (old and new) who, to establish the more easily the idol of free will, deny the necessity of things from the decree and foreknowledge (which the orthodox constantly maintain).

Statement of the question.

II. On the state of the question observe: (1) that a thing is said to be necessary which cannot be otherwise (*to mē endechomenon allōs echein*), the word meaning not to cease (*a non cessando*). Now this can be viewed in two ways: either in God or in the things themselves. In God, a twofold necessity is commonly remarked: the one absolute, the opposite of which is simply impossible to God (as when God is said to be incorruptible and incapable of denying himself); another hypothetical, arising from the hypothesis of the divine decree which, being made the effect itself willed, must necessarily follow. The former is founded on the immutable nature of God; the latter on his immutable will. This last is again twofold: one of immutability from the immutable decree; another of infallibility from his infallible foreknowledge. In things themselves, there also occur various kinds of necessity: (1) physical and internal on the part of second causes which are so determined to one thing that they cannot act otherwise (as in fire the necessity of burning); (2) of coaction, arising from an external principle acting violently; (3) hypothetical of the event or dependence

through which a thing, although naturally mutable and contingent, cannot but be (on account of its dependence upon the ordination of God whose will cannot be changed nor his foreknowledge be deceived).

III. The question does not concern absolute and physical necessity with respect to second causes in themselves (because we confess that some are necessary, others contingent), but with respect to God and in order to him. The question does not concern the necessity of coaction because the decree brings no violence to second causes, but decrees the futurition of things to take place agreeably to their nature. Rather the question concerns hypothetical and consequential necessity with respect to the certainty of the event and the futurition from the decree. We assert the latter.

The decree implies the necessity of the event.

IV. The reasons are: (1) All things were decreed of God by an eternal and unchangeable counsel; hence they cannot but take place in the appointed time; otherwise the counsel of God would be changed, which the Scriptures declare to be impossible (Is. 46:10; Eph. 1:9); (2) Scripture predicts that necessity—"It must needs be that offenses come" (Mt. 18:7); "But how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be [viz., from the decree]" (Mt. 26:54); "The Son of man goeth, as it was determined" (*kata to hōrismenon*, Lk. 22:22). Thus "Herod and Pontius Pilate were gathered together for to do whatsoever thy hand and counsel" [i.e., the most efficacious counsel] "determined before to be done" (Acts 2:23; 4:28). "For there must be also heresies" (1 Cor. 11:19). (3) The most fortuitous and casual things are said to happen necessarily; as shown by the example of an accidental death (Ex. 21:12, 13), of lots (Prov. 16:33), of the sparrows and the hairs of our heads (Mt. 10:29, 30), of the preservation of the bones of Christ (Jn. 19:36) and his death (Acts 4:28).

V. (4) As all things are foreseen by an infallible foreknowledge (Acts 15:18; Heb. 4:13), so they must necessarily happen infallibly. (5) They are certainly predicted as future so that the word of God cannot fail, nor can Scripture be broken. Therefore they must happen necessarily, if not as to the mode of production (which is often contingent), still as to the certainty of the event (which cannot be otherwise).

Sources of explanation.

VI. That which maintains a determination to one thing by a physical necessity or a necessity of coaction, takes away liberty and contingency; but not that which maintains it only by a hypothetical necessity. For the certainty does not arise from the nature of second causes, which are free and contingent, but extrinsically from the immutability of the decree (which so determines the futurition of the event as not to change the nature of things, but permits necessary things to act necessarily, free things freely). Hence it is evident that the necessity and immutability of the decree indeed takes away contingency with respect to the first cause. For since all things happen necessarily, nothing can take place contingently. But this does not take it away with respect to second causes because the same decree which predetermined also determined the mode of futurition, so that the things having necessary causes should happen necessarily and those having contingent causes, contingently. Therefore the effect may properly be called both necessary and contingent at the same time, but in different respects (*kat' allo kai allo*): the former on the part of God and relative to the decree; the latter on the part of the thing and relative to second and proximate causes which might be disposed differently.

VII. Although in relation to the first cause, all things are said to be necessary, yet taken according to themselves certain things can be free, contingent and fortuitous because each thing is and may be judged according to proximate and particular causes. "Every effect in necessity and contingency follows the proximate cause and not the first," as Thomas Aquinas says ("De Praescientia et Praedestinatione," in *Opera Omnia: Opuscula Varia* [1889], 32:92).

VIII. The necessity of the decree indeed takes away the liberty of independence and the irresponsibility (*to anypeuthynon*) and uncontrol (*adespoton*) of the creature because it so depends upon the first cause that it can neither be nor move without it. But this does not take away the liberty of spontaneity and indifference because the necessity is only hypothetical (ensuring the certainty of the event, but not taking away the nature and properties of second causes). Hence we may rightly say, "Adam sinned necessarily and freely": the former with respect to the decree and the futurition of the thing; the latter with respect to his will and as to the mode.

For no matter what the necessity of the decree, still Adam sinned voluntarily and consequently most freely.

IX. Although there is a necessity of the event from the decree, nothing is detracted by it from the wisdom and justice of God (as if the former could not successfully exhort men to duty, nor the latter apportion rewards or punishments to virtue and vice). This necessity (as was just now said) being extrinsic and hypothetical in the highest manner is consistent with the liberty of creatures (who do not cease to act most freely on their part, although the effect is necessary on the part of God). So far therefore from these being mutually opposed to each other, they amicably conspire together because through these means (although free), the events determined by the decree of God are promised and produced.

X. Although all things are said to be necessary from the decree, God cannot on this account be reckoned the author of sin. The decree which is the cause of the futurition of sin is nevertheless neither its physical cause (by the infusion of evil) nor its ethical cause (by the approbation of it). So although sin necessarily follows the decree, it cannot be said to flow from the decree. The decree does not flow into the thing, nor is it effective of evil, but only permissive and directive.

XI. But as God (on account of the necessity which his decree gives to things) cannot be charged with sin, so neither can sinners on that account be excused. Such a necessity does not take away their liberty and choice (*proairesin*) in acting, nor hinder them from exercising their acts most freely. Nor, if they follow out in this way the decree of God, are they to be considered as obeying it because the decree is not the rule of our actions, but the law of God. Therefore although they fulfil the decretive will, they are not to be esteemed the less guilty because they sin against the preceptive will by violating most iniquitously the law laid down for them. Thus Herod and Pontius Pilate (with the Jews) did not escape incurring the guilt of a most terrible crime by their crucifixion of Christ, although they did nothing but what the hand and counsel of God had already decreed before should be done (Acts 4:28). But we will treat of these things more fully when we take up the actual providence of God concerning sin and his concurrence. There the slander usually hurled at us (concerning God as the author of sin and concerning Stoical fate) will be refuted.

Fifth Question: The End of Life

Is the fixed and immovable end of the life of each man with all its circumstances so determined by the decree of God, that he cannot die in another moment of time or by another kind of death than that in which he does die? We affirm against the Socinians and Remonstrants

I. This question is pressed upon us by the Socinians and Remonstrants who, to establish the mutability of decrees, deny even that the term of life is so fixed and determined by the providence of God that it cannot be either protracted or shortened. It was lengthily discussed some years ago in Belgium by that distinguished man John van Beverwyck (Beverovicius), a physician of Dort, who investigated the opinions of learned doctors concerning it and published them in his *Epistolica Questio de Vitae Termino* (1636).

Statement of the question.

II. On the state of the question observe: (1) that the term of life may be common and general (such as is assigned to the human race) or special (such as is given to the duration of this or that individual). We do not speak here of the first, but of the second. The question is not whether it is appointed unto men by the decree of God once to die; nor whether there may be granted a certain term of human life either longer or shorter (whether absolutely and in itself or compared with the life of other animals —for this the adversaries do not deny). Rather the question concerns the special term (*termino speciale*): whether a unique and immovable moment of birth and death is fixed by God for each one.

III. (2) The term of life can be said to be movable or immovable in different senses, either with respect to the first cause or with respect to second causes. The question is not whether the physical germ of life (arising from proximate natural causes) is immovable. We confess that it can be contracted or protracted on account of good or bad regimen (as he who might have lived longer by the order of nature may shorten the ordinary course of life by intemperance in eating or drinking or other vices; or may perish by the sword, famine or other violent causes). Rather the

question is whether the hyperphysical term (established by the first cause and by divine ordination) is immovable. The distinction of Thomas Aquinas applies here, "Fate as in second causes is movable, but as from divine foreknowledge is immovable, not by an absolute but by a conditional necessity" (ST, I, Q. 116, Art. 3, p. 568).

IV. Fixing the term of life is either absolute antecedently or consequently so as to exclude all use of second causes and means. The question does not concern the latter: whether each one's life and death is decreed absolutely without any respect to the necessary means (which are certainly subordinated to their ends and included in the same decree) so that whatever men may or may not do, what God has decreed will certainly come to pass. No one of our party asserts this because we hold that the term is so fixed as not to exclude the necessity of means. But the question concerns the absolute fixing antecedently, i.e., depending upon no foreseen condition. Thus the question comes to this: whether the term of life (not the general and common, but the special and peculiar) is so fixed and immovable (not with respect to second causes, but the first—God's eternal decree) that it can in no way either be prolonged or shortened; or whether it is so indefinite and movable that it can either be cut short by the vices of men or lengthened by the art and skill of physicians. The latter is affirmed by the Remonstrants and Lutherans following the Socinians; but the orthodox hold the former.

That the term of life is fixed may be proved: (1) from Job 14:5.

V. The reasons are: (1) from Job 14:5 where he thus addresses God —"Seeing his days are determined, the number of his months are with thee, thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass"; and "Is there not a warfare" (Job 7:1) or an appointed time (for Pagninus and Mercer intimate that *tsb'* means this here), and "are not his days also like the days of an hireling?" Hence it is inferred that there is granted a certain and determined number of days to the life of each man, and that this has been unchangeably fixed by God so that no one can pass beyond it. Nor ought it to be objected: (a) that the expression is conditional on account of the particle *'m* (because

the series of the discourse teaches that it is not to be taken conditionally, but argumentatively; for "since" in this sense—since the days of man are determined, and thou hast appointed short bounds to him which he cannot pass or turn from, i.e., this ought to satisfy thee, that his misery is such through sin that it ought to be finished in a short time, so that there is no need to load him with more weighty burdens); (b) that Job speaks of the common term prefixed to human life which all ordinarily attain who do not shorten their days by their own fault (because the words show that he speaks of the particular term prefixed to each one, for he treats of the number of his months, of his days and his term); (c) although Job speaks of the determining of days, yet he does not intimate how that is done by God. Nothing hinders us from saying that the manner in which each of us will act (or at least on the hypothesis of a good or bad use of our will) has been circumscribed by a certain divine foresight because it is taken for granted that there is a reference to obedience or disobedience, to a good or bad use of free will while there is no allusion to it. In addition, God can foresee nothing as future unless consequent to his decree (either effective or permissive, concerning its futurition).

(2) From Ps. 39:4, 5.

VI. Second, "Lord, make me to know mine end, and the measure of my days, what it is; that I may know what time I have here. Behold spans" [i.e., as handbreadths] "hast thou made my days, and mine age is as nothing before thee" (Ps. 39:4, 5). Hence we make two inferences: (a) that God knew the end of man; therefore he predetermined it because he could neither know nor foretell unless he had predetermined it; (b) that God has given a certain measure to the days of man, which would be untrue if he had not fixed beforehand the term of his life. Nor is the brevity of life in general only intimated here, but the brevity of the days of David in particular are determined and limited by God (not conditionally, but absolutely).

(3) From Acts 17:26.

VII. Third, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation" (Acts 17:26). Now where there are *kairoi protetagmenoi*, there ought to be a determined term of life. This cannot be referred only to the duration of the human race, but also to the duration of each individual. For afterwards there is added, "In him we live, and move, and have our being" (Acts 17:28); and "He giveth to all life, and breath, and all things" (Acts 17:25). Acts 1:7 affords a confirmation, where God is said to have put the times in his own power; therefore also the time of each mortal. And if he has assigned to everything its time to be born and to die (Ecc. 3:1, 2), no reason can be given why a decreed day established by him on which each one must die may not equally be believed as well as a predetermined birthday on which each one should come into the world.

(4) From Mt. 10:28.

VIII. Fourth, Mt. 10:28–30 from which we thus conclude: if the hairs of our head are all numbered, much more our days, months and years. If not even a sparrow can fall to the ground without the Father's will, how much less is man to be considered as entering upon and leaving the station of this life without the special nod of the supreme ruler (to whom the right of life and death properly belongs)? These things were spoken to the apostles so as to pertain also to others. As the command is general, the promise against the perils of persecution and death ought also to be common. Thus an argument of consolation is drawn from the providence of God, not that which is peculiar to the apostles, but common to all.

(5) From the prediction of death.

IX. Fifth, the term of life is infallibly predicted. Therefore it is immutably predetermined because no other cause of the certainty of the prediction can be given. It is evident from the example of the deluge of the first world predicted 120 years before (Gen. 6:3); of Moses (Dt. 31:14); of the infant belonging to David (2 S. 12:14); of the son of Jeroboam (1 K. 14:12); of Ahaziah, king of Israel (2 K. 1:4); of Peter (Jn. 21:18); of Christ, the Savior, whose death was predicted not only as to the kind (Lk. 18:32, 33*; Jn.

12:33), but also as to the hour and time (Jn. 7:30; 13:1; 17:1); of the sons of Eli (1 S. 2:34); of the Israelites smitten with the pestilence (2 S. 24:15), where it is explicitly said that the pestilence prevailed even "to the time appointed" (*'th mv'dh*); of Belshazzar (Dan. 5:25, 26); of Ahab and Jezebel (1 K. 21:22, 23). Since then whatever is foreknown by God has its definite and infallible futurition from the definite counsel and foreknowledge of God (Acts 2:23), it is as necessary that the manner and day of the death of individuals should be determined by God as that both should be infallibly and certainly foreknown by him. For to pretend that anything is indefinitely and conditionally foreknown by God (as the adversaries wish) is absurd (*asystata*).

X. Sixth, the kind of death which may seem to be most casual and accidental is predetermined by the immutable decree of God; therefore much more other kinds of death. It is evident in casual homicide, concerning which it is said, "God delivers him into his hand" (Ex. 21:13, 14), and "He is delivered from the face of God" (as Onkelos has it in *Targum Onqelos to Exodus* [ed. B. Grossfeld, 1988], p. 60 on Ex. 21:13); in Ahab whose imminent destruction is foretold (1 K. 22:28), and yet he is said to have perished "by chance" (1 K. 22:34) (viz., as regards the second cause who was not thinking of Ahab); in the idolatrous Jews whom God is said to have numbered to the sword (Is. 65:12); in Herod who was eaten up with worms (Acts 12:23); in the first world deluged with water; in the 185,000 men of the army of Sennacherib who perished in one night. Now who would say that the decree of God concerning such an inevitable kind of death was suspended upon the obedience or disobedience of each one, or the good or bad use of free will (as a necessary condition without which God cannot absolutely prefix the term of life to anyone)?

XI. Seventh, God by a sure and predetermined order regulates the whole life, movements and ages of man from the beginning to the end. Therefore he also ought to designate the last end of life. For he who governs the whole and providently cares for each preceding act, why should he neglect the end? If the matter of lesser importance is governed by God, shall the very greatest, that critical day on which eternity hangs, be left to man? The conception and birth of a man and all that pertains to his life with the varied circumstances are written in God's book (as frequently noted in Ps. 139:16; 106; 107; 144; 121). Are not those written in his book also which relate to

the extreme period of life (the most memorable of all)? Does God not have "the issues from death" in his power (Ps. 68:20)? Is not the Lord of death and of life also the Lord of the end and of the beginning?

XII. Eighth, if God did not predetermine each one's term of life, it would follow that the providence of God is concerned only with the whole (*ta kath' holou*) and not with the particulars (*ta kath' hekasta*); that man is the controller not only of his own fortune, but also of his life and death; that God and his will and knowledge are inferior to second causes and ordains and disposes all things as contingencies arise, changes his counsel, fixes and refixes terms, forms and bends his decrees to suit the movements of men. And thus God is not God (i.e., an independent and absolute Lord who does what he wills), but a hypothetical Lord, circumscribed by conditions. All this, being impious and blasphemous, necessarily makes that from which they are deduced such also.

Sources of explanation.

XIII. The days of Hezekiah were not prolonged beyond the term fixed by God, but only beyond that time in which (according to the order of secondary and natural causes and the very nature of the disease) he seemed but a step from death and as about to die actually, unless God would graciously interpose. Therefore the denunciation of death made by the prophet is one of threatening, not one of predestination; not absolute, but conditional (although the condition was not expressed, but only declared by the event). Therefore he had decreed not that Hezekiah should die, but only to denounce the sentence of death against him (so that broken by a salutary sorrow he might the more earnestly have recourse to him). And that it was so understood by the king is evident from the fact that immediately turning to the wall he prayed most ardently to Jehovah for the prolongation of his life. Now although the threatening was not to be fulfilled, still it did not cease to be most serious because through it he had determined to carry into effect the decree of preserving the king. The death denounced through the threatening did indeed contend with the event decreed (which was the prolongation of life); but not the threatening itself of death (which was the means appointed by God for its execution).

XIV. “The wicked shall not live out half their days” (Ps. 55:23)—not properly or absolutely, but comparatively and relatively; not indeed to the decree of God, but either to their nature and habit of body (because if left to themselves without divine interference, they might live longer by the possibility of the second cause, but not by the possibility of the effect depending upon the concurrence of the first and second cause); or relatively to the opinion, hope and intention, both of themselves and of others because they had already conceived the hope of a great sum of days. Thus often in Scripture a thing is said to be such as it is regarded in the opinion and fallacious judgment of men: “What he has” [i.e., what he seemeth to have] “shall be taken from him” (Lk. 8:18). And if some of the pious are snatched away by a premature death, and some of the wicked attain to a lengthened age by the fixed decree of God, it does not immediately follow that this threatening of the psalmist is of no account, and that the latter are not therefore to be considered as more unhappy than the former. Although they die equally at the appointed time (with respect to divine providence unknown to them), yet the death of each is far different. The latter, in a premature time and always unprepared, dread and flee death and vainly strive to put it off. In death, they see nothing but death. Without repentance, hope or consolation, they pass from death to death and render it most bitter to themselves (not so much departing willingly from the world as felled violently—torn up by the roots). But the pious, satisfied with days (although in the very flower of age), readily follow the voice of their Lord, desire to be dissolved that they may be with Christ and prepared to depart with lamps kindled and loins girded, wishfully wait for the coming of the bridegroom. The wicked, no matter when they die (even if in decrepit old age), always depart prematurely and unprepared. So that the pious, howsoever and whenever they may die, always die maturely and opportunely. Hence they are said to sleep and to rest in their beds and to return to the Lord.

XV. The wicked dies, not in his time (Ecc. 7:17), both with respect to second causes and natural constitution, because his life might be prolonged further, which God by a just judgment wills to break off, and with respect to his wish and hope, because he always dies out of season, i.e., unwilling and unprepared, who has never learned how to live or to die, although more than sufficiently mature on account of sins. Hence an unprovided for and

unexpected death is said to snatch him in an evil time (i.e., not his own, Ecc. 7:17). The fit time of repentance and piety is the accepted time and truly our possession (*ktēma*) which we ought to use for our benefit because upon it all felicity (*eutychia*) depends. But when it has passed, there remains only an unseasonable time (*kairoe akairos*); thus Gregory the Great speaks (*Morals on the Book of Job* 17*.6 [1845], 2:283).

XVI. When Scripture speaks of "the lengthening out" or "the cutting short" of days (made by God with respect to the pious or the wicked, Ex. 20:12; Dt. 4:40; 30:19, 20; Ps. 91:16; 1 K. 3:14; Prov. 10:27), it does not mean so much properly a lengthening or cutting short of the term fixed by God, as it means absolute longevity or untimely death (by metonomy of the antecedent for the consequent, as Paul explains the words of the law—that "thou mayest live long on the earth," Eph. 6:3*). Again the days of anyone are said to be shortened or prolonged not absolutely and simply beyond the term fixed by God to each one, but only comparatively (both to others and to the laws and ordinary course of nature and to their own wishes and expectations). For as to some, it is granted to live longer than either they themselves believed or others hoped, so many are deceived in their calculations. While in the flush of age and fortune, they perceive the thread of life snapping much quicker than they had persuaded themselves.

XVII. Although length of days is promised to the pious and brevity of days is denounced upon the wicked, still the term of life is not suspended upon the uncertain condition of man. For God who decreed to bring them to piety, also decreed to grant them longevity by crowning his own gifts and not their merits. If he shortens the life of the wicked on account of their crimes by the same counsel by which he decreed to permit them, he also decreed to punish them in this way. Therefore the promises and threatenings do not declare what God has decreed with himself about individuals, but what kind of men he wills either to fit out with longevity or to visit with shortness of life; what rewards he has established for piety and what punishments for impiety, which, however, are to be understood according to the nature of temporal things—always with the condition of his will who can, as he judges to be fit, either contract the life of the pious for their salvation or lengthen that of the wicked for their greater punishment.

XVIII. Although it might have been possible for this or that man to live longer (in the divided sense and apart from the decree of God), yet in the

composite sense (and on the supposition of the decree), it was necessary for him to die in that particular place, time and manner. Although Lazarus would not have died if Christ had visited him while sick, yet it was divinely appointed that Christ should be absent that he might die.

XIX. So far is the certainty of the end of the event from taking away the necessity and the use of means that it rather supposes them. For by God's decree, such means were instituted to bring about the futurition of the thing. Although the life of Hezekiah was prolonged so that he could have no doubt about it, he ought not therefore to neglect food, but on the contrary to act in subserviency to the counsel of God in this respect. Thus God gave to Paul the life of all them in the ship (Acts 27:24), yet when the sailors wished to flee out of the ship, the apostle said to the centurion, "Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved" (v. 31). Hence it appears that the aid of physicians, appointed by God to relieve diseases, cannot be neglected without temerity (although entire dependence is not to be placed in them). Nor ought they to cease from their work because they do not know (nor is it necessary that they should) what God has determined concerning the life or the death of the sick man. We must do our duty and leave the result with God. If the term of life has not yet arrived, let him bless the remedies and use them to obtain his purpose. But if he has determined otherwise concerning him, the art of the physician will be in vain (but still he will have done this duty).

XX. Although the term of life is fixed, yet prayers for a long life are not improper both because that term is known to no one, and because prayers ought always to go upon the supposition of the divine will (to which believers ought always to submit themselves and their all).

XXI. Suicides cannot on this account be excused because they do not commit this crime in order to fulfil the decree of God (of which they are ignorant), but to carry out the diabolical fury with which they are smitten. Nor are they excused by God on account of the term thus fixed to their life any more than robbers are excused in killing a traveller who has fallen into their hands by the providence of God.

XXII. The doctrine concerning the fixed term of life ought to make us brave and undisturbed in all the perils which surround us, while we follow our calling. Yet it should not produce in us rashness in tempting God and courting every danger unnecessarily. Under the pretext that their days are

numbered, the Turks fly from no danger and have no fear of pestilence and its contagion (whom moreover this opinion makes "secure but not safe from the pestilence," as Busbequius cleverly remarks, "Epistle 4," *The four epistles of A.G. Busbequius* [1694], p. 288).

XXIII. Whether anyone dies once or twice (as was the case with Lazarus and the daughter of Jairus) or does not die at all (as Enoch) or is only changed (as the surviving believers on the last day, 1 Cor. 15:51), yet the decree of God remains immovable (by which he has predetermined to individuals either life or death—one or double [*geminam*] or change [*transmutationem*]).

XXIV. The inhabitants of the first world (the Sodomites and the like sinners) might have prolonged their lives if they had repented; not beyond the bound fixed by God because as he had not decreed to give them repentance, so he did not will to prolong their lives but with respect to natural causes and the ordinary course of life.

XXV. Destruction was denounced against the Ninevites under a condition—except they would repent. But tacit and understood (and to bring it about), God employed the terrible threatenings of the prophet.

XXVI. When Moses says, "The days of our years are seventy and eighty years" (Ps. 90:10), he does not speak of the special term of life assigned to each individual, but both of the general term (to which the life of the Israelites of his time had been reduced whose bodies fell in the wilderness, and indeed as to a great part within that term of seventy or eighty years) and of the common term posited for the life of men (which for the most part [*hōs epi to poly*] falls within that term, those surviving it being few and far between).

XXVII. Here it is proper to notice that frequently in the profane philosophers and poets we read of the certainty and unavoidableness of death, as that of Pindar—"the fatal decree cannot be shunned" (*to ge morsimon ou parphykton, Pythian Odes*, 12.30 [Loeb, 310–11]). Hence the word *mortis* seems to be derived from the word *moros*, which means "death" with the poets. For *moros* comes from the verb *meirō*, as if *memerismenos tois pasin, ek de tou moros ginetai morismon* (as the *Etymologicon Magnum* [of Thomas Gaisford (1848/1962), 591.7] has it) and by metathesis of *s, morsimon, to peprōmenon kai to eimarmenon*. Here also belongs this: "There is an end fixed for the life of mortals, and death

cannot be avoided, but die we must" (Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 3.1078–79 [Loeb, 244–45]); and this of Silius Italicus*—"both peace and war stand all together at the end of the slave, and the last day brings annihilation+." From these the words of Cicero do not differ: "But whatever the time given us in which to live, we should therewith be content" (*De Senectute* 19.69 [Loeb, 20:80–81]). Also: "No man dies too soon, because he lives only as long as he was destined to live. For each the boundary-line is marked; where it has been placed, it will always remain, and no endeavor or favor will move it farther on" (Seneca, "De Consolatione ad Marciam," *Moral Essays* 21*.4–5 [Loeb, 2:74–75]).

Sixth Question: Predestination

Ought predestination to be publicly taught and preached? We affirm

Occasion of the question.

I. Some of the brethren of France in the time of Augustine started this question. Since, in his books against the Pelagians, he had inserted and inculcated many things concerning predestination, so as in this way to defend the truth against their impious doctrines, many were disturbed by it (as appears from the two letters of Prosper, a disciple of Augustine, and of Hilary, the presbyter*; cf. "Letters 225 and 226 to Augustine" [FC 32:119–29 and 129–39]). The reason was not that they judged it to be at all false, but because they thought the preaching of it was dangerous and invidious, better to be suppressed than brought into prominence.

II. There are some of the same opinion at the present day. Wearied with the contentions arising from this doctrine in almost every age, they think that it is best for the peace of the church and the tranquility of conscience to let these questions alone (since by them scruples are suggested and doubts generated which are calculated to weaken the faith of the weak and to drive men to desperation or into carnal security). But this opinion is more honest than true and cannot be readily received by those who have known the richest fruits of consolation and sanctification to redound to believers from this doctrine properly understood.

III. Hence we think that this doctrine should be neither wholly suppressed from a preposterous modesty nor curiously pried into by a rash presumption. Rather it should be taught soberly and prudently from the word of God so that two dangerous rocks may be avoided: on the one hand, that of "affected ignorance" which wishes to see nothing and blinds itself purposely in things revealed; on the other, that of "unwarrantable curiosity" which busies itself to see and understand everything even in mysteries. They strike upon the first who (sinning in defect) think that we should abstain from the proposition of this doctrine; and upon the latter who (sinning in excess) wish to make everything in this mystery scrupulously accurate (*exonychizein*) and hold that nothing should be left undiscovered (*anexereunēton*) in it. Against both, we maintain (with the orthodox) that predestination can be taught with profit, provided this is done soberly from the word of God.

Predestination should be taught.

IV. The reasons are: (1) Christ and the apostles frequently taught it (as appears from the gospel, Mt. 11:20, 25; 13:11; 25:34; Lk. 10:20; 12:32; Jn. 8:47; 15:16 and in other places; and from the epistles of Paul (the whole of Rom. 9 and Rom. 8:29, 30; Eph. 1:4, 5; 2 Tim. 1:9; 1 Thess. 5:9; 2 Thess. 2:13). Nor otherwise do Peter, James and John express themselves who speak repeatedly of this mystery whenever occasion offered. Now if it was proper for them to teach it, why is it not proper for us to learn it? Why should God teach what would have been better (*arrēton*) unspoken (*ameinon*)? Why did he wish to proclaim those things which it would be better not to know? Do we wish to be more prudent than God or to prescribe rules to him?

V. (2) It is one of the primary gospel doctrines and foundations of faith. It cannot be ignored without great injury to the church and to believers. For it is the fountain of our gratitude to God, the root of humility, the foundation and most firm anchor of confidence in all temptations, the fulcrum of the sweetest consolation and the most powerful spur (*incitamentum*) to piety and holiness.

VI. (3) The importunity of the adversaries (who have corrupted this primary head of faith by deadly errors and infamous calumnies which they

are accustomed to heap upon our doctrine) imposes upon us the necessity of handling it so that the truth may be fairly exhibited and freed from the most false and iniquitous criminations of evilly disposed men. As if we introduced a fatal and Stoical necessity; as if we would extinguish all religion in the minds of men by it, to soothe them on the bed of security and profanity or hurl them into the abyss of despair; as if we made God cruel, hypocritical and the author of sin—I shudder to relate it. Now as all these things are perfectly false, they ought unquestionably to be refuted by a sober and healthy exhibition of this doctrine from the word of God.

Sources of explanation.

VII. Although wicked men often abuse this doctrine (improperly understood), its lawful use towards the pious ought not therefore to be denied (unless we wish to have more regard for wicked men than believers). (2) If, on account of the abuse of some persons, we should abstain from the proposition of this mystery, we must equally abstain from most of the mysteries of the Christian religion which the wicked abuse or laugh at and satirize (such as the mystery of the Trinity, the incarnation, the resurrection and the like). (3) The calumnies launched against the doctrine of Paul by the false apostles could not cause him to suppress it; yea, he thoroughly discussed it in his inspired way so that he might shut the mouths of adversaries. Why then should we refrain from its presentation? Let us only follow in the footsteps of Paul and, with him, speak and be silent.

VIII. If some abuse this doctrine either to licentiousness or to desperation, this happens not per se from the doctrine itself, but accidentally, from the vice of men who most wickedly wrest it to their own destruction. Indeed, there is no doctrine from which more powerful incitements to piety can be drawn and richer streams of confidence and consolation flow (as will be seen in the proper place).

IX. The mystery of predestination is too sublime to be comprehended by us as to the why (*to dioti*) (as he is rash who would attempt to find out or to assign the reasons and the causes of it). But this does not hinder it from being taught in Scripture as to the fact (*to hoti*) and from being firmly held by us. Two things therefore must be distinguished here: the one, what God has revealed in his word; the other, what he has concealed. The former we

cannot despise (unless wickedly); the latter we cannot investigate (unless rashly). “The secret things,” says Scripture, “belong unto God: but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children” (Dt. 29:29). To neglect things revealed argues ingratitude, but to search into things concealed argues pride. “We must not therefore deny what is plain because we cannot comprehend what is hidden,” as Augustine expresses it (*On the Gift of Perseverance* 37 [NPNF1, 5:540; PL 45.1016]).

X. The fathers before Augustine spoke more sparingly concerning this mystery not because they judged it best to ignore it, but because there was no occasion presented for discussing it more largely (the Pelagian heresy not having as yet sprung up). Indeed it is true that they sometimes expressed themselves without sufficient caution. Nevertheless Augustine (*On the Gift of Perseverance* 48–49* [NPNF1, 5:545–46]) proves that they did not pass over this truth in utter silence (for who could be ignorant of that which is so clearly set forth in sacred Scriptures?)—the testimony of Ambrose, Cyprian and Gregory Nazianzus being adduced for this purpose.

How predestination should be taught.

XI. While we think that predestination should be taught, we do not further suppose that human curiosity should be enlarged, but believe there is need here of great sobriety and prudence; both that we may remain within the bounds prescribed by Scripture, not endeavoring to be wise beyond what is written (*par’ ho gegraptai*), and that we may prudently have a regard for the persons, places and times to regulate the proposition of it. For it ought not to be delivered immediately and in the first instance, but gradually and slowly. Nor ought it to be delivered equally as to all its parts, for some ought to be more frequently inculcated as more useful and better suited to the consolation of the pious (as the doctrine of election), but others ought to be handled more sparingly (as reprobation). Nor ought it to be set forth so much to the people in the church as to the initiated (*tois mystais*) in the school. Again, predestination must be considered not so much *a priori* as *a posteriori*. Not that we may descend from causes to effects, but ascend from effects to causes. Not that we should curiously unroll “the book of life” in order to see if our names are written therein (which is forbidden to us), but that we should diligently consult “the book of conscience” which we are not

only permitted, but also commanded to do, that we may know whether the seal of God is stamped upon our hearts and whether the fruits of election (viz., faith and repentance) may be found in us (which is the safest way of proceeding to the saving knowledge of that doctrine). In one word, all curious and fruitless questions must be avoided here, and what Paul calls "foolish and unlearned questions" (*apaideutous zētēseis kai aperantous*, 2 Tim. 2:23)—which usually engender strifes and contentions. Our only object should be to increase our faith, not to feed curiosity; to labor for edification, not to strive for our glory.

Seventh Question

In what sense are the words "predestination," prognōseōs, eklogēs *and* protheseōs *used in this mystery?*

I. Since the Scriptures (whose genuine signification throws great light upon the knowledge of the thing itself) use various words in explaining this mystery, we must premise certain things concerning them.

Predestination.

II. First the word "predestination" occurs here, and it must not be passed over lightly. For although the word *proorismou* does not exist in the Scriptures, yet the verb from which it comes is often read (Acts 4:28; Rom. 8:29, 30; Eph. 1:5). Moreover to predestinate (or *proorizein* from the force of the verb) signifies to determine something concerning things before they take place and to direct them to a certain end.

III. However it is understood by authors in three ways. (1) More widely for every decree of God about creatures and most especially about intelligent creatures in order to their ultimate end. Thus it is frequently employed by the fathers for providence itself. (2) More specially for the counsel of God concerning men as fallen either to be saved by grace or to be damned by justice (which is commonly called "election" and "reprobation"). (3) Most specially for the decree of election, which is called "the predestination of the saints." Again according to the latter, it can be taken in two senses (*schesin*): not only for the destination to the end, but

particularly for the "destination to the means" (in which sense it is used by Paul when he says that God predestinated those whom he foreknew to be "conformed to the image of his Son," Rom. 8:29, 30). Here it is plain that predestination is distinguished from foreknowledge and refers most especially to the means, not to the end. Thus after saying that God hath chosen us in Christ, the apostle adds "having predestinated us unto the adoption of children" (*proorisas hēmas eis hyiothesian*, Eph. 1:5) to mark the destination of means ordained for obtaining the salvation destined by election.

IV. About this word, moreover, it is asked whether it is to be referred only to election or whether it embraces reprobation also. This controversy was formerly vehemently urged in the matter of Gottschalk in the ninth century, John Erigena Scotus maintaining that it suited election alone (*De Divina Praedestinatione liber** [PL 122.355–440]). On the other hand, Gottschalk, the Lyonians and Remigius, the bishop (in their name), extended it to reprobation. The same question now lies between us and the papists. For the papists (to whom the term reprobation is hateful) contend that it must be used in the first sense. Hence they are accustomed to call reprobates not predestinated, but "foreknown"; and do not subordinate but oppose reprobation to predestination (as Bellarmine, Gregory de Valentia and Pighius, *De libero hominis arbitrio* 8.2 [1642], p. 137). With them even some of the orthodox appear to agree, though not with the same object in view. But we (although willing to confess that the term predestination is according to Scripture usage often restricted to election; yet not only from the proper signification of the word, but also from Scripture usage and received custom) think that it is rightly extended to reprobation so as to embrace both parts of the divine counsel (election and reprobation), in which sense it is taken here by us.

Predestination embraces election and reprobation.

V. The reasons are: (1) the Scripture extends the word *proorizein* to the wicked acts of those reprobates who procured the crucifixion of Christ —"the son of man goeth *kata to hōrismenon*" (Lk. 22:22; Acts 4:28). Herod and Pontius Pilate did nothing but what "the hand and counsel of God *proōrise* to be done." Nor ought the objection to be made that it does not

treat of their reprobation, but of the ordination of the crucifixion to a good end. These things are not to be opposed, but composed. The crucifixion of Christ (which is to us the means of salvation) was to the crucifiers the means of damnation (which depended on the most just decree of God).

VI. Second, the Scripture uses equivalent phrases when it says that certain persons are appointed to wrath (1 Thess. 5:9; 1 Pet. 2:8), fitted to destruction (Rom. 9:22), ordained to condemnation (Jd. 4), made unto dishonor (Rom. 9:21) and for the day of evil (Prov. 16:4). If reprobation is described in these phrases, why can it not be expressed by the word "predestination"? Third, because the definition of predestination (viz., the ordination of a thing to its end by means before it comes to pass) is no less suitable to reprobation than to election. Fourth, the fathers frequently thus speak: "We confess the elect to life and the predestination of the wicked to death" (Council of Valence, Mansi, 15:4). "He fulfills what he wills, properly using even evil things as if the very best to the damnation of those whom he has justly predestinated to punishment" (Augustine, *Enchiridion* 26 [100] [FC 3:454; PL 40.279]; cf. also his "Treatise on the Merits and the Forgiveness of Sins," 2.26 [17] [NPNF1, 5:55]; CG 21.24 [FC 24:387–94]; Fulgentius, *Ad Monimum* 1 [PL 65.153–78]). "Predestination is twofold: either of the elect to rest or of the reprobate to death" (Isidore of Seville, *Sententiarum Libri tres* 2.6 [PL 83.606]).

VII. Although in truth predestination is sometimes taken strictly in the Scriptures for the predestination of saints or the election to life, it does not follow that it cannot be used more broadly. Nor if the objects of reprobation and election are opposite are the acts themselves, therefore (on the part of God), mutually opposed to one another. Indeed, they can proceed from the same course acting most freely.

Prognōsis *is not taken theoretically, but practically.*

VIII. The second word which occurs more frequently is *prognōsis*. Paul speaks of it more than once: "whom he did foreknow" (*hous proegnō*, Rom. 8:29); "he hath not cast away his people which *proegnō*" (Rom. 11:2); and they are called elect "according to foreknowledge" (*kata prognōsin*, 1 Pet. 1:2). Because the ancient and more modem Pelagians falsely abuse this word to establish the foresight of faith and works, we must observe that

prognōsin can be taken in two ways: either theoretically or practically. In the former way, it is taken for God's simple knowledge of future things, which is called prescience and belongs to the intellect. In the latter, it is taken for the practical love and decree which God formed concerning the salvation of particular persons and pertains to the will. In this sense, knowledge is often put for delight and approbation (Ps. 1:6; Jn. 10:14; 2 Tim. 2:19). Thus *ginōskein* signifies not only to know but also to know and to judge concerning a thing (as the *Plebiscitum* is not the knowledge of the people, but the sentence—from the verb *scisco*, which means "to decree and determine"). Therefore when the Scripture uses the word *prognōseōs* in the doctrine of predestination, it is not in the former sense for the bare foreknowledge of God by which he foresaw the faith or works of men. (1) Because by that, he foreknew those also whom he reprobated, while here it treats of the foreknowledge proper to the effect. (2) Bare foreknowledge is not the cause of things, nor does it impose method or order upon them, but finds it out (as happens here in the chain of salvation). (3) Because nothing could be foreseen by God but what he himself had granted and which would so follow predestination as the effect, not indeed precede it as a cause, as will be proved hereafter. But it is taken in the latter sense for "practical foreknowledge" (i.e., the love and election of God) that we may not suppose it to be without reason (*alogon*), although the reasons of his wisdom may escape us (in which manner Christ is said to have been foreknown [*proegnōsmenos*], i.e., foreordained by God "before the foundation of the world," 1 Pet. 1:20).

IX. Again, in that benevolence and practical foreknowledge of God we distinguish: (1) the love and benevolence with which he pursues us; (2) the decree itself by which he determined to unfold his love to us by the communication of salvation. Hence it happens that *prognōsis* is at one time taken broader for both (viz., love and election, as in Rom. 8:29 and Rom. 11:2); at another, more strictly for love and favor which is the fountain and foundation of election. Thus Peter speaks of it when he says that believers are elect "according to the foreknowledge" (*kata prognōsin*), i.e., the love of God (1 Pet. 1:2).

Eklogē.

X. Third, we must explain the word *eklogēs* ("election"), which now and then occurs, but not always with the same signification. Sometimes it denotes a call to some political or sacred office (as Saul is called "elected" [1 S. 10:24]; Judas "elected," viz., to the apostleship, Jn. 6:70). Sometimes it designates an external election and separation of a certain people to the covenant of God (in which sense the people of Israel are said to be elected of God, Dt. 4:37). But here it is taken properly for the election to eternal salvation (viz., for the counsel of God by which he decreed to pity some from grace and to save them, being freed from sin by his Son). Again, in this respect, it is either taken objectively for the elect themselves (as *eklogē epetychen*—"the election" [i.e., the elect] "hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded," Rom. 11:7); or formally for the act of God electing (which is called *eklogē charitos*, Rom. 9:11). Again, the latter may be considered either in the antecedent decree (as it was made from eternity) or in the subsequent execution (as it takes place only in time by calling). Christ refers to this in Jn. 15:16: "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you"; and "Ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world" (v. 19). Augustine joins both forms (*schesin*): "We are elected before the foundation of the world by that predestination in which God foresaw his future things would take place; we are chosen out of the world however by that calling by which God fulfills what he has predestinated" (*On the Predestination of the Saints* 34 [17] [NPNF1, 5:515; PL 44.986]).

XI. Election then by the force of the word is stricter than predestination. For all can be predestinated, but all cannot be elected because he who elects does not take all, but chooses some out of many. The election of some necessarily implies the passing by and rejection of others: "Many are called," said Christ, "but few chosen" (Mt. 20:16); and Paul, "The election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded" (Rom. 11:7). Hence Paul uses the verb *heileto* to designate election, which implies the separation of some from others: "God from the beginning *heileto*, i.e., hath taken out and separated you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth" (2 Thess. 2:13).

Prothesis.

XII. Fourth, *prothesis* is often used by Paul in the matter of election to denote that this counsel of God is not an empty and inefficacious act of willing, but the constant, determined and immutable purpose of God (Rom. 8:28; 9:11; Eph. 1:11). For the word is of the highest efficacy (as the old grammarians tell us) and is called distinctly by Paul *prothesis tou ta panta energountos*—"the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will" (Eph. 1:11). Sometimes it is applied to election, as *prothesis kat' eklogēn*—"the purpose of God, according to election" (Rom. 9:11); and we are said "to be predestinated" (*kata prothesin*, Eph. 1:11). Sometimes it is joined with calling—"who are the called according to his purpose" (*tois kata prosthesin klētois*, Rom. 8:28). For both election and calling depend and are built upon this purpose of God.

XIII. Now although these words are often employed promiscuously, yet they are frequently distinguished; not without reason are they used by the Holy Spirit to denote the various conditions (*scheseis*) of that decree which could not so fitly be explained by a single word. For the decree can be conceived in relation to the principle from which it arises, or to the object about which it is concerned, or to the means by which it is fulfilled. With regard to the former, *protheseōs* or *eudokias* (which denotes the counsel and good pleasure of God) is mentioned as the first cause of that work. With regard to the next, it is called *prognōsis* or *eklogē* (which is occupied with the separation of certain persons from others unto salvation). With regard to the last, the word *proorismou* is used according to which God prepared the means necessary to the obtainment of salvation. *Prothesis* refers to the end; *prognōsis* refers to the objects; *proorismos* to the means; *prothesis* to the certainty of the event; *prognōsis* and *eklogē* to the singleness and distinction of persons; *proorismos* to the order of means. Thus election is certain and immutable by *prothesin;* determinate and definite by *prognōsin;* and ordinate by *proorismon*.

XIV. These three degrees (if we may so speak of the eternal decree) answer to three acts in the temporal execution: calling, justification and glorification. For as we will be glorified with the Father, redeemed by the Son and called through the Holy Spirit, so the Father determined from eternity to glorify us with himself. This is *prothesis*. He elected us in his Son. This is *prognōsis*. He predestinated us to grace and the gifts of the Holy Spirit (who seals the image of the Son in us through his holiness and

the suffering on the cross). This is *proorismos*. For as the Father sends the Son, the Son with the Father sends the Holy Spirit. And vice versa, the Holy Spirit leads us to the Son, and the Son at length conducts us to the Father.

XV. The words by which the predestination of the members is described are employed also to express the predestination of the head. For concerning him equally *prothesis* is predicated when Paul says *hon proetheto hilastērion* (Rom. 3:25); *prognōsis* where we have *proegnōsmenos* (1 Pet. 1:20); and *proorismos*, not only when he is said to be *horistheis* to be the Son of God (Rom. 1:4), but also when his death is said to have happened by the determinate counsel of God and by his predestination, who *proōrise* to be done whatever was done by Herod and Pontius Pilate (Acts 2:23).

Eighth Question: The Predestination of Angels

Was there a predestination of angels, and was it of the same kind and order with the predestination of men? The former we affirm; the latter we deny

I. Although the Scripture speaks far more sparingly of the predestination of angels than of men (which it most concerns us to know), yet because it judged it to pertain to our edification to reveal something about it, we should follow it as a guide and learn that which it has willed to teach us concerning this question.

A predestination of angels may be granted.

II. The Scripture expressly testifies to a predestination of the angels when it mentions elect angels: “I charge thee before God, and the elect angels” (1 Tim. 5:21). This is said not only adjectively because they are excellent and preeminent, but also participially because they are elected by God in order to be distinguished from the reprobated. Their reprobation also is described more than once when they are said to be delivered into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment (2 Pet. 2:4; Jd. 6), and an eternal fire is declared to be prepared for them from eternity (not material and sensible, which could not affect a spirit, but spiritual and intellectual by which souls may be tormented, Mt. 25:41). Hence their condition is set forth in Lk. 10:18; Rev. 12:10; 20:10.

Its object.

III. As to its object, the question is What angels were considered by God predestinating? Some hold that they were equal, not unequal (i.e., still pure and standing, but liable to fall). Some he decreed to keep from falling and to confirm in good; others he decreed to permit to fall and to condemn them on account of sin (which indeed can truly be said if reprobation is taken in a wider signification as including the decree of not preserving from the fall and of permitting it). Thus the object of reprobation must be the pure but liable angel. However if it is understood more strictly and properly (to denote the decree of deserting in the fall and of condemning them on account of it), the angels cannot here be considered only as pure but liable to fall (as in the case of the elect), but as fallen. First, because the creature's liability to fall does not make him reprobable; rather the fall itself does. Nor is anyone rightly adjudged to punishment (or decreed to be adjudged) because he might sin against the law, but because he is supposed to have actually sinned. Again, all reprobation absolutely considered is an act of justice and wrath, since by it they are made vessels of wrath and fitted for destruction (Rom. 9:22). Hence it cannot be simply an act of good pleasure (as the permission of sin which depends upon his good pleasure alone), since (while all were of equal condition and equally liable to fall) it proceeded from his good pleasure (*eudokia*) alone to decree to permit the fall of these rather than of others. Third, because the predestination of men supposes sin (as will be proved hereafter). Therefore the angelic reprobation also presupposes sin. Otherwise no satisfactory reason for the diversity can be given.

IV. The Scripture seems to lead us to this—making reprobation the consequent of sin—when it says that "God spared not the angels that sinned, but delivered them when cast down, into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment" (2 Pet. 2:4). And Jd. 6 says that he "has reserved unto the judgment of the great day the angels which kept not their first estate." Therefore they are conceived to have sinned and left their first estate before they could be conceived as reprobated (since the first degree of reprobation is placed in dereliction in the fall and in rejection from the face of God). Therefore he did not reprobate and devote to eternal

punishment those whom he would permit to fall; but those whom he had permitted to fall by their own fault, he reprobated and relinquished forever.

V. Although the permission of the fall of angels is indeed supposed by their reprobation, it will not on that account be considered as decreed without an end by God. For the end of this decree could be the manifestation of God's glory in the weakness of the creature, so that the difference might appear more clearly between the mutable and liable creature and the immutable and eternal Creator. Hence the fall in time was not the means of executing reprobation, but it was the condition required in the object (on which reprobation followed, both as to desertion in the fall and as to damnation).

VI. And hence is gathered the first difference between the predestination of angels and men. In the latter, men were considered by God as equal, in the same corrupt mass and as sinners and fallen. In the former, angels were considered by God as unequal. For those of them who were elected were regarded as standing by the grace of God. On the contrary, the reprobate were regarded as having fallen by their own fault. Liability to fall was indeed common to all, but they could not be reprobated on account of it. Otherwise all would have been reprobated because this was a state of pure nature; but they were reprobated on account of the fall (which was a state of corrupt nature) and so justly reprobable.

Election of angels.

VII. Let us say something of both parts of the predestination of angels. First there is the election of the good angels, consisting of two acts: preservation from falling or confirmation in good; and destination to supernatural life and happiness (both of which appear from the event). Since some of them kept their first estate and were confirmed in good (so that they always do behold the face of the Father, Mt. 18:10), it cannot be doubted that this depended upon election, since it could not arise from that nature which was common to all from the creation (for common things afford no room for a difference). In the meantime, the grace or virtue by which the good angels stood until their confirmation and the fall of the others, must be distinguished from the confirming grace which was the first benefit of election. For as long as they stood (before they were confirmed), they stood

by that strength which they had received at their creation and which was concreated with them (by which the evil angels also stood until their fall). But when they were confirmed, not only that they should not fall, but that they should be no more capable of falling, this flowed from election, which separated them from the others. Before, they had the help *sine quo non*, which sufficed for them to stand if they willed. Through election, they had the help by which they could actually and immutably stand (in virtue of which they were transferred from a state of liability to an immutable state of happiness and glory incapable of being lost).

VIII. Although this election cannot in truth be called gratuitous in the same way as the election of men (which depends upon God's mercy alone), yet it does not cease to be gratuitous because God was not bound to it. For although from the hypothesis of the decree about the creation of angels, he was bound to create them good and holy, not sinners; he was not bound to create them immutably just. For he did no injury to those whom he permitted to fall by their own fault; without any injury he could have left the others in that state of liableness to fall. Therefore that he willed to bestow upon them the grace of confirmation was of his good pleasure, not from their merit.

Whether the angels were elected in Christ.

IX. Moreover, how they obtained the grace of that confirmation and whether they may properly be called elected in Christ is investigated among theologians (who do not all mutually agree). All indeed agree that they cannot be said to have been elected in Christ the Redeemer because where there is no sin, there is no place for redemption. But they differ in this—whether in any way he can at least be called their Mediator (not indeed of redemption, but of preservation, confirmation and gathering together [*anakephalaiōseōs*], so that they, who by nature were liable to fall, might be confirmed in grace beyond the possibility of falling; and they, who were not to be redeemed from a past, might at least be kept from a future fall). This was the opinion of Bernard who maintains that Christ was the Redeemer of angels: "For in what manner do you say that the Lord Jesus Christ was the Redeemer of the good angels? He, who raised up fallen man, gave to the standing angel the power of not falling, thus rescuing him from captivity,

thus defending him from it, and in this way redemption was equal to both: paying for that man, preserving this angel" ("Sermon 22 [6]," *Song of Solomon* [Trans. S.J. Eales, 1984 repr., p. 126; PL 183.880]).

X. Indeed although that opinion may not be at all repugnant to the analogy of faith, yet we think the opinion of those who deny the election of angels to have been made in Christ the Mediator is truer and more in accordance with the words of Scripture. Indeed we confess that the grace of confirmation came to them through the Word (*Logon*), so that they might receive their confirmation from the same one from whom they had obtained their being. For the Father works only through the Son (who is the fountain of all life and grace) in the works of nature as well as in those of grace (Jn. 5:17). But we do not think this can be said equally of Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpō*) and Mediator.

Whether the angels were elected in Christ.

XI. The reasons are: (1) because the Scripture (which calls Christ the Mediator between God and men, but never of angels, 1 Tim. 2:5) never says so; further, it expressly denies that Christ took on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham (Heb. 2:16); (2) because every mediator supposes discordant parties (for he is of two, Gal. 3:20), but there was no disagreement between God and the angels; (3) because it behooves a mediator to be connected with both parties (which cannot be said of Christ in relation to angels); (4) because Christ is the Mediator of those whose propitiation (*hilasmos*) and advocate he is (because these are the formal acts of mediation, 1 Tim. 2:5, 6; 1 Jn. 2:1, 2). But since these acts are concerned only with sinners, they cannot have place with respect to angels.

Sources of solution.

XII. Christ can rightly be called "the head of the angels" in respect to dominion and government because even the angels are under him as Mediator (as their Lord and King) to whom they minister in preserving and defending the church (Heb. 1:14). In this sense, the angels and powers are said to be subject to him (1 Pet. 3:22). But he is not properly called "the head of influence and sustentation" (as with respect to believers whom he

unites to himself and vivifies as members of his mystical body). Hence Paul who asserts that Christ was exalted far above all principality (Eph. 1:21) testifies that "he was given to be the head of the church alone, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all" (Eph. 1:22, 23). This is not true in all creatures, but in all believers who belong to his body (which he calls his complement, both actively because he fills it with his graces, and passively because that mystical body is increased and completed by these members).

XIII. The mediator is no more required for confirming the creature in the grace of the Creator than he was required for creating and uniting it in the first instance with him (because there is the same reason for both). If then he cannot be said to have been a Mediator at their creation, neither can he be said to have been their Mediator at their confirmation.

XIV. The angels are said to be "unclean" and "foolish" before God (Job 4:18; 15:15), not absolutely (as if there was some culpable defect in them, for then they could not be called holy), but relatively in comparison with God's infinite perfection (because he is holy essentially, unchangeably and independently). Nor if they stood in need of the Son of God as a conserver and confirmer (that they might stand in him and through him by whom they were created, Col. 1:16–18), did they therefore have need of Christ, the Redeemer. Otherwise man also would have needed him in his state of innocence (which, however, no one would say).

XV. The passages where "all things" are said "to be gathered together in one in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth" (Eph. 1:10), and where "all things" are said "to be reconciled unto God by him, having made peace through his blood" (Col. 1:20) do not prove that an election of good angels was made in Christ. (1) They can be referred to men (those who have attained as well as the sojourners) to signify that in Christ is gathered together and reconciled unto God the whole church (both of the Old as well as the New Testament—that triumphant in heaven, this still militant on earth). This appears to be confirmed from the fact that the reference is to the gathering together and reconciliation of those who were dismembered and separated from God through sin (which cannot be said of the angels). (2) Although the words might be extended to the angels, it would not follow that they were elected and confirmed through Christ because they can be said to be gathered together in Christ either insofar as

by men having been put in the place of the fallen angels through Christ, their loss is (as it were) repaired and made up, as Augustine maintained (*Enchiridion* 16 [62] [FC 3:421]) and after him Lombard. Or they are gathered together insofar as Christ (peace having been made) reconciled the angels to men (as sedition being quelled, good citizens and rebels, who were before at variance, are reconciled and having laid aside their hatred live under the same prince as tranquil as if they formed but one body—which is the opinion of Chrysostom on this passage, cf. "Homily IV," *On Colossians* [NPNF1, 13:275]).

XVI. And hence arises a second difference between the predestination of angels and of men. These were elected in Christ (Eph. 1:4, viz., to be saved and redeemed), but the angels (although they were confirmed by the Son of God) cannot be said to be elected in Christ. Indeed Christ could use them as ministers, but yet ought not to come for them as the objects of his mediation.

XVII. The election of some being supposed, the preterition of others follows. By this he not only was unwilling to confirm them in good, but decreed to permit their sin. The fall taking place, he decreed to leave them in and condemn them on account of their sin. Their reprobation to this is referred. It is also contained in two acts: one negative (dereliction in the fall); the other affirmative (damnation to eternal punishment). For they are not merely passed by (while confirmation in good and raising up from evil is denied them), but they are also positively condemned to eternal punishment (Mt. 25:41; Jd. 6).

XVIII. Again, in preterition we can mark two acts: (1) the permission of the fall which, we said, precedes reprobation in the sign of reason (*signo rationis*); (2) desertion in the fall. The former is an act of mere good pleasure. If the reason is sought why he willed to preserve some from falling, but to permit others to fall, no other can be found than his good pleasure alone (because it so pleased him). The latter is an act of justice. He willed to leave them in sin just because they deserved it. Moreover, he so deserted all in sin that he willed to give the hope of grace to no one; or he would have spared some one of them, but adjudged them to an eternal and irrevocable punishment, dealing more severely with them than with men (some of whom he willed by his mercy in Christ to raise from the fall). Yet here in a similar case, he denied similar grace. Sparing men, he spared not

the devils, but willed their wound to be incurable and their ruin irreparable. If the reason is asked, let Augustine answer: "It can be hidden, but cannot be unjust" (*On Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism* 29 [21] [NPNF1, 5:26; PL 44.125]). Various probabilities are commonly urged: (1) that man sinned from weakness, but the devil from wickedness; moreover the higher his knowledge was, on that account also the more grievous was his sin; (2) that man was seduced by another, but the devil sinned no one tempting him, but by his own will—by an apostasy evidently voluntary and absolutely spontaneous; (3) because in the fall of the angels, the whole angelic nature did not fall, while in man sinning the whole human race fell; therefore divine mercy provided a remedy that the whole race might not perish. But whatever reasons are brought forward, it is better to acquiesce in the most free good pleasure of God and with grateful hearts acknowledge and celebrate the philanthropy (*philanthrōpian*) of God towards us. Having abandoned the angels (in no way inferior to us, indeed far more excellent than we) who sinned (upon whom in an equal fault he has not bestowed equal grace) nevertheless he determined in wonderful mercy to raise up and lead us to salvation (who equally lie in sin and are guilty from the fall).

XIX. Therefore as God decreed the creation of angels for the manifestation of his goodness, and the permission of their fall for the demonstration of his liberty and absolute dominion (and the greater illustration of his grace towards others whom he willed to preserve from falling); so he constituted the dereliction in the fall (and damnation on account of their sins) for the display of his justice.

XX. Moreover, the damnation of angels (which is a positive act of reprobation) is resolved into two parts: the casting down from heaven and the hurling into hell. The Scripture mentions both: the first, indeed, when he is said to fall from heaven: "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven" (Lk. 10:18), and "the accuser of the brethren, called the Devil, with his angels" is said to "have been cast out into the earth" (Rev. 12:9, 10). The punishment is appropriate to the sin, for as they left their habitation and estate voluntarily withdrawing from God, so it was most just that he should be driven from those happy seats far from the sight of God (as a king ejects from his hall him by whom he is grievously offended). It not infrequently mentions the second also: as when Peter says "that the evil angels were cast down to hell (*seirais zophou tartarousthai*), and delivered into chains of

darkness" (2 Pet. 2:4); and Jude says they are reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day; and they are said to be cast into the lake of fire and brimstone (Rev. 20:10) prepared for them from eternity (Mt. 25:41).

XXI. Although in truth, this most just sentence of God against the Devil was immediately passed, yet it was not immediately executed as to all its parts. Although he has been cast down from heaven, he was not straightway hurled into hell, but is still permitted some delay in the world—God loosening the reins somewhat in his wisdom, both for the exercise of the pious and the punishment of the wicked. Hence he is called "the prince of the air" and "[the prince] of the world," "the god of this age" who, "as a roaring lion, walketh about [us] seeking whom he may devour" (1 Pet. 5:8). Here is to be referred that passage concerning "the loosening and binding of Satan until the last day, when he shall be thrown into the lake of fire and brimstone, where he shall be tormented forever" (Rev. 20:10, 14).

XXII. From these things it is evident that the fallen angels are now so constituted in the penal state, that their reprobation is known by them and they know (to increase their desperation) that no spark of hope is left for them. Here also they differ from reprobate men whose reprobation (although sure from eternity and immutable) is however infallibly known by no one while on earth. Yet the devils so bear the punishment of damnation as to know that they have no hope of pardon. Thus to wish to condole their misery (as preposterous as to hope with Origen for their restitution after many revolutions of the ages) is a ridiculous hope.

Ninth Question: The Object of Predestination

Whether the object of predestination was man creatable, or capable of falling; or whether as created and fallen. The former we deny; the latter we affirm

Statement of the question.

I. After having spoken of the predestination of angels, we come to that of men. The first question has respect to its object, about which we must treat

a little more distinctly because the opinions even of orthodox themselves vary.

II. The question is not simply "what" the object of predestination was (as to nature). For it is evident that here we speak of the human race, not the angelic (of which we spoke before). Rather the question is "of what kind" it was (with regard to quality, i.e., how man was considered in the mind of God predestinating and with what qualities he was clothed; whether those before the creation and fall or after).

III. The opinions of theologians can be reduced to three classes. Some ascend beyond the fall (*supra lapsum*) and are hence called supralapsarians. They think that the object of predestination was man either not as yet created or at least not yet fallen. Others descend below the fall (*infra lapsum*) and hold that man not only as fallen, but also as redeemed through Christ (and either believing or unbelieving) was the object of predestination. Others, holding a middle ground, stop in the fall (*in lapsu*) and maintain that man as fallen was considered by God predestinating. We will treat the second opinion later; now we will examine the first and third.

IV. At the outset, we must take notice that whatever the disagreement of theologians may be on this subject, yet the foundation of faith remains secure on both sides and that they are equally opposed to the deadly error of Pelagians and semi-Pelagians. Both they who ascend higher in this matter and include the creation or the fall of man in the decree of predestination, and they who suppose both all agree in this: that men were considered by God as equal (not unequal) and such that their choice depended upon God alone (from which foundation all heretics depart).

V. Not without warrant, a reconciliation of this double opinion is attempted by some from the broader or stricter use of the word "predestination." By the former, it is taken generally for every decree of God about man in order to his ultimate end (in which sense it undoubtedly embraces the decree concerning the creation of man and the permission of his fall). By the latter, it is taken specially for God's counsel concerning the salvation of men from his mercy and their damnation from his justice (in which manner it is resolved into election and reprobation and has for its object man as fallen). Yet because that former signification is not of Scripture use (and confounds the works of nature and grace, the order of creation and redemption), we more willingly acquiesce in the latter opinion

(which the Synod of Dort wisely sanctioned from the word of God) as the more true and better suited to tranquilize the conscience and repress the cavils of adversaries. And if anyone doubts that this was the opinion of the Synod, the words of Article 6 will prove it: "the decree of election and reprobation revealed in the word of God" is said to be "the profound, equally merciful and equally just choice of men lost" ("Primum Caput: De Divina Praedestinationes," 6 in *Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti* [1619–20], 1:279). And in Article 7, election is defined as "the immutable purpose of God, by which, before the foundations of the world were laid, he chose, out of the whole human race, fallen by their own fault from their primeval integrity into sin and destruction, according to the most free good pleasure of his own will, and of mere grace, a certain number of men, neither better nor worthier than others, but lying in the same misery with the rest, to salvation in Christ" (ibid., p. 280).

VI. That the state of the question may be perceived better, observe: (1) that it is not inquired whether the creation of man and the permission of the fall come under the decree of God (for it is acknowledged on both sides that this as well as that was determined by God). But the question is whether they stand in the relation (*in signo rationis*) of the mean with respect to the decree of salvation and damnation, and whether God in the sign of reason is to be considered as having thought about the salvation and destruction of men before he thought of their creation and fall.

VII. (2) Again the question is not whether in predestination the reason of sin comes into consideration. They who ascend above the fall (*supra lapsum*), do not deny that it is here regarded consequently, so that no one will be condemned except for sin, and no one saved who has not been miserable and lost. Rather the question is whether sin holds itself antecedently to predestination as to its being foreseen, so that man was considered by God predestinating only as fallen (which we maintain).

VIII. (3) The question is not whether sin holds the relation of the impulsive cause with respect to predestination. For they who stop in the fall acknowledge that it cannot be called the cause, not even with respect to reprobation (because then all would be reprobated), much less with respect to election. Rather the question is only whether it has the relation of quality or preceding condition requisite in the object. For these two differ widely: What kind of a person was predestinated; and Why or on account of what?

The former marks the quality and condition of the object, while the latter indicates the cause. So the question returns to this—whether to God predestinating, man was presented not only as creatable or created (but not fallen), but also as fallen; not as to real being, but as to known and intentional being, so that although the fall was not the cause, yet it might have been the condition and quality prerequisite in the object? The learned men with whom we now treat deny this; we affirm it.

Man creatable was not the object of predestination.

IX. The reasons are: (1) a non-entity cannot be the object of predestination. Now man creatable (or capable of falling) is simply a nonentity because by creation he was brought from non-being to being. The reason of the major appears from this: that the salvation and destruction which are intended by predestination are the ends which are introduced into the subject (which moreover is supposed already to exist). Nor ought it to be objected here that the object of the creation (or of the decree of creation) was a nonentity; for such also might equally have been the object of predestination. For the nature of creation is widely different. It speaks of the production of the thing. It does not suppose its object from that of predestination (which is concerned with an object already made) and does not make it simply to be, but to be in this or that manner. Therefore as the decree concerning the creation of man ought to have for its object man creatable (to which it was destined), so the decree concerning the salvation or damnation of man ought to regard man as fallen (because redemption or destruction was destined for him). Moreover, every subject is conceived to be before its adjuncts.

X. (2) Either all creatable men were the object of predestination or only some of them. Yet neither can be said: not the former because there were innumerable possible men who never were to be created and, consequently, neither to be saved, nor damned; not the latter because if only some from all those creatable, they were not indefinitely foreknown, but definitely as about to be (for no other reason can be given why the other creatables were not predestinated than because they were not about to be). To no purpose is the retort that all creatable men were not absolutely the object of predestination because all would not be creatable in time. For besides the

absurdity of saying they were creatable (if they could not be created), no reason can be brought why as many as were creatable did not fall under the object of predestination (if man creatable as such was its object). Therefore that a discrimination may be found between those who could be presented to God predestinating or not, we must descend to the decree of creation and suppose them as really to be created and not only as creatable.

XI. (3) The object of the divine predestination ought to be either one eligible through mercy or reprobatable through justice. This cannot be said of man creatable and liable to fall, but only man as created and fallen. Nor is there any force here in the distinction between "elicit and imperate acts:" as if man was not eligible or reprobatable as to imperate acts (i.e., as to actual mercy), but properly as to elicit acts (i.e., as to the intention of pitying and of punishing). For it assumes that the elicit acts extend more widely than the imperate (since the latter are the effects of the former), and that the effects of the mercy or justice of God can be destined to creatures, neither miserable nor guilty (which is repugnant to the nature of these respective attributes which suppose an object clothed with certain qualities).

XII. (4) If predestination regards man as creatable or apt to fall, the creation and fall were the means of predestination; but this cannot be said with propriety. (a) The Scripture never speaks of them as such, but as the antecedent conditions while it passes from predestination to calling. (b) The mean has a necessary connection with the end, so that the mean being posited, the end ought necessarily to follow in its time. But neither the creation nor the fall has any such connection, either with election or with reprobation, for men might be created and fall and yet not be elected. (c) The means ought to be of the same order and dispensation; but the creation and fall belong to the natural order and dispensation of providence while salvation and damnation belong to the supernatural order of predestination. (d) If they were means, God entered into the counsel of saving and destroying man before he had decreed anything about his futurition and fall (which is absurd).

XIII. To no purpose would you say that God could not arrive at the manifestation of his glory in the way of justice and mercy, unless on the position of the creation and fall (and therefore both can have the relation of means). For although sin and creation are required antecedently to the

illustration of mercy and justice, it does not follow that they were means, but only the requisite conditions. All those things (without which we cannot accomplish something) are not necessarily means. Thus existence and ductility are supposed in clay as the condition for making vessels for honor or for dishonor, but it is not the mean. Disease in the sick is the previous condition without which he is not cured, but it is not the mean by which he is cured.

XIV. (5) This opinion is easily misrepresented (*eudiablētos*), as if God reprobated men before they were reprobatable through sin, and destined the innocent to punishment before any criminality was foreseen in them. It would mean not that he willed to damn them because they were sinners, but that he permitted them to become sinners in order that they might be punished. And it would imply he determined to create that he might destroy them.

But it is man as fallen.

XV. Hence it appears that they speak far more safely and truly who, in assigning the object of predestination, do not ascend beyond the fall. The Scripture certainly leads us to this. It says that we are chosen out of the world; therefore not as creatable or capable of falling only, but as fallen and in the corrupt mass: "Because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you" (Jn. 15:19). Nor does he escape who says that eternal predestination is not meant here, but calling (which is made in time). These are not to be opposed, but brought together. For from what mass in time God calls a man, the same he elected him from eternity. The kind of man that was considered by him in the execution of the decree, such he ought to be considered by him in the decree itself. For that cause, it was not necessary that there should be the same order of intention and execution, but only that there should be the same object of calling and election. From this, it may be gathered that man as a sinner was elected because he is called as such.

XVI. Next, the election of men is made in Christ (Eph. 1:4). Therefore it regards man as fallen because they cannot be elected in Christ except as to be redeemed and sanctified by him. Therefore they are chosen as sinners and miserable. Nor ought it to be replied that to be "chosen in Christ" is

nothing else than to be chosen "by Christ" (not as Redeemer, but as God) to denote not the means, but the principal cause of election. For although it is not to be denied that Christ, as God, is the author of our election, yet it is plain that it cannot be so understood in this place. (1) We are said to be chosen in Christ in the same way as we are said to be blessed and redeemed in him (Eph. 1:3, 7). But this ought to be understood of Christ not as God simply, but as Redeemer. (2) It is confirmed by the parallel passage where grace is said to have been given us in Christ before the world began (2 Tim. 1:9)—surely not as God simply, but as Mediator. (3) The whole order of things in the chapter (in which are recounted the saving benefits of God bestowed upon us through Christ) proves that it treats of Christ under that aspect (*schesei*). Nor does Beza himself disavow this (although wedded to the first opinion). He holds that "in him" means "to be adopted in him" (*Annotationum Maiorum in Novum Testamentum* [1594], Pars Altera, p. 349 on Eph. 1:4). Since then no one can be elected to the salvation to be obtained by Christ except as lost and miserable, the object of this election must necessarily be man as fallen.

XVII. Third, the mass of which Paul speaks (Rom. 9:21) is the object of predestination. However it is no other than a "corrupt mass." (1) That mass is meant from which are made the vessels of mercy and the vessels of wrath; the former to honor, the latter to dishonor (Rom. 9:21–23)—for wrath and mercy necessarily suppose sin and misery. (2) That mass is meant from which were taken Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau who are proposed as examples either of gratuitous election or of just and free rejection. But such is the corrupt mass because it speaks of twins conceived in the womb (Rom. 9:11) and consequently sinners. (3) That mass is meant lying in which men can be hated of God, as Esau. But such ought to be the corrupt mass because God could not hate a pure and innocent creature. (4) That mass is meant from which Pharaoh was raised by God to manifest his power in his destruction, but no one would say that Pharaoh was raised from a pure mass. Such is the opinion of Augustine who calls it "the mass of perdition" (*Enchiridion* 25 [99*] and 28 [107] [FC 3:450–53, 460; PL 40.278, 282]). "Because that whole mass was condemned, justice renders the due contumely, grace gives the undue honor"; and afterwards, "they were made of that mass, which, on account of the sin of one, God deservedly and justly condemned" (Augustine, *Letter* 194, "To Sixtus" [FC

30:304, 315; PL 33.876, 882]). He asserts the same thing in *Against Two Letters of the Pelagians* 2 (NPNF1, 5:391–401) and *Against Julian* 5.7 (FC 35:269–75).

XVIII. It is vainly alleged: (1) that the pure mass is here meant because the children had done nothing good or evil (Rom. 9:11). The answer is that they are not said absolutely to have done nothing good or evil (since it treats of them as conceived in the womb, therefore already sinners), but in comparison with each other (i.e., having done nothing good or evil by which they might be distinguished from each other). Jacob did nothing good on account of which he should be elected in preference to Esau. Esau did nothing evil before Jacob on account of which he should be reprobated, for they were equal as to all things. So that the distinction of one from the other could arise from nothing else than the good pleasure (*eudokia*) of God: "that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth" (Rom. 9:11). (2) It is vainly alleged that the mass from which vessels are made to dishonor is meant; thus not corrupt, but pure because man would be already a vessel of dishonor. The answer is that *atimia* here does not denote sin, but the punishment of sin (as honor indicates the crown of glory for which man is prepared). So to be "made a vessel unto dishonor" is not to be created for destruction, but to be reprobated and prepared for destruction (which agrees with no one but the sinner). Paul does not say of the vessels of wrath that God prepared (*katērtisen*) them (as he says of the vessels of grace), but that they were prepared (*katērtismena*) for destruction because God finds some as vessels fitted for destruction by their own fault; others he makes vessels of grace by his mercy. (3) It is vainly alleged that the mass, not of sin, but of clay from which Adam was formed, is intended. The answer is that whatever reference Paul had in the comparison of the potter (whether to Jer. 18:6 or Is. 45:9), no other than the corrupt mass can be meant because from no other clay could vessels of mercy and of wrath be made by God. Nor does the comparison have any other object than to show the highest liberty of God in the election to reprobation of men. (4) It is vainly alleged that the corrupt mass cannot be meant because then all the objections proposed by Paul (Rom. 9:14, 19) would easily be removed. The answer is we deny it. For the objections always remain in election and reprobation when made, since no reason can be given why he should elect or reprobate this rather

than that one. No answer can be given other than that of the apostle, “O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus?” (Rom. 9:20). (5) It is vainly alleged that thus Adam and Eve would be excluded from predestination because they were not formed from the corrupt mass. The answer is that we deny it. That formation is not to be understood physically by creation, but ethically by predestination. In this manner, our first parents themselves could also be formed from the corrupt mass because as miserable and sinners they were elected to salvation, not indeed in the mass of original sin originated (which exists only in their posterity), but of original sin originating (with which they were infected).

XIX. Fourth, the manifestation of God’s glory by the demonstration of his mercy in the elect and of his justice in the reprobate was the end of predestination according to the apostle (Rom. 9:22, 23). But this requires the condition of sin in the object, for neither mercy can be exercised without previous misery, nor justice without previous sin. If God had predestinated man to glory before the fall, it would have been a work of immense goodness indeed, but could not be properly called mercy (which regards not only the not-worthy, but the unworthy and the one meriting the contrary). So if God had reprobated man free from all sin, it would have been a work of absolute and autocratic (*autokratorikon*) power, but not a work of justice. For he mercifully frees and justly condemns man, as Augustine* says. Therefore he ought to consider the fall both in election and in reprobation. To no purpose does the very subtle Twisse take exception saying that the exercise of mercy and justice (effectively considered) supposes men to be miserable and guilty, but not equally the intention of pitying. Otherwise it would follow from the equality that since the object of salvation is the believer, he is also the object of eternal destination (which no one but an Arminian would say). For whether mercy and justice are considered effectively (by reason of their exercise and the external act in man) or affectively (by reason of the internal act of God), they demand the same object. Although predestination places nothing (as they say) in the predestinated (and so the purpose of pitying is not mercy itself effectively considered communicated to the creature), it does not follow that it is not an act of mercy (which accordingly ought to suppose misery and the fall); just as a prince, who decrees to pardon the criminal, by

that very thing exercises an act of mercy towards him, although he has not as yet in fact made known to him the absolving sentence. Nor does the learned man's reason from equality avail concerning the decree of salvation because the previous condition is confounded with the subsequent mean. The former (as is the fall) ought indeed to precede as much in intention as in execution; but the latter (as is faith with respect to salvation) ought indeed to precede the execution—not equally in intention, but rather as the means, it ought to follow the intention of the end. So the sick man is the object of the physician's deliberation about his cure, but in that he cannot be considered as already purged because purgation is the means for obtaining the cure.

XX. Thus the end of predestination with respect to man (to wit, salvation and damnation) supposes necessarily creation and fall in the object. The means also prove that very thing: in election in Christ, calling, justification, sanctification (which demand the previous condition of the fall and sin, for Christ is the Savior from sin, Mt. 1:21). Calling is of sinners, justification of the guilty, sanctification of the unholy. And in reprobation the means are the abandonment in sin, separation from Christ, retention of sin, blinding and hardening (which apply only to the sinner).

Sources of solution.

XXI. The creation and fall are not ordered as means by themselves subordinate to the end of predestination, but are presupposed as the condition prerequisite in the object (as existence and ductility in clay are not the means which the potter strews under his purpose of preparing vessels for honor and dishonor, but only the condition or quality prerequisite in the object and the cause *sine qua non*). For unless man were created and fallen, it could not come into execution.

XXII. Although predestination did not precede the decree to create man and permit his fall, it does not follow that God made man with an uncertain end. For if God did not have the manifestation of mercy and justice in salvation and damnation as an end, it must not straightway be said that he had no end at all. Why may God not have willed to manifest his glory in both by the exercise of other attributes (i.e., of power, wisdom and goodness) although he might not have looked to his mercy and justice

because their object had not as yet been constituted? Therefore the end on account of which God decreed to create man and to permit his fall was not the manifestation of his justice and mercy in their salvation and damnation from the decree of predestination (which in the order of nature and in the sign of reason [*in signo rationis*] is posterior to it [unless we wish God to have first thought about refitting his work before he thought about constructing it; and about the cure of the sick before he determined anything about the disease]). Rather it was the communication and (as it were) the spreading out (*ektasis*) of the power, wisdom and goodness of the Creator which shone forth both in the creation of man (Ps. 8:5, 6) and in his fall in different ways (which was the last within the bounds of nature and in such an order of things). But after sin had corrupted and disturbed this order entirely, God (who elicits light from darkness and good from evil) instituted the work of redemption for no other end than to display more magnificently and (as it were) in the highest degree in another order of things, the same attributes and together with them his mercy and justice. To this end the means serve, not creation (which belongs to another kind and order), not the fall (which was only the occasion and end from which God began the counsel of salvation), but the covenant of grace, the mission of the Son and the Holy Spirit, redemption, calling, etc. (which belong not to the order of nature, but to the higher supernatural order of grace).

XXIII. The common axiom which supralapsarians like to use here (and with which Twisse makes himself hoarse and on which alone he seems to build up the artfully constructed fabric of his disputation on this argument) is: "That which is last in execution, ought to be first in intention." Now the illustration of God's glory through mercy in the salvation of the elect and through justice in the damnation of the reprobate (as the last in execution, therefore it ought to be the first in intention) admits of various limitations. First, it holds good, indeed, as to the ultimate end, but not as to the subalternate ends. Otherwise it would follow as well that what is next to the last in execution is the second in intention, and what is next to that is the third and so on. In the execution, he (1) creates, (2) permits the fall, (3) redeems, (4) calls, sanctifies and glorifies. Thus it behooved God first to intend the glorification and redemption of man before he thought about his production or the permission of his fall (which everyone sees to be absurd). Now the illustration of mercy and justice in the salvation and damnation of

men is not the ultimate end simply and absolutely (as to the government of man in general), but in a certain respect and relatively (as to the government of the fallen). For the ultimate end (as I have said already) was the manifestation of God's glory in common by the creation and fall of man. Hence the decree of election is called the first in intention, not absolutely (as if it was the first of all the decrees in order, even before the creation and fall), but both in the class of decrees concerning the salvation of sinful man and with respect to the means subordinate to it. Second, it holds good only in the same order of things and where a necessary and essential subordination of things occurs. They, with whom we treat, do not disavow this but maintain that it only holds good in things subordinated by nature. But no necessary connection and subordination can exist between the creation and fall and redemption. Rather all must see between them rather a gap and great abyss (*mega chasma*) (on account of sin) which has broken up the order of creation and given place to the economy of redemption. Sin is against nature. It is not the means either with respect to salvation (unless accidentally, i.e., the occasion) or with respect to damnation (for damnation is on account of sin, not sin on account of damnation). Therefore God's ways in nature and grace, and his economies of providence and predestination must not be confounded here. Since the end is different, the means must also necessarily be so. Therefore the axiom can have place in the same order—as what is last in execution in the order of nature or of grace, is also first in intention. However it does not hold good concerning disparates where a leap is made from one dispensation to another, from the natural order of providence to the supernatural order of predestination (as is the case here).

XXIV. Moreover that subordination is so to be conceived as not to be understood subjectively and on the part of God. Since all things are decreed by one and a most simple act (which embraces the end and means together), not so much subordination has place here as coordination. By coordination, these various objects are presented together and at once to the divine mind and constitute only one decree. Rather that subordination is to be conceived only objectively and on our part, inasmuch as for more easily understanding, we conceive of them subordinately according to the varied relations (*schesin*) and dependence which the things decreed mutually have to each other (which, however, are united in God).

Prov. 16:4.

XXV. God did not make the wicked as wicked by a physical production, instilling a bad quality into him. Rather whom he apprehended as wicked by his own fault "he made" (i.e., "ordained" by a moral and judicial destination) for "the day of evil" (i.e., for the day of calamity and destruction). To this condemnation Jude says the wicked are ordained. The word *poiein* is often used in the Scriptures for ordination.

XXVI. Although the object of predestination is determined to be man as fallen, it does not follow that predestination is made only in time. Fallen man is understood as to his known and foreseen being, not as to his real being. Also the prescience of the fall and its permissive decree is no less eternal than the predestination itself.

XXVII. Although God is said to have raised Pharaoh up for this same purpose that he might show his power in him (Rom. 9:17), it does not follow in his reprobation that he was considered before his creation and fall. He does not speak of the first creation, but of his production from an unclean seed or his elevation to the kingdom which God brought about by his providence, that in him (whom he foresaw would be rebellious, and hardened by his miracles and plagued by his just judgment) he might have the material upon which to exercise power in his destruction.

XXVIII. Although the apostle speaks of the absolute power and right of God in the predestination of men by the comparison of the potter (Rom. 9:21, 22), it does not follow that it preceded the creation and fall of man. For that most free power and absolute right of God sufficiently appears in the executed reprobation of fallen men, since that separation of men from each other can have no other cause than his good pleasure alone.

XXIX. Although the creation and fall come under the decree of God and so can be said to be predestinated, the word "predestination" being taken broadly for every decree of God concerning the creature; yet no less properly does predestination taken strictly begin from the fall because in this sense the decree of creation and the fall belong to providence, not to predestination.

XXX. That Calvin followed the opinion received in our churches about the object of predestination can be most clearly gathered from many passages, but most especially from his book *Concerning the Eternal*

Predestination of God (trans. J.K.S. Reid, 1961). "When the subject of predestination comes up," he says, "I have always taught and still teach that we should constantly begin with this, that all the reprobate who died and were condemned in Adam are rightly left in death" (ibid., p. 121). And afterwards, "It is fit to treat sparingly of this question not only because it is abstruse and hidden in the more secret recesses of God's sanctuary; but because an idle curiosity is not to be encouraged; of which that too lofty speculation is at the same time the pupil and nurse. The other part, that from the condemned posterity of Adam, God chooses whom he pleases, and reprobates whom he will, as it is far better fitted for the exercise of faith, so it can be handled with the greater fruit. On this doctrine which contains in itself the corruption and guilt of human nature I more willingly insist, as it not only conduces more to piety, but is also more theological" (ibid., p. 125; cf. ICR 3.22.1 and 7, pp. 932–34, 940–41). "If all have been taken from a corrupt mass, it is no wonder that they are subject to condemnation" (ICR 3.23.3, pp. 950–51). So too he thinks that Paul speaks of a corrupt mass where, among other things, he says, "it is true that the proximate cause of reprobation is because all are cursed in Adam" (*New Testament Commentary on Romans and Thessalonians* [trans. R. Mackenzie, 1961], p. 200 on Rom. 9:11). In this judgment of the celebrated theologian (answering to Article 12 of the French Confession [Cochrane, pp. 148–49] as also to the decree of the Synod of Dort), we entirely acquiesce and think it should be acquiesced in by all who are pleased with prudent knowledge.

XXXI. Besides these two opinions about the object of predestination, there is a third held by those who maintain that not only man as fallen and corrupted by sin, but men also as redeemed by Christ (and either believing or disbelieving in him) was considered by God predestinating. This was the opinion of the semi-Pelagians and is now held by the Arminians and all those who maintain that Christ is the foundation of election, and foreseen faith its cause (or, at least, the preceding condition). But because this question is involved in that which will come up hereafter (concerning the foundation and impulsive cause of election), we add nothing about it now. For if it can once be proved that neither Christ nor faith precede election, but are included in it as a means and effects, by that very thing it will be demonstrated that man as redeemed and, as believing or unbelieving, cannot be the object of predestination.

Tenth Question: The Cause of Election

Is Christ the cause and foundation of election? We deny against the Arminians and Lutherans

I. The first controversy concerning election (upon which all the others depend) refers to its cause: whether besides the mere good pleasure of God another impulsive cause out of himself can be granted, by which he was influenced to form the decree of election. The orthodox maintain that the good pleasure (*eudokian*) alone has place and think that no other cause can either be given or rightly sought. But the adversaries (who cherish Pelagianism or semi-Pelagianism) suppose that others also can come in order: for instance, either Christ and his merit, or the foresight of faith and works. Hence a tripartite question arises concerning Christ, faith and works. Was election made on account of Christ and in consideration of his merit; or from the foresight of faith; or from foreseen works? The first we treat now.

Statement of the question.

II. On the state of the question observe: it is not asked Did Christ enter into the decree of election? or Was there no consideration of Christ's merit in the destination of salvation? For we do not deny that he entered into it consequently as the primary means of its execution; nor do we hold that salvation was destined to us without any regard to his merit. For we acknowledge that God, who decreed salvation to us, by the same act destined Christ, the Mediator, to acquire it for us. Rather the question is did Christ enter into the decree antecedently as the impulsive and meritorious cause, on account of which it was destined to us? This the adversaries desire; we deny.

III. The question is not whether Christ was the meritorious cause and foundation of the salvation decreed on the part of the thing, but of the decree of salvation on the part of God. Not, Was he the cause on the part of the effect willed terminatively? but Was he the cause on the part of the act of willing formally? Not, Was he the foundation of election to be executed *a posteriori*, but Was he the foundation of election to be decreed *a priori?* Not, Was the decree of election independent of the consequent means

(which we acknowledge as necessary) and among them Christ? but Was it independent of an impulsive cause and antecedent conditions? So that the question is reduced to these terms: Was Christ the foundation and meritorious cause, not of salvation *a posteriori*, but of election *a priori*; not on the part of the effect in man, but of the act of willing in God? Was the decree absolute, not as to the means, but as to the antecedent cause? This we deny; the adversaries affirm.

IV. The Arminians here and there build upon this as the primary foundation of their opinion (as appears from the *Collatio ... Hagae* [1615], the Acts of the Synod of Dort, the writings of Arminius, Corvinus, Grevinchovius and others). They could have drawn this from the papists who urge the foreseen merits of Christ to be the cause of predestination (as Didacus Alvarez, *De Auxiliis divinae gratiae et humani* 5.39 [1610], pp. 288–94; Vasquez, *Commentariorum ac Disputationum in Tertiam Partem ... Thomae* 1, Disp. 91.1 [1631], pp. 619–20; cf. also 90.2, 3, pp. 616–18; Suarez, "Commentaria … in tertiam partem D. Thomae," Q. 19, Art. 4, Disp. 41*, Sect. 4.17 in *Opera Omnia* [1856–78], 18:[374]), although neither a few nor obscure Scholastics exclaim against it (Thomas Aquinas, ST, III, Q. 24, Art. 4, p. 2153; Bonaventure, "Liber III. Sententiarum," Dist. 11 in *Opera Theologica Selecta* [1941], 3:233–53; Durandus, *Sententias theologicas Petri Lombardi Commentariorum*, Bk. 3, Dist. 10 [1556], pp. 199–200 and others). The Lutherans agree with the Arminians here in asserting that Christ is the meritorious cause of election (as Eckhardus, *Fasciculus controversiarum Theologicarum* [1631], Gherardus, Brockmannus and others). Under the pretext of extolling the glory of Christ, their object is to establish universal grace and destroy God's absolute election according to good pleasure (*kat' eudokian*). With them some of our divines who defend universal grace also agree (who, the more easily to build up universal redemption, hold that the decree to send Christ for the salvation of the human race preceded the decree of election which they say was occupied about giving faith and flowed from God's general love to men [*philanthrōpia*] and therefore was broader than that).

Christ is not the foundation of election.

V. The reasons of the orthodox are: (1) because election was made from God's mere good pleasure; therefore, not on account of Christ because good pleasure excludes every cause out of God upon which election may depend. Hence by Moses, he says, "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy." So "I thank thee, O Father, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father: for so it seemed good in thy sight" (Mt. 11:25, 26*); "That the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth" (Rom. 9:11); "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy" (Rom. 9:16); "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure (*eudokēse*) to give you the kingdom" (Lk. 12:32). If, then, all things in the mass are ascribed to God's sole good pleasure, another cause beside cannot and ought not to be sought. Nor is the exception available that this good pleasure is founded on Christ in order that it may be exercised towards us. It is one thing that it ought to be founded on Christ, as the antecedent cause upon which it depends (which we deny), since from it Christ himself was ordained as the Mediator. It is quite another thing to be founded in him as the foundation of redemption preordained by that very good pleasure (*eudokia*) of God (which we grant).

VI. (2) The effect of election cannot be called its cause. Rather Christ is an effect of election since he was himself elected and preordained to be a Mediator (Is. 42:1; 1 Pet. 1:20; Jn. 3:16, where the love of God towards the world precedes in order the mission of the Son as its cause). "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son for us" (1 Jn. 4:10). In vain do Corvinus and others object that a certain love or affection in God of pitying unto salvation is to be supposed unto the mission of Christ and that it is common and universal with respect to all, not special with respect to the elect. This is taking for granted what ought to be proved. For we acknowledge no such universal saving love from the Scriptures, but only a special love towards the elect, to whom Christ was destined as Savior and head (as will be proved in its place).

VII. Third, it is confirmed by this, that the object ought to be prior to the act about which it is occupied. But the object of Christ's merit is the elect. Therefore election ought to precede both redemption and its decree. Moreover that the object of Christ's death is the elect is proved from those passages which state that Christ gave himself for his people (Mt. 1:21), for

his sheep (Jn. 10:11, 15), for his friends (Jn. 15:13, 14), for his church (Eph. 5:25). Nor if the Scriptures seem elsewhere to extend the death of Christ more widely to all, must universality be forthwith understood absolutely. Rather it must be understood in a limited manner, either with respect to the universe of believers or with respect to classes of individuals (not to the individuals of classes, as will be proved hereafter).

VIII. Fourth, the intention of the end ought to precede the destination of the means. Now salvation is the end, Christ the means. Therefore the destination of salvation to the elect ought to be conceived before the destination of Christ to obtain that end. Just as the intention of healing the sick man ought to precede the physician's examination and the application of remedies, so it is necessary that we should conceive the thought concerning the election of those to whom he destined salvation was in the mind of God before the thought concerning election of the Savior to procure salvation for them. Otherwise Christ would have come with an uncertain end and would have been appointed Mediator before anything was determined by God concerning those who were actually to be redeemed.

Sources of solution.

IX. Although Christ is the foundation of salvation, he cannot forthwith be called the foundation of election because many more causes are required for salvation than for election. For the means of election are made the causes of salvation; nor can election be called salvation since it places nothing as yet in the elect, but is only the principle and cause of salvation.

X. We are said to be "elected in Christ" (Eph. 1:4), not already "existing" in him (as if the participle *ontas* were to be supplied). For no one can be in Christ without first being given to him by the Father (Jn. 17:6, 7) and planted in him by faith and love to which we are elected. Rather we are said to be elected as "about to be" in Christ and to be redeemed by him (so that the infinitive *einai* is to be supplied to denote that Christ is the primary means of election to be executed and the cause of salvation destined to us through him, not the cause of the decree by which it is decreed). Many things prove that this is the meaning of Paul. (1) He says that we "are elected in Christ," not "on account of him"; that denotes the consideration

of Christ in election as a subordinate mean (which we grant); but this denotes its causality (which cannot be said unless we wish the means to be intended before the end itself). (2) He says that we are elected in Christ that "we should be holy." Therefore we cannot be regarded as existing in Christ antecedently for then we would be holy already. Rather the meaning is that we are about to be consequently. (3) Paul elsewhere interprets himself when he says, "God hath appointed us to obtain salvation by Christ" (1 Thess. 5:9). Thus to be elected in Christ is nothing else than to be destined to salvation to be obtained in Christ or by him. Therefore Christ is the cause of salvation, not of election. We are said "to be chosen to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth" (2 Thess. 2:13). Not that sanctification is the cause of election (since it is its end in this place), but because salvation is a consequence of holiness and faith.

XI. We are evidently not elected in Christ in the same manner as we are blessed in him. Nor is there an equal reason of the blessings given us in time of the decree or internal act (immanent in God) which was made from eternity. Those are founded in Christ as the meritorious and efficient cause because without him nothing can be communicated to the creature. On account of him and from him (as head) flows whatever grace is bestowed upon us. Rather the decree recognizes no cause but his good pleasure (*eudokian*). Nor can election be represented as a blessing because it is indeed the fount and principle of all blessings. That cannot properly be called a blessing which really passes over to us and to which we hold ourselves subjectively. This cannot be said of election, which remains in God. Therefore the particle *kathōs* used by Paul (Eph. 1:4) does not denote the parity of election and blessing (as having the same cause), but the foundation and origin of blessings flowing from election (to teach that nothing takes place in time which was not determined from eternity and that believers are not blessed by God in Christ except as God determined from eternity in the decree of election that they should be blessed in him).

XII. Grace is said to "have been given us in Christ before the world began" (*pro chronōn aiōniōn*, 2 Tim. 1:9). It was given by destination (on account of the certainty of the event), not by actual collation. It was given "in Christ" (as the foundation of redemption and salvation) because salvation was destined to be conferred by Christ. But it was not given on account of him as the cause of election itself.

XIII. On account of what, God saves us in time (also from eternity he decreed to save us on account of that) is true if "on account of" is referred to the thing decreed, not to the decree itself; to the thing willed, not to the volition. God decreed to save us on account of Christ since he does actually save us on account of him in time. But it is false if "on account of" be referred to the very act of God decreeing and the decree itself. The mission of Christ is the effect, not the cause of the decree.

XIV. Although we are not elected on account of Christ, yet we are not elected without and apart from him. By the very decree which destined salvation to us, Christ also was destined to acquire it for us; nor was it otherwise destined than as to be acquired by Christ. Therefore election does not exclude but includes Christ; not as already given, but as to be given. Nor should these two ever be separated from each other (which nevertheless the sophisms of our adversaries effect).

XV. Although the love of beneficence and complacency cannot be exerted towards us except on account of Christ antecedently (because the actual pacification of God made by Christ ought necessarily to be supposed to the real communication of the divine love to us), this is not equally necessary with respect to the love of benevolence (which remains in God). God could be favorably disposed to us antecedently to Christ, although he could not bless us except on account of him. Nor does this carry any prejudice to his justice because that love does not exclude, but includes and draws after it a satisfaction necessarily. Just because he is favorably disposed to us, he appointed Christ as a Mediator, that he might actually bless us through him. If he loves us, he ought not to be considered as already appeased, but only as about to be. Beneficence indeed requires a reconciliation already made, but it is sufficient for benevolence that it shall be made in its own time.

XVI. It is one thing for Christ as *Logon* to be the efficient cause of election; another for him as God-man (*theanthrōpon*) and Mediator to be its objective and meritorious cause. The former is asserted by Christ, "I know whom I have chosen" (Jn. 13:18) and "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you" (Jn. 15:16), but not the latter.

XVII. If "we are predestinated to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren" (Rom. 8:29), it follows indeed that Christ is the primary means of execution upon which all

the rest depend, but not that he is the cause of the election itself. Yea, since foreknowledge (which here signifies an election of persons, as we said before) is put before predestination (inasmuch as it signifies a destination to means), it is clearly intimated that they were first elected by God who were to be saved before they were given to Christ and predestinated to be conformed to his image. Nor if Christ is called the firstborn among many brethren is it necessary that he was first elected in every respect. It suffices that he obtains the first place in the execution by reason of causality and dignity.

XVIII. What is founded upon the mercy of God effectively considered ought also to be founded upon the merit of Christ because Christ is the channel through which God's mercy passes to us (the fountain of all blessing and grace). However what is founded upon God's mercy affectively considered (inasmuch as it remains in God, as is election) ought not forthwith to be founded upon the merit of Christ; it is sufficient for it to involve that consequently.

XIX. Although by some orthodox theologians, the election of Christ is maintained to be prior to the election of men, they are not therefore to be considered as favoring the innovators. First, because this is so understood by them as to be a priority only of order, not of causality (as the Arminians hold). Again, the election of Christ as Mediator should not be extended more widely than the election of men who are to be saved, so that he was not destined and sent for more than the elect (the contrary of which the patrons of universal grace hold). In the meantime, it must be observed that all this difference of order is not to be understood with respect to God (to whom all things are present at once and by whom—by one simple act—all things are decreed, as much those which look to the end as to the means). Rather this difference is to be understood only with respect to us, who on account of our finite intellect, inadequately conceive them by dividing those things which are nevertheless united in themselves.

Eleventh Question

Is election made from the foresight of faith, or works; or from the grace of God alone? The former we deny; the latter we affirm

I. This is the principal hinge of the Pelagian controversy. On this, as a common rock, all in our day who have renewed Pelagianism or semi-Pelagianism have struck.

Statement of the question.

II. On the state of the question observe: (1) The question is not whether the decree of election is absolute consequently and from the means (for we confess the merit of Christ, faith and works to be means necessary to its execution). Rather the question is whether it is such antecedently from the motives and preceding condition (by which God may have been influenced to choose this one rather than that one). The latter we deny.

III. (2) The question is not whether there are any causes of that decree with God; for as he is most wise he does nothing without reason (*alogōs*), and he has reasons of his dispensation which are undoubtedly most weighty (although concealed from us). Rather the question is whether these reasons are in man outside of God. The latter we deny.

IV. (3) The question is not whether faith is the condition or (at least organic) cause of the salvation decreed outside of God (for this no one of us denies). Rather the question is whether it is the condition or cause of the decree itself in God. Hence the question returns to this—Is the mere grace and good pleasure (*eudokia*) of God so the cause of election that it is in no way suspended upon the foresight either of faith or of works, whether that is maintained to be its cause or only the prerequisite condition? The adversaries deny this; we affirm it.

V. The papists differ from each other on this point. Without mentioning the opinions of the more ancient Scholastics (who are found to be very discordant and many of whom, openly turning to Pelagianism, suspend predestination upon the foresight of merit and the good use of free will), it is certain that the popish theologians in the Council of Trent were divided. Some asserted with Augustine the gratuitous election of God; others, on the contrary, with Pelagians and semi-Pelagians, suspended it upon the foreseen merit of men and the good use of free will. This contention continued and was afterwards fiercely agitated among the Dominicans and Franciscans. Now it still glows between the Jansenists and Jesuits. The former contend for the gratuitous predestination of God; the latter, on the other hand, for the

foresight of works. Still it must be confessed that the Jesuits themselves are not evidently agreed. Some hold that men were elected gratuitously to the first grace indeed; but to glory, not gratuitously but on account of foreseen and future merit (as Stapleton, "Antidota Apostolica in Epistolam ad Romanos Cap. IX," *Opera* [1620], 3:650; Becanus, *Summa Theologicae Scholasticae* 4.4.8 [1651], p. 88; Dionysius Carthusianus/Petavius, *Opus de Theologicis Dogmatibus* 10.2 [1700], 1:394–96 and many more of that society). Others, however, maintain that men were elected together gratuitously, not only to grace, but also to glory. Bellarmine above all others follows out this whole argument fully and more nearly to our mind ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 2.6, 7, 10, 11 in *Opera* [1858], 4:304–8, 312–15) where he asserts that "no reason on our part of the divine predestination can be assigned" (ibid., 2.9, p. 311). "We say," says he "no reason can be assigned, in order to exclude, not only merit properly so called, but also if it is not said to be merit except of congruity, and even if it is not called the true cause, but only the condition without which they would not be predestinated who are predestinated" (ibid.). He maintains "that this ought not to be called the opinion only of some doctors, but the belief of the Catholic church" (ibid., 2.11, p. 315), which he sustains by various arguments (ibid., 2.10–12, pp. 312–19). Thus he seems to be wholly on our side here (although elsewhere he may advocate opinions concerning free will, sufficient grace, the uncertainty of salvation and the merit of works incompatible [*asystata*] with this doctrine). However, whatever his opinion (and that of others who here follow Augustine and stand on the side of truth), the more common opinion among both the Jesuits and many papists is undoubtedly that of those who suspend predestination to life or election upon the foresight of works and the good use of free will. Against these, we here dispute.

VI. The Lutherans here also are split into factions. From the beginning, no controversy arose about this head, that great man of God, Luther, retaining Augustine's doctrine of gratuitous predestination (as he solidly defended it in his book *On the Bondage of the Will* [LCC 17:101–334]). Yet afterwards while dispute succeeded dispute, some (turning away by degrees from his mind) spoke more improperly and suspended election upon foreseen faith. Thus foreseen faith might have the relation either of impulsive or (at least) instrumental cause, as it holds itself with respect to

justification (on this point, Jacobus Andreae, Hunnius, Gherardus and others do not sufficiently agree with each other). This is now the more common opinion among them (although there are not wanting others who here both think and speak more wisely; among others, the celebrated Calixtus).

VII. The Arminians (who bring popery and Pelagianism in by the back door) have struck against the same rock. For although they endeavor with great labor to prove that they do not make faith the cause of election (in order to shun the odium of semi-Pelagianism deservedly charged upon them), still they do not deny that it is the cause *sine qua non* or the prerequisite condition necessary in those to be elected. Yea, not obscurely can we gather that they proceed further and attribute a certain causality to faith, so that God is moved by its foresight to choose this rather than that one. Otherwise why would they say so often that election is founded on the foresight of faith unless they meant that the consideration of faith influenced the election of one before another? Hence the Hague subscribers say, "It is absurd to place the absolute will of God in the decree of election as the first cause, going before the remaining causes, to wit, Christ, faith, and all the other" (*Collatio scriptio habita Hagae Comitis* [1615], p. 127). Corvinus leaves it doubtful "whether faith ought to be called the cause, or condition" (*Petri Molinaei novi anatomici* [1632], p. 351). Moreover, they make a twofold decree of election: the first general, of saving believers; the second special, of saving individuals by name whom God foresaw would believe. They hold that no other cause of the first can be given than the pure will of God, but as to the second (although it also is founded upon the divine will), they hold it supposes the consideration and regard of faith, so that God is moved by it to elect one rather than another. But here we do not treat of the first decree (whose futility will be demonstrated elsewhere), but of the second.

VIII. By the unanimous consent of the church, the Reformed maintain election to be purely gratuitous and that no foresight can be granted of faith or of works and merit—neither of congruity (*meritum de congruo*), nor condignity (*meritum de condigno*). Nor is it an objection that some appear to think differently. While holding that election to salvation (according to our manner of conceiving) is posterior to election to faith, they think God first decreed to give faith to man before destinating him to life. Thus they

hold that predestination to glory and life is of faith as the condition foreseen by God in him who is elected (as Testard expresses it, "No one would have denied election to justification and glorification, if they had distinctly considered it to be from foreseen faith, and its object to be man believing, inasmuch as believing"—*Erinekon*, Th. 289* [1631], p. 248). Capellus says, "Destination to eternal life and glory, or the will of God concerning the glorification of man, is founded upon the condition of faith and repentance, but this condition God himself works in us" (Thesis 13, "Thesis theologicae de electione et reprobatione," in *Syntagma thesim* [1664], p. 113). For although this opinion on the subject of faith differs from those of the Arminians, yet because on others they approach nearer it and depart from the opinion thus far received in our churches (which have constantly contended for a purely gratuitous election without any foresight of faith or works), it is deservedly rejected as too crude and dangerous.

IX. This, therefore, is the opinion of our churches—that election to glory as well as to grace is entirely gratuitous. Therefore no cause, or condition, or reason existed in man, upon the consideration of which God chose this rather than another one. Rather election depended upon his sole good pleasure (*eudokia*) by which, as he selected from the corrupt mass a certain number of men neither more worthy nor better than others to whom he would destine salvation, so in like manner he decreed to give them faith as the means necessary to obtain salvation (see Synod of Dort, "Primum Caput: De Divina Praedestinationes," 7, 9, 10 in *Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti* [1619–20], 1:280).

Election is not from foreseen faith.

X. The arguments by which they establish this are principally these: (1) Faith and obedience are the fruit and effect of election. Therefore they cannot be the cause or previous condition. The same thing cannot be at once the cause and effect; to be elected from faith and to be elected to faith. Moreover, that faith and obedience are the fruit of election is proved in various places: "Whom he predestinated, them he also called" (Rom. 8:30*). Now calling is to faith and faith is its end, so that calling is the effect of predestination. "He hath chosen us, that we should be holy" (Eph. 1:4); therefore not because we were. "Having predestinated us unto

adoption" (*eis hyiothesian*, Eph. 1:5); therefore unto faith by which that adoption is secured to us (Jn. 1:12). "As many as were ordained to eternal life, believed" (Acts 13:48). Therefore precisely they believe who are elected and because they were elected. However they were not elected because they believe—hence it is called "the faith of the elect" (Tit. 1:1) because it is given to the elect alone. Hence Augustine: "We understand calling by which they become the elect, not who are elected because they believed, but are elected that they might believe. For if on that account they were elected, since they believe, they assuredly had elected him first by believing in him, so that they deserved to be elected" (*On the Predestination of the Saints* 34 [17] [NPNF1, 5:514–15; PL 44.985]).

XI. In vain is it objected here: (a) as to Romans 8:30* that it does not mean calling to faith, but to suffering (in which it becomes us to be conformed to the Son of God that we may be conformed to him in glory); hence no other than a conditional predestination is meant (viz., if men wish to follow God electing). The answer is, no other calling can be meant than to faith and obedience (although it has the condition of the cross annexed) because it treats of the calling according to purpose (i.e., the efficacious which is proper only to the elect) in opposition to the inefficacious calling (which belongs also to others). (b) It is put before justification and inseparably coheres with it. (c) It is the immediate effect of election, which cannot be said of the cross. Nor if it is calling to faith does it follow that God was favorably disposed to sinners before they believed with the love of complacency, although it pleased God to pursue them with the love of benevolence that he might bless them. (d) No other predestination can be meant than that which is strictly connected with justification and glorification, and according to which all things work together for good to those who love God. This can be said only of the absolute, not of the conditional (which the adversaries feign), which nonetheless does not hinder many from failing and condemnation.

XII. (2) It is falsely retorted on Eph. 1:4 that believers can be elected also to holiness. The answer is that for the very reason that they are believers, they are supposed to be already holy, since faith purifies the heart. And since the apostle teaches that all spiritual blessings are given to us in Christ from election, it thence necessarily follows that faith (the primary of these blessing) flows from election. Nor, if the apostle speaks of

the complete election of individuals, does it follow that all the Ephesians to whom he wrote were elected because these expressions are synecdochical (in which the denomination is made from the better). Besides, Paul could so speak because in the judgment of charity he hoped well for them. Since the sure marks of election are placed here, it is evident that the description of election could truly apply only to those who possessed the marks. However, although faith is antecedent to adoption, it does not follow that it is equally so to election because it is not the cause of adoption, except insofar as it is the means ordained of God by election to confer it.

XIII. The adversaries falsely suppose that Acts 13:48 does not refer to eternal election, both because they are not said to be foreordained (*protetagmenoi*) of God, but simply ordained (*tetagmenoi*); and because it would thence follow that it had been revealed to Paul and Luke that all those who received the word of life were elected from eternity (which is absurd). The answer is that the simple word *tetagmenoi* is put for the compound. Thus in Rom. 9:22 (most especially with respect to God to whom all things are present), it is not so much foreordination as ordination. Again, although they are not said to be ordained by God, yet there can be no other sense (unless we hold that they were ordained by themselves, which is Pelagian). (3) There was no necessity that the election of individuals should be extraordinarily revealed to Paul. It was sufficient that Paul could gather election from faith, as the cause from its effect. No better is their other gloss (with which, after Socinus, they endeavor to corrupt this passage by referring this ordination to a disposition or aptitude to faith) by which each one is made fit for believing that the sense may be "as many as were disposed to eternal life, believed." Nowhere in Scripture is the phrase so taken. It is also at variance with the text where ordination has a relation not to faith or disposition in the subject, but to life. It is not said, who were "disposed to faith," but "to life." Nor are the indisposed (*ataktoi*) opposed to the destined (*tois tetagmenois*), but to the well-disposed (*eutaktois*) who rightly keep the posited order. First Corinthians 16:15 does not belong here because it refers not to an internal disposition, but to an ordination to office (by which they of whom it speaks addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints). In fine, it is gratuitously assumed that the unregenerate man (such as they were of whom Luke speaks) could be disposed to eternal life before believing in Christ (which is repugnant to the whole of Scripture and

opposed to the nature of the thing). For this good disposition should be either from the man (and so he would choose himself) or from God (and so it would arise from the most free election of God).

XIV. In Titus 1:1, it is called "the faith of the elect" because it is not of all (2 Thess. 3:2), but only of those who are ordained to eternal life (to whom God gives it)—not to others (Mt. 13:11). Not that it is in the elect antecedently (so that no one would be elected without the foresight of it), but because it is in them consequently (so that no one can have faith except from election and dependent on it).

XV. Although the apostle may have meant only election in time (2 Thess. 2:13) or calling which is made through the gospel to the participation of grace (not, however, eternal to salvation), our argument would not be of less force on account of the mutual connection and analogy of both. The contrary is readily gathered from the words themselves because they speak of an election which was made "from the beginning" (*ap' archēs*) (i.e., from eternity, according to the style of the Scriptures) and which is perfected by calling (2 Thess. 2:14). So that the apostle here recounts the causes not of election, but of salvation; and the words "through sanctification" are to be joined not with the verb "hath chosen," but with the word "salvation" (as if he would say he hath chosen to the obtaining of salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and through belief of the truth —as he elsewhere expresses it, 1 Thess. 5:9).

XVI. Second, election was made from good pleasure alone and not from any works. The passages are explicit: "that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth" (Rom. 9:11). Hence it is added, "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy" (Rom. 9:16). Thus it is called the election of grace (Rom. 11:5, 6). Thus Christ, speaking of the revelation of the mysteries of salvation (depending upon election), attributes it to good pleasure alone: "even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight" (Mt. 11:26*). Nor does Paul speak otherwise: "God hath saved us, and called us, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ before the world began" (2 Tim. 1:8*, 9).

XVII. Falsely do the Remonstrants contend that the good pleasure of God (concerning which the Scripture speaks in the matter of election) is that by which he decreed to select faith from many possible conditions and

to receive it as a condition of the salvation to be communicated. For although we do not deny that this was determined by God, yet we deny that it is the decree of election of which Paul speaks. For that decree is practical, ordaining to salvation particular persons, not disposing things or the connection of things in order to salvation. It terminates on creatures themselves, not on their qualities. "He hath chosen us" (to wit, men), Paul says (Eph. 1:4), "whom" (viz., men) "he predestinated" (Rom. 8:30). That quality of faith is not said in this sense to be chosen, but prescribed to the elect, i.e., given to and prepared for them from eternity.

XVIII. Faith can consist with the good pleasure and grace of God when subordinated to it (as the effect or means depending upon that same good pleasure) because he prepared the means no less than determined the end itself. Thus Paul asserts "that it is of faith, that it might be by grace" (Rom. 4:16) because faith alone can consist with grace in the matter of justification, but is incompatible (*asystatos*) with it when considered as the antecedent cause. For he who speaks of grace alone, excludes all other causes outside of God.

XIX. Rom. 9:11, 12 cannot be reconciled with the foresight of faith or works. (1) It treats of twins who had done nothing good or bad by which they might be distinguished from each other. (2) Election is said expressly to be of him that calleth, not of works. (3) In verses 15 and 16, it is wholly ascribed to the mercy of God alone: "He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." But if God has mercy upon men from foreseen faith, salvation can be said to be of him that willeth and runneth, not only of God that pitieth. (4) If foresight were granted, there would be no place for the objections and scruples proposed by Paul (Rom. 9:14)—as if God were unjust in electing this rather than that one. There is no species of injustice in him who elects those who believe and reprobates unbelievers.

XX. To no purpose is it here objected that he does not treat in this chapter of the election or reprobation of certain persons, but of the decree of justification (by which God determined to give righteousness and salvation to believers in Christ—those being rejected who sought righteousness by the law). Besides the fact that Paul had most fully discussed this argument in the preceding chapters so that there was no need to return to it, the scope of the apostle sufficiently evinces the contrary (which is to show that the

promises of God and the covenant made with Abraham were not destroyed even if a great part of the Jews would resist the gospel). These promises were ratified always in the sons of promise. Yet who should or should not be such (i.e., sons of promise) depends upon the divine predestination. Also the very series of the discourse sufficiently teaches this; especially verses 11, 15 and 16 which cannot be explained of justification by faith, but manifestly refer to election and calling. Here works are not opposed to faith, but to the election and calling of God. Paul does not say, not by works but by faith (as he ought to have said), but "of him that calleth" (Rom. 9:11*). "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth" (Rom. 9:16). He does not add, but of him that believeth (as he ought to have done), "but of God that showeth mercy" (Rom. 9:16). And truly since it treats of the cause (why of two equally conceived in sin and equal in every respect, he preferred this to that one), the mere mercy of God and gratuitous election must be considered; not faith which follows election and does not precede it. What occurs in Rom. 9:30ff. concerning the righteousness of faith which the Gentiles attained, does not prove that Paul treats in this chapter of justification. Rather it is a conclusion drawn from the preceding (viz., that from this election and gratuitous calling the Gentiles were made partakers of the righteousness of faith, while the Jews, following for a great part the works of the law, were cut off from salvation by the just judgment of God). Hence it is brought out that faith is the only mean (*medium*) of salvation and not its cause.

XXI. Although the rejection and election set forth in the person of Esau and Jacob can in some way refer to their posterity secondarily, yet it primarily regards them in order to show the cause of the discrimination between the sons of the flesh and the sons of the promise. What is proposed in Rom. 9:6, 7 is not to be sought in preceding and foreseen good or evil works, but in the eternal purpose of God electing Jacob from grace and reprobating Esau; so that these are not proposed only typically (*typice*), but also paradigmatically (*paradigmatice*), just as the previous examples of Israel and Jacob refer to individual persons.

XXII. Third, if election is from foreseen faith, God must have foreseen it in us: either as an act of nature proceeding from us, or as an act of grace depending on God, or as a common act, arising conjointly from both (partly from God, partly from man). If as an act of God, he foresaw it therefore as

his own gift (i.e., decreed by him from election). Thus it would follow, not precede election. If as an act of nature we therefore elected ourselves (contrary to Paul, 1 Cor. 4:7), Pelagius gains the victory. If as a common act, either the act of God takes its form from the act of man (and so man would be the architect of his own salvation and could sacrifice to his own net, since he would bring to his own salvation the principal part) or the act of man takes its form from the act of God (and so election will be the cause of faith, not the contrary). We must either ascend with the Scriptures to God discriminating among men by his own gift or descend with Pelagius to man discriminating himself by his own free will (for there can be no middle way).

XXIII. Fourth, if election is from foreseen faith, God would not have elected man, but rather man would have elected God, and so predestination should rather be called postdestination; the first cause would be made the second, and God would depend on man (the falsity of which, both the thing itself exclaims and Christ expressly testifies: "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you," Jn. 15:16). This oracle is often repeated by Augustine, especially in his book *On the Predestination of the Saints*: "which election the Lord signifies saying, ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, nor does faith itself precede: for he did not elect us because we believed, but that we might believe, that we might not be said to have first chosen him" (38 [19] [NPNF1, 5:517; PL 44.988]).

XXIV. Fifth, if election is from foreseen faith, no place will be given for the objections usually urged against it, and nothing would be more easy than to answer the question, why this rather than that one was chosen. Thus to no purpose would Paul exclaim, "O the depth" (*ō bathos*, Rom. 11:33). In vain would he (as by the interposition of a jagged-tooth bit) repress the curiosity of man by the rebuke "who art thou" (*su tis ei*), and the comparison of him to the potter's clay. Although the economy by which believers would be saved and unbelievers damned would be admirable, yet so clearly has it been revealed to us in the gospel that nothing else is lacking. Therefore in predestination something full of admiration must be put. This can be nothing else than the election of some in preference to others (who are no worse) and the reprobation of some in preference to others (who are no better). Since there is and can be conceived no cause of this discrimination in man, the minds of men are forced to stop and adore

(as it were under a veil a mystery full of awe-inspiring reverence). Nor would the apostle have had recourse to the bare good pleasure of God "who has mercy on whom he wills," if the cause of that discrimination were in man himself. Nothing would have been more easy than to answer that God did no injustice to any because if he condemns, he condemns the unbelieving; if he elects, he elects believers. Since, therefore, he does nothing of the kind, but makes mention of good pleasure alone, by that very thing he most clearly testifies that he recognized no cause of that difference than his good pleasure (*eudokian*) alone. And thus election is not of foreseen faith.

Sources of solution.

XXV. There is one reason of the love of benevolence and beneficence; another of the love of complacence and friendship. The latter indeed goes before faith necessarily because it gives it, while the former supposes it. The former depends on the esteem of the one loving and his sole good pleasure (*eudokia*); the latter flows from the worthiness of the thing loved (or his fitting disposition). When Paul says to the Hebrews "without faith it is impossible to please God" (Heb. 11:6), he does not mean the first love, but the second. There he speaks of the actual faith of the elders by which they obtained the testimony of righteousness. Hence it is rightly inferred what kind of persons please God in time; not why he elected them from eternity that they might please him.

XXVI. It is one thing for man to please God; another, however, for it to please God to elect man. The former supposes faith existing in the subject (and of this Paul speaks, Heb. 11:6), but not the latter. Nor, if it pleases God to give grace to a man, does it immediately follow that the man pleases God. Otherwise it would follow that because it pleased him to reconcile the world unto himself, the world also pleased God before he was reconciled (which is most absurd [*asystaton*]). The former denotes the complacence which is terminated on man and supposes his act; the latter denotes only that which is terminated on the decree itself and indicates the act of God. Although, in truth, it pleased God to elect us from eternity without faith, it does not follow that without faith we can equally please God in time. It can

please God to wish well to the creature antecedently to faith, but God cannot have complacency in the creature except consequently to it.

XXVII. *Prognōsis* in Rom. 8:29 must not be understood speculatively for bare prescience because God can foresee nothing in man except what he himself will give. Rather it must be understood practically for his gratuitous election, as was seen before. Nor, if Paul says that whom God "foreknew, he also did predestinate to be conformed (*symmorphous*) to the image of his Son," does he mean that they were such antecedently. For they could not obtain this except by calling (which follows), but that they might be such consequently, so that the words *pros to einai* are to be supplied to indicate the effects and means of predestination, not the causes and motives. Hence it is evident, not why he predestinated this one in preference to another, but to what he predestinated and with what means (viz., to glory and to a conformity with Christ—both by holiness and by suffering). Therefore *prognōsis* denotes the decree of the end or destination to salvation; *proorismos* denotes the decree of the means necessary to the attainment of that end (cf. Eph. 1:5).

XXVIII. What James says—"God hath chosen the poor of this world rich in faith" (Jam. 2:5)—intimates, indeed, to what God elected (viz., to faith), but not by what and on account of what. Thus the words "rich in faith" are not to be taken causally but finally (by the ellipsis of the infinitive *einai*, cf. Eph. 1:4). This is evident from the equality because he elected the rich in faith in the same way as "the heirs of the kingdom." Yet they are elected heirs of the kingdom that they may be made such, not that they were already such actually before his election.

XXIX. It is one thing to be unwilling to suspend election upon faith and works (which we hold); another to maintain that salvation is decreed to us without any regard to obedience and faith (which is calumniously charged upon us). The decree of salvation is not founded on such regard, but yet the decreed salvation itself depends upon the obedience of faith which God works in us.

XXX. It is one thing that they are elected as about to believe; another that they are elected reduplicatively and causally—because as believers and about to believe. The former is granted because he decreed to save no one without also decreeing to give him faith. Hence these propositions are convertible: every believer is elected, and every elect one is a believer. But

the latter (of which we speak here) is denied. Hence the passages which teach that no one but the believer is saved prove indeed the necessity of faith to obtain salvation in time, but not the foresight of faith (which by election is prior from eternity). It is one thing that God willed to save believers; another that he decreed to save them because he foresaw that they would believe.

XXXI. If God saves believers as such, it indeed follows that he decreed to save them as such; but not as such elected them to salvation because faith, which is the cause of salvation, is only an effect and means of election. So it is true that God saves in time in the same way in which he decreed to save. As he saves in time by faith, so he decreed from eternity to save by faith (i.e., that faith is the condition and means of obtaining salvation). But this does not hold good equally, if understood of the cause of the decree. For faith (the antecedent cause of the salvation decreed for us) cannot be the cause of the decree, but only the means by which the salvation decreed for us can be obtained. Moreover, although nothing takes place in time which was not decreed from eternity, yet there ought not therefore to be the same reason of the decree as of the execution. For the decree begins from the end and stops in the means; but the execution begins from the means and stops in the end. God in electing is conceived first to have decreed to save, then to intend to give the means of salvation (viz., faith and obedience). But in the execution, he gives the means before leading to the end. Hence what is the cause of salvation ought not forthwith to be reckoned the cause of election (but rather the effect). The physician intends the healing of the sick man before he thinks of the remedies, but in the execution he applies the remedies before he heals. Although God in executing gives faith before salvation, yet it cannot thence be inferred that God in electing considered faith before salvation.

XXXII. Although God predestinates men to faith as a means by which they may attain salvation, it is not necessary that God equally predestinates the reprobate to unbelief and impenitence. For there are some means which God finds in us, others which he makes. Unbelief and impenitence are not placed by God, but are found in us. On the other hand, faith springs from God alone, not from us.

XXXIII. Although reprobation is made from the consideration of sin, it does not equally follow that election is made from the consideration of faith

and good works. Reprobation is an act of justice, necessarily supposing sin. Election is an act of mercy, supposing nothing but misery. Thus men might in predestination be regarded in a state of misery (into which they fell by their own fault), but not in a state of grace (to which they were only to be led by the decree of election).

XXXIV. The will to give salvation as a crown and reward to believers presupposes faith and perseverance in the man to be saved (who without them could not be saved); but not in God who saves (as if his will depended upon the foresight of such faith, when this very faith arises from that decree). Therefore justice demands that the reward should not be given until after obedience, but does not demand that it should be destined on account of foreseen obedience, especially when that reward is merely gratuitous (not only promised by God as a reward to excite us to duty, but also destined as a gift and inheritance). God has prepared a kingdom in the heavens for them that love him (1 Cor. 2:9), so that love is the condition preceding possession. God has not prepared a kingdom on account of love as the impulsive cause of the preparation. Nor would you be right in drawing here a distinction between the method (*schesin*) of a father (which obtains in predestination) and the method (*schesin*) of a judge (which will have place on the day of judgment), so that the collation of salvation is not so much an act of grace (depending on election) as an act of justice (rewarding each one according to his works). For although the justice of faithfulness ought to exercise itself in the gratuitous remuneration of believers, it cannot therefore be denied that the mercy of God the Father, flowing from gratuitous election, will have place here. For eternal life is given to us as the inheritance of sons from the good pleasure of the Father: “Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father’s good pleasure to give you the kingdom” (Lk. 12:32); “Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world” (Mt. 25:34). Election in the Scriptures is not only referred to the means (viz., faith and holiness, as that hypothesis determines), but also to the end (viz., salvation itself and eternal life, cf. 2 Thess. 2:13; 2 Tim. 1:9; Rom. 6:23 and often elsewhere).

XXXV. The election which is made among unequals and according to inherent qualities, ought to be made of that which is better. But there is not the same reason of that which takes place among equals (those constituted

in the same misery). For then (which is the condition of our election) the better are not elected, but the equally bad that they may be made better.

XXXVI. Although sanctification is a mark of election *a posteriori* by which it both becomes known to us and is made manifest to others (in which sense Paul says, "that he who purges himself, shall be a vessel unto honor" [2 Tim. 2:21], i.e., will be declared to be such, cf. Mt. 5:44; Jn. 8:31), it cannot, however, for this reason be considered the cause or condition of election.

Twelfth Question: The Certainty of Election

Is the election of certain men to salvation constant and immutable? We affirm against the Remonstrants

I. This question grows out of the preceding and is debated by us with the same adversaries. Nor is it strange that they who suspend election upon an inconstant and mutable condition should maintain its uncertainty and mutability.

II. The Arminians (in order to defend the apostasy of saints) uphold the mutability of election. Thus they make it twofold: one incomplete and not decisive (*peremptoriam*) (of those who will believe), which can be revoked and made void by the inconstancy of men who can fall from faith; the other, however, complete and decisive (of those persevering and dying in faith), which is immutable.

III. In truth, although the orthodox confess that various acts can be assigned in election by reason of the various objects (viz., of end and means), yet they deny that the Scripture makes mention either of different degrees or of different kinds of election. Rather they acknowledge one only complete and decisive (*peremptoriam*); not indefinite (of men believing and persevering), but definite of a certain number of men destinated from the same corrupt mass to obtain salvation by and on account of Christ. This number is so certain and immutable that it can never be revoked, but infallibly obtains its end at length.

Statement of the question.

IV. On the state of the question observe: (1) that it does not concern the subjective certainty of election (on our part) and as to the sense which we may have of it (which will be discussed hereafter), but it concerns the objective certainty (on the part of the thing). The question is not whether the elect can fall on his part (which experience teaches us is too true, if he were left to himself); but whether he can fall on the part of the decree by which he was elected to salvation.

V. The question is not—Is election so certain as to render means no more necessary and that no matter what man may do he will be saved necessarily? We do not wish to separate the end from the means (which God has joined to each other). Rather the question is—Is it certain, the means ordained by God being complied with? The question then returns to this—Is the decree of election so sure and immutable that the elect must necessarily and infallibly be brought to salvation at last? The adversaries deny; we affirm.

The immutability of election is proved from Heb. 6:17, Rom. 9:11 and Rom. 11:29.

VI. The reasons are: (1) there is the same reason of the decree of election as of the other decrees of God, which are immutable (as was seen above from Ps. 33:11; Num. 23:19; Mal. 3:6; Jam. 1:17). "My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure" (Is. 46:10)—where with the immutability of the decree is noted the infallibility of the event. Hence the Scripture attributes to election "immutability of counsel" (*ametatheton tēs boulēs*, Heb. 6:17) and "the purpose which stands" (Rom. 9:11). And it testifies elsewhere that "the gifts and calling of God are without repentance" (*ametamelēta*, Rom. 11:29). If, in truth, the gifts and calling flowing from election are without repentance, why should not election itself (their cause) also be without repentance (*ametamelētos*)? Nor must it be said here that God does not indeed repent of his gifts, but man can repent of the gift received or preserved. Although man on his part in the divided sense can fail, yet he cannot in the compound sense (as elected and called), since indeed this very unrepentable (*ametamelētos*) election and calling (by working in him irresistibly) gives him the power to will and perfect. It keeps him from ever

repenting of the gift received by producing repentance not to be repented of (*ametamelēton*, 2 Cor. 7:10).

VII. Here belongs the remarkable passage of Paul: "The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his" (2 Tim. 2:19). There are as many reasons here as words. For because the church is the house of the living God, and the work of salvation the edifice which is built up in it, that no doubt may arise as to its firmness, the apostle assigns to it a foundation (viz., eternal election) on which our salvation is entirely founded; an excellent foundation, not of man, but of God—both originally (because it was laid by his hand alone, Heb. 11:10; 1 Pet. 2:6) and subjectively (because it is built upon him as the Rock of Ages, Mt. 16:18). Thus it is not perishable and movable like the foundations of earth and men (which at length are destroyed by various accidents), but sure and immovable, that cannot be overturned. Indeed it is *hestēke* (i.e., stands sure and unshaken by a perpetual stability recognizing no differences of time). That too is sealed by the knowledge of God not of simple inspection, but practical, discerning them that are his from them that are not. As men are wont to confirm by a seal writings which they wish to be ratified and sure, so God wished to fortify the decree of election by a seal that there might be no room for doubt: "having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his. And, Let everyone that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity" (2 Tim. 2:19). This passage exhibits as it were a twofold emblem for full confirmation: one with respect to God; the other with respect to us. The former belongs to the love and care of God; the latter to the desire of sanctification which God produces in them that are his. By both of these, the certainty of election is evidenced. If it could be frustrated, it would arise either on the part of God or on our part; but neither can be said. Not the former because God knoweth them that are his (i.e., loves and protects so that they can never fall); not the latter because the same takes care that whoever has professed the name of Christ and is of the number of his people, should depart from iniquity.

VIII. What stronger expressions could there be to establish the immutability of election? For what objection can be made? That it does not treat of election, but only of the doctrine of the resurrection alluded to in the preceding verse? The answer is that the doctrine of the resurrection involves the whole reason of salvation which is founded upon election. But the scope

of the apostle here evinces the contrary (which is to confirm the faith of true believers against the defection of Hymeneus and Philetus and other similar apostates, lest they should on that account be disturbed). It concerned their own salvation because the reason of the temporary (*proskairōn*) faith of those differed most widely from that of the faith of the elect. The former could be shaken and overturned because it was not on a firm basis, but the latter by no means because it was founded upon the immovable Rock of Ages. Therefore, although Hymeneus and Philetus and others may have wandered from the faith, "nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure" (*ho mentoi stereos hestēke Theou themelios*) with respect to true believers whom God recognizes and loves as his own. Or would they add that it treats of the foundation which is built upon the foreknowledge of faith because it is said to have this seal, "The Lord knoweth them that are his"? But not even so will they gain anything both because that knowledge is not speculative, but practical (not supposing but making the object); and because it is here set forth, not antecedently to the foundation, but as the consequent seal (which therefore follows and does not precede election). Finally would they say that a departure from iniquity is indeed set forth as the duty of man (who ought to do this), but not immediately as his act (who really can fulfil it)? But here the act of man may not be separated from his duty because the same God who commands us to depart from iniquity works that very thing in us by his Spirit. To keep us from ever wandering from God, the Spirit makes us depart by a holy apostasy from the world and sin, mortifying the deeds of the body (Rom. 8:13) and crucifying the flesh with its lusts (Gal. 5:24).

IX. Second, the elect cannot be seduced. In Mt. 24:24, Christ, speaking of false prophets, says they shall show such and such great signs and wonders, "insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect" (*kai tous eklektous*) (i.e., if any power could avail against election). This could not be said unless it were really impossible for the elect to be seduced (not with respect to any lighter error into which we may without repugnance fall, but to a deadly and final error). Nor to elude the force of this place will it do to object, first, that "the elect" here means only the excellent. Nowhere in the New Testament does this word imply excellence without respect to the decree (as the passages adduced by the adversaries themselves prove, Lk. 23:35; 1 Pet. 2:4; Acts 9:15). That it is not to be

understood differently here appears from Mk. 13:20, where they are described as "the elect, whom God hath chosen." Second, it is objected that *ei dynaton* indicates not an absolute impossibility, but only a great difficulty. It is to be referred not to the event of the seduction itself, but to the purpose and desire of the seducers; so that the sense is, as much as is in them, they will leave nothing untried by which they may be able to seduce the elect. Moreover if their machinations cannot effect it, yet nothing hinders the elect from giving themselves up and perishing by an innate capability of falling. Otherwise what need was there of the warning against seduction, if it was impossible for them to be seduced? The answer is: the scope of Christ evinces the contrary, which is to heighten the extreme danger of the last times. Believers would be threatened from false Christs and false prophets who would show forth such signs that not only the temporary (*proskairoi*), but even the elect themselves (if it were possible) would be subverted. This could not be true if only a difficulty were meant—a moral impossibility on the part of the seducers. It is as if the sense were, the false prophets will leave nothing untried to injure (as far as they can) the elect. But what necessity was there to foretell this (of which no one would doubt when such would be the ability and such the arts of the seducers)? Again, that difficulty would either be capable of being overcome by the false prophets attempting it or not. If it could be overcome, nothing new or great was here foretold by Christ. If it could not, the obstacle would not be from their impotency or ignorance, but from a superior cause which they would suppose in vain (viz., election). Hence he does not say "if it were possible for them" (*ei dynaton autois*), but "if it were possible" (*ei dynaton*), which denotes not a simple difficulty, but the impossibility of the event (cf. Gal. 4:15). If the seduction is impossible on account of the immutability of election, it does not follow that the exhortations of Christ to watchfulness are useless, because they are the means by which God has determined to carry out his purpose. Otherwise it was useless for Christ to forewarn Peter of his fall, because he was to be raised up again; and for Paul to forewarn the centurion about the shipwreck, since all were to be saved (Acts 27:31).

X. Third, there is an inseparable connection between election and glory, so that as many as have been elected will also be glorified. It is evident from the golden chain of salvation (wrought by the apostle, Rom. 8:29, 30),

where the beginning is made from the eternal election of God, flowing thence through individual graces, proceeds to the last complement of salvation: from eternity to eternity—from eternity with respect to predestination, to eternity with respect to glorification. "For whom God did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son. Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified." Here Paul speaks of glorification in the past tense both with respect to its foundation (*inchoationis*) in grace and holiness (which is glory begun, 2 Cor. 3:18) and with respect to its certainty (because it is just as certain and infallible as if they were already actually introduced into heaven). If, therefore, these graces mutually connected most closely so wait upon each other that no one is predestinated who is not called, no one called who is not justified, no one justified who is not glorified—from this it invincibly appears that election is immutable, infallibly reaching its event.

XI. Some of the papists (as Becanus and Tirinus), to escape this passage, have recourse to a transposition of words (*hyperbaton*) (as if it should be read—"God predestinated those whom he knew would be conformed to Christ"). But Bellarmine himself acknowledges that this is a distortion of the text (which means the contrary). Others hold that it treats of the foreknowledge of those whom God foreknew would finally believe. But that gloss corrupts the text itself. Paul says God first foreknew those whom he predestinated that they might be conformed to his Son; therefore, they could not be foreknown as already conformed much less as believing and persevering even unto faith. Therefore, foreknowledge itself is practical of persons, not theoretical of qualities; hence he does not say "whose faith" he foreknew, but "whom" he foreknew. No better do they escape who maintain that all these are conditional, provided we do not cease to love God (to wit, that the apostle shows what God will do on his part—i.e., that he will glorify believers and the persevering). Paul does not say that if they once believe and love God, they will perpetually continue in his service. Otherwise, he would excite believers to patience in suffering to no purpose. For they gratuitously suppose that these are to be taken conditionally, since the condition itself (viz., faith) falls under the promise as being the fruit of calling. Otherwise the boasting of the apostle and the triumph of faith

would be vain, for what would it avail to be safe from eternal enemies if danger would always threaten us from our own inconstancy?

XII. Moreover, Paul elsewhere confirms that very thing most clearly when he sets forth the connection between the destination to glory and the obtainment of salvation: "The election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded" (*hē eklogē epetychen*, Rom. 11:7). He does not simply say "the elect" have obtained (to wit, righteousness or salvation, which the other Jews fruitlessly sought by the law), but "the election" to denote not only the subject (i.e., those who are saved), but the cause (why they rather than the others obtained salvation, to wit, the eternal election of God). Therefore the apostle had said, "God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew" (Rom. 11:2), on account of the certainty of election.

XIII. Fourth, the names of the elect are written in heaven, in the book of life, which admits of no erasure (Phil. 4:3; Rev. 13:8; Heb. 12:23). Hence Christ orders his disciples to rejoice not that the spirits were subject to them, but rather because "their names were written in heaven" (Lk. 10:20), for which joy there could be no reason if that inscription could be easily effaced and depended only upon the tenuous thread of the mutable will of man. For that alone is true joy which is solid and cannot be taken away (*anaphaireton*). This appears more strikingly whether the inscription is attended to in general—by which the Scripture usually designates the strength and infallible execution of God's decrees both in wrath ("Behold, it is written before me" [viz., the sin of the Israelites] "I will not keep silence, but will recompense, even into their bosom," Is. 65:6) and in grace ("A book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord," Mal. 3:16); or in particular—by which the author and the subject of the inscription is considered. Although the Holy Spirit might have alluded to a manifold custom by this phrase (either to the register of friends, or to military conscription, or to the roll of citizens enjoying the rights of citizenship), it is certain that by this book the eternal election of God is designated. In his mind, he inscribed the names of those whom he receives into the number of his faithful and whom he determined to admit into the heavenly Jerusalem, whose invincible power and unmoved constancy renders that inscription indelible: "for if a man said, what I have written, I have written, shall God inscribe anyone in the book of life and erase it" (as Augustine says, *Psalm* 69 [68] 29 [13] [NPNF1, 8:310; PL 36.862). If the

decrees of the Persian kings were irrevocable, how much more those of the King of kings, to whom neither ignorance in decreeing nor impotence in executing can be attached. Even the title of the book favors us. Why should it be called "the book of life" in which they who are written "are written unto life" (Is. 4:3), if they could perish eternally? Finally, the condition of the passage itself evinces this. As the earth is the seat of inconstancy and frailty, so the wicked (whose portion is on earth and who will perish with it) are said "to be written in the earth" (Jer. 17:13). But the faithful are said to be "written in heaven," not only because their citizenship (*politeuma*) is in heaven (Phil. 3:20) and they have a right to the heavenly country, but also because an incorruptible inheritance (which they cannot fail to obtain) is reserved there for them (1 Pet. 1:4). Hence elsewhere Christ promises to the victor that "he will not blot out his name out of the book of life" (Rev. 3:5). John declares that no one who works abomination shall enter into the holy city, "but they which are written in the book of life" (*ei mē hoi gegrammenoi en tē bibliō tēs zōēs*, Rev. 21:27). Since therefore none but such can expect this, so as many as are of this number can by this right promise it for themselves.

XIV. Falsely is "the book of the Lamb" distinguished here from "the book of life." As if in the former are inscribed the names of those persevering in faith and therefore of those who are saved; in the latter, however, are inscribed all believers under the condition of perseverance. It is evident from Rev. 13:8 that the book of life and of the Lamb are the same, where the book of the Lamb is at the same time called "the book of life of the Lamb." In vain also is a twofold inscription feigned, the one made according to eternal predestination from the foresight of perseverance (which is indelible); the other, however, temporal, which is said to be made according to the present state of faith and righteousness (which is delible). This is unworthy of the majesty and wisdom of God and makes him changeable (*allo pros allon*), his decrees being suspended on the variable notions of the human will and, entering upon new counsels as often as that, changing either for the better or for the worse.

XV. But the most perfect nature of God compels us to reason far otherwise. If the decree of election could change, it would do so either because he knew not what was about to happen from ignorance or because he could not follow it out from weakness; or because he willed not to

perfect it from inconstancy. But since no such thing can occur with God (the most wise, most powerful, best and most faithful), it is a consequence that what he has once determined will remain ratified and sure, and will infallibly obtain its event, all impediments being removed.

Source of explanation.

XVI. Our election can be made sure *a posteriori* with respect to the sense of it in our hearts. In this sense, the words of Peter are to be understood when he orders believers to make their calling and election sure (*bebaioun*, 2 Pet. 1:10). For by the practice of good works and the desire of sanctification, the truth of election becomes more and more known to us and is confirmed in our hearts. But it does not therefore follow that it ought to be confirmed *a priori* and with respect to God's counsel itself (which as it is unchangeable [*ametatheton*], always remains the same and cannot be made void).

XVII. The word *adokimos* is not necessarily taken participially (for him who is reprobated by God and predestined to eternal death), but is often used nominally (for the inept, unfit). In turn, *dokimos* signifies him who has the approved stamp and is adapted to and fitted for the work to which he is called. Therefore, when Paul says that "he kept under his body, lest that when he had preached to others, he himself should be *adokimos*" (1 Cor. 9:27), he does not mean that he could from an elect person become a reprobate. He only intimates that he brought his body into subjection, lest on account of a more licentious life he might be rendered *adokimos* and unfit to preach the gospel (to wit, he alludes to the pugilists of whom those who were lazy and sluggish from too much bleeding were rejected as inept and less fit). Add to this the fact that the solicitude of Paul could not infringe upon the certainty of the decree which does not exclude but includes the use of means.

XVIII. The elect can fail in the divided sense (considered as man in himself), but not in the compound sense as elected (considered relatively to the immutability of the divine decree and the invincible protection of God).

XIX. The book from which Moses wishes to be blotted out (Ex. 32:32) is not the book of eternal life or predestination, but the book of providence or of the present life. The passage teaches that he is actuated by so great a zeal for God's glory and love for the people, as to be prepared by his own death

to redeem the whole people from destruction. He also wishes to die rather than to see that whole nation (joined in covenant with God, distinguished by so many and so great miracles) perish in the desert with the ignominy of the divine name. It is not difficult to gather this from the mention of the book of God ("blot me out of thy book"), not of the book of life; also because the wish of Moses ought to answer to the punishment with which God threatened the people (which was destruction and bodily death: "Now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them: and that I may consume them; and I will make of thee a great nation," Ex. 32:10). Therefore he ought to speak of the same kinds of death which, in a similar case, he understands: "And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee" (Num. 11:15). (2) Although this should be understood of the book of life, the mutability of election could not therefore be inferred because it is a wish which has a tacit condition (if the thing could be done and would redound to God's glory); so that the possibility of the fact is not denoted, but the ardor of the one praying and the intense zeal and love by which he is impelled to wish for his own destruction (if indeed this could happen) in order to secure the salvation of his brethren. Christ prays to the Father that the cup of suffering might pass from him, not that this could happen by the decree of God, but to express the intimate sense of the divine wrath and of the most terrible death impending upon him. Here is to be applied the wish of Paul who "wishes that himself were accursed from Christ for his brethren" (Rom. 9:3). Not that he wished to be separated from Christ as to grace and holiness (which would be not only ungrateful to God, but impious in the one seeking it), but as to glory and happiness (since indeed this, by the nature of the thing and the will of God, might take place).

XX. It is one thing to be really and positively blotted out of the book of life, when they are expunged who were before inscribed in it; another to be blotted out only according to expectation (*kata doxan*) and negatively, when it is declared that anyone is not written in it. In the former sense, no one can be really blotted out of the book of life; but in the latter sense, hypocrites and temporary professors (*proskairoi*) are said to be blotted out when the mask is torn off from them, and the event declares they never were written in it. Thus Augustine sets it forth, "How, then, can they be blotted out of that in which they were never written? This is said according to their hope because they thought they were written in it. What does 'they were blotted

out of the book of life' mean? That it is evident to them that they were never in it, for the following verse explains it, 'and let them not be written with the righteous' " (*Psalm* 69 [NPNF1, 8:310; PL 36.863]). God says, "If any man shall take away from the words of this prophecy, I will take away his part out of the book of life" (Rev. 22:19). God does not positively blot him out who was never written in it, but shows that he never was written in it. Also it is said, "His part shall be taken away out of the holy city;" not which he had or would have, but that which he did not have at all.

XXI. Since the certainty of the end does not exclude the necessity of means (but supposes it), the doctrine of the immutability of election is falsely said to take away the utility of warnings and threatenings (the means instituted by God for the execution of his decree) and to foster carnal security. Hence the same saints who most certainly assure themselves of constancy in life and the enjoyment of heaven do not cease to be solicitous concerning their salvation because they know that this cannot be attained without the intermediate duties of holiness and the avoidance of the opposite course: "every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself" (1 Jn. 3:3; cf. 1 Cor. 9:26; Phil. 3:14).

XXII. Whence appears the impiety of the reasoning of the wicked who, from the certainty of election, think their salvation to be secure no matter how they may live. Here things are divided which ought to be joined together: the end from the means (viz., salvation from faith and holiness); and things are joined together which ought to be divided (viz., vice with happiness, moral evil with physical good). By the decree of election, the faithful are so predestinated to the end that they can be brought to it in no other way than by the means which God has established. Therefore, although it is true that every elect person will necessarily be saved, yet it is most false that he will be safe in whatever way or on the supposition of moral failure whatever. God, indeed, decrees the salvation of the elect as certain and sure, but the same God decrees it is certain only in the way of faith and holiness: "because without holiness no man shall see the Lord" (Heb. 12:14). And as necessary as it is that the elect shall be saved, so necessary is it that he will be saved in this way and order. It is a contradiction in the thing added to say that the elect will be saved even though impenitent because he is elected not only to salvation, but also to holiness.

XXIII. It is one thing to be deprived of the right to a kingdom demeritoriously (*demeritorie*, i.e., with respect to privilege); another, however, effectively (or actually). When they sin, believers lose their right to the kingdom as to demerit, but not equally in fact. That is, they deserve to be condemned, but yet they will be acquitted by the firm purpose of God. Hence these two propositions can stand together at the same time: it is impossible that elect David can perish; it is impossible that David, the adulterer (and continuing so) can be saved. However, the divine mercy and providence unties this knot by taking care that he shall not die in that state in which he would be excluded from eternal life. Before the end of life, he will be recalled to repentance, the way of salvation. Therefore, although in atrocious sins believers contract damnable guilt and lose their present fitness for the kingdom of heaven, yet because the act of man cannot rescind the divine acts, on that account the state of adoption cannot be broken up, nor the right to the kingdom of heaven taken away (which depends upon the gratuitous election of God and was obtained by the merit of Christ himself). Nor does the special love with which God follows them permit them to fall into hostile hatred (which is joined with the purpose of damnation), although it does not hinder God's paternal indignation against his rebellious children (that he may call them away from their sins).

XXIV. The election to salvation differs from that to the apostleship: the former is irrevocable, but not the latter. Judas, the betrayer of Christ, is said to be elected to the apostleship (Jn. 6:70). Nor is the particle *ei mē* (Jn. 17:12, where it is said that no one of those who were given to Christ has perished, but "the son of perdition") exceptive, but adversative (as often elsewhere). Not that Judas is excepted from those who were given to Christ and have not perished, but that he is opposed to them. Thus it may be evident that he was not given to Christ because he perished as the son of perdition, i.e., already devoted to destruction beforehand.

XXV. One "grafting into the olive tree" is of external calling by profession, another of internal communion by saving faith. From the former, the Jews, who were considered the people of God, could be cut off (Rom. 11:23), but not from the latter (which is peculiar to the elect and is immutable). The other arguments which are adduced for the apostasy of the saints will be noticed in the topic on perseverance.

Thirteenth Question

Can the believer be certain of his own election with a certainty not only conjectural and moral, but infallible and of faith? We affirm against the papists and Remonstrants

I. The objective certainty of election being proved, we must speak of the subjective, which the papists and Arminians equally impugn. Truly, the full discussion of it belongs to the topics of justification and perseverance. Yet because this question is also agitated by the adversaries about the doctrine of election, we must say something concerning it here.

The opinion of papists.

II. The opinion of papists cannot be more certainly gathered than from the decree of the Council of Trent which denies "that anyone can know with the certainty of faith, not admitting anything false, that he has obtained the grace of God" (Session 6, chap. 9, and canons 13, 14, 15; Schroeder, pp. 35, 44). It denies that it is proper for those who have truly and without any shadow of doubt been justified, to determine with themselves that they have been justified. And it pronounces a curse "upon him who shall say, that the man renewed and justified is bound by faith to believe that he certainly belongs to the number of those predestinated." However the adversaries are not sufficiently agreed among themselves concerning the meaning of the Synodical decree, some drawing it to the confirmation of certainty (which they hold); others to the condemnation of it (individuals accommodating each sense of the Council to their own changes). Yet it is certain that most (and especially the Jesuits) so interpret it that the believer can indeed (from conjectures and probable signs) hope well concerning his future happiness, yet can conclude nothing certainly, nor know with the certainty of faith.

And of the Arminians.

III. The Arminians deny that there is given any sense of election in this life (except a conditional one) and consider it praiseworthy and useful to doubt whether they will always be what they now are (as the Hague subscribers

express themselves). They fear that such a certainty may be to sinners a bed of ease on which they may luxuriously pamper themselves and hug the sweet delusion to their breast. Hence they think that such a certainty is sufficient by which believers may know that they (if they persevere in faith) will remain in the grace of God and obtain eternal life (i.e., a conditional not an absolute certainty and that too, only of the present, not of the future). The source of this error is the false opinion of election which they say will be completed only in the moment of death. Before it is complete, as long as anyone lives, he can fail each moment. Therefore he ought to doubt his election because he cannot be certain whether he will persevere even unto the end.

Statement of the question.

IV. Hence the state of the question is gathered. (1) The question is not, is election perceptible to us *a priori*: "For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counselor?" (Rom. 11:34). Rather election is perceptible only *a posteriori*; not by ascending into heaven that we may inquire into the causes of election and unroll the book of life (which is prohibited); but by descending into ourselves that we may consult the book of conscience and, observing the fruits of election in ourselves, ascend from the effects to the cause. Moreover, this is not done more certainly than by a practical syllogism, of which the major is read in the word, the minor into the heart. "Whoever truly believes and repents is elected; now I believe, therefore I am elected."

V. (2) The question does not concern an extraordinary revelation—Can anyone be certain extraordinarily of his election and salvation? This the adversaries do not deny with regard to some to whom they hold God has granted this peculiar grace. Rather the question concerns the ordinary and common manner, which is made by the energy (*energeian*) and full conviction (*plērophorian*) of faith. The question does not concern a probable and conjectural certainty, which may be deceptive (such as they acknowledge); but concerns the certainty of faith. It does not concern the certainty of another's election and salvation (which can be gathered only from the judgment of charity), but concerns the certainty of one's own election.

VI. (3) The question does not concern the certainty of every kind (which excludes all fear of the contrary and always remains in the same degree—such as will be that of the saints in heaven who will be exposed to no more temptations). For we acknowledge that this certainty (with respect to our innate weakness) is often shaken and fluctuates. This is especially true in the first beginnings of calling or in suffering and trials; yea, is even suppressed for a time (as in the paroxysms of temptation when the consolation of the believer is sometimes so intercepted, and the light of the divine countenance so hidden that in the agony of his mind the believer may complain with David that he is cut off from before God's eyes, Ps. 31:22). Rather the question concerns such a certainty as goes forth sometimes into act, so that there is no believer who sometime before his death is not impressed with this persuasion for his consolation.

VII. (4) The question is not Can that certainty go forth into act in every state of man, even without the desire of holiness and the use of means? As if a man persevering in sin, can and ought to persuade himself that he is elected to eternal life and will certainly be saved (which we contend is most absurd [*asystata*]). He would deceive himself with a vain and most false hope who would think so. Rather the question is Can the believer, while he is in the way of holiness and uses the means appointed by God, have this persuasion? For God has given the promises only to those who walk in that way. There (i.e., in that way) are to be found the true tokens (*gnōrismata*) and indubitable criteria (*kritēria*) of election and justification.

VIII. Therefore the question is reduced to this: Can the adult believer be certain (not as to a continuous and uninterrupted act, but as to the foundation and habit that can never be lost) not only of his present, but also of his future state? Or should he (not from a consideration of his own worthiness, but of the divine esteem and powerful custody) elicit an act of certainty, not only probable and conjectural (which allows of deception), but of true faith concerning his election and salvation. The adversaries deny this; we affirm it.

The elect can be certain of their salvation.

IX. The reasons are: (1) believers can know that they are sons of God and believe; therefore, they can know that they are elected because adoption and

faith are the infallible effects and fruits of election. They can know that they are sons of God not only from the filial love by which they are prompted to invoke him as Father, but also from the testimony of the Spirit who witnesses that they are sons of God (Rom. 8:15, 16). They can know that they believe from the nature of faith (which not only by a direct act is carried into the thing promised, but also by a reflex act into a proper apprehension). Otherwise if believers could not know that they believed, the apostles could not say, "We believe and are sure" (Jn. 6:69). And the father of the lunatic: "Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief" (Mk. 9:24); "We do know that we know him" (1 Jn. 2:3). Nor could Paul say, "I know whom I have believed" (2 Tim. 1:12) and exhort others "to examine themselves, whether they were in the faith" (2 Cor. 13:5), unless this could be known. Hence Augustine says, "Whoever has it, may see his own faith in his heart, and hold it with the most certain knowledge and the conviction of conscience" (*The Trinity* 13.1 [FC 45:371; PL 42.1014]). Nor does it hinder that various persons can deceive themselves with a vain hope and by a rash presumption glory in the faith which nevertheless they do not possess. The vain boasting of hypocrites does not take away the true confidence of believers. If they who are destitute of that Spirit do not know him, it is not properly inferred that they who do possess it are ignorant of it and cannot discern it by its criteria (*kritēriois*). I confess that those marks do not always have an equal degree of clearness or certainty, but on that account they are not to be reckoned fallacious and merely conjectural. For as certainly as he who lives knows that he lives from the vital actions which he clearly perceives in himself, so he who lives by the spiritual life of the sons of God can know that he lives by the Spirit which works in him.

X. Second, the same thing is gathered from the inscription of God himself. As from eternity, he inscribed the names of the elect in "the book of life"; as, in "the book of the Scriptures," he records the promises of perseverance to confirm our faith: so in "the book of conscience" and in the tables (not stony, but fleshy) of the heart—not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God (2 Cor. 3:3), he copies the transcript (*apographum*) of our election, inscribing grace and the law upon our minds in order to make us certain of the eternity of his love and his perpetual care and protection (Jer. 31:33). And very pertinent here is the "white stone" (*psēphos leukē*) which Christ promises to give to him that overcomes (Rev. 2:17). "In it a new

name shall be written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it." For whether allusion is made to ancient trials in which acquittal was usually made by a white stone and condemnation by a black (whence the former was called *psēphos sōzousa* [the saving stone], the latter *psēphos anairousa* [the condemning stone]), in order to denote the full justification of the believer; or to the public assemblies in which magistrates were created by voters, the names of the chosen being written in square bits of stone or white stones (whence the voting was called *psēphophoria*) in which sense is indicated the high dignity of the sons of God who are made kings and priests unto God (Rev. 1:6); or to the contests and gymnastic games in which a white stone was the symbol of victory, and thus the triumph of faith, and the happiness of believers would be designated—it is certain that "the new name" (which it is said will be written in that stone) is no other than the name of "the sons of God" (which although unknown to others, God willed to be known to the one receiving it). But this could not be said at all if neither election nor adoption could be known to any believer. I confess, indeed that this promise will be perfectly fulfilled only in heaven when our race is finished and happiness consummated; but this hinders not its commencement here for the consolation of believers, when overcoming they perceive already the first fruits (*hypernikōntes*) of the heavenly reward (*brabeiou*).

XI. Third, it is confirmed by the testimony and "sealing of the Holy Spirit," which not only testifies that we are the sons of God (Rom. 8:16), but also "seals us unto the day of redemption" (Eph. 4:30). But how could he either testify truly that we are the sons of God and heirs of the kingdom of heaven or seal us unto the day of redemption, if we had no evidence of it and if his testimony might be false and his sealing deceptive? But the contrary proves itself by the word "seal," which designates an immovable, certain thing, even as those are called inviolable which are sealed with the foremost seal. Hence the fathers call that seal indissoluble (*akatalyton*). If the Devil sometimes transforms himself into an angel of light, it does not follow that the testimony or the seal of the Spirit is fallacious and uncertain; or that the believer (who seriously attends to it) can always be deceived so as never to be persuaded of its truth. For such is the sweetness and power of that operation, so wonderful the splendor of that divine light and so invincible the efficacy of faith to captivate the heart unto obedience, so

inexpressible the joy and consolation, diffused over the conscience that believers must know it and by indubitable argument can distinguish themselves from the rash boastings of the wicked. “Hereby we know,” says John, “that we dwell in him, and he in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us” (1 Jn. 3:24).

XII. Nor does that have another bearing which Paul says: “We have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God” (1 Cor. 2:12). That is, it is not sufficient for God (on account of his own glory and our salvation) to bestow blessings upon us, unless he impresses upon our minds a sense and knowledge of them so that we can return thanks for and enjoy them with pleasure and rejoicing. Nor can we say with Becanus that the apostle speaks of the gifts of glory which he prepared for us from eternity, not of the gifts of grace (of which we treat). Paul speaks of both and we dispute concerning both. If certainty is given by the Spirit of the gifts of glory (which are future), how much more will he give it of the gifts of grace, which are present? If the latter are said not to have entered into the heart of man with respect to natural knowledge, it does not immediately follow that they cannot be perceived by the believer’s heart by supernatural revelation.

XIII. Fourth, the practice and example of the saints (who were certain of their own election and salvation) teaches that certainty is not only possible, but necessary. It is evident: in Abraham, the father of the faithful—“who against hope believed in hope … being not weak in faith … [but] being fully persuaded (*plērophorētheis*), that what he had promised, he was able also to perform” (Rom. 4:18, 19, 21*); in David, who was perfectly certain that he would not be moved (Ps. 16:8), but that goodness and mercy would follow him all the days of his life (Ps. 23:6) and that he never would be ashamed (Ps. 31:1); in Paul, who expressly testifies that he was persuaded nothing could separate him from the love of God—*pepeismai* (“I am persuaded”), says he, “that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities shall be able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ” (Rom. 8:38, 39*). Now what could be the foundation of such exultation except the certainty of the election and adoption of believers? On account of this, it happens that they overcome (*hypernikōsi*) in all things and can securely triumph over all their enemies (Rom. 8:31–33). Nor is any

extraordinary revelation to be maintained here as if by a peculiar privilege this was granted of God to some and not to others. For the faith of Abraham is set forth as an example to others (Rom. 4:23, 24*). Paul seeks his own assurance, not from a special revelation, but from general foundations and motives (viz., God's eternal election, Christ's death and intercession, the immutable love of God). Since these are common to all believers, it is evident that they, no less than Paul, can and ought to elicit that fiducial act of certainty.

XIV. Fifth, the effects of faith demand this certainty: effects such as confidence (*pepoithēsis*, Eph. 3:12); full assurance (*plērophoria*, Heb. 10:22); boasting (*kauchēsis*, Rom. 5:2); unspeakable joy (*chara aneklalētos*, 1 Pet. 1:8) which cannot be taken from us (Jn. 16:22). For how could we either have assurance and a full persuasion (by which we could approach with confidence to the throne of grace) or have peace with God and a hope which maketh not ashamed or boast and exult with unspeakable and glorious joy, if our consciences could be agitated by perpetual fear and doubts and we could gain only a conjectural and uncertain opinion concerning the love of God and our salvation?

Sources of solution.

XV. The certainty of God's grace cannot be gathered from the external state (whether prosperous or adverse—in which sense the wise man says, "No man knoweth either love or hatred" [Ecc. 9:1], i.e., cannot know from external events which happen equally to the good and bad whether he is in the favor or under the displeasure of God) because *hkhl lphnyhm* is immediately added, i.e., not as the Vulgate wrongly translates it, "all future things are kept uncertain," but "all things are before their face" (as Arias Montanus, *Biblia sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece et Latine* [1572], 3:647 on Ecc. 9:1) or "all things at their faces," i.e., evil and good happen alike to all. It does not follow that faith cannot have certainty undoubtedly from the word of God and the testimony of the Holy Spirit. Nor can a total and absolute uncertainty be pressed here as much with respect to the pious as the wicked. For the wicked can and ought to know that they deserve hatred while they continue in their sins: and believers can know from faith

and piety that they are the sons of God and consequently in his favor and love.

XVI. A thing may be uncertain with regard to our indisposition and unworthiness which, however, may be certain with regard to the faith of a renewed heart (which depends not upon its own virtue, but upon the immutability of election and the infallibility of God promising). We are uncertain on our part, but certain on the part of God. Our assurance does not consist in the affection of our disposition, but in the infallible effect of divine grace.

XVII. The "fear and trembling" recommended in the Scripture (Prov. 28:14; Phil. 2:12; 1 Pet. 1:17) strike a blow only at carnal security, but do not overthrow the certainty of election and justification. They mark anxiety about the means by which they arrive at the end, not hesitancy about the end and event (which is founded upon God's decree). The fear is not slavish (of distrust and of despair), which casts out love (1 Jn. 4:18) and is opposed to confidence; but filial (of humility, reverence and pious solicitude), which perfectly consists with confidence (Ps. 2:11; Phil. 2:12), but destroys rash and carnal presumption.

XVIII. Although the sense of the divine love may for a time slumber and be suppressed in the sons of God (as to the second act, whether in evils of fault or of punishment, so that they may be disturbed with various doubts), yet it is never shaken off as to the first act. At length they certainly struggle out from those trials by the grace of an electing and supporting God, by which it comes to pass that God restores unto them the joy of his salvation and makes the broken bones rejoice (Ps. 51:8, 12). For as God is faithful, he wishes indeed to try believers, but does not wish them to be overcome. He suffers them to slip, but does not permit them to be overthrown. If he judges it expedient for them to be sometimes pressed, still he never wishes them to be oppressed, but sustains and lifts up those that slip (2 Cor. 4:8, 9).

XIX. Although the certainty of salvation (which arises from the reflex act of faith and experimental knowledge) is not founded immediately upon the word of God (saying that I believe and repent), yet it does not cease to be built upon it immediately (inasmuch as it describes the nature, properties and effects of true faith and repentance from which we can easily gather the verity of our own faith and repentance). Hence no less is it to be held the certainty of divine faith which does not depend on the uncertain and

doubtful principle of human reason, but on the divine and infallible testimony of the word and Spirit (whose works, faith and repentance, as they are produced in us, so they may be seen and known by his operation).

XX. That the believer may know what God has from eternity decreed concerning him or what he may expect from him in eternity, he ought not rashly to rush into the secret things of God. But from the knowledge of his present state, he can easily gather both the past and the future. For since grace is the connecting link between election and glorification (as the necessary fruit of the former and the infallible means to the latter), let each one know that he is in the grace of God. But everyone knows it who believes and has repented. He can also certainly determine that he is elected by God and will infallibly at last be glorified by him. Thus the certainty of salvation, including three things—the certainty of past election, of present grace and of future glory—can be derived from no other source than the sense of present grace.

XXI. Although in truth the certainty of present grace supposes on our part a fulfillment of the conditions prescribed to us by God (viz., of faith and repentance), it must not on that account be considered impossible. Although the compliance with such conditions is, on our part, uncertain, yet it is not so on the part of God who has promised to give to us these very conditions. Although we cannot be certain of a perfect and absolute fulfillment, yet we can (with the help of the Holy Spirit) be persuaded of a fulfillment true, sincere and without hypocrisy. Otherwise the apostles could not profess that they believed (Jn. 6:69); nor could the eunuch answer Philip, “I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God” (Acts 8:37).

XXII. So far is the doctrine of the certainty of grace from being the mother of security and the midwife of licentiousness, that there is no greater incentive to true piety than a vivid sense of the love of God and of his benefits. This so powerfully lays hold of and inflames the mind that it is all on fire with a reciprocal love of him from whom it receives so great favors and has been so highly preferred over others left in the common mass of perdition.

XXIII. The state of the believer is twofold: one of wrestling or victory; either while he fights and contends hand to hand with the enemy or while he triumphs over the prostrate foe. Thus faith, and the certainty arising from it, differs in each. In the former it is weak; in the latter it is strong. In the

first, it fears and hesitates; in the second, it confides and rejoices. In the first, it utters groans and sighs from a sense of God's anger and the burden of sins; in the other, it experiences inexpressible joy from the sweetness of redeeming grace. Therefore although the believer in the struggle cannot elicit an act of certainty, this does not hinder him (when the temptation has been overcome and his strength renewed by grace) from coming out stronger and more confirmed.

XXIV. The examples of the saints who have doubted the love of God towards them prove indeed that the act of certainty is not perpetual in them, but is in different ways interrupted. But this does not prove that it is always absent from them and that they cannot in any state elicit it. Yea, the very ones who in terror doubt (while pressed by heavy temptation), elsewhere exult and rejoice in security. The same David who in an aberration of mind complains that he is forsaken of God (Ps. 22:1) and cut off from before his eyes (Ps. 31:22), elsewhere full of faith and joy persuades himself that he will not be confounded and that nothing will hurt him though he should walk through the valley of the shadow of death because God is always with him (Ps. 23:4; Ps. 118:5). The same Paul who complains that he is carnal and sold under sin and deplores his misery ("O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Rom. 7:24), a little after gives thanks to God as if for a victory achieved (Rom. 7:25) and securely scoffs at all his enemies ("who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" Rom 8:35).

XXV. Since the actual certainty of believers cannot go out into act without the use of means, in vain would it be sought with the continued purpose of sinning and in the grievous lapses of the saints. For so far from being certain in that state that they are in the favor of God, they ought on the contrary to feel assured that they are under the heaviest guilt and in a state of damnation (in which most certain destruction hangs over them unless by repentance they return to themselves).

XXVI. Therefore this saving doctrine must be proposed with great caution: for the relief of afflicted consciences, not to foster the security of the wicked; to be a remedy against despair, not a bed of carnal license. Thus this certainty should never be urged without immediately adjoining the desire after sanctification as the necessary condition of obtaining it.

XXVII. Although this certainty is necessary to the consolation of the believer, still for the verity of faith itself there is no need of its explicit act every moment; nor must he be said to be without faith who is not as yet confirmed in this certainty. If he sometimes is without that sense of it, he is not immediately to reckon himself among the reprobate and to doubt concerning the divine mercy. Rather he should seek and implore it most earnestly from God and (on his part) is bound to use all efforts in order to excite and root it deeper and deeper in himself by the practice of faith and good works. Therefore a man ought not to wait until the very last breath of life in order to pronounce that he is certainly elected (as the adversaries wish). For then he is not considered anymore as to be elected, but as to be introduced into life eternal; nor could the consideration of election be of any use to the believer, if only in the end of life he could be assured of it. Rather he must labor with all his strength to obtain for his solace a more vivid sense of it every day in the advance of sanctification. But we will speak more fully of these things when we treat the certainty of salvation.

Fourteenth Question: Reprobation

Is the decree of reprobation absolute, depending upon the good pleasure (eudokia) of God alone; or is sin its proper cause? We distinguish

I. The doctrine of election having been set forth, we must come to reprobation. Reprobation is taken here not in its whole extent for any purpose of removing either some persons or things either from certain offices and benefits or from certain uses; in this sense the Scripture speaks of "reprobate silver" (Jer. 6:30) and of Christ, the chosen stone, impiously set at nought by the Pharisees and priests and other builders (Acts 4:11; 1 Pet. 2:7). It is not taken for the execution of reprobation or the very act of reprobating (which is made in time), but for the decree itself, sanctioned from eternity and described as the eternal, unchangeable and most free purpose of God by which he decreed not to pity some certain men lying in exactly equal corruption and guilt with others, but to damn eternally those left in sin (on account of it) in order to demonstrate his glorious justice, liberty and power.

II. It is hardly worthwhile to inquire whether reprobation may be granted. There have been those who, under the pretext of extolling the mercy of God, have taken upon themselves to deny it (as Samuel Huberus who, in a former age, did not hesitate to assert the universal election to salvation in Christ of all men irrespective of their belief). Nevertheless not only does election (opposed to it) necessarily prove reprobation (because the election of some cannot be said without the preterition of others) and the damnation of the wicked (which takes place in time) supposes it (unless we wish God to take counsel in time after the deed is done), but the Scripture so clearly establishes it that no one (but of blind audacity), I do not say can deny it, but cannot even doubt it.

III. What is said of God's love towards Jacob and hatred towards Esau applies here: "Was not Esau Jacob's brother? saith the Lord: yet I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau" (Mal. 1:2, 3). This is applied by Paul to election and reprobation (Rom. 9:11–13*). Compare also the passages concerning God having mercy and hardening—"He hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth" (Rom. 9:18); concerning "the vessels of mercy" which God had prepared unto glory and "the vessels of wrath" which were fitted to destruction (Rom. 9:21, 22); concerning those who were appointed to salvation and others who were appointed unto wrath and disobedience (*apeitheian*, 1 Thess. 5:9; 1 Pet. 2:8); who are inscribed in the Lamb's book of life (Rev. 13:8); and others "who were ordained to condemnation" (Jd. 4); concerning the blessed, called by God to the possession of their kingdom, and the cursed whom (as he never knew) he thrusts far away from his face (Mt. 7:23; 25:41). Nor, moreover, is thus endangered either the goodness or the infinite mercy of God, who is so good and merciful that he is also perfectly just. As he demonstrates the former towards the elect, so he justly exercises the latter towards guilty and sinful reprobates.

The double act of reprobation, positive and negative.

IV. In order to better understand the nature of reprobation and the state of the proposed question, certain distinctions must be premised. First, before

all things, the twofold act of reprobation must be distinguished. Although on the part of God, it is performed by one most simple act, yet according to our inadequate mode of conception (for the readier understanding of the matter), it is usually divided by theologians into two. The former is called negative; the latter, affirmative or positive. The former refers to preterition; the latter to predamnation. Although each in its own sense is positive on the part of God (as denoting an act of the divine will by which he not only does not will to free them, but wills to leave them in their guilt and misery), yet the former is rightly called negative (with respect to the terms which are not to pity and not to give grace) because it consists in the denying of grace. However the other is positive because it affirms something positive (viz., judgment and punishment) concerning them.

V. Nevertheless this distinction is not a division either of the genus into its species or of the whole into its parts or of the subject into its accidents, but a distinction of one formal act with respect to the various terms and objects which stand in affirmation and negation (*arsei kai thesei*). This distinction is founded upon the Scripture itself inasmuch as it sometimes speaks of reprobation negatively, making it to consist in the preterition of some, in the destination both of grace (Mt. 11:25; 13:11) and of glory (Mt. 7:23; Rev. 20:15); at other times positively, in the destination to greater hardening (Jn. 12:39, 40; Rom. 9:18) and to damnation (Rom. 9:11, 12; Jd. 4).

The negative act includes preterition and desertion.

VI. The negative act includes two: both preterition, by which in the election of some to glory as well as to grace, he neglected and slighted others (which is evident from the event of election); and negative desertion, by which he left them in the corrupt mass and in their misery. However this is so to be understood: (1) that they are not excepted from the laws of common providence, but remain subject to them; nor are they immediately deprived of all God's favor, but only of the saving and vivifying (which is the fruit of election); (2) that actual sins of all kinds follow that preterition and desertion; not indeed from the nature of preterition and desertion itself and the force of the denied grace itself, but from the nature of the corrupt free will and the force of corruption in it (as he who does not cure the disease of

a sick man is not the cause per se of the disease, nor of the results flowing from it; so sins are the consequents, rather than the effects of reprobation; necessarily bringing about the futurition of the event, but yet not infusing or producing the wickedness; not by removing what is present, but by not supplying what would sustain). If the sun does not illuminate the earth, it is not the accidental cause of darkness. Can God abandoning man and not removing his corruption, be straightway called the accidental cause of his sin? For darkness follows by necessity of nature the non-illumination of the sun, but sins voluntarily follow the denial of grace.

VII. Although God by that desertion denies to man that without which sin cannot be avoided, the causality of sin cannot on that account be attributed to him. (1) God denies it justly and is not bound to give that grace to anyone. (2) From that negation does not follow the capability of sinning (which man has from himself), but only the non-curing of that incapability. (3) God denies the grace which they are unwilling to accept (or to retain) and which they of their own accord despise, since they desire nothing less than being governed by the Holy Spirit. (4) He does not deny that grace that they may sin, but that they may be punished on account of sin.

The positive act bespeaks a destination to damnation and to hardening.

VIII. The positive act is that by which he determined to visit with deserved punishment the men passed by and left in their state of corruption, who had voluntarily abused the light either of nature or of the gospel (which was supplied to them by common providence). This was called predamnation (or precondemnation). It includes two things: destination to damnation, by which they are "vessels of wrath fitted to destruction" (*orgēs katērtismena eis apōleian*); and destination to intermediate judgments, the principal of which are blinding and hardening, which happens to the utterly lost (*apollymenois*) alone. Hence it is evident that reprobation is more extensive than damnation (although sometimes confounded with it by a synecdoche of the whole) because it is not only a decree of damning, but also a decree of not having mercy, of not giving Christ as Mediator, of not calling effectually, etc.

The twofold relation of God as Lord and as Judge.

IX. Second, we must also accurately distinguish here the twofold relation (*schesis*) of God in this matter, answering to the twofold act of reprobation noticed before. The one is an autocrat (*autokratoros*) and supreme Lord who does with his own what he wills; the other of a Judge who justly determines to inflict the due punishment upon the sinner. The former exerts itself in a negative act (or preterition) in which, as the most free dispenser of his own goods, he denies to one the grace not owed which he bestows upon another. Christ speaks of this (Mt. 11:25, 26; 20:15); and Paul (Rom. 9:11, 18). However the latter exerts itself in a positive act (or predamnation) by which, as a just Judge, he sentences the guilty to punishments due from the order of justice. Mention is made of this in Prov. 16:4; Mt. 25:41; Rom. 9:21, 22; 1 Thess. 5:9. Both demonstrate the majesty and glory of God reprobating and restrain the audacity of the reprobate, since they can neither justly expostulate with God (because he is free and because he is just, or because he uses both these attributes in reference to this or that individual).

Reprobation is considered either absolutely or comparatively.

X. Third, reprobation no less than election is considered either absolutely with respect to one, or comparatively and relatively with respect to many. In the former sense, it can be asked why he reprobated or elected this one; in the latter, why he elected this rather than that one and reprobated this rather than that one. The answers vary according to the diverse act of reprobation and the relation (*schesin*) of the reprobator (as we will see immediately).

XI. When we speak of the absolute decree of reprobation, the question is not whether it is absolute, either from the final cause (for no one can doubt that God in all his decrees and in this most especially proposed to himself the best and most wise end) or from the leading (*proēgoumenē*) and internal cause (by which God is moved from within to acting). For it is certain that the latter also was not wanting in God (the most wise) or from the preceding condition and quality in the object. Since we have proved before the object of predestination to be man considered as fallen, sin ought

necessarily to be supposed as the condition in him who is reprobated no less than in him who is elected. Rather the question is whether the decree of reprobation is absolute from a cause properly so called (immediate and external) by which God was influenced out of himself to reprobate man.

XII. The question is not whether reprobation as a positive act or predamnation depends upon the mere good pleasure (*eudokia*) of God. For as it is the act of God, the Judge, decreeing the punishment due to the sinner, the consideration of sin assuredly comes in here. For the will of punishing cannot be granted in God (except of punishing the sinner), nor can the infliction of or destination to punishment be just without criminality. But there is not an equal reason for the negative act or preterition which springs from him as the supreme Lord in virtue of his absolute right. No cause can properly be given of that except his good pleasure (*eudokian*).

XIII. In the meantime, as it is considered absolutely or comparatively, we must answer in different ways regarding it. If considered absolutely, it is rightly ascribed to the natural corruption of man, which makes him justly reprobable. If considered comparatively however, it must be referred solely to the good pleasure of God, electing whom he wills and passing by others according to his most free power. Therefore when it is asked why this or that one was reprobated, the proper answer is that this was done just because, on account of sin, he was worthy of being reprobated. Not that sin is properly the cause of reprobation, otherwise all would have been reprobated who are equally sinners. But because sin is the preceding condition and quality in the object from which the capability of being reprobated arises in man (or the cause *sine qua non*), for if man were not a sinner he would not be reprobated by God (although every sinner is not forthwith reprobated). But when it is asked why he reprobated this rather than that one (while both were equally sinners and therefore deserving reprobation), here sin cannot be alleged because it is common to both, and common things do not make a difference. No cause can be given but the mere good pleasure of God, i.e., because it so pleased him. Paul has this in mind in the examples of Esau and Jacob (Rom. 9:11), who, although equal mutually, still were distinguished from each other by the love and hatred of God. For there was nothing good in Jacob above Esau, on account of which he should be elected in preference to him; nothing in Esau, on account of

which he should be reprobated rather than Jacob. Hence this must be ascribed solely to God's good pleasure. Further, here the act of God (as autocrat [*autokratoros*] and supreme Lord) discovers itself. As he is the most free dispenser of his own goods, he can do with his own what he wills —electing this one, passing by that; giving to one grace, denying it to another, without any injustice to either.

XIV. The question, therefore, comes back to this—Is God's eternal decree of reprobation not so much the affirmative as the negative; not so much the absolute as the comparative? Is it independent, not of the consequent means or of the final cause or of the preceding condition or quality, but of the external, immediate cause; and does it depend solely upon the good pleasure (*eudokia*) of God? Or does it always suppose foreseen sin and unbelief as the meritorious cause of the reprobation of one rather than another? The adversaries affirm the latter; we support the former.

XV. As the Arminians suspend the decree of election upon foreseen faith, so they maintain that the decree of reprobation supposes foreseen unbelief. Thus no one is passed over by the mere will of God, but each reprobation of individuals is made according to the consideration of antecedent unbelief and final perseverance in the same. Therefore they hold the object of reprobation to be man not only as a sinner, but as finally unbelieving and impenitent (as they express themselves in the Synodical Acts; cf. *Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti* [1620], Pt. I, pp. 112–22).

XVI. Although holding the object of reprobation no less than of election to be man as a sinner (as was seen above) so that it was not made without the beholding of sin, yet we deny that foreseen sin or unbelief can be accounted the cause why one rather than another is reprobated. We say that no other quality or condition is presupposed in the passed-by than that which is found in the elect and is common to the whole corrupt mass. So that the sole good pleasure (*eudokia*) of God makes the difference between the elect and reprobate and not any quality, either good or bad, foreseen in them. In this sense, we think the decree of reprobation can properly be called absolute.

The absolute decree of reprobation is proved.

XVII. The reasons are: (1) Reprobation no less than election is made from good pleasure; therefore not from foreseen unbelief, as appears from Rom. 9:18 ("whom he will he hardeneth"). If the will is the cause of the hardening, it is also the cause of the reprobation because the cause of a cause is also the cause of the thing caused. Now hardening is the cause of damnation; therefore that which is the cause of the former is also the cause of the latter. Moreover, Paul proves this: (a) by the example of the twins, one of whom was elected, the other reprobated, before they had done anything good or bad (Rom. 9:11); therefore the cause arises from the sole good pleasure of God (either calling or rejecting) and not from works; (b) by the similitude of the potter; for if the potter has this power over the clay that he can from the same mass form a vessel unto honor or dishonor, why cannot God have so great a power over his creatures as to be able to reprobate one and elect another? The reason for the difference is added; for the power of the potter over the clay although great, is yet finite and limited, while the power of God over men is infinite. Finally, man is the creature of God, but the mass is not the creature of the potter. Hence a stronger argument arises—if the potter has so great a power over the clay (which is not his work), why should God not have a greater power over man, his creature?

XVIII. Nor does it avail to make this exception, that the decree does really precede all conditions performed, but not foreknown; all works, but not the foresight of works. For the very words of Paul preclude this retreat (*krēsphygeton*) of Pelagians (as Augustine teaches at large, Letter 194, "To Sixtus" [FC 30:301–32), which adduces no other reason of the difference made between these two equal brothers than the purpose according to election (*prothesin kat' eklogēn*) (which thence is asserted to be only from him that calls and not from works—either performed or foreseen—because infants can be reprobated, whose works [as never having been performed] cannot be foreseen). And this is further confirmed by those words which, in the person of the Jews, the apostle immediately objects to himself; to wit, if only the purpose of God makes the difference between equals, there might seem to be injustice with God (Rom. 9:14). What then does Paul say? Does he here have recourse to faith or unbelief to render the cause of that discrimination (which would at once stop the mouth of the Jews)? Rather he rises to the good pleasure of God alone. "Let it not be," he says. God shall

answer for himself and assert his own most free power (Ex. 33:19). “I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy” (Rom. 9:15). Hence he infers, “It is not, then, of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy” (v. 16). And lest someone should say this makes election absolute (but not reprobation), he immediately adds, “Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth” (v. 18).

XIX. To no purpose is it also added that “the oracle concerning loving Jacob and hating Esau cannot be referred to any absolute election or rejection from salvation, but to the bestowal or negation of the external prerogative of primogeniture and the promise of the land of Canaan annexed to it; that it must be understood not so much concerning the persons themselves as of their posterity” (as it is set forth in Mal. 1:2). “Otherwise all the posterity of Jacob would be elected and all the posterity of Esau reprobated.” The answer is although that announcement may be extended to the posterity also (Gen. 25:23; Mal. 1:3) and, in the historical sense, may be referred to the blessing or external appointment to dominion or servitude, still this does not hinder it from being referred (in the mystical sense) properly to election and reprobation with respect to the fathers themselves (who are not excluded here but included and meant primarily by the Holy Spirit). Paul, inspired of God (*theopneustos*), clearly understanding this, applies it appropriately to his design (viz., to teach that the promise made to Abraham was not cut off although the greater part of the Jews would be rejected; for they were not all his genuine sons, but some “sons of the flesh” [to whom the promise had no reference], others “sons of the promise” [in whom it was ratified], which he declares by the twin example of Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau; also because in this there was the highest parity between the brothers from one father and mother [and the result of one conception], he sets forth the cause of the difference between them, not in the foreseen good or evil works of each, but in God’s purpose alone, loving and electing the one, but displeased with and rejecting the other). Hence it does not follow that the same is true of all their posterity, as if either all Jacob’s posterity ought to be elected or all Esau’s reprobated. For there is not an equal reason of those things which are enunciated in the Scripture historically and those which are enunciated mystically. Thus Esau neither went under nor shook off the yoke of slavery

historically, but he did mystically go under it and never shook it off, that the purpose of God might stand firm.

XX. Second, temporal reprobation (a transient act beyond God) is from his sole good pleasure (therefore all the more eternal)—an immanent act in God. This is evident from Mt. 11:26* where Christ refers the cause of the revelation and concealment of mysteries to good pleasure (*eudokian*) alone: "even so, Father, for as it seemed good in thy sight." Nor can it be said that this pertains to the event only, not to the counsel of God. For the words themselves are too clear to be eluded by such sophistry. Nor can it be said that they are revealed unto "babes" (i.e., to those who are docile, well disposed and humble) and hid from the "wise" (i.e., who with a puffed up opinion of their own wisdom by their obstinacy have become unteachable and incurable). It is gratuitously supposed that "babes" here mean the humble and well disposed: (a) because grace makes men humble, does not find them so; (b) the beginning and not the increase of faith is here treated of; (c) it would not be strange for God to reveal himself to the docile rather than to the proud (the reason of which is evident); nor would there have been any necessity for recurrence to the good pleasure (*eudokian*) of God. Meanwhile, as temporal reprobation is placed either in preterition and the negation of grace granted to others (or in the withdrawal of the grace offered, but rejected and despised), so it can properly be said to be made on account of sin because it is an act of justice with him punishing, but that (of which we here treat) is the act of a Lord doing with his own what he wills.

XXI. Third, since unbelief is a consequence of reprobation, it cannot precede it. "Ye therefore hear not, because ye are not of God," said Christ to the Pharisees (Jn. 8:47). "Ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep" (Jn. 10:26), i.e., ye are not of the number of the elect. "Therefore they could not believe, because that Esaias said, he hath blinded their eyes" (Jn. 12:39, 40). Hence Peter says, "the reprobate were appointed unto disobedience" (1 Pet. 2:8). Nor is the exception of any weight that in Jn. 8:47 and 10:26 nothing is said concerning reprobation, but it is only taught that they who are not docile and desirous of learning (but actuated by contrary affections and vices, against all right reason) cannot hear the word of Christ or believe him (which is the cause why they are not of God, but of the Devil). For besides the fact that it is falsely supposed that there can be granted in man any disposition to faith before he believes, the declaration of Christ would

thus be inverted. He does not say they are not of God and sheep of Christ because they do not believe, but they do not believe because they are not Christ's sheep and of God (to wit, because they were passed over by God in the election of those given to Christ that they might be his sheep). They also falsely maintain that in Jn. 12:39 nothing else is indicated than that the people deserved to be left in their blindness and deadness and that this act was penal (on account of preceding sins, not from the sole good pleasure). The answer is that whatever the condition of the people, it always remains true that their contumacy followed their blinding and so was not antecedent to their reprobation. Finally, as to 1 Pet. 2:8, they falsely maintain that they are said to be appointed unto the punishment of disobedience (*apeitheian*) and not unto disobedience itself because otherwise it would cease to be disobedience as that could not be an act of divine destination. For the words themselves prove the contrary: "who stumble at the word, being disobedient: whereunto also they were appointed" (*apeithountes, eis ho kai etethēsan*) undoubtedly by God and by his judgment (as the Scripture elsewhere testifies, 1 Thess. 5:9; Jd. 4). Not that he infused unbelief into them, but because he had determined not to give them faith and to make them more blind and rebellious against the gospel and at length to damn them forever. Hence the disobedience (*apeitheia*) does not cease to be such because the appointing unto it (made by the decree of God) is not made for the effecting of it, but for the desertion of man in it and for the aggravation of it by a just judgment.

XXII. Fourth, if reprobation were made from foreseen unbelief, it would not be an inscrutable mystery, nor would the apostle have been bound to ascend to the secret, unsearchable (*anexereunēton*) judgment of God in order to stop the mouth of man in the objections (which the flesh usually urges here) if so easy an answer were at hand (drawn from men themselves and their unbelief). Since he does not even once (Rom. 9:14; 11:33, 34; Dt. 29:29), by that very fact he testifies that no other cause of that discrimination was recognized by him than the sole good pleasure of God.

Sources of solution.

XXIII. Although this sacred doctrine is usually impiously traduced as harsh and cruel and consequently hostile to all consolation, piety and religion by

the adversaries (who, having taken up the cause of the reprobate against God, are accustomed with dreadful blasphemy to accuse him of injustice, simulation, cruelty and respect of persons), yet it is easy to free God from these most false criminations of men and to bridle restless and insane human reason.

XXIV. The absolute decree of reprobation being laid down, the justice of God does not labor either in destining man to death (because he condemns no one but the sinner) or in giving unequal things to equals—electing some and passing by others. For then he acts not as Judge, but as Lord (who can without injury to anyone give unequal things to equals, when it is concerned with a thing not due, such as grace). Thus the elect indeed have that for which they may give thanks to God (i.e., the bestowal of grace, which they have not merited), but the reprobate cannot complain because God was not bound to bless anyone, nor had he pledged himself by any promise to bestow upon the reprobate the same grace which is given to the elect; and because, if they examine themselves, they will discover in their own sin the most just foundation both of their preterition and punishment.

XXV. His truthfulness does not suffer, while he calls to salvation those whom he has nevertheless excluded from salvation by an absolute decree. For that external calling does not declare any volition or intention on God's part by which he wills to save them, but only the proposition of duty and the declaration of the mode or means through which salvation is attainable (with the promise of it to those who may have the prescribed condition). Therefore as the offer of salvation made to them is not absolute but conditional, God cannot be said to deal insincerely with them when he calls them (although he had decreed from eternity to pass by and condemn them). Truly if he would point out to them in the gospel any other way of salvation than that which leads to salvation or if he would exclude from salvation on account of the decree of reprobation those who believe and repent from the heart, it might be said that he treated them with insincerity. But here there can be no hypocrisy either with respect to God (because he sincerely shows the only and infallible way to salvation, seriously exhorts them to follow it and promises most truly salvation to all those who will walk in it—viz., to believers and penitents) or as to men (because the offer is not made to them absolutely, but under a condition which they voluntarily and by their own fault despise).

XXVI. This philanthropy (*philanthrōpia*) and mercy does not suffer because he decreed to leave the greater part of men in their sin and to condemn them on account of it. Although it is the highest, it ought not on that account to be universal to the salvation of all. Yea, as it is free and undeserved, God can exercise at pleasure or not exercise it towards the sinful creature. Nor is he bound to pour it out upon all. As he willed to manifest it in the election of some, so he determined to declare his justice in the reprobation of others.

XXVII. His holiness does not suffer, as if the causality of sin might be ascribed to him because the necessity of sinning is connected with the denial of grace, and the decree of hardening seems to predestinate men to sin. For besides the fact that God does not make sin in the reprobate man (but finds or foresees it as about to be from his permission), the necessity of sinning (which follows reprobation) cannot fix the causality of sin upon God: both because it is voluntary in the sinner and drawn upon (*epispastos*) himself and because it follows upon reprobation (as the consequence only and not as the effect). An effect presupposes a cause, but a consequence only an antecedent. Moreover between the antecedent and the consequence causality does not intervene. As the sun cannot be called the cause of darkness because darkness follows upon its absence, so sin succeeds reprobation, but is not caused by reprobation. "Nor is it a consequence" (as Augustine formerly well remarked in his book *de artic. falso impositis*, ad artic. 15+) "that God takes away repentance from those to whom he does not give it and destroys those whom he does not help." From this you can properly infer only that man necessarily goes to destruction, unless God supports him; but not (by any means) that God sins because he does not give to man what he is not bound to give. Although God can be said to have predestinated men to hardening as a punishment (in which sense the disobedient are said to be appointed unto disobedience [*eis apeitheian*, 1 Pet. 2:8] and the wicked ordained to condemnation, Jd. 4), it does not follow that he predestinated them to it as it is sin (*anomia*); and if anyone should affirm it, we would not hesitate to anathematize such a person with the Council of Orange (cf. Hefele, 4:165). Nor is it necessary that he should destine to the means in the same manner as to the end. For according to the nature of means, he is differently occupied about them in their destination—either that he may effect some things or only permit and direct others. In

this sense, he can be said to predestinate to sin and hardening not effectively, but permissively and directively (inasmuch as he decreed to permit and rightly order it).

XXVIII. He who punishes or decrees to punish anyone for not doing that which he could not in any way do (either by an unjust abstraction of power or by the obstacle of external actions, the inclination to it nevertheless remaining) can be said to act unjustly. But far be it from us to maintain any such thing in God. We say that God punishes in time (and determined from eternity to punish sinners) because they did not that which they ought to have done and also could in the beginning have done, but afterwards (by their own fault) they neither could anymore nor did wish to do. If God deserts man in the guilt which he contracted by his own vice and denies the grace necessary to his restoration, he cannot be accused of unrighteousness. For since he is Lord (of most free power), he is not bound by law to restore the power to do what he ought to him who lost that power by his own will. Thus he can most justly always demand from man what he ought to do and, on account of its omission, punish him (although he has lost the power to perform it), since it is just as much a debt after the loss of power as a debt of money after the destruction of property.

XXIX. Since respect-of-persons (*prosōpolēpsia*) properly belongs to a judge who, neglecting the legitimate foundation of right, regards in judgment the external qualities or conditions which have nothing to do with the cause; falsely is God in predestination accused of partiality (*prosōpolēptēs*), in electing one above another. For he does not act then as a Judge, but as a Lord and prince, who can give to this one and deny to that one unmerited grace without injury to either (because he can do with his own what he pleases and has no respect to the condition in destining salvation). Augustine explains this well: “That supposes they believe God to be an accepter of persons; if they believe that without any preceding merit, he has mercy on whom he will and calls those whom he makes worthy, they too little consider that due punishment is rendered to the condemned, undeserved grace to the freed, so that neither the former can complain of his unworthiness, nor the latter glory in his worthiness; and the rather no respect of persons is made there, where one and the same mass of damnation and offence involves them, so that the one freed may learn of the not freed, that punishment would have visited him also, unless grace had

intervened. However if grace, then assuredly it is due to no merit, but bestowed by gratuitous goodness. But it is unjust, say they, to free this and to punish that one in one and the same evil cause; certainly, therefore, it is just that both should be punished. Who will deny this? Let us, therefore, give thanks to the Savior, while we do not see rendered to us that which in the damnation of those like us we recognize as due to us also" (Letter 194, "To Sixtus" [FC 30:303; PL 33.875]). And afterwards: "Why he should free or not free this rather than that one? Let him who can search so great a depth to his judgments; nevertheless let him take care of the precipice; for is there unrighteousness with God? Let it not be!" (ibid., pp. 316–17; PL 33.882).

XXX. Although God is said to will the salvation of all (1 Tim. 2:4) and not to delight in the death of the sinner (Ezk. 18:23), it does not on that account follow that he has reprobated no one because the same Scripture elsewhere testifies that God does not have mercy upon some and ordains them to condemnation. It is one thing, therefore, to will the salvation of men by the will *euarestias* (i.e., to be pleased with it); another to will it by the will *eudokias* (i.e., to intend it). One thing to will the salvation of all indiscriminately; another to will the salvation of all and everyone universally. The latter is incompatible (*asystaton*) with reprobation, but not the former.

XXXI. Since God wills no one in this life to be assured of his reprobation (but can call to himself at the last hour even the most abandoned sinners), the doctrine of reprobation properly understood cannot drive men to desperation. It ought rather to excite them to watchfulness and solicitude that (knowing the severity of God) they may not be exalted with pride (but fear), and departing from the road of sin (which would lead them to this precipice) may walk constantly in the path of holiness. As the fruit of election, the latter will conduct them infallibly to life.

XXXII. Although no one will be damned except for sin, it does not follow equally that no one will be reprobated except on that account because reprobation has a wider extension than damnation. Nor is it only an act of justice in predamnation which is really made from a beholding of sin, but also an act of lordship in preterition (considered comparatively) which proceeds from the most free power of God and cannot have a habit (*schesin*) of sin (which is common to the elect as well as to the reprobate).

XXXIII. Although the destruction of man follows necessarily upon the decree of reprobation, yet the cause of it cannot be ascribed to God, but to man alone (according to Hos. 13:9, “O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself”). For God reprobates no one but the sinner who is consequently deservedly reprobable. Hence the reason of the destruction is most just, both from original sin (which is supposed in the man to be reprobated) and from actual sin (which, although it cannot but follow the denial of faith and so is necessary, is nevertheless spontaneous and voluntary and not forced).

XXXIV. If the flesh proceeds to make further disturbance and to cry out against this inscrutable mystery, let us remember that the doctrine of the apostle was opposed by the same weapons (Rom. 9:14, 19). And this is an invincible proof of the conformity of our doctrine with that of Paul. Therefore let us with him use the same arms to extinguish those darts set on fire of the devil: “O man, who art thou that repliest against God?” And with him, bearing in mind the severity and goodness of God, let us exclaim, “O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor? Or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen” (Rom. 11:33–36*).

Fifteenth Question

Is infidelity, or unbelief of the gospel, presupposed as a cause of reprobation? We deny against the Remonstrants

I. This question depends upon the preceding and although it can readily be solved from what was said there, still something must be added for the purpose of clearer illustration.

Unbelief twofold: natural and acquired.

II. Unbelief or incredulity is either natural or acquired. The former is the natural blindness and corruption of the sinner, which does not and cannot receive the things which are of God (1 Cor. 2:14; 2 Cor. 3:5); the latter is

the voluntary contumacy towards the gospel, which does not and cannot receive, or when perceived rejects it. Again, the former can be regarded either as to origin and habit, inasmuch as it is common to all men who are by nature children of wrath (Eph. 2:3). Thus it precedes predestination because it is supposed as the condition in the one to be predestined. Or it may be regarded as to act and exercise which is in the "not called" reprobates who are deserted in that corruption. Thus it is a consequence of reprobation.

Negative and positive.

The latter is proper to the "called" reprobates who are not only negatively unbelieving (on account of inborn corruption, they neither have nor can have faith of themselves), but also positively (inasmuch as they reject Christ by a positive unbelief or come short of faith in him).

Statement of the question.

III. We do not inquire about natural unbelief (negative as to origin)—whether it can be presupposed to reprobation; for this we mutually grant. Rather we inquire about acquired and positive unbelief which is made through actual incredulity against the gospel. The Arminians maintain this always precedes here, so that no one will be reprobated except the one who is foreseen by God as an unbeliever (and indeed perseveringly and finally such). Thus the Remonstrants speak in the declaration of their opinion: "Reprobation from eternal life is made according to the consideration of antecedent unbelief and perseverance in the same" (*Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti*, Art. 1, Th. 8 [1620], Pt. I, p. 113).

IV. The question is not whether from all eternity God foreknew that the passed-by would die in their unbelief (for this could not escape the omniscient God). Rather the question is whether that foreseen unbelief was the cause of non-election (or of preterition). We deny the latter because no one is foreseen as certainly about to die in unbelief except the one whom God (in the destination of efficacious grace by an antecedent decree) passed by. The question, therefore, is whether the foresight of unbelief (not natural and original, but actual and acquired; not negative, but positive) precedes

reprobation and is its cause; or whether it follows it. The Remonstrants hold that it precedes; we hold that it follows.

Unbelief is not the cause of reprobation.

V. The reasons are: (1) because unbelief follows reprobation and therefore cannot precede it, as evident from the passages before adduced and defended (Jn. 8:47; 12:39; Mt. 11:25; 13:11; 1 Pet. 2:8). For if the hardness of men and their contumacy against the gospel follows from God's preterition, it falsely is called its cause.

VI. (2) Because reprobation treats equal men, equally corrupt with the elect. From the same mass of sin, some are made vessels unto honor others unto dishonor; some are destinated either to life or to death (which could not be said if it were made from foreseen unbelief which is peculiar to the passed-by).

VII. (3) Because thus it would follow that none could be reprobated except unbelievers and rebels against the gospel, i.e., that none could be damned except those called through the gospel. And so neither the heathen, Turks nor others (who neither were called through the gospel nor have heard anything concerning Christ) could be reprobated. So no sins would be damnable except those committed against the gospel; neither would the guilt of original sin be sufficient for damnation, on account of which, nevertheless, we are born children of wrath (Eph. 2:3) and are said to have died in Adam (1 Cor. 15:22). Nor would actual sins against the law of nature and of Moses be true causes of damnation (contrary to the express declarations of Scripture which subjects to damnation the Gentiles who without the law of Moses have sinned against the light of nature alone [Acts 14:16; Rom. 2:12; 3:19; 5:12]—as well as the Jews who sinned with the law). To no purpose is the exception that they to whom the gospel has not been preached will, notwithstanding, be damned for their contempt of it because they have not qualified themselves by the law of nature to hear the gospel. The very thing to be proved is taken for granted (viz., that they have despised the gospel to whom it was never made known). But if, according to the apostle, they will perish without law who sinned without law, why can it not also be said that they will perish without the gospel who have not heard the gospel? In what is added (that they are guilty of despising the

gospel because they have not disposed themselves by the law of nature to hear it), they serve up stale Pelagianism concerning natural dispositions to good (so often rejected by Paul) and falsely maintain that man is bound to dispose himself to the reception of that of which he has never heard anything and never will. Not more happily do they escape this difficulty who seek calling to grace in natural revelation. This is to confound knowledge (*to gnōston*) and faith (*to piston*); nature and grace. Paul would badly say that God left the Gentiles to walk in their own ways (Acts 14:16), and that they were strangers from the covenants and without God in the world (Eph. 2:12), if the preaching of the gospel could in any way be made known to them through creatures.

Sources of solution.

VIII. When Paul says, "God shall judge men according to his gospel" (Rom. 2:16), he does not propose the gospel which he preached as the rule of the universal judgment to be made of each and every man. For he had expressly said, "As many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law: and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law" (Rom. 2:12). Rather he calls up the certain futurition of the judgment and of its author from his infallible declaration made in the gospel of which he was the minister. Thus is intimated not according "to what," but "by whom" God will judge (to wit, by the Mediator as Judge of the living and the dead, which is taught not in the law but in the gospel, Jn. 5:22, 27; Acts 17:31).

IX. Although the gospel sentences no one to damnation on account of original sin alone, neither does it follow that God cannot reprobate anyone on account of it. This is not as if no one will be condemned on account of original sin, but because the purpose of the gospel (Jn. 3:36), differs from that of the law (Rom. 3:19, 20*; 2:12).

X. Although all the called who resist calling and reject the grace offered through the gospel will be condemned on account of unbelief (in which sense the words of Christ in Jn. 3:18, 36 must be understood), this does not imply that no one will be reprobated except as unbelieving. The relation of reprobation differs from that of damnation. The one is of the called through the gospel; the other of the not-called who cannot be damned on account of

the rejection of Christ of whom they have never heard. If it is said that unbelievers will be condemned, it is not immediately laid down that they alone and not others will be condemned. For the gospel nowhere holds or posits an exclusion.

XI. Although the doctrine of election must be sought from the gospel alone because it is wholly gratuitous (Rom. 11:5), there is not the same relation with reprobation which is gathered as much from the law as from the gospel. Nor if faith alone is the means of salvation, ought unbelief alone to be the meritorious cause of damnation. For salvation can only be obtained in virtue of the covenant of grace, which exacts no condition except faith, in opposition to the law, which demands works. Yet damnation arises not only from the violation of the covenant of grace, but also from the violation of the covenant of works and sins committed against the law (original as well as actual). To say that God entered into a new covenant in Adam with the whole human race and renewed it with Noah (so that no one will be condemned for sins against the old covenant) is to take for granted what needs to be proved. It not only has no foundation in Scripture, but is openly opposed to it, while it asserts that covenant to be particular and not universal (as will be shown in the proper place).

Sixteenth Question

Is the will of God to save persevering believers and condemn the unbelieving, the whole decree of reprobation? We deny against the Remonstrants

I. Of the various errors with which the Remonstrants have corrupted the doctrine of predestination, the principal is that by which they maintain that God's will to save believers and the persevering and to damn the finally unbelieving is the entire decree of predestination. Thus they speak in the Synodical Acts: "The peremptory will of God made known in the gospel concerning the salvation and destruction of men, is the total and entire decree of predestination. The will to save those persevering or dying in faith, and to leave under wrath the impenitent and unbelievers, is God's will concerning the salvation and destruction of men exhibited in the gospel" (? *Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti* [1619–20], 2:17–18). Since therefore

they are accustomed to hide the poison of their unsound doctrine under unsound words, it is expedient to lay open their mind in a few words so that it may appear how far they wander from the truth delivered in the word of God, even on this subject.

Statement of the question.

II. This, however, is not difficult to understand if we consider for what purpose they hold that general and indefinite decree (viz., in order to teach not what God decreed concerning individuals, but what he determined about the qualities of those to be saved and to be damned, selecting from all possible conditions faith as the condition of salvation). Although we do not deny that this order was established by God, that faith should be the means of salvation, yet we do deny that predestination is placed in it (much less that its total and entire decree is included in this constitution).

III. The reasons are: (1) Predestination, according to Scripture usage, always respects individuals, separating them in the common mass of sin and destining these to life, those to death: "Many are called, but few are chosen" (Mt. 20:16); "Whom he foreknew them he also predestinated" (Rom. 8:29, 30; 9:16, 18); "As many as were ordained to eternal life, believed" (Acts 13:48). Nowhere is it referred only to qualities. But their will is occupied with qualities about persons only contingently and eventually and that too on account of qualities without distinction or separation of individuals. It denotes indeed what kind of persons God has determined to save, but not whom in particular he has decreed to save or to damn; since in fact this indefinite decree predestinates and selects no one in particular, inscribes no one in the book of life, and (it standing) it might happen that either no one would be damned or no one saved. Thus there would be a Savior without any to be saved and a head without members.

IV. (2) Predestination, as it is presented to us in the Scripture, is the efficacious will of God, efficaciously producing the means of election in the elect and also infallibly bringing about the end (i.e., salvation). And by means of reprobation, it permits some things, effects others by a just judgment and unfailingly inflicts damnation upon the reprobate (Rom. 8:29, 30; 9:11, 18, 22, 23; 11:7; Eph. 1:4, 5). But their will is inoperative (*aergos*)

and unoccupied (being suspended upon the mutable human free will—of most uncertain issue).

V. (3) As proven before, predestination precedes faith and perseverance (as the cause its effect) and unbelief (as the antecedent its consequent). But the believers and unbelievers (who will be saved or damned by their will) are understood to be such antecedently not consequently by the adversaries. This is nothing else than to pervert the series of the causes of salvation and to make postdestination of predestination.

Sources of salvation.

VI. Christ and his apostles announced the whole will of God concerning the salvation of men (as much as it concerns us to know, Acts 20:27), while they revealed most fully to us the method of obtaining salvation through Christ and its conditions. But those whom he willed from eternity to elect and to whom he wills to give faith (as it belongs to the secret counsel of God, not to his revealed will, which is the object of evangelical preaching), is it not wonderful that it remains concealed with God and is manifested to us only from the event? Indeed although they who are to be saved are not mentioned by name in the gospel, still God willed that it should be sufficiently foreseen for the consolation of believers (by giving in his word the characteristics and marks of true election from which they can have assurance of their own election).

VII. The absolute decree concerning the salvation of individuals does not prevent the conditions of obtaining it from being wisely prescribed to men. Indeed God decreed salvation absolutely and antecedently without regard to any preceding cause, but not consequently and without means (but to be obtained through means). Nor is it more absurd (the peremptory will of saving anyone being laid down) to enjoin something upon him in order to the obtaining of it (even under a threat of the contrary evil) than it was absurd to prescribe the use of food to Hezekiah (even though the prolongation of his life had been decreed by God) and for Paul to forbid those who were in the ship to go out under the peril of shipwreck (Acts 27:31), even though by divine revelation the conservation of all was rendered certain. For the certainty of the end does not exclude the necessity and the use of means.

VIII. There is no contradiction between the absolute decree of election (which relates to a few) and the revealed will (which offers salvation indiscriminately to all through faith in Christ). The offer of salvation (made through the gospel) is not made absolutely, but conditionally (under the condition of faith and repentance). Although these two things are diverse from each other (to offer salvation indiscriminately to all under the condition of faith and absolutely to decree salvation and faith to a few), yet they cannot be reckoned contradictory because they do not refer to the same thing and are not to be understood in the same respect. The one pertains to the revealed will of approbation, the other to the secret decretive will.

IX. Although the hypothetical promise concerning the giving of salvation to all believers is indiscriminately proposed to all the called, it does not follow that it flows from the general decree concerning the salvation of all believers and the choosing of faith from all possible conditions to be the condition of the salvation to be communicated (which precedes the special decree concerning the salvation of individuals as our adversaries maintain). Since it is a decree concerning the means of salvation, it ought necessarily to be subordinated to the decree concerning salvation (which has the relation of end). Thus God should not be conceived as having thought about appointing faith to be the means of salvation before thinking of those to whom he willed to give salvation (in order to confer the same upon them, he selected the means necessary to it and among others, faith). For that connection between faith and salvation is of immutable verity. Hence it is indiscriminately proposed to all the called (although according to the counsel of God it is fulfilled as to the event only in the elect to whom he determined to give faith).

Seventeenth Question

Can there be attributed to God any conditional will, or universal purpose of pitying the whole human race fallen in sin, of destinating Christ as Mediator to each and all, and of calling them all to a saving participation of his benefits? We deny

I. This question grows out of the ones preceding and is agitated between us and various persons who, although not entirely agreeing with each other,

all depart from the doctrine thus far received in our churches.

II. The more common opinion of the Lutherans is this: predestination is God's eternal will (or purpose and good pleasure) to save men through Christ apprehended by faith. This will is distinguished into antecedent and consequent. The former they hold to be God's eternal purpose and decree to save all men in general (lost in sin) through Christ apprehended by faith. It rests upon three foundations: the universal mercy of God; the universal merit of Christ; and the universal ministry of the word or calling. The latter they hold to be God's eternal purpose to save believers and damn unbelievers. The cause of this particularity arises not from God (who seriously, constantly and ardently wishes that all men should believe and be saved through faith in Christ), but from men themselves (who do not conform to the merciful and universal good pleasure of God, nor believe). These are the words of Haffenreffer (*Loci Theologici* 3, Sta. 3 [1606], p. 287). Eckardus (*Fasciculus Controversarium Theologicarum* 15.2 [1631], pp. 304–14), Hutter, Hunnius, Gherardus ("De electione et reprobatione," in *Loci Theologici* [1864], 2:58ff.) and others agree with him here.

III. The Arminians agree here with the Lutherans and even go farther making four decrees subordinate to each other: (1) concerning the giving of Christ as Mediator for the whole human race; (2) concerning the bestowal of salvation upon believers in Christ and the damnation of unbelievers; (3) concerning the supplying with means sufficient to salvation all and everyone; (4) concerning the saving of particular persons who would believe and the damning those who would not believe. Under the three former decrees as a foundation, they lay universal grace or the affection of mercy of God towards the whole human race (impelled by which he destined Christ as Mediator to all and determined to bestow upon all the means sufficient to salvation, as they express themselves in *Collatio Hagae, Acts of the Synod of Dort* and other writings prepared by Arminius, Corvinus, Grevinchovius, Episcopius and others).

IV. Further, it must not be concealed that the Reformed theologians themselves do not here think alike in all things. There are some who (although agreeing with us in the center of the Pelagian controversy concerning election wholly gratuitous and the particular decree about giving faith to these and not to those [as also concerning efficacious and irresistible calling] and who differ on this subject from the Arminians) by a certain

pious design (as it seems) of promoting ecclesiastical peace and from a desire of disputing more strongly with the Remonstrants (although with less happy success) have adopted certain hypotheses of theirs, extending more widely the periphery of grace and defending the universality of mercy, redemption and calling, while they maintain that God (impelled by his philanthropy [*philanthrōpia*] and mercy to the human race) decreed from eternity to send his Son into the world, who having made satisfaction for sin, might acquire by that method remission of sins and eternal salvation for all, if they would embrace him through faith and not refuse to become partakers of so great salvation). Thus they hold that God in a certain manner willed that all men equally might be saved, provided they would believe. But they add that God influenced no more by his common philanthropy (*philanthrōpia*) than by a certain special kind of love and mercy, elected some from the totality of men (upon whom he would bestow faith with this intention—that he might lead them most certainly to salvation; so that no more did he will to save them provided they would believe, but determined to bring them to faith in order that they might be saved). And for this reason they maintain that two decrees are here to be principally considered: the one general (concerning the saving of believers through Christ by which God determined to have mercy upon all and everyone and to give Christ as Mediator to all and to call all to salvation); the other special (by which he decreed to call effectually some certain persons and bestow upon them faith in preference to others). As to the former, they agree with the Remonstrants; as to the latter they differ from them (cf. Amyrald, "Doctrinae de gratia universali … defensio," in *Dissertationes Theologicae Quatuor* [1645] and Testard, *Erenikon* [1633]).

V. But the opinion received among the Reformed determines something far different: viz., that God willed to have mercy not upon all, but only upon some certain persons of the human race (fallen into sin and death); moreover he decided to raise them from the fall and bring them to salvation (others being left in their original corruption); and because he could not exercise his mercy towards them, unless satisfaction were first made to his justice, therefore he destined Christ for them as Mediator to satisfy and obtain salvation for them as surety and as head; and that through the efficacy of the Spirit working faith, he might apply the salvation acquired to them. So that God is conceived to have thought first of the end (i.e., of

giving salvation to certain ones), afterwards of the means; first of the means of acquisition and then of the means of application. But one decree is not broader than the other, nor is it maintained that he destined salvation (or Christ) to any others than those to whom he destined the Spirit and faith. For as the three principal parts of saving grace are referred by appropriation to the three persons of the Trinity—election to the Father, redemption to the Son and sanctification to the Holy Spirit—so they ought to obtain an equal periphery and amplitude. Thus no one was elected by the Father who will not be redeemed by the Son and sanctified by the Spirit; and no one in turn will be redeemed by Christ who was not elected by the Father from eternity and will not be sanctified by the Spirit in his own time.

Statement of the question.

VI. Hence the true state of the question can easily be gathered. (1) The question is not whether each and every human (whether he believes or not) was predestinated to salvation. This invention of Samuel Huberus, a disturber of the Swiss churches, was exploded some time ago and condemned.

VII. (2) The question is not whether God is borne by a general love and philanthropy (*philanthrōpia*) towards men as his creatures, and also bestows upon them various temporal benefits pertaining to the things of this life (*ta biōtika*). We do not deny that God has never left himself without witness (*amartyron*) with regard to this (Acts 14:17). And we readily grant that there is no one who does not owe some gratitude to God and who, whatever he is or can do, is not bound to give thanks to his Creator. But the question concerns the special and saving love which tends to spiritual benefits, and by which God willed to have mercy upon them to salvation. We think this is particular to the elect alone, not universal and common to all.

VIII. (3) The question is not whether there is in God a will commanding and approving faith and the salvation of men; nor whether God in the gospel commands men to believe and repent if they wish to be saved; nor whether it pleases him for me to believe and be saved. For no one denies that God is pleased with the conversion and life of the sinner rather than with his death. We willingly subscribe to the Synod of Dort, which

determines that "God sincerely and most truly shows in his word, what is pleasing to him; namely, that they who are called should come to him" (*Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti* [1620], Pt. I, p. 266). But the question is whether from such a will approving and commanding what men must do in order to obtain salvation, can be gathered any will or purpose of God by which he intended the salvation of all and everyone under the condition of faith and decreed to send Christ into the world for them. Hence it appears that they wander from the true order of the question who maintain that we treat here only of the will of approbation (*euarestias*), but not of the will of good pleasure (*eudokias*). It is evident that we treat not of that which God wishes to be done by us, but what he wills to do for the salvation of men and of the decree of sending Christ for them (which everyone sees belongs to the will of good pleasure [*eudokias*] and not to that of approbation [*euarestias*]).

IX. (4) The question is not whether by a certain absolute decree, he intended the salvation of each and every individual. They with whom we now treat confess with us the absurdity of this because if this were so, all would infallibly be saved; while on the contrary "many are called and few chosen." But the question is whether by a certain conditional decree (and most serious will), God determined to give salvation to each and every one under the condition of faith. Although sometimes the brethren may deny that they hold any conditional decree (but only a conditional will, in order to avoid the sentence passed in the French Synod against those who might wish so to speak), yet they cannot deny that the chief among them were not shocked at the phrase "conditional decree" and that it repeatedly occurs in the writings of very celebrated men: Amyrald, Testard, Placaeus, Cappel and others. The thing itself which they maintain demands this. For since no act of proper and intrinsic will in God concerning the event of anything can be granted (which does not imply a decree), whoever recognizes a conditional will in God must necessarily admit a conditional decree in him.

X. (5) The question does not concern the universality of redemption or of calling. Concerning this (with the favor of God), we will speak hereafter. Rather the question concerns the universality of mercy and of grace as to the intention of salvation. Thus the question may be reduced to these boundaries—whether there is in God a general decree; whether it is called a counsel or purpose or a conditional will by which God truly and earnestly

intended to have mercy unto salvation upon each and every one (not by giving faith, but by sending Christ for each and every one and calling all to salvation under the condition of faith and repentance). The patrons of universal grace maintain this; we deny it.

XI. Moreover because this question appears to some as unnecessary and inopportune (because it only involves a certain diverse method about which no controversy should be agitated and not any difference in the head of doctrine), we must observe in advance that if the method alone were concerned (not drawing after it a difference of the thing itself), we might easily spare this controversy. For we do not think that we ought to quarrel (*tropō paideias*) with anyone about the manner of instruction alone provided the sound doctrine be preserved. Yet if the thing itself is examined a little more attentively, it will readily appear not only that the method is concerned, but that under the pretext of a new method, a new doctrine is brought in. For who would say that the dogmas here set forth concerning mercy, redemption and universal calling pertain to simple method? Is it only a method to teach that God willed something in earnest and ardently which he knew never would or could take place and to which he, who alone could, did not will to bestow upon man the necessary means? Is it a method to teach that a Mediator was destined to those to whom he was never made known; and that men are called sufficiently to salvation, if not immediately at least mediately from the contemplation of the heavens and the earth; that the impetration of salvation extends more widely than its application, and that Christ did not properly merit faith for us? Truly he who will accurately weigh these and the like things will readily discover that the discussion not only concerns a method, but concerns a most weighty doctrine (as they with whom we treat cannot deny).

XII. Meanwhile, whatever discrepancy of opinion may here be perceived among our men, the foundation of faith thus far remains safe on both sides through the grace of God, while each asserts: (1) the universal corruption of each and every man, and the universal and invincible inability to emerge from it (of whatever kind it may be) without the efficacious grace of God; (2) the particular election from that misery unto salvation, and the immovable preterition of many whom God (who might have left all) willed to leave in their misery by a most free, but yet by a most just judgment; (3) efficacious grace, which alone can produce that faith and without which it

cannot be held as a particular gift destined from eternity by God to the elect alone, granted also to them alone in time and without which no one can obtain salvation; (4) the gospel alone as the ministry of the Spirit and the sole instrument of ingenerating (*ingenerandae*) faith in Christ (all other revelations being wholly insufficient for salvation, if not objectively, at least subjectively, on account of the innate corruption of man). These are the capital doctrines of faith which we all constantly defend against the Pelagians and semi-Pelagians.

XIII. We all indeed agree in opposing the deadly errors of Pelagians and of those who follow their camp. Nevertheless that new method excogitated by great men (although seemingly better fitted for the popular ear and the pleasure of men, and usually cried up as better suited to defend the justice of God against the reprobate, and to transfer the whole cause of the destruction of men to themselves) does not cease to be encumbered with various absurdities and inextricable difficulties. Therefore, it is less becoming to God, is inconsistent with itself, departs from the form (*hypotypōsei*) of sound words and is dangerous on account of multiple consequences which it draws after itself (and was condemned before by our churches and rejected). That this was not done without weighty reason (the peace of those dissenting being secured) must now be proved in a few words. We now treat of the first head (viz., the will or universal purpose of having mercy upon all unto salvation).

Proof that no universal mercy can be granted.

XIV. That there is no such will or purpose in God we prove: (1) from the decree of election and reprobation. Because the Scripture makes the purpose of having mercy particular, not universal (since it testifies that God had mercy upon some certain persons only, loves them and inscribes them in the book of life, but hates, hardens, appoints to wrath and ordains to condemnation others, Rom. 9:11, 12, 13, 18, 22; 1 Thess. 5:9; 1 Pet. 2:8). Who would say that God willed to pity unto salvation those whom he reprobated from eternity; and most seriously intended for them the end under a condition, whom by the same act of will he excluded from the means of ever arriving at that end? And who does not see that the

conditional purpose to give salvation to innumerable persons is destroyed by the absolute purpose concerning the not giving of faith to them?

XV. To no purpose is the exception here: (1) that the particular decree of having mercy upon some certain ones does not overthrow the universal because they are spoken in different respects (*kat' allo kai allo*) concerning God; the particular decree being according to election (*kat' eklogēn*), but not so the universal; and that there is no opposition between these two acts —that God first willed the salvation of each and every individual (if they would believe), and secondly willed to give faith to some certain ones that they might certainly be saved. We answer that it is gratuitously supposed that there is that twofold purpose of having mercy, while the Scripture draws every purpose of God's mercy from his eternal election; yea, it makes election itself to consist in it (Rom. 8:28, 29; 9:11; Eph. 1:11; 2 Tim. 1:9). And the thing itself teaches that it cannot be conceived without absurdity— that God (in whom there cannot be priority and posteriority, and who decrees all things by a sole and most simple act of will) by the same act willed most seriously to intend salvation for some under a certain condition; and at the same time, he (who alone can give) determined to deny to them the very condition without which salvation cannot be obtained. What else is this than to will to have mercy and not to will at the same time? I confess that the sole act of the divine will can be divided into various acts (which may be conceived as prior and posterior), but this is to be understood only of those which do not butt against each other and destroy themselves. Now to say that God intended salvation for all and at the same time decreed to elect and love some, but to hate and reprobate others, is most absurd (*asystata*). Nor can they at the same time stand with God (or even successively) unless his will is supposed to be liable to change (which is blasphemous).

XVI. Second, not more happily is the love of God here distinguished into comparative and absolute. Is it maintained that Paul, when he speaks of the love of Jacob and the hatred of Esau, wishes only to intimate that God loved the former more and preferred him to the latter (just as the word meaning "to hate" is often put in the Scripture for "to love less," Gen. 29:31). Although God may be said to have embraced some with a peculiar love (so as to give faith to them), it does not follow that he was unwilling to save others. For various degrees in the love of God towards men can be

conceived no less than towards other creatures. We answer as follows: although we readily grant that sometimes hatred is put for a diminished love among men, yet we deny that with Paul God's hatred towards Esau can be thus understood. It is opposed to his love of Jacob, which is said to be according to election (*kat' eklogēn*). Therefore this love necessarily includes the purpose of having mercy upon and saving Jacob; the hatred denies it and marks the purpose of reprobation by which he was freely passed over and excluded from salvation (so that thus far the Reformed theologians have uniformly held it). Nor if, in the effects of God's general love and the common providence by which he is borne to all his creatures (according to the variety of subjects distinguished by a greater or less excellence of nature), there are degrees, does it forthwith follow that there are degrees affectively in God's special and saving love. Since his love cannot be vain and inefficacious, those whom he loves unto salvation he ought to love fully and even unto the end (Jn. 13:1).

XVII. (2) He who in earnest wills an end to anyone also wills and bestows (as far as he can) the means necessary to obtain it; especially if he has them all in his power, and they depend upon him alone. Therefore if God wills by a general will the salvation of each and every man, he ought to will also the means conducive to salvation: such as the preaching of the word, faith, repentance—without which salvation cannot be obtained. But he neither wills nor bestows (as far as he can) these upon innumerable persons (to whom he grants neither the preaching of the word nor the gift of faith). Therefore, neither ought it to be said here that this holds good of him who wills the end by an absolute and full will, but not by a diminished and conditional will. It must be proved (not taken for granted) that any such diminished and conditional will can be allowed in God, the contrary of which we have before established. Indeed we do not deny that it can have place in creatures who are impotent and do not have all things under their own will. But such a will cannot be attributed without the greatest absurdity to the omnipotent God, who holds all things in his hand (see above Topic III, Question 16).

XVIII. To no purpose also is it added that God can be said to will the means (not indeed to effect that all should actually use the means necessary to obtain salvation, but to offer them to all) so that they to whom they are offered might use them if they wished. Neither a prince nor a parent would

on that account be denied to have willed the one his subjects and the other his children to live well and happily because they had not effected that they should use (in their own case) those means offered to them for obtaining that end. We answer that he who in earnest wills an end to anyone is bound (as far as he is able) not only to offer to but to confer and bestow (if this is in his power alone) upon him, not some certain, but all the means necessary to attain the end. And from this, it appears how foreign to the purpose are the similes of the prince and father here adduced. Although the prince and father may wish their subjects and children to live well, and may further it by all the means in their possession, yet they cannot actually effect this. For if they could and yet would not, it would be the surest proof that they did not seriously will it. But to God nothing is impossible and impassable. So that if he does not bestow upon all, all the means necessary to salvation (which depends upon him alone), it is a proof that he in fact willed it.

XIX. Third, if God has a universal will to save all, it is either absolute or conditional. If absolute, all will actually be saved; if conditional, he wills either to effect the condition necessary to salvation in men or only to exact it. If only to exact it, he does not will and intend the salvation of such by exacting from them an act which he knew to be impossible to man. Again, that condition will certainly be about to come to pass or certainly not about to come to pass. If the former, each and every man will certainly be saved; if the latter, God would be made to will vehemently that which he nevertheless well knew would never take place (as depending upon a condition such that it never would come to pass in this respect because he himself, who alone can, does not will to effect it). Now if it does not belong to a wise man to will anything under a condition which he knows to be impossible, how much less can this be attributed to the most wise God?

XX. Nor is the knot untied if we say that God often in the Scripture testifies that he wills the salvation of those in whom, nevertheless, he does not will to effect the condition of faith, but only to demand it. Although this may be granted concerning the will of approbation (which is referred to the preceptive will), it cannot be said equally of the decretive will. Otherwise God would fail of his design and could intend that which he certainly knows he never could accomplish. Nor does he help the matter any more who adds that God is not bound to give faith to man; therefore no one can have occasion to complain of him if he only demands it from the reprobate,

but does not effect it. Although nothing on the part of man can oblige God to give faith to anyone, yet (it being supposed that he earnestly wills the salvation of men) it seems thence to be gathered that he is bound to give faith to them that they may obtain the salvation which he intends for them. Truly if the powers requisite for believing were supplied to man or if sufficient objective grace were furnished, God could not be said to will this under an impossible condition. On this point, the opinions of the Arminians cohere better and are more consistent with each other—affirming sufficient grace and the indifference (*adiaphorian*) of free will. But as long as an invincible and insuperable inability of whatever kind (either moral or natural, with which we have nothing to do now, as the brethren with whom we treat assert) is maintained from this to be in man, it may well be concluded against them that God on that hypothesis most seriously wills something under an impossible condition (one which he knows never will take place because he does not will to fulfil it).

XXI. Fourth, if God wills that each and everyone shall be saved, either all will actually be saved (which is false) or a certain will of God remains defeated and inefficacious (which is absurd). Nor is it satisfactory to say that whatever God wills is not always done, since some things pleasing and agreeable to him are not done, and many things which do not please him and which he does not will, are done. Nor is it satisfactory to hold that what he wills to do will undoubtedly take place, but not immediately; what he himself does not will to effect, will be performed by others. We answer that it is one thing to speak of the approving and preceptive will (in which sense it is certain that many things are done which he does not will, and many things are not done which he wills, i.e., approves and commands: as he wills that men fulfil the law and obey him, which nevertheless is not done), but another of the decretive will (which implies the purpose and intention of God, in which sense he cannot will and intend anything which is not actually done). The very things which he does not will by the preceptive will and yet are done, are not done unless he wills them by his decretive will. Thus what is done "against his will" is not done "beyond his will," as Augustine* formerly expressed it. But here (as we said before), we do not treat only of the approving will (by which he holds the salvation of men dear), but of the decretive (by which he intended to send Christ into the

world to acquire salvation for all if they would believe). According to this hypothesis, the decretive will is necessarily made void and frustrated.

XXII. You may say that one can be said to will something in vain in two ways: either to signify that he wills it rashly and with no reason; or to mean that which he by no means wills to be done. It is absurd for God to will anything in vain in the former sense (nor has it place here) since indeed that he willed those who perish to be saved, he did not will rashly to be done, but from the reason of his goodness. But in the second sense, it is not absurd that God willed anything in vain which is not actually done. We answer that this does not untie the knot. That is said to be in vain which does not bring about the end intended (which no one can deny to be the case here); for that will either had salvation for its end or not. If not, God cannot be said to have willed them to be saved. If it had and did not obtain it, it follows that God failed of his end. You may retort that this will can be called efficacious and inefficacious in various ways: efficacious with regard to the many acts which it exercises (such as the decree concerning the sending and delivering up to death his own Son for the satisfaction of justice; the decree concerning the preservation of the world and the light of saving knowledge, by which, dispensed in different ways and according to the various times, men are called); but inefficacious if it is referred to the minds and the acts of men (which by no means effects that which he wishes them to do, i.e., to believe and repent). We answer that not even in this way is the difficulty removed. For in whatever way it may be called efficacious, it will always remain inefficacious with respect to the end intended by God (viz., the salvation of men). Finally, it cannot be conceived how God should have willed efficaciously with respect to individuals that which is far greater (viz., the giving of his Son), yet should not have willed efficaciously that which is far less (viz., that men should believe and repent). For otherwise he might clearly have understood that without this the other things would be in vain and would benefit no one.

XXIII. Fifth, God does not will those to be saved whom he does not will to call to faith and salvation even by his word. For the means are denied to those to whom the end is supposed to be denied. But to innumerable persons, he has denied the preaching of the word (the only means to faith and salvation)—as under the old dispensation to all the Gentiles and, under the new, to many nations upon whom as yet the light of the gospel has

never shone and who still lie in the darkest shadows of paganism. Now is it credible, if God had that most propense will of having mercy upon each and every one unto salvation and decreed to send Christ as Mediator for them that he, for about four thousand years, should have permitted all the nations (with the exception of the Israelites) to walk in their own ways and said nothing to them about the Mediator who was to come into the world for them and excluded them from the preaching of his word, the only means of faith and salvation (Rom. 10:17)? Where then has that good will exercised itself which God is said to have had in favor of them? And for what good was Christ destined to those to whom he was never revealed? Truly even this dispensation of God towards the Gentiles (aliens from the covenants) would alone (if no other argument could be obtained) sufficiently, and more than sufficiently, prove that the hypothesis concerning the universal will and mercy of God unto salvation is absurd and built upon no solid foundation.

XXIV. I know that passages are brought to confirm this: where God says that "he left not himself without witness (*amartyon*), in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons filling our hearts with food and gladness" (Acts 14:17*) and 17:26, 27 where Paul testifies that "God is not far from every one of us, and hath determined the times before appointed, that men should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him." We answer that neither passage favors that opinion. Not the former, for although God is said not to have left himself without witness (*amartyron*) through various temporal benefits bestowed upon the Gentiles, yet in the same place it is testified that "he suffered all nations to walk in their own ways" (as to the revelation of salvation, which is not referred to an internal dereliction or privation of the Spirit alone, but also to an external dereliction or defect of external calling because he did not give them his statues and laws as he did to Jacob, Ps. 147:19, 20). Not the latter, for Paul immediately adds, "The times of this ignorance God winked at; but now, under the gospel, commandeth all men everywhere to repent" (Acts 17:30). This institutes an express antithesis between the time of the Old Testament and the New, relative to the external call to repentance. If he formerly winked at the times of ignorance and now at length commands men to repent, it is a proof that God did not formerly enjoin this upon men and so the external call to salvation was wanting to them. Whatever therefore was

revealed to them pertained to the revelation of God, the Creator and Preserver of the world, but not to God the Redeemer; and to the wisdom which shines forth in the works of general providence, and not to that which is hidden in a mystery and revealed in the works of grace and the gospel alone (1 Cor. 2:5). Here belongs "that which may be known of God" of Paul (*to gnōston tou Theou*, Rom. 1:19), as was proved before, Topic I, Question 4.

XXV. Sixth, that very thing is confirmed by the first gospel promise (Gen. 3:15), which pertained not to all and everyone, but to believers alone. The latter are designated "the seed of the woman" under Christ the head, in contradistinction to the reprobate who are denoted by "the seed of the serpent." Although the devils also can be contained under the seed of the serpent, it does not exclude the reprobate themselves also (who are called "a generation of vipers" [Mt. 3:7], "children of the wicked one" [*hyioi ponērou*, Mt. 13:38; Jn. 8:44]) from coming under that name on this account even the more, that whatever things are said to the seed of the serpent most exactly applies to them. For as the poison of the serpent is in them (viz., his wickedness and nature through their imitation of him, in whom the serpent as head exercises himself and lives, and through whom he acts), so there comes in a perpetual enmity between them and the seed of the woman. They observe his heel and bruise it; nor in them or by them is the head of Satan ever bruised or to be bruised; yea, their head is bruised by the seed of the woman. Whence it appears that this promise is by no means universal to the whole human race, but particular to Christ and believers (who are set forth under the name of the seed of the woman). Christ indeed primarily and eminently (*exochōs*); but believers secondarily and in dependence on Christ (for whom and in whom alone Christ bruises the head of Satan, i.e., destroys his kingdom and power [Rom. 16:20], and between whom and the Devil and the world a perpetual enmity exists).

XXVI. Nor can it be an objection that the reprobate can also be called "the seed of the woman" by reason of origin, inasmuch as they are descended from the woman. For "the seed of the woman" is here understood not only in a physical sense (otherwise Christ would have here no prerogative above the wicked who are designated by "the seed of the serpent"), but principally in a moral sense. This is true both with respect to Christ (who was to be the extraordinary seed conceived from the Holy

Spirit) and with respect to believers (who under their head ought, in the state of grace, to be the seed of that woman to whom God had made the promise of grace and whom he willed to raise up from the fall, not so much physically through generation, as morally through imitation by the power of the Spirit) by which they would become the children not of the flesh, but of the promise. Thus although the seed of the woman put absolutely does not designate men as believers, yet when put comparatively and in contradistinction to the seed of the serpent, it is rightly predicated of them. Although this seed individually and antonomastically (*antonomastikōs*) is referred to Christ (who by his own power was to execute this great work), yet secondarily (and taken collectively) it is well extended to believers alone "who are Christ's" and the members of his mystical body (in whom Christ ought also to bruise the head of the serpent, not only by his merit through satisfaction, but also by his efficacy through sanctification—without which the former bruising would be vain and frustrated).

XXVII. Of this particularity, however, God wished to give not obscure proofs in the fulfillment of the promise. He afterwards exhibited these in the covenant of grace, in the families of Adam (by the distinction made between Cain and Abel), of Noah (between Shem and Ham), of Abraham (between Ishmael and Isaac) and of Isaac (between Esau and Jacob). Why did God so carefully wish to make a distinction in the families of the patriarchs (by taking some and leaving others) unless it was to testify that his saving grace was not universal, but particular to those whom, by a peculiar privilege, he willed to separate from others?

XXVIII. Finally, we may now omit many other things since by this hypothesis wants, and vehement desires (yet fruitless and frustrated) are attributed to God by which he is made to intend and in earnest will that, which willing, he yet knew never would be or could be. Is it easy for anyone to gather whether they are becoming to the majesty of the supreme deity or repugnant to his wisdom and power; whether under the pretext of extolling the divine goodness and grace, they are not too much obscured and lessened while they are made to be vain and inefficacious, and accomplish nothing else than increasing the guilt of man and rendering him inexcusable (*anapologēton*). Nor can this absurdity be taken away by saying that the Scripture seems to impute to God desires and wants of this kind (Ps. 81:13; Is. 48:18). It is evident that these are anthropopathical

locutions, to be understood in a manner becoming to God (*theoprepōs*), and to be referred to the preceptive will in order to teach what is pleasing to God and what is the duty of man. They are not to be referred to the decretive will to intimate what he intended and what he willed to be done about man (as was shown before, Topic III, Question 16).

Sources of solution.

XXIX. The love treated in Jn. 3:16 when it is said that "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son," cannot be universal towards each and every one, but special towards a few. (1) It treats of the supreme and intense love of God (a greater than which is not and cannot be conceived) towards those for whom he gave his only begotten. This is evident both from the intensive (*epitatikē*) particle *houtōs* (which has great weight here) and from the thing itself. For as no one can have a greater love than to lay down his life for his friends (Jn. 15:13), so no greater love can be found than that by which God (when men were yet enemies) delivered his own Son to death for them. And as Abraham could not more evidently prove his piety to God than by offering up his son as a sacrifice, so God could not more illustriously demonstrate his love to men than by giving up his Son to them as a propitiatory victim (*hilastikēn*). (2) The love by which God gave his Son draws after itself all other things necessary to salvation: "For he that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" (Rom. 8:32). But not upon each and every one, rather upon the elect alone, he bestows all things with Christ. (3) Therefore the end of that love which God intends is the salvation of those whom he pursues with such love; hence he adds, "For God sent not his son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved" (Jn. 3:17). If therefore God sent Christ for that end (that through him the world might be saved), he must either have failed of his end or the world must necessarily be saved in fact. However it is certain that not the whole world, but only those chosen out of the world are saved; therefore to them properly this love has reference. Nor can it be conceived if a universal love is here understood, how such and so great love (which is by far the cause of the greatest and most excellent good, viz., the mission of Christ) can consist with the hatred of innumerable

persons whom he willed to pass by and ordain to damnation (to whom he never has revealed either his Son or willed to bestow faith, without which it is set forth in vain). Nor can it be conceived how this love of God can be so greatly commended here which yet remains void and inefficacious on account of the defect of subjective grace, which God has determined to deny.

XXX. The word "world" does not prove this love to be universal. Although it may be taken in common and indefinitely for the human race (as our Calvin, the Belgic commentators and others interpret it), it does not follow that this love is to be referred to each and every one, but only that a peculiar privilege was bestowed upon the human race with respect to some particular part so that the entire species should not wholly perish. Indeed this is in opposition: (1) to the family of angels to whom, in like sin, he did not grant like grace. Hence he is called indeed philanthropist (*philanthrōpos*), but not philangelist (*philangelos*). If a prince of two rebellious states would utterly destroy the one sparing nobody, but so far spare the other as to rescue some certain ones from the common punishment destined to the others, he would be said to have entirely loved the one above the other, although he might not have loved all the members of the latter equally because the good of the part redounds to the whole, and the denomination is made from the better. (2) It is in opposition to the economy of the Old Testament where salvation was set forth not to the world but to the Jewish nation alone to intimate that it was not sent for the Jews only, but also for the Gentiles indiscriminately. This would beautifully fall in with the design of Christ to take away from Nicodemus the empty boastings in which the Jews were accustomed to indulge (and with which he also undoubtedly was fascinated), as if the Messiah had been promised and sent to his nation alone, and the other nations were either to be brought into subjection to them or to be cut off. In order, therefore, to meet the opinion of that nation (itself implanted and ready now to unfold the mystery of the calling of the Gentiles), he said that God loved the world, not only one nation or people. In this sense, he is called by the Samaritans "the Savior of the world" (Jn. 4:42), i.e., not only of the Jews (as under the Old Testament when salvation was only of the Jews, as Christ testifies, Jn. 4:22), but also of the Gentiles. Thus the worship of God would no longer be restricted as before to the temple of Jerusalem, but the true worshippers

might everywhere worship in Spirit and in truth. Nor otherwise is Christ called by John the Baptist "the lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world" (Jn. 1:29), and by the evangelist "the propitiation not for our sins only" (i.e., the Jews) "but also for the sins of the whole world" (1 Jn. 2:2), i.e., of the other nations. Thus he would accomplish a common good to the whole church and designate those who at the same time were about to believe and who were scattered over various regions of the world (as Calvin explains it). Nor is it a new and unusual thing for "the world" to be taken not always in its whole latitude, but to be restricted to some certain ones out of the world: as when it is put for the Gentiles in opposition to the Jews, "if the fall of them be the riches of the world" (Rom. 11:12); for the world of the wicked, of which Christ says, "I pray not for the world" (Jn. 17:9) and "the whole world lieth in wickedness" (1 Jn. 5:19); for the world of believers when Christ says, "I will give my flesh for the life of the world" (Jn. 6:51), not indeed of the world of the reprobate (who remain always in death), but of the elect (who are made alive through Christ); and "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them" (2 Cor. 5:19). It is true of the elect alone that they are actually reconciled to God and that their sins will not be imputed unto them. Why then should "the world" not be taken universally for individuals, but indefinitely for anyone (Jews as well as Gentiles, without distinction of nation, language and condition) that he may be said to have loved the human race inasmuch as he was unwilling to destroy it entirely, but decreed to save some certain person out of it; not only from one people as before, but from all indiscriminately although the effects of that love should not be extended to each individual, but only to some certain ones (viz., those chosen out of the world)? And nothing is more frequent in common conversation than to attribute to a community something with respect to some certain individual, not to all.

XXXI. The words which follow ("that whosoever believeth in him") are not exceptive or restrictive of the object (as if from that world beloved by God believers alone are declared to be those actually to be saved). Rather they are exegetical or designative of the means and condition by the intervention of which salvation is promised and will be conferred (to intimate that no one can be a partaker of so great a benefit except through faith). Thus it pertains to all believers and them alone, not eventually but

definitely (to wit, as many as would believe from the decree of God). Thus Christ in one verse embraces the whole structure of salvation: the leading (*proēgoumenēn*) cause—the love of God; the object—the world; the means acquiring—Christ; applying—faith; and the end—salvation and eternal life. Nor can the world which God is said to have loved and which Christ came to save be distributed into believers and unbelievers (Jn. 3:18). Rather only the necessity of faith is confirmed (as the only means by which we can enjoy Christ). For after he said, "He came into the world not to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved" (because the end of Christ's advent is not the destruction of men, but their salvation—for there was no necessity for Christ to come into the world to destroy men, who will perish sufficiently by their own fault) that no one might think his advent pertained to each and every man whether they would believe or not, he confirmed what he had said before concerning the necessity of faith to signify that it was destined only for believers, all others being excluded: "He that believeth on him is not condemned: but he that believeth not is condemned already" (Jn. 3:18).

XXXII. The universal particles which often occur here are not always employed in their whole extent, but sometimes more broadly, sometimes more strictly, according to the subject matter. Sometimes they denote the whole of the nations in distinction to the Old Testament economy where salvation was only of the Jews. Thus the passage of Paul must be explained when he says that "God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all" (Rom. 11:32). This ought not to be referred to each and every one, but only to the peoples of whom he treats—to teach that the Jews as well as Gentiles were concluded in unbelief that the mercy of God might be exercised towards both distributively, Jews as well as Gentiles. This is evident from the very connection of the words (Rom. 11:30, 31). Thus we understand his words, "Whosoever believeth shall not be ashamed, for there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all, is rich unto all that call upon him" (Rom. 10:11, 12). Here also belongs the passage: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, is accepted with him" (Acts 10:34, 35). (2) Sometimes the universality of conditions and states is designated in opposition to worldly polities. Thus distinctions are made between slaves and the free, the poor and the rich, men and women, the

noble and the ignoble. But in the dispensation of grace, God attends to no such thing, nor accepts the person, but calls to communion with him indiscriminately all of whatever state and condition and sex. Thus we understand the place where "the grace that bringeth salvation" is said to "have appeared to all men" (Tit. 2:11, 12), i.e., to everyone of whatever condition they may be, whether masters or servants. For of these he was speaking in the preceding verse, and after having exhorted masters to treat their servants kindly, he immediately adds—"For the grace that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all," i.e., to them as well as to you. Also "in Christ there is neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, bond nor free, Barbarian nor Scythian; but Christ is all, and in all" (Col. 3:11)—not in each and every individual, but in all indiscriminately of whatever order, sex, nation and condition. (3) Sometimes the whole of believers and the world of the elect (as opposed to the world of the reprobate and unbelievers) is understood. Thus all are said "to live in Christ just as in Adam all die" (1 Cor. 15:22). Not that there is the same latitude of those living as those dying, for many more die in Adam than are saved in Christ. With regard to the whole of believers, as many as perish and die, die in Adam; so as many as are made alive, are made alive in Christ. For these two heads are compared with each other, not as to amplitude of object, but as to analogy of the mode of communication. As Adam communicates sin to all his posterity and death through sin, so Christ bestows righteousness upon all his members and life through righteousness. So Rom. 5:18, 19 is to be explained where a comparison is made between Adam and Christ, not as to extent, but as to similarity of operation. Thus the world is taken for the whole of the elect and believers (2 Cor. 5:19). In this sense, Augustine places two worlds in the world. "The whole world," says he, "is the church, and the whole world hates the church: the world therefore hates the world, the enemy the reconciled, the damned the saved" ("Tractate 87," *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:355; PL 35.1853]; cf. also Prosper, *The Call of the Nations* 1.3 [ACW 14:28]).

XXXIII. Although God protests that "he has no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but in his conversion and life" (Ezk. 33:11), it does not follow that from eternity he willed and intended under any condition the conversion and life of each and every man. For besides the fact that conversion cannot be intended under any condition (because it is itself a

condition), it is certain that here is treated the will of *euarestias* and of complacency, not the will of good pleasure (*eudokias*) (which the verb *chpts* proves, meaning everywhere to be pleased and to hold as grateful, to imply that God is pleased with the conversion and life of the sinner as a thing grateful to him and agreeing with his perfectly merciful nature, rather than with his destruction, and therefore exacts it from man as a bounden duty to be converted if he desires to live). But although he wills not (i.e., is not pleased with the death of the sinner, as it denotes the destruction of a creature), yet he does not cease to will and intend it as an exercise of his justice and as the occasion of manifesting his glory (Prov. 1:26; 1 S. 2:34). Take, for example, a pious magistrate who is not pleased with the death of the guilty, yet does not cease justly to decree their punishment in accordance with the laws. Nor is it the case that if God does not properly intend their repentance and salvation, does he to no purpose say to the reprobate who are invited to repentance, "Why will ye die?" For he rightly shows them by these words what they must do to avoid death and that by their voluntary impenitence, they alone are the cause of their own destruction, not God. For although by the decree of reprobation, he had passed them by and determined not to give them faith, yet no less voluntarily do they sin and so obstinately bring down their own destruction upon themselves.

XXXIV. When Paul says, "God will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim. 2:4), he does not favor the universality of grace. This is true whether with some we refer the verb "to will" to the will *euarestias* to teach that God is pleased with the salvation and conversion of men and invites them to it by the preaching of the word. Furthermore, they wish this to belong—that it is said God wills them "to be saved" (*sōthēnai*), but not "to save" (*sōzein*) them because from the revealed will of approbation to the secret will of good pleasure the consequence does not hold good. Or we may understand the will of good pleasure and of decree with Calvin and others. This seems more appropriate because the particle "all" is taken here not distributively (for the individuals of classes), but collectively (for classes of individuals), i.e., as Beza renders it "for all sorts" (*Annotationum maiorum in Novum Testamentum* [1594], Pars Altera, p. 444 on 1 Tim. 2:4) from every nation, condition, age and sex. In this sense, God wills not that all men individually, but some from

every class or order of men should be saved. As Augustine explains it, "All the human race distributed through whatever differences, kings, primates, noble, ignoble, lofty, humble, learned, unlearned … in all languages, in all manners, in all ages, in all professions, established in an innumerable variety of wills and consciences, and whatever other differences there may be among men" (*Enchiridion* 27 [103] [FC 3:457; PL 40.280]). This exposition is confirmed first by the fact that such a syncategoreme is most frequently used in Scripture in this sense: as when "all animals" are said to have been "in the ark," the Pharisees to have tithed "all herbs," Christ to have healed "all diseases" in the people, "all Jerusalem and Judea" to have gone out to John, that "all flesh" shall see the salvation of God, "all beasts" were in the great sheet of Peter, that God will pour out his Spirit upon "all flesh" and the like. Everyone sees these pertain not to individuals of classes, but to classes of individuals. (2) From equality because the Holy Spirit elsewhere supplies us with this sense where believers give thanks to Christ because he redeemed "them out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation" (Rev. 5:9), i.e., not each and every man, but indiscriminately out of all conditions and people. (3) The design of Paul demands this, which is to show that even heathen magistrates are contained under the object of prayers, and that God must be supplicated for them although they then were enemies of the church. This might raise scruples in the minds of many. Paul removes these when he says, "God will have all men to be saved" (i.e., from all ranks of men and so can take some even of kings and emperors). And since we do not know who they are, it is our duty to pray for all. (4) The circumstances of the passage confirm this. The apostle exhorts us to pray "in every place" (1 Tim. 2:8); not in each and every place (in which we cannot be), but indiscriminately in any place, as distinguished from the old dispensation where worship was restricted to the temple of Jerusalem. He wishes us to pray for "all men"; not that we ought to pray for each and every one in particular, since we are not to pray for those who sin unto death (1 Jn. 5:16), but indiscriminately for everyone, so as to exclude no order and state of men from our prayers, since from every state he can gather his own elect. (5) He wills all to be saved in the same manner as that in which he "wills them to come unto the knowledge of truth" which it is evident has not been done with respect to many, nor is done at this day. If God wills this, how does it happen that it is not done, since his will properly

so called is always efficacious and accomplishes what he wills and which nothing can resist? Again, God wills them all to come to the knowledge of the truth either absolutely (and so all would come to it, which is false) or under a condition. But what can that be? If they hear it? But he does not have it preached to many. If they believe? But to believe is to have arrived already at the knowledge of the truth. (6) God wills all those to be saved for whom Christ gave himself as a ransom (*antilytron*) (as their Mediator by substituting himself in their place and suffering in their stead the punishment due to them) so that this is immediately added by the apostle (1 Jn. 5:6). Now this cannot be said of each and every man in particular without by that very thing each and every man being actually saved (which no one would say).

XXXV. Although we say that the word "all" is to be referred to classes of individuals, not to the individuals of classes, it does not follow that prayers ought to be conceived for classes only, or for ideas, but not for individuals. Singulars must be distinguished from individuals. The will of God is not indeed terminated on the classes, but on the singulars collected from them, and ought not therefore to be carried further to individuals. Thus when we say that we must pray for any people, we do not wish to pray for states and conditions of men, but for the undivided singulars in each class; not definitely for individuals, but indefinitely for any people; not so much positively (as if we should include all and particular persons in our prayers) as negatively (because we exclude no one precisely from our prayers). Neither is this to be understood precisely and in the philosophical sense (as if there were absolutely no race of men or nation from which in any time some would not be saved). Rather it is to be understood in the popular sense because there is no nation, no condition of men, excluded from salvation and from which God cannot (when he pleases) call some to a participation of salvation (although this may not usually be done either at all times or in all places). Still man is the most particular species in the genus of being, yet not in the genus of character (since men can be distributed into various classes either with regard to origin or with regard to conditions or kind of life).

XXXVI. Although the apostle commands us "to pray for all men," he does not immediately will that prayers should be conceived for each and everyone, since there are some for whom we must not pray. Rather he only

commands that we should pray for men without distinction, for whatever order and religion they may be, even for emperors (although heathen and enemies of Christ). Nor if it was our duty to pray for each and every one in particular, would it follow that God wills each and every man to be saved. For our prayers are not founded upon the decree of God concerning the salvation of men (which is hidden from us), but only upon the command of God (who here commands us as the duty of love by which we are bound to our neighbor) and upon the economy of grace (in which we know that God indiscriminately wills to call men from every nation and order). For since it is one part to hope well for all, nor can it be known what God has purposed with himself concerning the salvation or destruction of individuals, we can exclude no one by name as if already infallibly lost (unless we know that he has sinned unto death). Rightly therefore we may pray for all that those who are of the election of God may be brought unto salvation. Thus the argument of the apostle proceeds rightly that we should pray for Nero, not because God wills those who are preserved to be saved, but because even from the ranks of emperors and kings he may have elected some to salvation; and because he may have among them those whom he wills to save (to whom on that account we ought not to deny the benefit of our prayers, so that if perchance some of those whom we commend to God in our prayers may be of that number, their salvation can be promoted by our desires).

XXXVII. Because the authors of this new method are accustomed frequently to appeal to Calvin (as if they taught nothing but what was already formerly delivered by him), it pleases us to refer here to the words of that illustrious man on this passage, in which (as a masterpiece) they place the principal defense of their cause (which sufficiently prove how far he differed from their opinion). For so far from agreeing with them, he expressly denies that the apostle treats here of individual men and teaches that we must simply understand "that neither any people nor order of the world is excluded from salvation, since God wills the gospel to be proposed to all without exception" (*Second Epistle ... to the Corinthians ... Timothy, Titus and Philemon* [trans. T.A. Smail, 1964], pp. 208–9). And afterwards: "But the discourse concerns classes of men, not particular persons; for he means nothing else than to include princes and foreign nations in this world" (ibid., p. 209). This is confirmed in his sermon on the passage where

he proves at large that it does not treat of the individuals of classes, but of classes of individuals; he goes so far as to consider those who think differently to be disturbers and obstinate. “How can the dictum of these disturbers hold good—God wills all men (i.e., each individual) to be saved? If he wills this now he also willed it always; if he willed it always, what becomes of that which the apostle adds, that he wills all to come to the knowledge of the truth?” (“Sermon 13,” *Sermons ... on ... Timothie and Titus* [1579], p. 152). Thus it is in the work *Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God* (trans., J.K.S. Reid, 1961) which carries before it the expression “The Agreement of the … Church of Geneva” (p. 45): “He wills them to be saved in the same manner as he wills them to come to the knowledge of the truth, for Paul connects these two things together. Now I ask whether the same will was established by God from the beginning or not. For if he willed his truth to be known by all, why did he not publish his law to the Gentiles also? Why did he keep the light of life shut up in the narrow confines of Judea” (p. 108; CR 36.302). Calvin often confirms this very thing in the same treatise: “Now Pighius confidently says that God wills all men to be saved when not even the external preaching of the doctrine, which yet is far inferior to the illumination of the Spirit, is common to all” (ibid., p. 109). And a little after: “This is extorted from Pighius, that no one, unless deprived of sense and judgment, can believe that salvation is appointed unto all by the secret counsel of God” (ibid.). “How humble will he be, who can neither bear to hear of the pristine misery from which he was delivered and extenuates, as much as he can, the beneficence of God extending promiscuously to all? Surely they are far from illustrating the grace of God according to merit who preach that it is common to all” (ibid., p. 57). And when Georgius repeatedly opposes the passage (1 Tim. 2:4): “But Paul teaches that God wills all men to be saved,” he immediately replies, “Therefore he either confesses that God is not a performer of his will or all without exception will be saved” (ibid., p. 149). And in the same place: “If they answer that God will have all men to be saved as far as he can … why then did he not will the gospel to be preached indifferently to all from the beginning of the world? Why for so many ages did he suffer so many nations to wander in the shadows of death?” “If he willed the salvation of all, he would give them all into the custody of his Son and unite them all to his body by the sacred bond of faith. Now faith is

evidently the peculiar pledge of his paternal love, reserved for his adopted children" (ICR 3.22.10, p. 946). "How is it then, if God will have all men to be saved, that he opens not the gate of repentance to those miserable men who would be more ready to receive the favor" (ICR 3.24.15, p. 982). "How God will have all men to be saved must not be anxiously doubted about because these two things have a close connection with each other: salvation and the knowledge of the truth. Now answer—if God willed to make known his truth to all, why has not his truth ever reached so many nations from the time that the gospel began to be promulgated? Finally, why has he not opened the eyes of all equally when the interior illumination of the Spirit, with which he has blessed only a few, is necessary to faith? This knot also must be untied by you; since no one can approach to God, unless drawn by the secret influence of the Spirit, why does he not draw all men promiscuously, as he will have all men to be saved?" (*Calumniae Nebulonis ... de Occulta Dei Providentia* CR 37.293).

XXXVIII. Although God can be said to will men to be saved who yet are not saved (when it treats of the will of complacency [*euarestias*] which commands man's duty and declares what is pleasing to God), yet this cannot be said equally of the will of decree. As many as God wills to be saved, he also wills to save and actually saves at the appointed time, that his will may not be rendered vain and frustrated. But in this question (as was just said), it is not treated simply of that which he holds dear and wills to be done by men, but of that which he himself wills to do towards men by destining to them salvation under the condition of faith, and determining to send Christ for this end that he might acquire it for them. Therefore they are mistaken who discover a hiding place in this distinction, as if in this affair the question were only whether God wills all men to be saved and not whether he wills to save them. These two propositions come to the same thing when understood of the will of good pleasure (*eudokias*) (concerning which we have proved before at the start of our question, and that God wills no one to be saved in this sense whom he does not also will to save).

XXXIX. When Peter testifies that "God is longsuffering to usward, and not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance" (2 Pet. 3:9), he does not favor in the least the cause of universalism. Either this relates to the will of precept and complacency (*euarestias*) by which men are invited to repentance by the preaching of the gospel and by

repentance to life (which you would wrongly draw to the decree and intention of God); or (if you refer it to the decree—which pleases others and seems broader), it should not be extended further than to the elect and believers (for whose sake God puts off the consummation of ages until their number shall be completed and by whom, collected from the four corners of the world, the gospel ought to be preached in the whole world). Now to this it is evident the apostle looked: (1) from the pronoun "us" (which precedes with sufficient clearness destinating the elect and believers, as elsewhere more than once) and to explain which he adds "not willing that any" (i.e., of us) "should perish"; so that the pronoun should be repeated *apo koinou* as is often the case; and (2) from the fact that Peter wishes to give the reason of that longsuffering through which God puts off the consummation of the ages (which cannot be drawn from his command, but from his wise counsel for the sake of the elect, by which, as on account of the elect alone, he preserves the world, so he puts off the promise of his coming, even until each and every one of them is brought unto salvation, Rev. 6:11). Nor is it astonishing that, on account of the elect (no one of whom God wills to perish), the end of the world should be put off. For in like manner Christ observes "except those days would be shortened" (which were about to come to the whole of Judea) "there should no flesh be saved: but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened" (Mt. 24:22). As therefore here the days of evil should be shortened on account of the elect Jews (that they might not be overwhelmed with the burden of calamities), so the last day is put off on account of the elect (who are to be brought to Christ, until their whole number be made up). Finally, he speaks of them whom God wills to come to repentance, not only by inviting to it by the precepts and promises of his word, but by working it by the efficacy of the Spirit (since he speaks of those in whom the promise of God should be fulfilled [Mt. 24:9, 13], who are no other than the elect). Nor if God can be called "longsuffering" (*makrothymos*) towards the wicked by a delay of their punishment, does it immediately follow that it is the same longsuffering (*makrothymian*) of which Peter speaks (i.e., that by which he delays his judgments upon the world on account of the elect and waits for the time in which their number shall be completed). Nor was it useless to admonish Christians of this (although a mystery of undoubted verity) because it would have the best effect in the consolation of believers and in strengthening their minds

against the temptations which would arise from the delay in the fulfillment of God's promises.

XL. While God may be called philanthropic (*philanthrōpos*), it is not necessary that he should love unto salvation each and every one. It is sufficient that he love some only in that sense (as he is called a lover of the Greeks [*philellēn*] who loves the Greek nation, although not forthwith all the individuals of it). So God is with propriety called "the lover of men" (*philanthrōpos*), not "of angels" (*philangelos*) because while he loved no one of the fallen angels, he has loved some men. Otherwise the passage cannot be explained in Titus 3:4. There mention is once made of "love toward man" (*philanthrōpias*); yet it is certain that he there speaks of those who were really and actually saved by justification and regeneration (which pertains to the elect alone).

XLI. God wills those to be saved (whom he wills to repent and believe) in the same manner in which he wills them to believe. If he wills them to believe decretively and effectively (as with respect to the elect), he also wills them to be saved in this respect and so they are really saved. If he wills only preceptively and approvingly (as with respect to the reprobate upon whom he enjoins faith and repentance), in the same manner also he wills them to be saved (i.e., that he approves of and is pleased with their salvation), but not immediately that he destines it to them or intends it either absolutely or conditionally (because the method of the decretive will differs from that of the preceptive and approving). God indeed ought necessarily to will what he commands, but in the manner in which he commands (i.e., as he wills its being enjoined, but not always as to the execution and issue). Nor immediately does he intend what is commanded, since many things are commanded which are by no means intended. Thus God commanded Pharaoh to let the people go and yet he cannot be said to have actually intended (either absolutely or conditionally) their dismission since he intended on the contrary the hardening of Pharaoh and the retention of the people. He ordered Abraham to offer up his son and yet did not intend his immolation. He commands all to obey the law which yet he does not intend. As therefore from the command to fulfil the law you would erroneously gather that God intends the perfect sanctification of men and their justification and life from it, so from the command to believe and repent, you would notwithstanding falsely infer that God by that very thing

intended the faith and repentance and so the salvation of all those to whom such an external command is promulgated. But although the end of the command in the signified act and on the part of the thing may be said to be that they should believe and repent, yet it cannot be determined that this is the end intended on the part of God and in the exercised act (for if he had intended this, he would have procured and effected the necessary means by which it would be brought about). Therefore the precept signifies that God really wills to enjoin that upon us, but not that he really wills or intends that what is commanded should take place. Nor does the example of legislators (who will and intend, as much as they can, those things which they enjoin upon their citizens) pertain to this because in them cannot be distinguished (as in God) the will of decree and of precept (nor if they should have the strongest will to accomplish a thing, could they immediately give effect to it as God can).

XLII. Faith and repentance can be considered either as performed and fulfilled in man (i.e., in its formal and absolute being and as God produces them by his Spirit in him) or only as prescribed and commanded in material and intentional being (i.e., inasmuch as they are commanded under the promise of eternal life). In the former sense, they are well called "means to salvation" because by them salvation is most certainly to be obtained. In the latter sense, this is not so. Yea, salvation then properly does not have the relation of the end (which he who commands intends), but rather of the means and motive to excite obedience (which is the proper end of the precept, as it is a precept). Thus God wills preceptively with respect to the reprobate the means to salvation in its material, but does not will them effectively in its formal. He wills to teach the reprobate what means for salvation are furnished, but does not will to effect them (so that they should be performed by them as undoubted means of salvation to be obtained).

XLIII. The salvation set forth in the gospel promise can be considered in two lights: either as the end directly intended by the agent and as a good actually to be conferred; or as a good only to be offered and as a motive added to a precept in order to excite obedience. In the former sense, it truly falls under the effective decree of God because it cannot be possessed unless given by God. But in the latter sense, this is by no means true. It suffices that it falls under the decree of proposing, not of effecting. Again, salvation can pertain to the will of precept in two ways: either properly and

directly or indirectly and reductively. In the first sense, it cannot fall under the precept because the precept and promise differ—the former belongs to duty, the latter to blessing. In the second, nothing hinders us from saying that it is reduced to the precept inasmuch as it is added to it as a spur to excite obedience in him to whom it is proposed.

XLIV. From a promise to a decree, the consequence does not hold good. If God promises a thing conditionally, he has not therefore decreed conditionally to give it. It suffices that the thing willed is conditional; it is not required that the volition itself should be conditional (i.e., he wills indeed that salvation should be given under a condition, but does not will under a condition that salvation shall be given). He intends absolutely to promise salvation under the condition of faith (not that the decree should be designated as conditional, but that the connection between faith and salvation may be indicated). The foundation, therefore, of the truth of the gospel promise is not to be drawn from the decree of God concerning persons, but from his wise ordination of things (and the inseparable connection between the means and the end—of faith and repentance with salvation); not to teach properly what God has actually decreed to confer upon this or that one, but what is the way and what are the means and condition necessary in order to obtain salvation (and what is in store for those having that condition). Therefore as the promise is made only to the one having the condition (and nothing is promised to the one not having it), so he has decreed to give nothing except to him who may have the prescribed condition. Not only does he will to give nothing to others, but he has even decreed to inflict punishment upon them. Hence with the promise, a threat is always joined (Jn. 3:36). As God seriously wills that every believer and penitent should be saved, so he wills also every unbeliever and impenitent to be damned. You may say, if the reprobate would believe, he would be saved in virtue of the gospel promise; but he cannot be saved unless that promise is supposed to be extended to all. We answer: Who does not see that the argument is falsely drawn away from the thing conditioned to the absolute? For if the promise ought to pertain to him (if he would believe), it does not follow that it already pertains to him antecedent to his faith. Since it was destined by God to believers alone, no one can claim it for himself unless he actually believes (which no one does who is not elected). And to no purpose is such a hypothesis feigned which makes an

opposition in the apposition; for if the reprobate would believe, by that very thing he would be no more a reprobate but an elect one (and consequently a true object of the gospel promise).

XLV. Although God does not will (i.e., intend to effect the salvation of the reprobate who are called), that external calling cannot on that account be termed fallacious and illusory and one in which God does not act in good faith (while he promises seriously what nevertheless he does not will to give). (1) The promise, as was just said, is not absolute, but conditional, promising nothing except upon a condition (which is fulfilled in the elect alone). (2) That calling is not such as to lay open the secret counsel of God concerning the salvation of this or that person, but only to prescribe in general to man his duty and set forth the infallible way of salvation (and they who follow this will necessarily be saved). In both God acts in the best faith, for he both prescribes most truly to man his duty and teaches the sole way of salvation, and most sincerely promises a blessing to the one doing his duty. Therefore he promises nothing which he does not will to give. For as he promises only to the one having the condition, so he also wills and intends to give salvation only to the believer and denounces punishment against the unbeliever. (3) He does not call in earnest who does not will (i.e., does not command and take pleasure that the one called should come whither he calls), but he does not cease to call in earnest who does not will (i.e., intend and decree effectively that the one called should respond to the call). To a serious call, it is not required that there should be a constant intention of actually bringing to oneself those who are called, but only that there should be the constant will of commanding duty and of promising a blessing to those who do it. So God seriously wills (i.e., commands man to obey the law that he may live, according to the brief clause of the covenant of works: “Do this and thou shalt live”). Yet he cannot for this reason be said to will (i.e., to intend) that man should fulfil the law and fulfilling live by it. (4) The opinion which we oppose is far more strongly pressed with the same difficulty. For on this hypothesis, God is made most seriously to desire and intend the salvation of men (provided they have faith) which yet he knows they have not (and cannot have of themselves), and which he himself decreed from eternity by an irrevocable decree not to give (who alone can). It is easy to decide whether this can be consistent with the sincerity of God. By this very thing, God is represented as testifying that he

wills and does not will (at the same time) their salvation because he does not will that without which it cannot be obtained (as if anyone would say that he wills man to live, but yet nilled that he should breathe).

XLVI. Although the external call is presented as much to the reprobate as to the elect, yet it is not presented in the same manner. To the latter, it has reference primarily, directly and principally. For by it he intends their faith and salvation; on account of them, he has instituted the ministry and provides for the preaching of the gospel, so that the scattered sons of God may be gathered (Jn. 11:52), and the church collected and edified (Eph. 4:11, 12), which would not have been done if there had been no elect in the world. Hence he does not call them only imperatively, but also operatively (by working in them by his Spirit the condition itself). But it has reference to the former only secondarily and indirectly because they are mixed with the elect (whom God intends by the word to bring out of the world unto salvation). Not that salvation may be said to be destined for them by God conditionally, but only that their duty is prescribed to them and the way of salvation exhibited. There does not cease therefore to be a multiple end of that calling with regard to them (although God has not decreed, nor intends, that they should respond to it and be saved). As legislator, he wills to prescribe to them their duty; as Lord, he wills kindly to show them the way of salvation; as Judge, he wills to convict them of contumacy and rebellion and to render them inexcusable (*anapologētous*).

XLVII. Although the intention of pastors in that calling agrees with the intention of God both in this—that they do nothing except by God's appointment whether in commanding faith or promising salvation; in which sense they are said to be the mouth of God and to beseech us in the name of Christ (2 Cor. 5:19, 20); and in this—that both properly intend the salvation of the elect alone and not of the reprobate; yet they do not agree in all respects. For ministers are unable to distinguish between the elect and reprobate, and do not know by name those who will or will not believe. They address all promiscuously, and only indistinctly are able to promote the salvation of the elect because they are unknown to them. They may undoubtedly desire from the promptings of love that all should be saved. Nor ought they to despair absolutely of the salvation of anyone (unless they consider him to have sinned unto death and to be really a reprobate), since God can call men in the very last hour. Therefore they are bound diligently

to perform their duty towards all sinners. They would involve themselves in great guilt before God, if in the perdition of any they could be accused of a neglect of duty as long as any hope of emendation remained. To this pertains what Paul says, "that he exhorted every man, that he might present every man perfect in Christ" (Col. 1:28). To teach that, he did what was incumbent upon him that he might promote the salvation of everyone (whether Jew or Gentile) committing the event to God. At another time, he (the hardening [*pōrōsei*] and rejection of the Jews being known), after shaking his raiment, left them and turned himself to the Gentiles (Acts 18:6; 13:46). But God knows his own, and those for whose salvation and conversion alone he has destined calling. He also distinctly and formally intends their salvation by it, but not that of others whom he knows were reprobated by him from eternity (and either do not truly follow, or never will follow, and whose salvation, therefore, he cannot intend, but rather the detection of the wickedness of their hearts [Lk. 2:35], and their inexcusability on the supposition of their contumacy [Rom. 1:20; Jn. 15:22], as the event itself clearly shows). Nor must it be said here that the question concerns the mind and will of the caller, it does not concern the event of the call. For the event itself (which depends upon the most free and wise dispensation of God) sufficiently indicates what was the mind and will of the caller, since nothing can happen beyond his intention.

XLVIII. Although Christ was no more destined for the salvation of the reprobate than of the devils (and in this respect they are alike, that the damnation of both is irrevocable), on that account there is not an equal relation of both in all respects. First, because Christ did not take on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham (Heb. 2:16); he was sent not for devils, but for men. So it is rightly proposed to men alone and not to devils (from whom all hope of salvation is taken away). Second, because the devils (with the damned being constituted out of the way) are now in a penal state where they suffer the punishment of their crimes. Nor can they be called any more even imperatively. But as the reprobate are still in the way (as long as they live upon the earth where they are tolerated with great patience by God, while their punishment is as yet put off) and their reprobation is not known as yet to themselves, nothing hinders them from being called. Thus they may understand their duty and may not plead ignorance as a pretext for their impenitence.

Eighteenth Question: The Order of the Divine Decrees in Predestination

Is any order to be admitted in the divine decrees, and what is it?

I. Although Christian piety might readily spare this question, if men, content with the things revealed, would be content with knowing sensibly and would never strive to break into the secrets of God, for the purpose of rashly searching into his inscrutable (*anexereunēta*) counsels and minutely dividing his decrees (as if God was to be measured by the human rule); still the pertinacity of our adversaries has rendered it necessary in some degree. Under a new and preposterous order of God's decrees, they have introduced a new and dangerous doctrine against the grace of God and in favor of the free will of man. To meet them, a few things must be said concerning the order of the decrees so that it may be evident whether any order is to be admitted in them, what is the true and genuine order from the word of God, and what is the false order.

Whether an order is to be admitted in the decrees of God.

II. Although in the decrees (considered formally on the part of God), order cannot properly be attended to (because they are not many and divided acts, but one only and a most simple act by which he from eternity decreed all things), yet there is no objection to ascribing a certain order to them. As they are considered objectively and on our part (with regard to our mode of conception, since the things decreed are manifold and most diverse and have a mutual dependency and subordination, mutually), some order must necessarily be conceived in them (according to which, some may be said, and may be distinctly perceived by us, to be prior or posterior to others).

III. Now since there are two principal works of God which ought to proceed from his decree—the one of creation and nature; the other of redemption and grace—two decrees must here be conceived before the others. The first concerns the work of creation; the other concerns the work of redemption (between which, as the means, comes in the decree

concerning the permission of the fall of the human race). Again, as the work of redemption has various parts (some of which bear the relation of end and others of means; some pertain to the mission of Christ, others to calling and others to glorification), so diverse decrees can be conceived according to their diversity. But in what order they are to be placed, when so compared, is not agreed upon.

The first opinion of the supralapsarians concerning the order of the decrees.

IV. They who ascend above the fall (*supra Lapsum*) or creation to determine the object of predestination think the various decrees which are conceived by us about the state of man should be so arranged that the decree of predestination should be made to precede the decree of creation and the permission of the fall. God should be conceived to have contemplated the manifestation of his glory in the exercise of mercy and justice as to the salvation and damnation of men before he contemplated the creation of man or the permission of his fall. So that the creation and the permission of the fall have the relation of means to the manifestation of his mercy and justice as the end. The first decree, according to them, concerns the manifestation of God's glory in the exercise of mercy and justice through the salvation and damnation of men; the second concerns the creation; the third concerns the permission of the fall; the fourth concerns the sending of Christ for the salvation of those whom he had decreed to save.

V. Although this order contains nothing absolutely repugnant to the foundation of salvation and the analogy of faith (and has pleased great men and those deserving well of the church), yet various objections hinder its reception (as was fully proved before, Question 9). We add these considerations also—that this order seems harsher and less suitable. (1) On this hypothesis, the first act of God's will towards some of his creatures is made to be an act of hatred, inasmuch as he willed to demonstrate his justice in their damnation (indeed before they were considered in sin, and consequently before they were worthy of hatred; yea, while they were considered as innocent and so the object rather of love, which does not

appear to agree sufficiently with his unspeakable goodness). (2) It is also harsh because, according to this order, God is considered to have imparted to them by far the greatest effects of love from a principle of hatred, while he is made to create them in a state of integrity for the purpose of illustrating his justice in their damnation (which seems to indicate that he is neither perfectly good nor perfectly wise and just). (3) It is falsely supposed that God exercises an act of mercy and justice towards his creatures in the destination of salvation and destruction who are neither miserable nor guilty; yea, who are not even conceived of as yet existing. Now since these virtues are respective, they presuppose and do not make their object. (4) It is also gratuitously asserted that the creation and the fall are the means of election and reprobation, since they are antecedent to them. Otherwise sin would be on account of damnation, while on the contrary, damnation is on account of sin and God might be said to have created men whom he would destroy.

The second opinion—that of the Arminians.

VI. The Arminians, having fallen into the other but far more dangerous extreme, thrust in Pelagian doctrines under the pretext of a new order and so dispose the order of the decrees as to establish in the matter of salvation four decrees in subordination to each other. The first is that by which he decreed to constitute his Son, Jesus Christ, as Mediator and Savior of the fallen human race; to abolish sin by his death; recover by his obedience the lost salvation; and communicate it by his power. The second is that by which he decreed to receive into favor penitents and believers and to save through and on account of Christ those persevering even unto the end. On the other hand, he decreed to leave in sin and damn eternally the impenitent and unbelieving. The third is that by which he decreed the means sufficiently necessary for repentance and faith, and efficaciously to supply them to all. The fourth is that by which he decreed to save or damn by name some certain and particular persons whom he foresaw from eternity would or would not believe. These four decrees they think are thus subordinated to each other: (1) the destination of Christ as Mediator who should acquire for sinners the right to salvation; (2) the ordination of faith and perseverance as the condition of the salvation to be communicated; (3) the ordination of the

means to the end by the help of which sinners may believe and persevere; (4) the ordination of salvation itself, made for particular persons as believing and persevering (to which the ordination of damnation against the finally impenitent and unbelieving corresponds). The three former decrees are general, regarding the whole human race indefinitely without respect to particular individuals and under which as a foundation universal grace is laid (or the benevolent affection of God towards the whole human race by which he ordained indiscriminately to each and every sinner in particular, Christ as Mediator, faith as the condition of salvation, the means also to faith). The last is particular by which he determined the salvation or destruction of individuals as he foresaw they would or would not believe. Thus the connection of this with the three others is not necessary, but contingent and eventual, inasmuch as it could happen that Christ, being given as Mediator, and the law of faith being laid down and the means supplied for it, no one would believe and be saved, but the whole be damned. For the grace bestowed upon them is always supposed to be resistible, i.e., which man can at pleasure either receive or reject. Thus the Remonstrants set forth their opinion concerning the order of the decrees in the Synodical Acts (cf. *Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti* [1620], Pt. II, pp. 14ff.).

VII. This order impinges upon the truth and the form of sound doctrines in many ways, and draws after itself the most weighty errors. (1) In general, it is a capital error because in it the doctrine of gratuitous predestination is corrupted and delivered over to the mind of the Pelagians (while it is suspended upon man and the powers of free will, inasmuch as election is supposed to be made from foreseen faith and from a good use of free will). (2) According to this hypothesis, election and reprobation are acts of justice, depending upon God as Judge, who is said to elect believers and reprobate unbelievers. Accordingly, no more place would be given to the objections (urged by Paul in Rom. 9), why he should have elected or reprobated this and not that one. On the contrary, the Scripture constantly asserts that these depend on the sole good pleasure (*eudokia*) of God and are acts of his mere good pleasure as the supreme God, who can do with his own what he pleases. (3) According to this opinion, God only foresees but does not produce faith. For the sufficient grace which is said to be conferred (being common to all) cannot distinguish certain men from others. Thus

that discrimination will be a work of nature and of free will, and not of grace and of the Holy Spirit. This is contrary to the express words of Scripture which calls faith the gift of God, and usually attributes the cause of the difference between men, not to men, but to grace alone (1 Cor. 4:7; Eph. 2:8). (4) According to this hypothesis, there would be no election to faith, but only to salvation. Yet God cannot elect to salvation (as the end) without also electing to faith (as the means) (cf. Ps. 65:4; Acts 13:48; Rom. 8:30). (5) There is not so much a distinction laid down of those to be saved and to be damned, as the mere prescribing of the condition under which men are to be saved or damned. (6) If the end of this whole doctrine is more closely attended to, it will be discovered to be nothing else than to introduce Pelagianism and papism (newly white-washed) to replace (in the citadel) the idol of free will and to weaken the grace of Christ by a more subtle method indeed (but so much more dangerous than before). This can be easily gathered from an examination of particulars.

VIII. For all these decrees labor under this defect, that not even in word do they touch upon the true nature of election. For the Scripture teaches that the decree of election is eternal, immutable, absolute and thus practical and efficacious or energetic (*energētikon*) (Mt. 11:25; 13:11; Acts 13:48; Rom. 8:28, 29). Whence almost as often as it speaks of the good pleasure (*peri tēs eudokias*) in this mystery, it immediately mentions the energy (*tēs energeias*) with which God works all in all (Eph. 1:11; Phil. 2:13), to teach that it is not the contemplation of God unconcernedly looking on, but the highest and most efficacious love of God infallibly operating. But here all things are various, revocable, conditional and suspended on the faith of men. Nothing save a merely speculative and as it were, doubtful event is attributed to God. No mention is made of efficacious and irrevocable election. For these two decrees which with them come principally under the name of predestination (to wit, the second and fourth) cannot pertain to election, nor are they properly acts of God, nor does the second work anything. For in truth, by the second (by which he determined to save believers and condemn unbelievers) faith is only chosen as the condition of salvation, but not of any individual mortals. The fourth (by which he decreed by name to save those whom he foresaw would believe) decrees nothing new, but only foreknows those who (according to the rule of the second decree) will arrive at salvation or not. (2) Predestination is delivered

in the word as always referred to particular individuals. Among them, it is determined according as they are either made vessels of grace or vessels of wrath; are destined to life or to destruction (Rom. 8:29, 30; Rom. 9:11, 16; Eph. 1:4, 5; Jn. 10:26; 13:18; 17:6, 12). Far different however are the decrees of the Arminians. The first and third decrees are occupied indefinitely about the human race; the second is concerned only with the qualities of those to be saved or damned (without any distinction of persons). The fourth is indeed occupied about particular persons, but contingently and eventually (i.e., on account of those qualities which can be present in or about the subject in which they are). Nor does it so much respect persons, as faith in the persons (according as it is foreseen as about to be in man from a good use of grace and free will). (3) The grace of predestination according to the Scripture is particular to some certain persons, not common to all (Mt. 11:25, 26; Rom. 8:29; 9:11, 16, 18; Eph. 1:4, 5); but the grace built upon the first three decrees is common to each and every one, since it is placed in universal mercy, universal redemption and universal calling.

IX. (4) Predestination to life necessarily includes the decree of God's giving faith and perseverance (Acts 13:48; Rom. 8:29, 30). And the promise concerning the giving of faith to the elect no less pertains to the circuit of the gospel covenant (Heb. 8:10; Eph. 2:8; Phil. 1:29), than the promise concerning the giving of salvation to believers. But there is nothing concerning the gift of faith in those four decrees: neither in the first, which is about the mission of Christ; nor in the second, which establishes faith as the condition of salvation, but determines nothing concerning its donation with respect to certain persons; nor in the third, which is about calling to faith and the administration of the means for it (because since that sufficient grace is not irresistible, it depends upon the will of man to use it or not); nor in the fourth, which is founded upon the foresight of faith and which presupposes it from common grace only as to God. Rather the gift of faith is from the special determination of the believer and perseverer himself as the proper and proximate cause of both.

X. (5) The Scripture mentions only one election, which is definite and complete, particular and absolute, eternal and irrevocable. But the school of Arminius feigns a twofold: one general, indefinite, incomplete, conditional and revocable; the other complete, peremptory, definite and irrevocable

(which can obtain in the very end of life and after death because it is suspended on final perseverance). Finally, according to this hypothesis, the object of predestination is believers alone or unbelievers called (to whom grace is presented in time). Thus all infants and most of the Gentiles (who never were the partakers of calling) are falsely excluded from it (cf. Question 15 above).

XI. If, however, we descend deeper into the examination of these decrees, it will not be difficult to discover the manifold repugnance of them to the genuine doctrine of predestination delivered in the Scripture. I speak of the first (regarding the mission of Christ). (1) The Scripture testifies that Christ was ordained and given to death for those given to him from the Father by name (Jn. 17:2, 6, 9); for his sheep (Jn. 10:11, 26, 29); for his people (Mt. 1:21); and for the church (Eph. 5:25). However by this first decree, he is destined for the human race universally, and that ordination is supposed to have been made in uncertainty before God had determined anything with himself concerning the salvation of anyone by name. (2) From the decree of the Father, Christ could not die in vain, but should efficaciously redeem and save those for whom he died (Tit. 2:14; Gal. 2:21; Eph. 5:25). But this first decree being laid down, Christ might have died and yet no one have been saved if, namely, none would have complied with the condition of the covenant. Thus he would be a Savior without any saved, the head without members, and a king without subjects. (3) From the Father's counsel, Christ was sent to acquire salvation for us and actually to obtain for his own remission of sins, the gift of the Holy Spirit and eternal life. Otherwise he could be called neither our Savior or Surety (on the part of God, as of men) nor the author and prince of salvation, the leader and consummator of our faith. But according to this first decree, he did not acquire these things for us, but for his Father (the possibility or the right of again acting with sinful man and of prescribing to him new conditions of salvation, the promise of grace and of the remission of sins being added). Thus he is considered to have acquired not so much salvation as the possibility of salvation by removing the obstacle of justice, which hindered God from making a new covenant with us. What else is this than to enervate the cross of Christ and to make of none effect his most perfect merit?

XII. In the second, there is no less repugnancy (while that is maintained to be the whole and entire decree of predestination which does not even

pertain to it). (1) By predestination, God decreed what he himself wills to do concerning us and not what he may order us to do. But this decree (by which he determined to save believers and to damn unbelievers) has reference only to external calling (which prescribes to men their duty) and tends only to this: that the conditions and qualities of those to be saved (and not their persons) are chosen; what kind of persons are to be saved, not who. (2) Election is a certain and definite act of good pleasure by which he willed to have mercy unto salvation upon some certain persons in preference to others and decreed to give Christ and faith to them. But this decree is indefinite and vague (referring to no one by name) and does not give but supposes faith. In the third (which is concerned with the dispensation of means beyond what have been mentioned), we mark also these contrarieties to what is written (*antigrapha*), both with respect to the object and to the mode. (a) The means to faith and salvation are maintained to be supplied sufficiently and efficaciously to each and every one, so that no one will be damned except those who reject these means by their own free will. On the contrary, the Scripture in many places testifies that they are furnished not to each and every one, but to some certain persons only by the good pleasure (*eudokia*) of God (Ps. 147:19; Mt. 11:25; 13:11; Rom. 8:28, 29). This is true in the Old as well as in the New Testament. (b) These means are supposed to be dispensed in a resistible and common manner so that (whatever operation of this grace is laid down) there always remains to the will its own indifference (*adiaphoria*) and liberty—either of admitting or of rejecting it. The Scripture everywhere teaches that grace to be irresistible and invincible, bestowing not only strength to believe, but the very act of faith itself (which no will of man can resist). Finally, as to the fourth, concerning the saving of those who will believe; besides the fact that it is already embraced in the second and coincides with it (nor is it properly a decree which established something new, but the application of the preceding decree), the Pelagian prevision is here brought back. This makes God to depend upon man and grace on free will. It holds such an election as has for its object man considered only in the end of life and of which no sense or fruit except a conditional can be realized by anyone in this life. Since all these things are dangerous (also contrary to what is written [*antigrapha*] and untheological [*atheologa*], wholly destroying the

gratuitous election of God and erecting again the idol of free will), they have thus far constantly and deservedly been rejected by the orthodox.

The third opinion, of those who hold universal grace.

XIII. The third opinion about the order of the decrees belongs to those among the Reformed who hold to universal grace and who, moreover, so divide the divine decrees, that in various particulars they approach to the hypotheses of the Remonstrants, while in others they depart from them. For they also make four decrees: two general and two particular. The first, general—concerns Christ being given as Mediator to the human race to remove, by his satisfaction, the obstacle of divine justice and to open the way of salvation to each and every one. Another concerns universal calling by which God determined (the satisfaction being made by Christ) to call each and every one to salvation and to offer the grace in Christ obtained by means sufficient in themselves. Both of these are founded on the universal philanthropy (*philanthrōpia*) and mercy of God by which, having pitied the human race, he willed to give Christ as the universal remedy, that whosoever believes in him should not perish, but might have eternal life, and provides that the same should be offered to each and every one under the condition of faith and repentance. However because he foresaw that no one would believe on account of the innate depravity of man and that the gospel of Christ would be rejected by all, they maintain that God then by a special decree elected some to whom he would give Christ and would furnish with faith (whom afterwards he determined to save, others being left in their voluntary unbelief and impenitency). Therefore a twofold special decree must be attended to here: the one concerning the giving of faith to some; the other concerning the giving of salvation to them (which arises from the special love wherewith God pursues his chosen ones). The general decree respects the human race promiscuously and determines nothing concerning persons individually. The special, however, respects them by name by selecting some from others. The general is occupied with objective grace which is given to each and every one. The special is occupied about the subjective and either the giving or the denial of it. The general tends to

the taking away of the external impediment to salvation, placed in the impossibility (*adynamia*) of satisfying the justice of God for sin. The special, however, is occupied in removing the internal, placed in the impossibility (*adynamia*) of believing. The general is founded upon a desire of giving salvation or upon a will seriously desiring the salvation of men (and moreover destining Christ to acquire it, but not unfolding the omnipotence for bestowing it); but the special depends on a will potentially efficacious or effective. In the general, Christ is given to all, but not faith; and salvation is promised, but under a condition. In the special, the condition itself is promised and faith is given. The general is said to be of God as legislator who prescribes to men faith in Christ as the necessary condition and duty, if they desire to be saved (according to the formula of the evangelical covenant "believe and thou shalt be saved"). The special, however, depends upon the same one as the manager and dispenser of events, under which habitude (*schesei*) he determines not only what man ought to do, but what in fact he will or will not do, and what God himself has decreed to work in him.

XIV. Although this order truly differs in the principal head from the above stated order of the Arminians (viz., in the special decree, which these are unwilling to acknowledge, in order the more easily to defend the indifference [*adiaphorian*] of free will and the resistibility of grace), they who are part of this opinion agree as to this part with those who urge the particularity of grace. But in the other decrees (which are general), it cannot be denied that they accede to the order of the Remonstrants and are confirmed by almost the same arguments. Now the reasons can be sufficiently collected why that new method (although brought forward with much parade [*meta pollēs phantasias*], brought forward as the most fit for explaining places of Scripture and blunting the weapons of adversaries) could not be received by our churches. This will be further evidenced also from the inconveniences which follow the establishment of this order in the divine decrees. For (not to repeat what we before objected against the general decrees of the Arminians, which are nonetheless opposed to these) who does not see in these two decrees (to wit, the general and the special) those things are connected which cannot easily be reconciled, much less that they could be performed by one single and most simple act of will by which all things are decreed by God, since they necessarily demand a

succession of prior and posterior? By the general decree, he wills the salvation of all and by the special of only a few; by that, he loves exceedingly those whom by this he hates and turns away from; by the former he determined to give Christ and to call to faith and repentance before reprobating; by the latter, however, he reprobates those whom he foresees will be rebellious to the call and so consequently only to the decree of calling. On this account the more, because on this hypothesis it is maintained that there would be no sincerity in the calling unless the decree of calling precedes the decree of reprobation. Yea, from this very fact that the general decree is said to be necessarily prior to the special, it is plainly deduced that these not only cannot be conceived by us together and at once, but cannot be even in God unless successively. In vain, however, is it said that we also make a prior and a posterior in God when we put the decree concerning the end before the decree concerning the means; the decree of election to salvation before the decree of sending Christ and of giving faith. For widely different things are brought together; for although on account of the weakness of our minds, we cannot conceive at the same time of the decree of the end and of the means (but are compelled to divide it into two inadequate conceptions), yet it is certain that nothing hinders them from being included in one, single and most simple act in God because they are subordinated to and most strictly connected with each other. But who will say that there is the same reason of that general decree of the special love (which lay down the most diverse things with respect to the same) and hatred, the will of saving and of damning, the decree of calling and the decree of reprobating, the man called and rebellious?

XV. Second, on this hypothesis God is made to have thought of the means before the end (viz., of Christ who was the most principal means of the execution of election before the salvation of the elect). Everyone sees that this is repugnant to right reason. For in every decree, a wise person intends the end before thinking of the means. Now the destination of the Mediator is not the end of the salvation of men, but on the contrary the salvation of men is the end of the destination of the Mediator. Nor did God intend salvation for men that he might send a Mediator, but he intended the Mediator that he might procure salvation for them. Hence it has thus far been constantly believed among us that Christ is the primary means of election and the decree to send him is subordinated to the decree of election

(or rather is coordinated as one single decree because by that very same decree by which he determined to save men, he determined to save them through Christ; and thus at the same time he willed to them both this end and by this means). (2) It is confirmed by this, that the end of the mission of Christ was to save his people from their sins (Mt. 1:21) and to gather a church to himself out of the world which he would unite to himself as his mystical body. Hence in the decree to send Christ, his people ought to be considered as already such (which it could not be except from the election of God). (3) The Mediator (and they whose Mediator Christ ought to be) and the Redeemer (and those to be redeemed) are of things as to their relation (*ek tōn pros ti*) and thus (at the same time) are of things in their nature. He cannot be considered as Mediator, unless they are considered at the same time whose Mediator he ought to be. This is most especially true when that office implies necessarily that he should be the surety and head of those for whom he was sent, so that by substituting himself in their place he might receive upon himself the punishment due to them and might acquire for and communicate to them all good things. But how could the decree to send Christ be conceived without antecedently (or at least at the same time) conceiving of the election of those for whom he ought to offer himself and whose surety and head he was about to be? For since these things are relative (*schetika*), they ought to be at the same time. By that very decree by which it was determined to send Christ into the world to obtain salvation for sinners, the number of those to be saved ought also to be decreed by God. Those whom he should ransom ought to be designated, so that it might be given to those alone who were given to him of the Father by election (Jn. 17:2, 6, 9).

XVI. You may say that Christ is indeed to be regarded as the means not of election (of which he is rather the foundation), but of God's general philanthropy (*philanthrōpias*) and mercy (by which he pursues the whole human race to remove the obstacle of divine justice through a satisfaction, so that there might be no further hindrance to the salvation of men except their own unbelief). We answer that besides the fact that we have already proved that it cannot be called the foundation of election, this also can be said: that it is gratuitously supposed he was sent from the general philanthropy (*philanthrōpia*) (which regards all indefinitely but no one by name), which is repugnant to the Scripture and the mission of Christ (which

is necessarily occupied about particular individuals for whom he ought to come). (2) If Christ was sent only for this end that he might remove the obstacle of divine justice, it would follow that he acquired for us only the possibility of salvation, not salvation itself; and that he properly acquired something for God, not for us (viz., the power of giving salvation to us under this or that condition). Everyone sees that this is wholly foreign to the merit of the death of Christ and the doctrine of the Scripture, which describes the power and efficacy of the death of Christ to us, not only that the Father might give something to us, but that he might actually give salvation (not that he might be simply reconcilable, but that he might be actually reconciled). Hence he is called the prince of salvation who gives "eternal life to his sheep" (Jn. 10:28); who hath purchased for us not the possibility of salvation, but "eternal redemption" (Heb. 9:12); who has actually reconciled us unto God "having made peace through the blood of his cross" (Col. 1:20); and so in innumerable places. You may add, perhaps, that Christ did not only propose this general end to himself, but that he had also another special end of dying for the elect and those who would believe by name. But thus there is gratuitously supposed to be both in God (sending Christ) and in Christ (dying), a twofold intention: the one general—of offering himself for all under a condition; the other special—of giving himself efficaciously for some certain ones. It is as if in one surety, two were to be sought: one who pledges in part for all, but the other who pledges in all for some; the one impetrating salvation for all (but under a condition of such a nature as to render that impetration vain and useless); the other, however, who absolutely obtains and at the same time applies it to some; one who dies for the good of all; another who dies in the place of only a few. Yet the Scripture, when it speaks of the death of Christ for men, nowhere sets forth this twofold intention, but one only of substituting himself in the place of sinners and of acquiring for these the expiation of sins and all the blessings of salvation. Next, if Christ had a special regard for some (as given to him of the Father) their election must necessarily be conceived antecedently to the decree of the mission of Christ. Since the primary scope of his mission was altogether the salvation of them, they for whom he came must be supposed to have been elected (before his mission was considered). For Christ was not sent that they might be chosen, but (on the contrary) he came that he might present himself for them. Otherwise the

elect ought to be for the world because Christ would be sent as Redeemer for them, not the world for the elect. Nevertheless, all the benefits which all other men obtain ought to be ascribed to the elect (for whose sake the heavens and earth continue, and which will perish at once when their number shall be made up; for whose sake equally Christ appeared and the gospel is preached). Hence it is evident that the mission of Christ could not be decreed without those at the same time being designated for whom alone he would come and for whose sake he was elected and foreordained as Mediator and head from eternity.

XVII. Third, this order supposes that Christ has not merited faith for his own because the satisfaction for all is conceived to precede the decree to give faith to some. Thus there are those who are consequently excluded from obtaining faith in Christ, who nevertheless were not excluded from his redemption and merit. Nor do they (with whom we treat) deny it who derive it from the free decree of God. They moreover maintain that it should rather be called the "gift of the Father" than the "gift of the Son." Yet the Scripture everywhere attributes this to Christ no less than all other spiritual benefits (Eph. 1:3; Phil. 1:29; Heb. 12:2). Even the consideration of the covenant of grace alone (of which Christ was made the Mediator and Surety) necessarily implies this. For in the covenant of grace the conditions and all the means of salvation are promised to us on account of him with salvation itself: among which the primary is most undoubtedly the Holy Spirit and the gift of faith (Jer. 31:33; 32:40; Lk. 24:49). And if this grace flows from him as the head into all the members by his own efficacy, why should it not be said to depend upon him as surety, inasmuch as he obtained it for us by his merit?

XVIII. Fourth, less properly (in the aforementioned order) is calling placed before election. It is certain that calling is destinated for the execution of election; nor ought this to have place only with respect to the internal call made by the Spirit, but also to the external made by the word. The Scripture frequently testifies and the thing itself proclaims that for no other superior cause has God instituted the ministry and provided for the preaching of the gospel in the world, than to collect his church and to lead the elect into communion with Christ and through Christ to salvation. Hence it is necessary that they to whom the gospel was properly destinated should at first be presented to God as objects. But although this call extends

more widely than election and many more are called by this method than are chosen (Mt. 20:16), it is extended secondarily even to the reprobate (who are mixed up with the elect) in order to show them their duty and to point out the way of salvation (as was said before). Yet it does not cease to be the means (properly so called) to the salvation of the elect in whom it is received by faith and operates effectually. In this respect, it is not extended beyond the end itself (viz., the salvation of the elect). If Christ places it before election when he says, "Many are called and few chosen" (Mt. 20:16), it does not immediately follow that it ought to be before in the decree. For there is one method in the order of execution (of which Christ speaks), but another in the order of intention. For although it is certain that God carries out his counsels in that order in which he decreed to carry them out, still it cannot thence be inferred that the order of intention is the same with that of execution. In the former, the end precedes as intended and the means follow. In the latter, the means precede, the end follows as obtained. Just as a wise man first intends the end and afterwards the means (yet first uses the means before arriving at the end), so God in the execution begins from calling in order to bring to the salvation destinated by election. But in the intention, on the contrary, he first thinks of the end or of salvation to be destinated by election; next he thinks of calling as the necessary means for obtaining that end.

XIX. Fifth, the distinction between "God as legislator" and "Father" or "manager" and "disposer of events" (upon which is founded the whole series of these decrees) cannot apply here. It may have its place and be rightly used by theologians when treating of the comparison between the legal and evangelical covenants. In the former, he holds himself after the manner of a lawgiver only by the promulgation of the law and the exaction of duty; but in the latter he acts as the Father who not only commands, but also operates; not only enjoins duty, but gives strength to perform it. Thus he is rightly called the lawgiver of all, but the Father of a few. However it cannot have its place (unless falsely) and be referred to the evangelical covenant, as if God in it would act now only as a lawgiver, then as a Father. For it is plain that this covenant (diverse from the legal in its whole genus) belongs to a Father, not only to a lawgiver (whose essence does not consist only in the prescription of duty for the obtaining of salvation), but especially in the absolute promise of salvation in Christ and of all the means

necessary to obtain it. Therefore it is usually expressed by the name of "promise" by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*) and of "testament" to designate that the whole depends on the grace of God the Father in Christ. Otherwise it might have been said either that the evangelical covenant is no less without strength (*asthenes*) than the law itself (Rom. 8:3) and can be abrogated (which the apostle constantly denies, Heb. 8:7, 13); or is twofold —the one universal with all in which salvation is promised under the condition of faith, which is prescribed, but is not given (that it therefore may remain void and inefficacious); the other, however, particular with the elect alone, in which not only is salvation promised under the condition of faith, but also faith itself and that which is really energetic (*energētikon*) and obtains its effect infallibly in all the covenanted. The latter is a thing unheard of in Scripture and in sound theology. Again, since, in the destination and mission of Christ, God has exhibited to us the highest love (than which a greater cannot be supposed as the Scripture everywhere testifies, Jn. 3:16; 15:13; Rom. 5:8; 1 Jn. 4:9) and has bestowed upon us a great and most excellent gift (than which nothing greater can be conceived, drawing all other things after itself, Rom. 8:32), who will say that this proceeds from God the lawgiver and not from God the Father? It is the office of the lawgiver to prescribe to the creature; but to give a Savior to execute the work of redemption and substitute himself in our place for the expiation of our sins and the procuring of salvation, is not the part of a lawgiver, but of a Father. The Scripture leads us to this when it asserts that Christ was given to us by God as the sponsor and Mediator of the new covenant so that peace being made by his blood, he might reconcile God to men and men to God and so might be the foundation and the cause of all kinds of blessings, to be bestowed upon us either in grace or in glory (Eph. 1:3, 4; Col. 1:20; Heb. 9:15). This surely could not be said if the mission of Christ was not the proper blessing of the Father to procure wholly the salvation of his own, but the work only of a lawgiver (who willed in this way to remove the obstacle of his justice in order to establish the evangelical law of faith in Christ and to open the way to himself for prescribing this duty to the creature). If, in the gospel dispensation, the external call directed to the reprobate has the relation only of a legal command (because it does not reach farther than preception of duty), it does not follow that the gift of the Son (or the decree of his mission) is from God

as lawgiver since it is evident that the proper design of God in it is no other than to procure the salvation of the elect (who were given to him by the Father to be redeemed).

XX. Since, therefore, from these things it is clear that this order of decrees departs not a little from the example of sound words and draws various absurdities after itself, it ought not to seem astonishing that it could not be received by our churches. Nor ought it to be alleged that it seems better suited: (1) to exalt the goodness of God (for it is not exalted, but rather obscured and diminished, when it is maintained to be vain and inefficacious); (2) to save the verity of the invitation of all men to salvation (for from what has been said before it is evident that its sincerity is self-consistent without universal grace; nor is it founded upon the universality of grace, but upon the economy of the new covenant by which, all external distinction of people being taken away, the Son acquired all nations for himself as an inheritance, i.e., he opens and grants commonly at pleasure the grace of preaching to whatsoever nations and people so that he may gather a church from them); (3) to vindicate the justice of God against the reprobate (for he is always seen to be blameless whether he condemns men on account of sins committed against the law or fully prosecutes them as guilty of unbelief against the gospel; since in both cases [voluntarily sinning], they are the cause of their own destruction, not God); (4) to reconcile the places of Scripture which (now more broadly, then more strictly) speak of the grace of God and the mission of Christ (for that reconciliation is easily accomplished from another source, from the different dispensation of this covenant and the various relations [*schesei*] of the covenanted).

The fourth opinion, which is the common one of the Reformed.

XXI. The third opinion, therefore, being dismissed, we embrace the fourth, which is the common one among the Reformed. It holds a twofold decree according to a twofold order of the works of God: the one of providence, the other of predestination. In the former, God is conceived to have thought first about the manifestation of his glory in the creation of man, then in the

permission of the fall. In the latter, he is conceived to have thought first about the manifestation of his glory in the exercise of mercy and justice by the election of some and the reprobation of others (afterward about the means necessary to obtain that end). However as salvation can be considered under a threefold relation (*schesei*) (with regard either to the destination or the acquisition or the application), so a threefold decree concerning it is conceived: the first (by which it is destinated by election); the second (by which its acquisition is procured by redemption); and the third (by which its application is ordained by calling). So God (moved by his philanthropy [*philanthrōpia*] and goodness) is conceived to pity the fallen human race, so that although he might most justly destroy the whole on account of sin, yet was unwilling that they should utterly perish; but selected a certain and definite number of men (lying with others in the common mass of corruption) unto salvation in preference to the others. Yet because he could not have mercy on them with the saving of his justice (unless a satisfaction had first been made to him for sin), he therefore destined Christ as their Mediator, surety and head (who, the fullest satisfaction having been made, might acquire for them salvation, viz., the Spirit, faith and sanctification). Finally, because salvation had been acquired for the elect in vain unless it would be applied to them, he therefore determined to call them effectually to Christ by the preaching of the gospel and the grace of the Holy Spirit (who by powerfully working faith in them by his own efficacy infallibly applies and bestows the salvation acquired by the merit of Christ).

XXII. According to this order, the first decree with us concerns the creation of man. The second concerns the permission of his fall by which he drew with him into ruin and destruction all his posterity. The third concerns the election to salvation of some certain ones from the fallen human race and the leaving of others in their native corruption and misery. The fourth concerns the sending of Christ into the world as the Mediator and surety of the elect. Having appeased God's justice by his own most perfect obedience, Christ obtained for them alone full salvation. The fifth concerns effectually calling them by the preaching of the gospel and the grace of the Holy Spirit, giving them faith, justifying, sanctifying and at last glorifying them.

XXIII. Three things principally prove that this order is indeed the most suitable. (1) The Scripture subordinates the mission of Christ and redemption to election (Eph. 1:3, 4, 7; Rom. 8:29, 30; Jn. 3:16; 17:2, 6; 1 Thess. 5:9; 1 Pet. 1:2) and derives from the merit of Christ all the saving gifts of the Spirit (to wit, faith and repentance, Jn. 16:7; Rom. 8:32; Eph. 1:3–5; Phil. 1:29; Heb. 9:14, 15). (2) The nature of the thing—in the legitimate order of things the intention of the end ought to precede the intention of the means, so that in the execution the means should first be used before the end is arrived at. Now here the end intended by God in the covenant of grace is the salvation of the elect, but the means to procure it are Christ and the call to the individual by the word and the Spirit. Christ would never have been sent into the world unless the elect were to be redeemed. Nor would the gospel have been preached unless the same were to be collected into the mystical body of Christ. When Paul says "it pleased God" (*eudokian*) by the preaching of the gospel "to save them that believe by the foolishness of preaching" (1 Cor. 1:21), he teaches that the end of the ministry and of the gifts bestowed by Christ is no other than the "perfecting of the saints and the edifying of the body of Christ" (Eph. 4:12). For that reason, it is necessary that the elect (who alone are to be saved and edified in the body of Christ) should be considered antecedently to the mission of Christ and the preaching of the gospel (which was instituted for their sake). Thus the object of calling is the elect, not of election the called. (3) The economical operation of the persons of the holy Trinity in the work of salvation: for as each of them concurs in it according to the mode of working peculiar and proper to himself (the Father by electing, the Son by redeeming and the Holy Spirit by regenerating), so they ought to agree in the object about which they are occupied. Thus there is the same periphery (*peripheria*) of the election of the Father, of the redemption of the Son and of the regeneration of the Holy Spirit; so that as many as are elected by the Father should be redeemed by the Son and regenerated by the Spirit. And no one is given to the Son to be redeemed who was not elected by the Father and who is not to be sanctified by the Spirit.

XXIV. Although in truth we think the decrees of God should thus be arranged, yet we must always bear in mind that this is said only with respect to our manner of conception. For we are compelled to divide into various inadequate conceptions what we cannot compass in one single conception.

However this is not said on the part of God himself who decreed with himself all these things by a single and most simple act (as much those things which look to the end, as those which look to the means). In this sense, it is rightly said that there is in God only one single decree (embracing at once the end and the means) by which he determined to have mercy unto salvation upon some above others and to save them by and on account of Christ. In this we think we ought to acquiesce with simplicity and soberness (so that we may be solicitous concerning the reduction of this saving doctrine to practice by the desire of piety and sanctification, and concerning the confirmation of our election and call by good works) rather than be concerned with the investigation of vain and interminable (*aperantois*) questions, which the profane temerity of men is accustomed to agitate here (feeding an idle curiosity, but not building up faith).

XXV. Here is the profitable and saving use of the doctrine of predestination: that it may not afford any occasion either to the desperation of men or to their profane license—the two terrible rocks upon which the wicked (falsely abusing it) are accustomed to strike. Some, from the immutability of reprobation, elicit the certainty of their own damnation and the impossibility (*adynamian*) of salvation whatever they may do. Others gather from the certainty of election, the infallibility of their own salvation no matter how they may live. But it is evident that they basely deceive themselves, since there is no doctrine which affords greater consolation to believers and more powerful incentives to piety and holiness (if anyone properly understands it and does not rashly separate what God has joined together or falsely join together what he has separated—the principal source of the error of the wicked). Being profane, they separate the means from the end while they promise themselves salvation without the desire of holiness. Others separate the end from the means; they despair of salvation, although they might labor for holiness. He, however, who will always join together these things (strictly and mutually connected with each other by God) will never abuse this saving doctrine either to desperation or licentiousness.

FIFTH TOPIC

CREATION

FIRST QUESTION

What is creation?

The works of God are of nature and grace.

I. Thus far we have treated the immanent acts of God *ad extra*, commonly called the decrees. We intend now to speak of the transient and external acts (called the works of God) by which he executes his decrees outside of himself. However, because some are carried out by a general and common operation in nature, others by a particular and proper action in the church, they are usually distinguished into works of nature and grace. The former are so called not because God works them by nature (since indeed he acts externally, not by necessity of nature, but by the liberty of his own will, Ps. 115:3; Eph. 1:11), but because they pertain to all creatures and their natural ends. The works of grace refer only to men and their supernatural ends.

The works of nature are creation and conservation.

II. Again, the works of nature are twofold: of creation, which God produced by the first creation; and of conservation and providence, by which created things are conserved in their being and governed and directed in their operation.

III. The first work of nature is creation, by which he formed out of nothing as to its whole being this entire universe and all that is in it. Hence it is called “the beginning of the ways of God” (Prov. 8:22) because having

come forth from the secret sanctuary of his eternal majesty, he willed to communicate himself *ad extra* by it and manifest himself unto men.

Creation is used either broadly or strictly and means "a production out of nothing."

IV. However creation here is not taken broadly and improperly. In this sense, it is used in the Scriptures for any production of things whatsoever, even by generation: "Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created; and thou renewest the face of the earth" (Ps. 104:30); "I make peace, and create evil" (Is. 45:7); or for the ordination of certain extraordinary events—"The Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, A woman shall compass a man" (Jer. 31:22); or for regeneration which is (as it were) a second creation, both in grace—"Create in me a clean heart" (Ps. 51:10) and in glory—"for, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth" (Is. 65:17; Rev. 21:1). Rather creation is taken here strictly for the production of things out of nothing, which is the proper and primary signification of the Hebrew word *br'*, the Greek *ktizein* and the Latin *creandi* (which is maintained in the theological schools).

V. It means "the production of all things out of nothing" (*ex nihilo*). Since all things were created, they must necessarily have been brought forth from nothing because whatever might be supposed to have preexisted ought to have been contained in the universality of all things. Therefore God is said "to call those things which be not as though they were" (*ta mē onta hōs onta*, Rom. 4:17) because by calling he gives being. Elsewhere he is said "to have commanded the light to shine out of darkness" (2 Cor. 4:6), not as if out of matter, but as if out of the bounds (*ex termino*). Therefore, when all things are said to be "out of nothing" (*ex nihilo*), the preposition *ex* ("out of") does not indicate a relation (*schesin*) to matter or to the efficient. Rather it indicates a relation to a terminus, so that no subject existing before the creation is denoted, but only the *terminus a quo* from which all things were produced or the order of creation (which was made not so much out of nothing [*ex nihilo*], as after nothing [*post nihilum*]).

VI. Creation may be either first and immediate (which is simply *ex nihilo*) or secondary and mediate (which is made indeed from some matter).

The former is unfit and out of order, not set in order by any force of second causes (if we may so speak) to the production of the terminus and in which there resides only an obediential or non-repugnant potency (with respect to the first cause acting by an infinite power). So "nothing" is used either absolutely and simply (with respect to itself as well as to the subject; materially as well as formally) from which the first creation was made; or relatively and formally such with respect to itself (if not with respect to the subject from which it is said to be second).

VII. Nothing can come from nothing: (1) not naturally through a finite and created power; (2) not from a subject as the principle and intrinsically constitutive material; (3) not by way of generations. On the contrary, all things are properly said to be from nothing supernaturally through infinite power (as from the *terminus a quo* and by the way of creation).

VIII. It is one thing for visible things to be made from things not appearing positively (i.e., from certain invisible things); another, however, to be made from things not appearing negatively (i.e., from no preexisting things). The apostle does not speak of the former, but only of the latter (Heb. 11:3). Therefore he does not say *eis to ek mē phainomenōn ta blepomena gegonenai* (as if those nonappearances were some preexistent subject), but *eis to mē ek phainomenōn ta blepomena gegonenai* ("were seen to be made not out of the things which do appear"), thus denying that anything existed before the production of matter. Thus it is the same as when God is said to have made all things *ouk ex ontōn* ("not from things which exist," 2 Mac. 7:28).

IX. A thing is said to be the same in origin as in its destruction, not with respect to the terminus of creation, but with respect to the beginnings of generation. Hence the inference would be improper: no thing is resolved into nothing, therefore no thing was produced from nothing.

X. Although creation is sometimes called a "generation" (as in Gen. 2:4 and thence the book of Genesis took its name), this must be understood not physically, but metaphysically for the origin of things. Creation differs most widely from generation. The latter demands and always supposes a subject and *terminus a quo* (viz., the negation of form in a fit subject, a corporeal thing [as the *terminus ad quem*]—motion, time and place, and is made successively by a particular cause). But creation (at least the first) makes (does not suppose) its own object, is extended to immaterial things and is

made by a universal cause (and it alone in an instant). Hence, properly speaking, no subject is supplied to creation (although the terminus of creation can, in a certain sense, be called also its subject because the action is terminated upon it and in a measure finds in it its subject).

Active and passive creation, which is the foundation of the relation between God and creatures. It is properly called "real."

XI. Creation can be considered in two ways: either actively (inasmuch as it belongs to God and so it is not indeed a practical volition of God formally because arising from it as its immediate principle; but is a transient act of God by which he confers being upon created things); or passively (inasmuch as it belongs to the creature passing from a state of nonexistence to existence, not by a change properly so called, the transit of a preexisting subject from one term to another, but a common and general change, implying any inception whatever of a thing). Thus arises the relation existing between God and his creatures, which although adding nothing new to God (and indicating only an extrinsic habitude to the creature) is yet properly called real, both because it stands between real extremes and because the reason of founding it on both sides occurs on the part of the thing (even no one thinking). The creature being made, God always holds the relation (*schesin*) of Creator to it, and it in turn depends upon and is related to him as the creature (even if no one would think of him).

And yet it implies no change in God.

XII. Now although creation is not formally a divine volition, still on that account there is no change made in God by it. Nor is any new perfection added to him because it is an external and transient act which is from God, but not in him. It is made without any motion and new determination. No new will enters into him, but only a new external work proceeds from his eternal efficacious and omnipotent will. Nor ought any perfection to be added to him on that account because the internal acts (which perfect the operator) must be distinguished from the external (which perfect the work,

to which class creation belongs). Hence whatever change was made by the creation was made in the creatures passing from nonexistence to being and not in God himself creating. By the same practical volition which he had from eternity, he created the world in time—produced it actually in the beginning of time.

Second Question

Is the ability to create communicable to any creature either principally or instrumentally? We deny

Occasion of the question. Some of the Scholastics advocate the communicability of the creative power.

I. This question was broached by the Scholastics and sharply contested among them, some defending the affirmative, others the negative. Durand maintained that a creature having a negative power to create could be produced by God (*Sententias theologicas Petri Lombardi Commentariorum*, Bk. 2, Dist. 1, Q. 4 [1556], pp. 109–11). The Master (Peter Lombard) thinks a creature can be an instrument of creation, employed voluntarily by God, able to work not by its own, but by a borrowed power (*Sententiarum* 4, Dist. 5.3 [PL 192/2.852]). Suarez and many of the Romanists, according to Vasquez (*Commentariorum ac Disputationum in Primam Partem ... Thomae* 2, Disp. 176.1 [1631], pp. 280–82) defend this, having specially in view the establishment of the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation (according to which insignificant sacrificers are impiously called "creators of their own Creator," as Biel says [*Canonis Misse Expositio*+]). Nevertheless the majority of the Scholastics earnestly maintain the opposite (viz., that creative power can belong to no other than God). Thomas Aquinas proves this at large (*Summa Contra Gentiles* 2.21 [trans. J.F. Anderson, 1956], pp. 60–64 and ST, I, Q. 45, Art. 5, p. 236). Occam, Bonaventure, Cajetan, Bannes and many others agree with him.

As also the Remonstrants and Socinians. The orthodox deny it.

II. The Remonstrants with the Socinians have also adopted this fiction, having drained it either from the inventions of the Jews (who hold that God employed angels as co-workers [*synergous*] in creation) or from the ditches of the philosophers (who taught that the supreme being made this lower world by the aid of demons or *genii*). Their object is to tear away and weaken the crowning argument for the divinity of Christ (which we draw from the works of creation). But we reject this dogma as rash and blasphemous. We also hold that the power to create is peculiar to God alone and incommunicable to any other.

III. (1) God claims creation for himself alone: "I am the Lord that maketh all things; that stretcheth forth the heavens alone" (Is. 44:24*) to the exclusion of all creatures; "that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself" and consequently by no other instruments; "I have made the earth, and created man upon it: I, even my hands, have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I commanded" (Is. 45:12); "For thus saith the Lord that created the heavens; God himself that formed the earth and made it; I am the Lord and there is none else" (Is. 45:18)—proving that no one but he himself is Jehovah because he alone is Creator; "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance?" (Is. 40:12*); "Hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not?" (Is. 40:28); "which alone spreadeth out the heavens, and treadeth upon the waves of the sea" (Job 9:8); and in many other passages. Hence the name "Creator" is usually applied to him singularly (as proper and incommunicable), which could not be said if the creative power could be communicated to others).

IV. (2) By this mark, God is distinguished from idols and the false gods of the heathen: "The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth," but the Lord is the true God "who hath made the earth by his power, and established the world by his wisdom" (Jer. 10:11, 12); "for all the gods of the nations are idols: but the Lord made the heavens" (Ps. 96:5). Thus Hezekiah distinguishes the true God from all false gods by this mark: "Thou hast made heaven and earth" (Is. 37:16). Nor is this denied only to false gods but also to all creatures, while it is attributed to God alone.

V. (3) Creation is a work of infinite power. Hence it cannot be performed by a finite being, not even as a physical instrument (which should be of efficacy proportionate to the production of its effect). Rather it demands an omnipotent cause. However that it must be of infinite power is evident both from this—that it is performed by a nod and word alone; and—that by it the infinite distance between being and nothing ought to be taken away. For since being and nothing are immediately and contradictorily opposed (and by that distance are separated from each other, a greater than which can neither be nor be conceived), they must stand infinitely apart: not indeed by a distance of perfection (as God stands infinitely distant from his creatures, and the infinite being stands far more distant from nothing than the finite, which has fewer perfections); but by a negative distance and one of contradiction (according to which the finite being stands equally distant from nothing with the infinite because the finite equally with the infinite being is not nothing or something). That God is truly not from nothing and cannot be resolved into nothing (as the creature) does not depend upon the distance of negation between being and nothing, but upon the infinite distance of perfection between God and his creatures. Indeed although every creature is finite, it does not follow that a finite power can be sufficient to produce it because we must distinguish between the thing itself and the mode of production. The produced substance must be finite because nothing infinite can be produced. Yet the mode of production does not cease to belong to infinite power because omnipotence is required to bring a creature forth from nothing.

VI. (4) Every creature acts in dependence upon a subject and requires a subject on which to operate. Here, however, there is no preexisting subject since creation makes and posits its subject, but does not suppose it. (5) Every cause (principal as well as instrumental) ought to reach the work itself and to have a proper and peculiar power to act at least dispositively to the production of the effect. And yet no creature can be so elevated as to be capable of a work of infinite power (whether principally or instrumentally and with such an efficiency as to take hold of the work itself). This is so both because it is an instantaneous act (and thus standing in need of no preparation) and because it has no subject upon which its labor can be exercised.

VII. Although creatures may concur in the working of miracles, it does not follow that they can concur equally in creating. (1) In miracles, a subject is always supplied with which the instrument can be occupied, but not in creation. (2) In the working of miracles, men hold only a moral relation (as moral instruments at whose presence God works), but not a physical (so as to take hold of the miraculous work by any real action). Hence the apostles say that they do not work miracles by their own power, but only by the power of Christ (Acts 3:12). Although there cannot be only a moral cause of a physical effect, still there can be a moral instrumental cause together with the physical. But as creation takes place in a moment and no subject is supplied, no instrumental cause (either physical or moral) can be granted in it.

VIII. God created all things by a word, not after the manner of an instrument and ministerial cause, but efficiently and principally by the personal Word, the eternal Son of God, the same in essence with the Father; who, therefore, with the Father and the Holy Spirit constituted the one sole total cause of creation. As the same nature belongs to him, so the same causality and energetic (*energētikē*) force—the order of acting which belongs to them however being preserved. When all things are said to have been made "by the Word" (*dia logou*, Jn. 1:3), this does not denote the instrumental cause anymore than when all things are said to be "through him" (*di' autou* [viz., God], Rom. 11:36).

IX. Although God is not able to communicate creative power to the creature, it does not follow that this argues impotency in God because it does not proceed from a defect of power, but from its perfection (which cannot be extended to contradictories). Such a communication is absurd, both on the part of God (who cannot give his glory to another) and on the part of the creature (because he would thus be an infinite and omnipotent being, i.e., not a creature).

X. It requires the same power to create and recreate. If infinite power is required for creation, no less is demanded for recreation. Hence conversion is so often expressed under the name of creation and the exceeding great power of God is celebrated in it (Eph. 1:19, 20; 3:16, 20). And if God effects it by the ministry of men and the preaching of the word, this is not done by them as the physical cause, but only as the moral (since the Holy Spirit by his efficacy alone can perform the work).

THIRD QUESTION

Was the world from eternity, or at least could it have been? We deny

1. Question concerning the actual eternity of the world against the philosophers.

I. The question has two parts. One concerns the actual eternity of the world—whether it was really from eternity; the other concerns the possibility—whether at least it could be. The first lies between us and the ancient philosophers who asserted the eternity of the world; either materially only (as Plato) as to its matter which they held to be coeternal with God. This was the fiction of the Stoics who advocated two principles of things *noun kai hylēn* ("mind and matter"). Or formally also, as Aristotle, who asserted that the world was formally eternal also and maintained that from eternity there were the same successive changes of generation and corruption as are observed now (*Physics* 8.1 [Loeb, 2:269–79]). Thomas Aquinas (with a too great love of his teacher) endeavors to excuse him, as if he did not believe the world to be absolutely eternal, but only denied that either the first matter or the heavens were produced by generation (ST, I, Q. 46, Art. 1, p. 241). Yet it can be easily shown that the reasons he adduces were intended to prove (against Plato) that the world never had a beginning (cf. *Physics* 8.1 [Loeb, 2:277]). The pseudo-Christians and atheists of our day (who advocate the eternity of the world or at least of matter) agree with these.

2. Question concerning the possible eternity of the world against the Scholastics.

II. The other question is agitated among the Scholastics, most of whom contend for the possible eternity of the world; cf. Thomas Aquinas (ST, I, Q. 46, Art. 1, pp. 240–42), Cajetan, Durandus, Occam, Biel, Capreolus, Pererius and others. Some of these again refer this to incorruptible beings alone; others, however, extend it to all creatures whatsoever. Still many are for the negative (as Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus, Toletus, Henry of Ghent and others) who assert the newness of the world to be in accordance

with the law of creation and so deny that it could have been produced from eternity. The orthodox on this point follow the latter, denying both the actual and possible eternity of the world and holding that the world was created by God in the beginning of time only.

Proof that the world is not eternal.

III. The arguments against the actual eternity of the world are: (1) the voice of the Scriptures which state that "in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth" (Gen. 1:1). What is said to have been made in the beginning cannot be said to have existed from eternity. Nor ought the Jerusalem Targum to be quoted here in opposition, which renders *br'shyth by bchvkhm*' ("in wisdom") because God is said to have "founded the earth by wisdom" (Prov. 3:19) (*Das Fragmententhargum: Thargum jeruschalmi zum Pentateuch* [ed. M. Ginsburger, 1899], p. 1); or that reference is here made to the Son, the Wisdom of the Father, as the author of creation (which pleases many according to Jerome, *Hebraicae Questiones in Libro Geneseos* [CCSL 72.3]). The latter is true, but is not the meaning here. The word *r'shyth* cannot bear such an interpretation, since it can be referred to nothing more fitly than to the beginning of time and created things. Thus John explains it, "In the beginning was the Word" (*En archē ēn ho Logos*, Jn. 1:1); and Paul, "Thou, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth" (*kat' archas*, Heb. 1:10); and "from the beginning of the creation" (*ap' archēs ktiseōs*, 2 Pet. 3:4). Hence Onkelos renders *bhqdhmyn* "in the beginnings" (*Targum Onkelos to Genesis* [ed. M. Aberbach and B. Grossfeld, 1982], p. 43); Rabbi David Kimchi translates *br'shyth by btchlh* ("in the beginning"); the masters of the Jews interpret with Solomon Jarchi (Rashi) *br'shyth hkhl* "in the beginning of the universe" (*Pentateuch ... with Rashi's Commentary* [1965], p. 2). Now creation is said to have taken place in a "beginning" not "preexisting" (as if there had been a beginning of time even before), but "coexisting" (because with the first creature, its duration or time was created). Augustine rightly sets this forth: "although we believe that God made heaven and earth in the beginning of time, we ought by all means to understand that before the beginning of time, time was not; for God made time also … And if time began to be with heaven and earth, time

cannot be found before he had made the heavens and the earth" (*De Genesi Contra Manichaeos libro duo* 1.2* [PL 34.174–75]).

IV. The various passages of Scripture which assert the production of the world belong here: Ps. 33:6; Jn. 1:3; Heb. 1:10; Jer. 10:11, 12. They also predicate the eternal existence of God (as also of his decree) from this—that they are said to have been before the foundation of heaven and earth (Ps. 90:2; Prov. 8:22, 23; Eph. 1:4; Mt. 25:34; 2 Tim. 1:9). For since every production of things externally implies newness of being (because whatever is produced could not have been before it was produced and what is eternal can have nothing before itself), it is necessarily proved that the world is not eternal, but was certainly made in time. But as they who contend for the eternity of the world do not acknowledge the Scriptures, we must consult nature herself and sound reason which demonstrate the newness of the world by many arguments.

V. First, from the subordination of causes in which a progress into infinity cannot be granted without necessarily arriving at a first cause which gave beginning to the others (as has been already proved, Topic III, Question 1, Section 6). (2) From the newness of motion and time; for since neither motion nor time could have been from eternity (but must necessarily have had some beginning), it is evident that the world (which is in perpetual motion and whose duration is measured by time) could not have been from eternity and must have had a beginning. Now time and motion cannot be eternal as has already been proved by various reasons in the cited place (Topic III). From this also is gathered most certainly that both demand a succession of priority and posteriority (which is incompatible with eternity). Again, if the motion of the sun were from eternity, the sun must have been from eternity either in some one sign of the Zodiac or in all at the same time. But neither can be said: not the former because it would follow that by an infinite duration it had passed through a whole eternity over only one or another sign (i.e., the finite space which it passes over in one month)—which is absurd (*asystaton*); not the latter because it would be necessary for the sun to be in all the signs of the Zodiac at the same time. Otherwise it would have been in one before the other (which is repugnant to eternity). But there is a contradiction in saying that the sun moved through the Zodiac (i.e., passed from one sign to another) and yet was in all the signs. The same may be said of the various changes seen on the earth and all sublunary

things (and thus in men themselves) which cannot be called eternal and necessarily demand a beginning.

VI. Third, from the newness of histories and the sciences and arts. For the most ancient profane histories do not reach back farther than the Trojan War (i.e., about three thousand years) because from the destruction of Troy to the foundation of Rome 730 years elapsed; from the foundation of Rome to the time of Christ 750 years; and from Christ to us 1678 years. Nor does the sacred history written by Moses cover any more than six thousand years. And yet if men were from eternity, it is not very likely that there would have been no histories except for five or six thousand years. For why that deep silence of previous times? Or why did history begin then rather than before? This moved Lucretius, although an Epicurean and despiser of God, to acknowledge the newness of the world:

> Yet grant this heaven, this earth the heaven surrounds,
> Time ne'er produced, eternal of themselves—
> Whence ere the Theban war, and fate of Troy,
> Have earlier bards no earlier actions sung?
> Whence fell each chief unhonored? and his deeds
> Shut from the tablet of immortal fame?
> But, I think the world's vast scope exists
> New from its nature, and of recent birth:
> For many a liberal art now first unfolds,
> And much is still progressive; genius much,
> E'en at this hour, so navigation adds;
> Nor minstrels long (*De Rerum Natura* 5.324–33 [Loeb, 362–63]).

After an attentive consideration of these things, Macrobius says, "Who can doubt that the world is recent and new, since Greek history scarcely contains the history of two thousand years+." If, however, any people extend their annals farther back, they are either mere fables and the sport of lying fame or monthly years (or years of four months) and not solar years are meant. Diodorus Siculus observes this concerning the Chaldeans (*Diodorus Siculus* 2*.31 [Loeb, 1:453–57]) who according to Cicero boasted that they preserved the births of children forty-three thousand years before Alexander the Great, understanding by it lunar years (i.e., months) (?

De Divinatione 2.43 [Loeb, 20:472–73]). Porphyry himself (an unexceptionable witness here) who saw these observations of the Chaldeans (which Calisthenes had sent from Babylon to Greece in the time of Alexander) writes that there were only nineteen hundred years. The same can be said of the arts and sciences. For it is evident that their first beginnings do not extend back beyond some thousands of years at the farthest. This appears from their inventors whose series Pliny (although an assertor of the eternity of the world, inconsistently) relates (*Natural History* 7.56 [Loeb, 2:634–41] and 8 [Loeb, 3:3–161]). Now who can believe that men existed from eternity and devised no such inventions; or if so, did not transmit them to their posterity; or if they desired to transmit them, yet they have so perished that no trace at all of them can be found by us?

VII. Fourth, from the consent of nations and of the wise men of the world, many of whom at least have not been ignorant of the production of the world; although they could not rise to the knowledge of the creation *ex nihilo* by the Word (which Paul testifies can be perceived only by faith —"Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear," Heb. 11:3). If similar expressions occur in Plato, Hermes Trismegistus and other wiser heathen, they were not derived simply from the light of nature, but from the testimonies of the Chaldeans and Egyptians (who received their knowledge from Moses and the Israelites). Still it is evident that among them it was believed as a certain thing that the world had a beginning. The testimonies of Hermes Trismegistus, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato, Proclus, Homer, Hesiod and others (which we omit for the sake of brevity) can be seen in Plesseus (*A Worke Concerning the trunesse of Christian Religion* 9 [1617], 122–43). and Zanchius ("De Tribus Elohim," in *Opera Theologicorum* [1613], 1:14–16).

Proof that the world could not have been eternal.

VIII. As the world is not eternal so neither could it have been (whatever the Scholastics may babble). The impossibility arises both on the part of God, on the part of creation and on the part of the creature. First, on the part of God because he cannot produce anything coeternal with himself (otherwise there would be two eternals). Thus eternity (according to the Scriptures an

incommunicable attribute of God) would be communicated to the creature. (2) A cause should be prior to its own effect; nor can an effect be coeval with its cause. To no purpose are the following objections brought up here, (a) The eternal generation of the Son (which does not hinder his being coeternal with the Father) because creation differs most widely from that generation. The latter is an internal act of God which makes the Son consubstantial (*homoousion*) with the Father by a communication of the same numerical essence. The former is an action passing out of God into the creature, producing in it an entirely different nature, (b) The objection from the emanation of the sun's rays which are coeval with the sun. For the relation of things acting by emanation differs from that of those acting by transmutation (natural from free agents). In the former, the effects can be coeval with the cause, but not in the latter. The rays emanate naturally from and are of the same nature with the sun, but creatures are produced freely by and are altogether different from God.

IX. Second, it is repugnant on the part of creation. Since creation is out of nothing (in which a thing passes from nonexistence to being), it necessarily carries with it newness of being because a thing must be conceived not to have been before it could be produced (and so could not have been eternal). Nor does it help the matter to say that by the words *ex nihilo* is meant only the negation of material or independence of a subject. For it also denotes a nothing of terminus, so that the creating at one time was not and afterwards began to be.

X. Third, that impossibility exists on the part of the creature: (1) because eternity is repugnant to what has a successive and finite duration and being. And yet every creature as such has a successive and finite being and duration (and cannot be conceived otherwise). Therefore (2) if the creature is eternal, it ought to have existed either in the eternity of God or in its own. If the latter, there would be two eternals, two infinites, and the duration of God and of the creature would be equal (and there would be an eternity out of God with which he would coexist). If the former, the existence of creatures will be the existence of God (since the eternity of God does not differ from his existence). Moreover, the eternity and infinity of God will thus be common to the creature (which is absurd [*asystaton*]). Yea, a created eternity indicates a contradiction in the thing added (*adjecto*) (as a finite infinitude). Finally, it is of the formal relation of the creature to

depend essentially upon God and to have a beginning of existence. Now what depends upon another must be after it and so cannot be eternal. "When you maintain that a thing has a beginning of its being, you deny it by that very fact to be eternal," as Lactantius says (*Divine Institutes* 7.1 [FC 49:471; PL 6.736]).

Sources of solution.

XI. An eternal agent, which acts out of itself upon another thing, requires a coeternal object. But God is not an eternal agent in this sense because he began to act out of himself only in time. And if he is called a pure act (*purus actus*) because always active in himself and devoid of all passive power (the root of change), does it follow that he always acted out of himself?

XII. It is one thing to be a sufficient cause actually (*actu*), but another in action (*in actu*). God was from eternity a sufficient cause actually because he always existed and always willed to create the world. But he was not from eternity in action (*in actu*) because he did not will to create from eternity, but only in time.

XIII. Although God did not create from eternity, he did not on that account change from potency to act and from leisure to work. For agents who act by volition alone differ from those in whom laborious efforts are required besides the volition. The latter (in the production of their work) pass from potency to act, from volition to the effecting. This is not so with the former who act by a mere volition (as God who, as he willed the existence of the world in time, so he willed it from eternity). And thus a certain change was made in the world, which passed from nonexistence to existence, but not in God who (remaining in himself the same) produced by his practical volition a thing from nothing out of himself.

XIV. As God never was without his omnipotence, so he never was without the power to create the world. He could not from eternity have exercised the act of that power, but only in time. Not from a defect of power in himself, but from the incompatibility of the creature with eternity. Thus God could not any time have created the world, but only in that time in which it could have been created and not before.

XV. There is one possibility on the part of passive power which resides in the things to be produced, but another on the part of the active power of the agent. The world was possible from eternity, not according to the passive power of the subject, but according to the active power of God. For this possibility is not founded in any power on the part of the thing to be produced, but on the part of God. It is founded in the power of the producer because God could have produced it at a certain time.

XVI. An action (according to its totality) being posited, the effect immediately follows. But creation was not posited from eternity according to its totality. Although it was as to its principle, still it was not as to its terminus. Although it was an internal and immanent act in God, it was not an external act passing over into the creature.

XVII. Since before the beginning of time in which the world was created, there was nothing else than eternity, it cannot properly be said that God could have created the world sooner than he did. Sooner and later are marks of time which have no place in eternity. Meanwhile if sooner or later are referred to the duration itself of the world, it could have been created sooner or later in the point of eternity (which embraces all, even possible differences of times). Thus the duration of the world might have been of many more ages than it actually is; so that from the beginning of the world to the present time, there might have flowed by not only five or six thousand years, but seven or nine. And yet you could not rightly infer from this that therefore the world might have been created from eternity because the consequence does not hold good from a longer, finite and bounded duration (in which we conceive God to have been able to create the world) to an eternal and infinite duration (which is absurd [*asystatos*] with respect to the world).

XVIII. What is unbegotten never began to be by generation, but could begin to be by creation. Matter is such: not begotten, but created.

XIX. When we say the world was made in time, we do not understand this accurately (*akribōs*) (as if time properly so called was before the world in which it was created). Rather this phrase is to be understood popularly as opposed to eternity and means nothing else than that the world is not eternal, but received a beginning of duration. Thus before that moment, nothing else than eternity can be conceived to have been.

XX. Although it is better for the world now to exist than not, yet it was not better for it to have existed from eternity. For we are not to determine what is better or worse by the light of our reason, but by the will of God revealed to us in his word. According to Scripture, it is evident not only that it is not better (i.e., more fitting) for the world to have been from eternity (because the creature would thus be made equal to the Creator), but that it was not even possible on account of the manifold repugnancy of the thing.

Fourth Question

In what season of the year was the world created? In the spring, or in autumn?

I. Although this question is rather chronological than theological (and so may rightly be referred to problematic questions), yet because it has its own use in sacred things also, it must not be omitted here.

II. All agree that the sun was created by God in some fixed and definite part of the Zodiac (i.e., either in one of the equinoxes, whether vernal or autumnal) or in one of the solstices (whether the summer or the winter). For although in a circle (and in the circular motions of the planets), there is properly no beginning, or end, or middle, or anything definite and fixed, yet in relation to certain parts and the inhabitants of the earth, the aforesaid Zodiacal parts may be properly called determined and fixed for various uses in human life.

III. Hence there have been diverse opinions among the learned concerning the time of the year in which the world was created. Some refer the creation of the world to the summer solstice; others, however, to the equinoxes. Gerhard Mercator and a few others contend for the summer solstice; but the whole body of chronologists stands in favor of the equinoxes, if not for the points, at least for the times. Many contend for the spring, but more (and the better) for the autumn (as Scaliger, Calvisius, Ussher, Torniellus, Petavius and others, whom we follow, relying principally on these arguments).

Proof that the world was created in autumn.

IV. (1) The world undoubtedly seems to have been created at that time of the year in which the Israelites began their civil year while in Egypt. They certainly followed that method of time which they had received from their fathers and in which they had been instructed by their ancestors—Shem, Noah and the other patriarchs back to Adam. That they began not from the spring but from the autumn is gathered both from Ex. 23:16 (where the feast of the gathering of all the fruits out of the field is said to have been celebrated "in the end of the year" [*bts'th hshnh*]) and Ex. 34:22 (where the Feast of Tabernacles is called a solemnity which ought to be celebrated in the seventh month, in the revolution of the year [*bchqvphth hshnh*] or "the year turning"). For that month Tishri (answering to our September or October) may be said to shut and to open the year. And its being called "the seventh month" is not an objection because the reference is evidently to the sacred and not the civil year. We know there was a double computation of the year among the Jews: one for civil, the other for sacred things. Tishri, the first month of the civil year, became afterwards the seventh of the sacred year from the time that God (in memory of their deliverance from Egypt) willed the month Nisan (also in Hebrew "Abib" answering to our March and April) to be the beginning of the sacred year (as we gather from "this month shall be unto you the beginning of months: it shall be the first month of the year to you" [Ex. 12:2] which must be understood only of the sacred year and divine things). For as to things civil and political, the month Tishri always remained the first and from it the beginning of the year was reckoned. Josephus explains it thus: "Moses reckoned Nisan, which is Xanthicus, the first month, because in it he had led the Hebrews out of Egypt; he also made it the beginning of all things pertaining to divine matters: otherwise he made no innovations in the remaining dispensation of the year" (AJ 1.81 [Loeb, 4:36–39]).

V. (2) It is confirmed by the time of the deluge, which is said to have commenced in the second month (Gen. 7:11). For since it is altogether very likely that it was sent in the time suitable for inundations (rather than in that fit for drying the earth and keeping off storms), it ought to be referred to the beginning of winter rather than to the spring. Thus the second month must be computed from the autumnal equinox and be referred to November, not from the vernal (according to which the flood would have begun about the spring, prevailed in the summer and ended in the middle of winter).

VI. (3) It ought to have been created in that season of the year in which the Jewish sabbatical year and their year of Jubilee began (which was the autumnal). For both the sabbatical year (which was in each seventh year) and the year of Jubilee (in the fiftieth after seven times seven) began in the autumn after the harvest. Hence Lev. 25:9 says the trumpet of Jubilee was to sound on the tenth day of the month Tishri. Here we must add (with many others) that the Feast of Trumpets was celebrated in this month. It seems to have been done for no other reason than because they were then reminded of the creation which had happened at that time.

VII. (4) There are still vestiges of this opinion in the Jewish synagogues (of most ancient origin). For on the last Sabbath of the month Tishri, the Jewish lectionary begins, whose first chapter (called *phrshh*) is the beginning of the book of Genesis, both because with them the year begins from that time and because they believe the world was then created. Hence the Chaldee paraphrase on 1 K. 8:2 (while treating of the dedication festivals of the temple built by Solomon, celebrated in the Feast of Tabernacles in the month of Ethanim) speaks thus: “In the month Ethanim, which before the time of Moses was called the first, now however the seventh” (cf. Walton, *Biblia sacra polyglotta* [1657], 2:440). Here belongs the fact that the Egyptians, Persians and other eastern nations begin their year even now from the autumn.

VIII. (5) It was fitting that the world should be created at that time of the year most useful to man (for whose sake it was created), in order that he and other animals might be supplied with what was necessary for food and sustenance. None truly was more suitable for this than autumn, when the trees are laden with fruit and plants heavy with their seed for the production of others. Hence although the spring is superior to the other seasons of the year in pleasantness, the autumn surpasses it in utility. Again, as God willed to create man and other animals in a perfect state, we must think that he did the same also with respect to plants and trees (for which the autumn was undoubtedly more suitable than the spring).

Sources of explanation.

IX. When we say the world was created in autumn, this must not be understood of every part of the globe. It could not happen that everywhere

(at one and the same time) it could be spring or autumn, summer or winter (because the seasons differ by reason of hemispheres and climates). When it is summer in the Antarctic regions, it is winter in the Arctic; when the sun begins to withdraw from the Antarctic and approach the Arctic, in the former it is autumn and in the latter spring. But it must be understood of that part of the world in which Adam was formed and (in our hemisphere) in which Moses wrote the history of the creation (since the sun ought to have begun his course from some one of the twelve Zodiacal signs, either from the Ram [*Ariete*] in spring or from the Scales [*Libra*] in autumn).

X. Although spring images a nascent world and sets forth its infancy, it is not thence well inferred that the world was created in the spring. For as the works of God are perfect, it ought to have been created in a perfect state; thus not only as nascent, but as perfect in all its parts. It can therefore be called the image of the nascent world in the constituted nature (*in natura constituta*) and in the ordinary way of generation, but not in the extraordinary way of creation and in nature to be constituted (*in natura constituenda*).

XI. That God commands the earth to bring forth herbs and grass does not necessarily prove this to have been done in the spring. For fruitbearing trees also were commanded to bring forth fruit according to their own kind (which could be done at no fitter time than the autumn). If it is absurd that the earth should germinate in autumn (which nevertheless often happens), it is more absurd for every kind of tree to bear fruit (which they ought to produce only in autumn).

XII. We cannot deny that many of the ancient writers referred the origin of the world to the time of spring.

> Yes! lovely Spring! when rose the world to birth,
> Thy genial radiance dawn’d upon the earth,
> Beneath thy balmy air creation grew,
> And no bleak gale on infant nature blew;
>
> —Virgil, *Georgics* 2.336–39 (Loeb, 1:138–39)

So astrologers have commonly referred the beginnings of the heavenly motions to the first point of Aries. Scaliger himself confesses that the ancients held the twenty-fifth day of April in great esteem because they

supposed the world was created then, and Christ born and put to death on that day ("Prolegomena," *Thesaurus Temporum: Eusebii Pamphili* [1606/1968], p. ii). Thus they called it the *protoktiston hēmeran* because they believed the first of the equinoxes began from it. But if we examine the foundations upon which they built, it will be evident that this opinion commends itself rather by the multitude of authors than by the weight of their reasons.

Fifth Question

Was the world created in a moment, or in six days? And, were the particular works of each of the six days created without motion and succession of time, or did God employ a whole day in the production of each thing?

The world was not created in a single moment.

I. Augustine thought that creation took place not during an interval of six days, but in a single moment (*The Literal Meaning of Genesis* 1.15 [ACW 41:36–37 and CG 11.9 [FC 14:199–201]). With him, many of the old writers agree (whom Cajetan follows) so that what Moses relates concerning the six days must be understood allegorically of angelic cognitions. It is as if all things are said to have been created in six days because they were represented by so many notions to the intellect of angels. Thus each angelic cognition may be called a day and may be said to have a morning and evening (and from this the distinction of angelic cognition into *matutinam* ["morning"] and *vespertinam* ["evening"] seems to have arisen).

But in six days.

II. But there are the following objections to this opinion: (1) the simple and historical Mosaic narration, which mentions six days and ascribes a particular work to each day; (2) the earth is said to have been without form and void and darkness rested upon the face of the deep (which could not have been said if all things had been created in one moment); (3) in the fourth commandment (recommending the sanctification of the seventh day),

God is said to have been engaged in creation six days and to have rested on the seventh (so that by this example the people might be induced to rest on the seventh day). This reason would have had no weight, if God had created all things in a single moment. (4) No reason can be given for the order followed by Moses in his narration, if all things were not made successively.

III. When the Son of Sirach says that God created all things *koinē* (18:1), he does not speak of a simultaneity of time (as if he created all things "at the same time"—the false rendering of the Vulgate). Rather it must be understood of the gathering together of all creatures which were formed equally and in common by God (so that there is nothing which was not created by him).

IV. Now although God was able to create all things in a moment, yet he willed to interpose some space in finishing his works: (1) to testify his own liberty; (2) to set forth his wisdom, power and goodness more distinctly by parts in this magnificent work (and more clearly indicate the mutual connection, dependency and order of things); (3) to excite us to the distinct contemplation of the divine works; (4) to teach man by his own example that he must labor six days and rest on the seventh and be occupied with divine worship in memory of the creation.

The work of each day accomplished in a moment.

V. However, although he willed to spend many days in the work of creation, it cannot be inferred from this (as some wish) that God employed a whole day in the works of the particular days and so produced them successively. The Scriptures testify that things straightaway stood forth at the nod and command of God and that no delay of time intervened between the mandate and the execution because nothing could resist him, and God no more needed time for the production of things than for commanding them into existence: "He spake and it was done" (Ps. 33:9). Hence Ambrose (on the words "let there be light"): "He did not speak so that the operation should follow, but the matter was finished with the word; whence that beautiful expression of David, he spake and it was done because the word fulfilled the effect" (*Hexameron* 1.9 [33]* [FC 42:39; PL 14.153]).

VI. (2) If resurrection takes place “in a moment” (*en atomō*), “in the twinkling of an eye” (*en rhipē ophthalmou*, 1 Cor. 15:52), why not also creation? If Satan could show to Christ all the kingdoms of the world “in a moment of time” (*en stigmē chronou*, Lk. 4:5), why could God not create them in a moment? If the various miracles were wrought in a moment, why not creation also? And God could as easily create in a moment the light, the sun, the stars and the planets, as the angels and the soul of Adam (viz., by his sole command and word). Nor could it have been done otherwise because in the very moment that nothing ceased, something began to be; and when light started forth, the darkness vanished.

Sources of explanation.

VII. It is one thing to say that the time in which things were produced was successive: another that the production itself was successive. The mode of production could be momentary, but not the mode of existence in time.

VIII. Although its distinct work is assigned to each day, it does not follow that a whole day was employed in finishing each work; or that God needed that interval of time to perform it. Rather God, on each of those distinct days, produced nothing besides. Otherwise, if he had occupied the whole of the first day in the creation of light, he would have finished it only at the beginning of the following night (which is absurd).

IX. Since God is said to have rested from absolute creation on the seventh day (because he ceased creating any new species), he could not be said to have rested in this sense on any day of the six, since upon each of them he operated and created something pertaining to the complement of the universe.

X. Although various works are referred to the sixth day (which could not have been performed at the same time), this is not an objection against each having been finished in a moment. Thus God created the body of Adam from the dust of the earth in a moment, in another he breathed life into it, in another he sent a sleep upon him and took out one of his ribs, from which in another moment he formed Eve. The beasts also in a moment received the impulse of coming to Adam (although from that impulse they went to him successively).

XI. There was no need of a great interval of time to separate the waters. As God in a moment caused the earth or dry land to stand out of the waters (by which it was on all sides surrounded), so in the same moment he gave motion to the waters (by which they began to flow together and to run into the caverns and subterranean passages prepared to receive them). Although this was done successively, yet in a moment it was impressed upon them by the word and command of God.

XII. When things are said to have been created in a moment, we are to understand not so much a mathematical as a physical moment (i.e., the very shortest time conceivable).

XIII. If the immediate creation of the works of the first day was momentaneous (*momentanea*), such ought to have been the mediate production of the works of each day. The relative nothing and indisposed matter cannot be conceived to have been less ductile in the hand of God than the absolute nothing. Thus matter could have been created from the latter in a moment and without delay, while from the former nothing could have been made except with delay and succession of time.

Sixth Question

In what order were the works of creation produced by God in the six days?

The works of creation may be regarded either collectively or distributively.

I. The works of creation may be considered: either in general (collectively and aggregatively) and wont to be expressed by "the world" or "the universe" (*to pan*); or in particular (distributively) with regard to the production of its various parts in the six days of creation. In the latter, their creation is first set forth, then their distinction and lastly their adornment.

II. In all these, God demonstrates his power splendidly in the production of all things (great as well as small) *ex nihilo* by his word alone; his wisdom, in their variety, order and use; his goodness, in the communication of himself (by which he made all things very good). Thus he exercised an ordering and command which powerfully gave existence to things;

approbation, which blessed the produced thing with goodness; ordination, which wisely directed all things and assigned to each its own use; and sanctions, which subjected them constantly to the laws once impressed upon them.

III. The works of the first day are reckoned as three (the heaven, the earth and light) according to those first words of Genesis: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." For although some think this is said in anticipation (by way of a general proposition placing before us a compendium and summary of the whole creation which is afterwards unfolded distinctly and impressively by single days, an opinion favored by Chrysostom and many after him), still it seems more satisfactory and more suitable to the Mosaic narration that this first verse described the beginning of creation by the production of the two general parts of the world (to wit, the heavens and the earth). Afterwards it is followed by a description of the particulars contained in the heaven and the earth, and which God produced distinctly in the following days. This is plainly gathered from v. 2 where it is added, "And the earth was without form and void" (which could not be said, unless the earth is supposed to have been already created, v. 1). Otherwise we must maintain that these were created by God before the six days or we must imagine that they were uncreated and coeternal with God. To this the Socinians seem plainly to incline, while they persist in saying that no mention is made of the creation of matter itself in the six days of Moses. Their object is thus the more easily to weaken the argument we derive from this—to establish the divinity of Christ from his existence before the creation of the world. Hence Volkelius expressly says, "Moses has said nothing concerning the creation of the land and water, nor the sacred writings elsewhere; nor are they to be censured, who either suspend their opinion about this matter, not daring to explain what the Scriptures have not explained, or so follow that which seems most in accordance with reason, as to leave to others the liberty of doubting or of dissenting" (*De vera Religione* 3*.4 [1630], p. 7). Anyone can readily judge that they desire to weaken the argument for the creation of the world *ex nihilo*.

What is meant by the heaven? Both ethereal and highest.

IV. More rightly then, by "the heavens and earth" is meant the universal machine of this world, destitute, however, as yet of ornament, splendor and perfection (which is afterwards received in the separate creation of the particular works in the space of six days). And by "the heavens" is indicated not only the ethereal heaven (as yet devoid of stars), but especially "the highest heaven," called the Empyrean or "the heaven of heavens" (1 K. 8:27), "the third heaven" (2 Cor. 12:2) and metaphorically "Paradise" (Lk. 23:43), whose builder and maker (*technitēs kai dēmiourgos*) is God (Heb. 11:10). As to substance it is most subtle; as to quality most lucid; as to duration, intrinsically incapable of failing; as to situation, constituted far above all the visible heavens (1 Tim. 6:16; Rev. 21:10; Jn. 14:3; Eph. 4:10). Hence God dwelling in heaven is said to dwell on high, in the highest (Dt. 4:39; Ps. 102:19; Lk. 2:14; 24:49; Jam. 1:17); and Christ ascending into heaven is said to have ascended on high and far above all the heavens (Ps. 68:18; Eph. 4:8, 10; Heb. 7:26). This must be opposed to the Lutherans who hold that heaven to be uncreated and feign that it is illocal (*illocale*) and incorporeal and everywhere (in order to weaken the argument drawn from the ascension of Christ to heaven against the ubiquity of his body).

Under it the angels are included.

V. Under this highest heaven, we think the angels (its inhabitants) are contained. And although Moses (adhering rather to the description of sensible and visible things) does not expressly mention their creation, still he sufficiently intimates it by "the host of the heavens" (Gen. 2:1) and by that heaven which was to be their habitation (Jd. 6; Lk. 2:13; Mt. 24:36). Hence they are said to have applauded God (as already created) when he founded the earth (Job 38:6, 7), which was made on the first day. They are also reckoned in the first place among creatures before the sun, moon and stars (Ps. 148:2).

2. The earth.

VI. Another work of the first day was the earth (under which name the waters also are wont to be comprehended), which Moses describes by

emptiness and vacuity (*thhv vbhv*); not only because the earth was destitute of inhabitants and indwellers, but also because it was bare of herbs, flowers, trees, all light, ornament and beauty (which afterwards were added to it). This is expressed in the same place also by the abyss covered with darkness. Thus that unformed mass (composed of earth and water together) is denoted. From this, the poets have taken their Chaos which Ovid not inelegantly expresses in these words: "Formerly the sea and the land and the heaven that covers all things, was one appearance of nature throughout the whole world, which they called Chaos, a rude and undigested mass; nor anything but a lumpish weight and the jarring seeds of things not well joined, heaped together in the same place" (*Metamorphoses* 1.5–9 [Loeb, 3:2–3]). Matter, however, is called unformed, not absolutely and simply (devoid of all form), since indeed whatever exists, exists through its own form, but relatively and comparatively (because still lacking the elegant and exact form which it afterwards obtained). It was as to substance partly earthly, partly watery; as to quantity, huge and as it were a mass without bottom, then called the abyss; as to quality, deformed and shrouded in darkness; as to effect empty and inefficacious, the material whence all sublunary bodies were taken. Here belongs what is immediately added concerning "the Spirit moving upon the face of the waters" (v. 2). This can apply to neither the air nor wind (not as yet created and which does not cherish but rather dissipates); not to a created angel (to whom this work does not belong); nor to the power and efficacy of God in general. The latter is set forth better by the word "incubate" from which the Holy Spirit (who is its principle) is distinguished; but it belongs to the Spirit of God alone who himself (also God) nourished and fecundated that unformed mass by his virtue and vital warmth and warmed it to generation (*pros zōogonian synethalpe*). The latter is a metaphor taken from the eggs of birds or incubating fowls; as is said of the eagle (Dt. 32:11), which by the motion and spreading of her wings either cherishes and warms the eggs to the production of her young or sustains them already produced (which is the force of the word *rchq*, Jer. 23:9).

3. Light.

VII. The third work of first day was the primeval light, from which (after the creation of the heaven and earth) God most fittingly began the production of particular creatures; not only because the creature was most simple and excellent, but also because it was necessary for the adornment of the heaven and the fecundation of the earth (which was also to cause the day, manifest the works of God and be as it were the common obstetrician of natural things, to serve by its own innate heat to bring forth and cherish seeds). In this God also wished to present a type of the second creation, which begins from the light of the knowledge of the word: "For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor. 4:6).

VIII. Now this light was neither an accident without a subject (as the Romanists twaddle) nor the elements of fire (as others maintain). Fire is never called day, nor does it cause the day; nor lucid little clouds (which by their circular motion from the east to the west) made day and night (as others think). For on the first day, no cloud had been created, but a shining body lighted up in one hemisphere of the ethereal heavens (which by its circumrotation distinguished the day and night of the first three days, until that light was afterwards, on the fourth day, collected and distributed into the body of the sun and stars).

The works of the second day: (1) the expanse.

IX. The works of the second day were: (1) the expanse or that immense distance and most vast space reaching from the surface of the terrestrial globe even to the extreme boundary of the visible heaven (called "heaven" in v. 8). Not indeed the ethereal heaven (which was created on the first day distinct from the earth and on the fourth day at length adorned with stars), but the aerial (which being before confused and mixed together lay concealed in that unformed concretion of water and land). This is more frequently denominated "heaven" in the Scriptures. Hence "the fowls of heaven" are mentioned afterwards in v. 20. In the Hebrew, it is called *rqy*' from expansion or extension (as in a covering or curtain—alluded to in Ps. 104:2 where God is said to have "stretched out the heavens like a curtain"). Nor is it an objection that in vv. 14, 15, 17 "the expanse" is attributed also

to the ethereal heavens, the seat of the stars. The Scriptures speak of it in different respects, either in its whole breadth (as embracing what comes under the name of the visible heavens [i.e., the ethereal heavens] and the aerial) or with respect to its upper part (as in the passage cited) or with respect to its lower part (v. 20). In this sense, it divides the upper from the lower waters (vv. 6, 7). In this sense, the ordination of the expanse took place on this second day and its adaptation to the separation of the waters from the waters, the higher from the lower. "And God said, let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters" (Gen. 1:6).

(2) The division of the waters. The waters above are clouds.

X. Another work of this day was the division of the waters above from those below (i.e., of the clouds standing out above the lowest part of the expanse from those below and as it were poured around the expanse, which were unseparated until the third day). For "the water above" can be properly referred only to "the clouds" in the middle region of the air. The Scriptures clearly intimate this by various passages which interpret the waters as the clouds: "Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters: who maketh the clouds his chariot" (Ps. 104:3); "He bindeth up the waters in his thick clouds and the cloud is not rent under them" (Job 26:8); "When he uttereth his voice, there is a multitude of waters in the heavens, and he causeth the vapors to ascend from the ends of the earth" (Jer. 10:13). It is confirmed by the very nature of the clouds which are nothing else than water evaporated by the power of the daily heat and again congealed by the cold air (which Pliny calls "waters standing in the heavens," *Natural History* 31*.2 [Loeb, 8:378–79]). Finally, Moses makes the waters only twofold: above and below. However, the clouds (which are waters) cannot be those below; therefore they must be referred to those above. For although they may be called inferior originally and terminatively (because brought out of a lower place), yet they are not such subjectively and with respect to situation when they have been carried up on high.

Not supercelestial waters.

XI. The Lutherans (following many of the Scholastics) have therefore falsely invented "supercelestial waters" to render more difficult the ascension of Christ and of believers into heaven. Such waters could be of no use (neither for cooling the heat of the heavens and stars [they having none] nor for compressing the heavens that they may not be agitated and vacillate by the violence of the winds; for the heavenly orbs were so firmly established by God that they can be disturbed by no power of the winds—nay, nothing can reach up to them). And if certain waters are said to be "above the heavens" (Ps. 148:4), they are not therefore above the ethereal heaven, but above the aerial (which is also repeatedly called heaven). Nor if the clouds cannot be in heaven except by the attraction of the sun in constituted nature (*natura constituta*), does it follow that God could not raise them up extraordinarily without the sun in nature to be constituted (*natura constituenda*). Now although they are not said to be above the expanse, they ought not immediately to have been above the whole breadth of the expanse, but above a part of it. They are not said so much to have been above the expanse (*'l rqy'*) as from under it (*m'l lrqy'*), to intimate that the waters were not carried out above the whole expanse (so that the whole of it would be lower than the waters), but that they were carried upwards and made one with the expanse above and below, rather with respect to us than to the whole expanse. Finally, "the windows of heaven" (Gen. 7:11) (which, being opened, poured forth that immense amount of water in the flood by which the former world was overwhelmed and perished) denote nothing else than most copious showers metaphorically, which burst forth from dense clouds.

The works of the third day: (1) the collection of the waters.

XII. The works of the third day are: (1) the collection of the lower waters into certain beds and the separation of them from the land so that the land (freed from them) might become a fit and convenient residence for animals (and especially for men about to be created). From its characteristic

property, he called it “dry,” while partly concealed and subterranean holes were left and disposed as tubes through which the perennially gushing fountains and great rivers might break forth from that immense receptacle of the collected waters (the sea) for the irrigation of the earth. Nor can the opinion of some be readily admitted, that this work belongs to the second day (being put here by hysterosis) and that *vy’mr* ought to be translated, not (as always elsewhere) “and he said,” but “now he had said.” There is no reason why *vy’mr* should be translated in v. 9 in the pluperfect tense, while in all the other places of this chapter where the same verb occurs (vv. 3, 6, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26), it should be constantly rendered “and he said.” Nor should Moses after the separation of the waters above from those below have added (as at the close of each day) “and the evening and the morning were the second day” if what follows in vv. 9 and 10 still belonged to the second day. Nor does there seem to be any necessity for such a hysterosis. For what is drawn from this (that the second day would be without the accustomed benediction) cannot establish it. A sufficient reason can be given that on this day the lifting up of the land from that great mass of waters surrounding it was begun and brought near its end; but it was finished at length on the following day when the lower waters were collected together and the dry land appeared.

(2) Germination of the earth.

XIII. Another work of this day was the germination of the earth and the production of plants—fruit-bearing and seed-bearing trees (vv. 9–11)—that when the individuals became extinct, the species of the thing might be preserved. Although a certain force and fecundity was then given to the earth (by which it could afterwards produce the same from the seed of all kinds of herbs and cherish and nourish them from its own bosom), yet at that first germination of plants instantaneously effected, it held itself only passively and materially, not actively.

The work of the fourth day: the creation of luminaries.

XIV. The work of the fourth day was creation of luminaries in the expanse (v. 14), i.e., in that part of the expanse which we call ether or the ethereal heavens. With these, he wished to adorn the heaven as he had before adorned the earth with herbs and trees. A threefold use is denoted: first in dividing between the light and the darkness (i.e., the night of the artificial day)—"Let there be luminaries in the expanse of the heavens to divide the day from the night" (v. 14); second, in marking and setting bounds to the changes and seasons of the year; third, in the communication of their powers (by which these lower things imbued may be variously affected), while by their light, heat and motion they flow into sublunary things. Thus "the heavens may hear the earth; and the earth may hear the corn, and the wine, and the oil" for the use of men (Hos. 2:21, 22*). However, the minds of men are to be excepted from this (they not being at all influenced by the luminaries).

The work of the fifth day: the production of water and flying animals from the earth.

XV. The work of the fifth day was the production of water animals or fish from the water (vv. 20, 21), of flying animals and birds from the earth (as expressly taught in 2:19) and consequently the adornment of the sublunary world with creatures possessing sense and motion. A convenient gradation being observed (and a process instituted from the building of the house to the production of its inhabitants), some of them were at first imperfect, but afterwards, however, more perfect.

The work of the sixth day: the production of animals and of man.

XVI. On the sixth day, he gave the finishing stroke to his works by the creation of both land animals (of which three kinds are enumerated—cattle, creeping things and beasts—to which all others must be referred, whether perfect or imperfect) whose species are innumerable; and man who was to be the inhabitant of the constructed world, a production after the image of God. Thus to the remaining creatures (which have only a degree of being or

a degree of life or a degree of feeling and motion), there might be added one having the most perfect degree of life (viz., reason) and whom, therefore, as the most excellent work and the epitome of the whole, God not only reserved for the last place, but made in a peculiar method above the others and (as it were) after a consultation: "Let us make man." This does not indicate deliberation in the worker, nor difficulty in the work, but the dignity of the work itself; in order to show "by the labored expression that he was engaged in a most important work," as Chrysostom says on this passage (*dia tēs tōn lexeōn pachytētos tēn timēn eis ton mellonta dēmiourgeisthai*, "Homily 8 [Gen. 1:26]," in *Homilies on Genesis* 1–17 [FC 74:108; PG 53.71]).

Seventh Question

From the use of the luminaries posited by Moses can judiciary astrology be built up? We deny against the astrologers and planetarians

What is judiciary astrology?

I. The astrology discussed in this question is not natural (or the science of the natural order and motion of the heavenly bodies, deservedly held in estimation and of great use in human life), but judiciary. The latter is an art full of rash curiosity and superstition by which judgment is made from the stars and their constellations concerning man, his inclinations, actions, pursuits, events, fortune, and so of life and death. It also concerns the changes of empires and republics and the like which occur in civil society and which are from them predicted as certainly and indubitably to take place.

II. In the past, the Priscillianists, the impious spawn of the Gnostics, held the affirmative. Among other monstrous errors, they connected men with fated stars and taught that the body of man itself was composed according to the twelve signs of heaven (as Augustine testifies, *De Haeresibus* 70 [PL 42.44]). They were followed by the planetarians, astrologers and nativity-casters (*genethliaci*), who near the time of generation or nativity, consult the constellations (i.e., the position, aspect and influx of the stars) and from

these foretell the nature and fortune of the child. The orthodox, however, constantly hold the negative.

Statement of the question.

III. The question is not whether the heavenly bodies have a great power over these sublunary and elementary things (and even over the body of man himself) and by their various motions and position and influx of light and heat, affect bodies in different ways, causing them to grow or decrease, to become altered and variously changed (which not only the Scriptures, but universal experience approve). Rather the question is Do they exercise this power equally over the minds of men (which are spiritual in their nature) so that a certain judgment can be formed thence of their inclinations, actions and future course? This we deny.

IV. The question is not whether the luminaries can be called natural signs (of the seasons, cold, heat, the various changes of the heavens, the eclipses of the sun and moon, and other natural effects which spring from the different motions and positions of the stars); or civil and economical signs depending upon the natural (as the time for plowing, sailing, sowing, etc.); or moral signs (partly of the perfection of the Creator, beheld in these wonderful works, partly of the duty of creatures, bound to look up to and worship the great Artificer); or mystical signs of various events, either in anger or in favor (as when the sun stood still on Gibeon [Jos. 10:12], when it went ten degrees backward in the days of Hezekiah [2 K. 20:11], and when God will send "wonders in the heavens and in the earth," Joel 2:30), whose signification, as being extraordinary and not natural, ought to depend upon a peculiar revelation. But the question is Are they necessary and natural signs of future events; not only of natural and necessary, but also of voluntary and contingent (and consequently of the life and death of men), so that it may with certainty be known with what fate each one is born and what will happen to him? This we deny.

Proof that there is no judiciary astrology.

V. The reasons are: (1) God severely prohibits and condemns such astrology in his word—"Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after

wizards" (Lev. 19:31). Nay he commands the soul which turns itself to them to be cut off from the midst of his people: "A man also or woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death: they shall stone them with stones: their blood shall be upon them" (Lev. 20:27). Elsewhere God threatens astrologers of this kind with confusion, folly and madness (Is. 44:25). He reproves the worthlessness both of the art and of its practitioners and the credulity of their dupes: "Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast labored from thy youth.… Let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee. Behold, they shall be as stubble" (Is. 47:12–14*). God also told the Israelites "not to learn the way of the heathen, and not to be dismayed at the signs of heaven, at which the heathen are dismayed" (Jer. 10:2). "Therefore hearken not ye to your prophets, nor to your diviners, nor to your dreamers, nor to your enchanters, nor to your sorcerers, which speak unto you, saying, Ye shall not serve the king of Babylon" (Jer. 27:9).

VI. (2) The Scriptures deny to man the knowledge of future things and transfer it to God alone as the criterion (*kritērion*) for distinguishing the true God from idols: "Produce your cause, saith the Lord; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob. Let them bring them forth, and show us what will happen" (Is. 41:21, 22). "There is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king what shall be in the latter days" (Dan. 2:28). Now if those things could be known from the stars and foretold by men, why didn't the Chaldean astrologers know them, and why does Daniel attribute this as peculiar to God alone?

VII. (3) The manners and actions of men are voluntary and free and cannot, therefore, be deduced from a natural cause such as a constellation. Otherwise a more than adamantine fate and an irresistible necessity of all things would be established in nature with respect even to second causes. (4) If morals and events depend on the stars, the morals and fate of all those whose horoscope and point of nativity are similar would be the same. Experience, however, evinces the falsity of this. Many are brought into the world in one and the same moment of time who are, notwithstanding, most dissimilar in morals and nature and are pressed by the most diverse fates (as even the single example of the twins, Esau and Jacob, proves). Thus the

studies, the strength, the events and fortunes of a male and female born about the same time from the same womb, are different. Also many whose horoscope is most diverse die by the same kind of death (as they who fall in the same battle, whom the same destruction involves—the fall of a house, an earthquake, an epidemic disease or any public calamity). For example, did the stars in the same position at nativity shine upon the firstborn of the Egyptians smitten in like manner by the angel of the Lord; or upon the Egyptians overwhelmed in the Red Sea; or the Canaanites slain together; or the infants of Bethlehem murdered at the same time? Again, are not the dispositions also and fates of those born under most diverse positions of the stars often alike?

VIII. (5) The time of the conception and birth of man (from which the horoscopes are usually taken according to the observations of the hours) is uncertain. Indeed, of conception, because it is often unknown to the parents themselves; of nativity because it may be premature or prolonged on account of weakness. Besides, no mortal can ever accurately ascertain the point of nativity since it is not the result of a moment (motion being usually connected with it). Who does not know that a mistake is easy in the few moments of an hour (in which there is a great change made in the position of the sun and the stars on account of their most rapid movements)? Hence the constellation being changed a different fate concerning the different members of the same man would be ascertained. Again, since the fortunes and the life of men depend upon the will and desires of not one, but different men, how can they be foretold from the horoscope of one man? And what is far greater, how can the fates not only of individual men, but of an entire city, region and kingdom (arising from such a complication [*symplokē*] of things and counsels) be deduced from the stars?

IX. (6) If the most natural events can be foretold only probably from the stars, how much less can casual, fortuitous, voluntary and free events be known and foretold? The astrologer cannot predict either heat or a shower, whether the farmer ought now to hope for clear weather and then to fear a storm. Nor is he able to discover clearly the end of anyone's life, the counsel men are about to take in a particular case, nor the manner of their death, nor (which is far more difficult) the grace each man is about to obtain for his conversion (which depends alone upon the grace of the Holy Spirit and the perfectly free and secret decree of God).

X. Finally (to omit many other arguments) that juggling art cannot but be rash and impious which strives to break into the secrets of God and presumes with awful daring to define the future known to God alone; assigns the causes of sins and crimes to the stars and consequently to their Creator himself, so that men cease to reproach themselves and ascribe the cause of all the evil they do or suffer, not to themselves as in duty bound, but to the stars or to God; binds men more to the contemplation of the stars than to the veneration and worship of their Creator; either torments them with senseless threatenings or fills the minds of the credulous with a vain hope, loosens the buckle of security and emboldens to every wickedness those to whom the temerity of astrologers promises a long life; is opposed both to the Scriptures and right reason and interferes with true piety and the public tranquility. Hence it has often been proscribed by the humane laws of emperors. Augustus banished astrologers from the city; Tiberius and Claudius from Italy; and Vitellius from the world and life, as a race of men faithless to the powerful, yet deceitful to those hoping to become so. Thus in book 9 of the Justinian Codex (which treats of the crime of magic), mathematicians are joined with sorcerers and magicians and subjected to the punishment of the Cornelian law. And in the same source, it is said: "This art is damnable and altogether prohibited" (*Corpus Iuris Civilis, II: Codex Iustinianus* 9.18.2, 5, 6, pp. 379–80). The fathers everywhere inveigh against it and execrate the frauds and impostures of the planetarians. In the Council of Braga (A.D. 563) (cf. Hefele, 4:381–84) and of Toledo I (A.D. 400) (PL 84.327–34), the followers of Priscillian are condemned and proscribed under the punishment of anathema (cf. Augustine, CG 5.1–3ff. [FC 8:241–62]).

Sources of explanation.

XI. To be natural signs of seasons, days and years (as is said of lights in Gen. 1:14) differs from to be signs prognostic of future events; not only necessary and natural, but also contingent and free (which is not asserted of them).

XII. When "the stars" are said to "have fought against Sisera" (Jdg. 5:20), the Holy Spirit wished simply to intimate that it was a heavenly victory; one obtained not by human strength, but by the auspicious favor of

God alone (to show that all things favored the Israelites for victory, and the very stars are said to have fought, as it were, for them by a poetical exaggeration). Or they are said to have fought not by a natural influence, but by a supernatural direction; not by an ordinary, but by an extraordinary action; effectively rather than formally, inasmuch as God could use them out of their order to produce various meteors, thunderings, lightnings, hail (by which Sisera with his army suffered a terrible defeat).

XIII. The star which indicated to the wise men the birth of Christ (Mt. 2:2) cannot favor the calculation of nativities (*genethliacis*). (1) The example is singular from which a general rule cannot be drawn. If this happened to Christ on account of his superior nature (*hyperochēn*), it does not follow that it can also with equal truth be applied to others. (2) That star was extraordinary; its rise was not natural, but supernatural. (3) That star was accompanied with both an internal and external revelation to declare its signification. (4) Although the birth of Christ was pointed out by it, yet no one would infer from this that the point of his nativity was indicated by it or collected from it, much less that the life, morals and death of Christ depended on the influx of that star (as formerly Faustus Manichaeus quibbled). Augustine speaking of the star replied to Manichaeus: "It did not rule over Christ for a decree, but served him for a testimony; nor subject him to its sway, but pointed him out for regard" (*Reply to Faustus the Manichaean* 2.5 [NPNF1, 4:158; PL 42.212]).

XIV. It is one thing to know the approach of a storm from the appearance of the heavens, or a coming drought, or things which are natural and depend on natural causes; another, however, to know the events of future things and the free movements of the human will. The former is said in Lk. 12:54, 55, but not the latter. The foreknowledge (*prognōseis*) of astrologers can indeed be allowed within its own sphere, as long as they confine themselves within the boundaries of their own art. Otherwise they are to be proscribed as audacious and deceitful.

XV. Although the heavens have their powers (*dynameis*, Mt. 24:29) by which they act upon these lower things by their light, motion and influx, it does not follow that they act equally upon all things, even upon the will and counsels of men. And when (in the same place) Christ adds that there will be signs in heaven to foretell the day of his last appearing, he does not treat of that affection of the stars which happens from the stated and ordinary

course of nature, but concerning a certain extraordinary event to which nothing is exactly similar and with which nothing agrees (to wit, concerning the signs and wonders which God will accommodate properly and peculiarly to the advent of Christ, to warn believers of it and to render unbelievers more and more convicted and inexcusable). This could not be equally understood from the motions and aspect of the stars, since they will change that common motion and order on which astrologers usually rest the principal foundation of their art.

XVI. It is one thing for the heavenly and sublunary bodies to be mutually connected, various impressions of the former upon our bodies to be granted and various alterations consequent upon them by which the human mind is in different ways affected by an indirect motion, the humors being changed (which we grant). It is another, however, for the stars to influence the will and human actions by a motion either direct or necessary (which we deny). The former is an inorganic and immaterial power, while the latter depends upon partial and proximate causes (in different ways specifying the influx of a common cause).

XVII. Joseph and Moses are said to have been instructed in the wisdom of the Egyptians, Daniel in that of the Chaldeans (Acts 7:22; Dan. 1:17). But they are not on that account said to have practiced those vain and impious divinations. Their wisdom could have been concerned with hieroglyphics, the liberal arts, numbers, geometry and even natural astrology (but reasonable and resting upon solid principles, not the vain and impious divination [*astromantikēn*] by the stars, from which they were always far removed). If they uttered prophecies or interpreted them, these were derived not from the stars, but from the revelation of God (to whom they ascribed them).

XVIII. Various answers can be given to the arguments usually brought forward. (1) Many of them are of slight faith and doubtful authority, recorded by foolish and superstitious writers. (2) Many rest upon slippery and ambiguous opinions and are capable of being turned on either side (such as the oracles of Apollo, the Interpreter [*Loxiou*]) so that in whatever way the thing happens, they seem to have exactly described it. (3) If certain of their predictions are borne out by the event, it does not follow that the knowledge was certain and built upon true foundations. There are innumerable others whose untruthfulness the event mocked and proscribed.

(4) The truth of the events is not to be attributed to that worthless art, but either to the cunning of the prophesiers (because when the genius, inclination, morals, pursuits and counsels of those with whom they deal are known to them, it is easy to predict many things which they neither have gained from the stars [as they pretend] nor could gain from them); or to the credulity of their dupes (turning fortuitous chances into a fulfillment of the predicted thing); or to the help of the Devil (inspired by whom they anticipate many things which he either presages and conceives as probable or knows for certain—either by divine revelation or by the experimental knowledge of so many thousand years, or by his exalted activity, by the aid of which he can immediately announce elsewhere what has been done in the most distant places and to run before the quickness of every speed); or, finally, to the secret and most just judgment of God, who by that mockery often chastises the foolish minds of men by sending the efficacy of error upon those who believe a lie, that they may be more deceived who believe and study those arts. (5) The truth of predictions does not immediately prove the art to be legitimate and approved, nor that its professors should be consulted. For the Devil sometimes also predicts the truth (as that spirit falsely assuming the appearance of Samuel, whom the Pythoness evoked from the shades to please Saul, 1 S. 28:15, 16) whom no one would say ought to be consulted. Nay, God expressly forbids us to hear a false prophet (Dt. 13:1) even foretelling the truth, if he wishes to lead us away to the worship of strange gods. He does this to teach us that although the things which are contrary to God and his word may have the appearance of truth, they are not to be followed, but are to be carefully abstained from. Since then it is plain that this art is woven together of mere delusions and impostures (against the providence of God, the liberty of man, the tranquility of republics and empires, the peace of conscience, injurious and opposed to the Scriptures, reason and experience), we say it should be deservedly discarded and proscribed.

Eighth Question

Was Adam the first of mortals, or did men exist before him? And is the epoch of the created world and of men's deeds to be referred much farther

back than Adam? The former we affirm; the latter we deny, against the Preadamites

I. Although the Preadamic fiction is so absurd in itself and foreign to all reason (no less than to the Scripture revelation itself) as to deserve rather the contempt and indignation of believers than a laborious refutation, yet in this very latest age (so productive of most dangerous heresies) there was found not so long ago one who did not blush to obtrude this fiction or fable upon the world. He endeavored to confirm it by various arguments in an exercitation (cf. Isaac de la Peyrere, *Praeadamitae sive exercitatio ... capitis quinti Epistolae D. Pauli ad Romanos* [1655]) and systematic theology (*A Theological Systeme upon that Presupposition that Men were before Adam* [1655]) prepared for this purpose. Thus the question must be touched upon briefly that not only its folly and falsity, but also its impiety may be the more clearly seen.

Statement of the question.

II. The question then comes to this—Was Adam the first man created by God; or were there many created before him? For he, with whom we here treat, pretends that Adam, whose creation is recorded in Gen. 2, was the father only of the Jew and not of all men, and that his formation was different from the creation of the man referred to in Gen. 1 (from whom, he holds, the Gentiles took their rise). Thus even before Adam, many myriads of men inhabited the earth, and many ages intervened between Adam and those other men. But the constant opinion thus far not only among Christians, but also among the Jews (yea even among the Mohammedans themselves) has been that Adam was created in the beginning of the world and was the first man, the father not only of the Jews, but also of all men universally. Of this assertion, there are many invincible proofs.

Proof that the Preadamic theory is false.

III. The first is the voice of Scripture itself, which often sets Adam before us as the first of mortals, before whom no man existed and from whom all have sprung. “The first man Adam was made a living soul” (1 Cor. 15:45);

"The first man is of the earth, earthy" (1 Cor. 15:47). Hence he is called "the first made of the earth" (*prōtoplastos patēr kosmou*, Wisdom 7:1). And Eve was so named because she was "the mother of all living" (Gen. 3:20), which would be untrue if only the Jewish nation sprang from her (innumerable other peoples acknowledging a different origin and that a far more ancient one). Also the Scriptures, in reckoning genealogies, as they begin from Adam in descending, so end in him in ascending (Gen. 5; Lk. 3:23–38). And Paul asserts that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth" (Acts 17:26). But how could "all nations of men" (*pan ethnos anthrōpōn*) have arisen from one blood if the Jews and Gentiles have a different origin and have not the same blood and the same parent?

IV. Vain is the objection that Adam could be called the first of men (relative to Christ), although not the first of all, as Christ is called the second Adam and the last (*eschatos*, 1 Cor. 15:47), although neither the second Adam nor the last. For Adam is called the first not only relatively to Christ (because he preceded him), but also to other men (who were to bear his image). As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy (1 Cor. 15:48, where there is a manifest allusion to the original production of man from the dust of the earth). (2) Christ is called the "second" not because he was the second individual of the human race, but by reason of communication and origin (because he was the "second" root and the origin of men). An opposition is made between Adam and Christ as two heads: the former communicating animal life and with it sin and death to his own; the latter, however, imparting spiritual and eternal life with his righteousness to his own. The apostle refers to this when he says, "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Cor. 15:22, i.e., as many as are vivified). He is well called "the last" not because he was born last, but both because he succeeded Adam and because after him no one can sustain the same relation of head. Nor does the Preadamite escape better when he says that Adam is called the first and the father of all men, inasmuch as all men sinned in him and he is the first and the father of all sinners. For the words of the apostle imply that he is called not only the first in the order of sinning (although this also is true), but also in the order of being, inasmuch as from him men draw both their earthy (*to choikon*) and animal being (*to psychikon*).

V. (2) The male and female, said to have been created on the sixth day (Gen. 1:27) are no other than Adam and Eve. Gen. 2 discusses them where what had been described rather briefly in the first chapter is repeated and explained more distinctly. This is evident: (a) from 2:1, 2, 3, where a recapitulation is made of the primeval creation of the heaven and the earth spoken of in Gen. 1. Therefore, what is added in the following chapter about the creation of male and female belongs to the same. (b) In both places, the origin of the same Adam is described because the same name occurs in both and the same reason for the name (his production from the earth), which could not be said if this is to be understood of two different persons. (c) If two Adams were meant, either it will not be evident concerning the second that he was made after the image of God (for nothing is said of that in Gen. 2) or it will not appear concerning the first that he was endowed with a rational soul (for nothing is said about the breathing of life into his nostrils, which is not mentioned until chapter 2). (d) It would follow that no law of marriage was imposed upon the first pair (to whom it was said: "Be fruitful and multiply"—which is found only in Gen. 2) against the express word of Christ (Mt. 19:4, 5), who asserts that God made them male and female at the beginning and imposed this law upon them—that "for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: because they twain shall be one flesh." By this it is clearly intimated that the first creation of male and female (made from the beginning) was the production of Adam and Eve (upon whom this law was imposed). Thus Adam and Eve were the male and female mentioned in Gen. 1:27, whom God made from the beginning (*ap' archēs*, viz., from the beginning in which he created the heavens and the earth). (e) Dominion over animals (Gen. 1:28) was given to the first pair (which is confirmed in 2:19 when all animals were brought to Adam that he might give them their particular names and receive that dominion as it were by a solemn investiture). (f) As herbs, vegetables, the fruit of trees were given to them for food (Gen. 1:29), so the same law is repeated in 2:16 and is recognized by Eve (Gen. 3:2), the tree of the knowledge of good and evil being excepted. By the latter, God wished to make trial of their faith and obedience. (g) Since in Gen. 2:5, 7, God is said to have formed Adam of the dust of the earth when "there was not a man to till the ground."

VI. Nor is the Preadamite to be listened to when he maintains that the creation of the first chapter differs from that described in chapter 2 in various particulars: that in the former, God by one act created at the same time male and female, but in the latter the production of Adam and Eve must have been successive (both because God moulded Adam, forming him from the dust of the earth which could not be done without delay and because there must have been an interval during which the animals were brought to Adam for him to name; and because no helpmeet for Adam could be found among them, a deep sleep was sent upon him during which one of his ribs was taken out for the formation of Eve). For two false hypotheses are supposed here: first, that the creation of the male and female (dealt with in the first chapter) was made at the same time by a single act; while two subsisting substances are plainly intimated in Gen. 1:27: "Male and female created he them." Indeed there is a mutual dependence upon the declaration of the Holy Spirit who relates that Adam was formed "first" (1 Tim. 2:13) and "the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man" (1 Cor. 11:8*). Second, that what is related of the creation of Adam and Eve in Gen. 2 could not have occurred on the same day. Since the creation was finished in six days and God is said to have rested from his work, the production of male and female ought to have been completed on the sixth day. Nor do the things adduced to support the contrary have any force. Although it is evident from them that Adam and Eve were not created together and at one time (but successively), yet you would thence falsely infer that they were produced on different days. Why could God not in one moment have molded Adam from the dust of the earth, in another have sent sleep upon him and in a third have taken a rib out of his side and of it formed Eve?

VII. Third, he is deservedly reckoned to be the first man from whom sin and death passed upon all men. And yet from Adam sin and death are derived unto all: "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men" (Rom. 5:12). That one man, however, is no other than Adam "in whom all" are said "to die" (1 Cor. 15:22). To no purpose does the Preadamite here distinguish "natural and legal transgression and death": the latter introduced by Adam, but the former preceding his creation many ages in the Gentile Preadamites who were liable to sin and natural death from their innate corruptible and mortal

nature (Peyrere, *A Theological Systeme upon that Presupposition that Men were before Adam*, Bks. 1 and 3 [1655], pp. 1–54, 129–99). We answer that sin cannot be called natural without impinging upon God himself the author of nature; nor ought death to be called natural, as if man was necessarily to die even if he had not sinned (the fiction of Pelagius and Socinus adopted by the Preadamite against the express words of Paul who asserts that by sin death entered [Rom 5:12] and the wages of sin is death [Rom. 6:23]). False also is the pretense that there can be any sin which is not against law, since it is nothing else than lawlessness (*anomia*). It is also false that there can be a death which is not legal, since from no other source than from the power of the law and by its sanction was it ordained that man should die once.

VIII. Fourth, men are called "the sons of Adam" (*bhny 'dm*, Ps. 49:2; 62:9 and elsewhere). Adam, therefore, was the first parent of all. Nor can it be said that the Jews alone are called "the sons of Adam" in the singular, while the Preadamite Gentiles are called "the sons of men" in the plural (because they drew their origin not from one man, but from the many men of the first creation). That appellation ("sons of Adam") is applied promiscuously to both Jews and Gentiles. If they are ever called "sons of men" in the plural, it is for no other reason than because reference is made to intermediate causes and succeeding generations, and not only to the first root of the human race.

IX. Fifth, if innumerable men had been created before Adam, there would have been no need of a repeated creation of men from the dust (since ordinary generation would have been abundantly sufficient). And it cannot be said that there could not have been found for man a helpmeet similar to himself, if myriads of women already existed; nor would man have been alone, as is said in Gen. 2:18; nor would Adam at length have had to give names to the beasts. For the Preadamites, to whom dominion over them had already been given many ages before, had undoubtedly distinguished them by some names.

X. Finally, if innumerable men had existed before Adam, a new world, a new church and a new method of salvation would have to be devised for these new men. For the whole economy of human salvation pertains to the posterity of Adam, not to the race of Preadamites. Therefore as both the Mosaic history and the entire Scripture and right reason crush this figment (as also the consent of almost all the Gentiles among whom the memory of

the first man, although variously corrupted and obscured by many fables, was nevertheless not wholly obliterated and destroyed), everyone sees that it should be deservedly rejected by all the pious as most false and impious. It has no other tendency than to overthrow the truth of the Mosaic history and the authenticity (*authentian*) of the divine word and to expose our religion to ridicule.

Sources of explanation.

XI. The garments and sheepskins which Adam and Eve wore after their sin, do not prove that there were tanners and furriers. God is said to have made those coverings for them immediately from the skins of animals (Gen. 3:21). And even if at that time it was the custom to be clothed in skins, why did Adam and Eve remain naked? And what need was there after they knew their nakedness to sow together fig leaves to cover it, since they might easily have obtained for themselves garments from some other source?

XII. If Adam divided his goods among his children (while he gave to Cain the tilling of the earth and to Abel the feeding of sheep), by dividing he "made" the right and did not "find" it. He divided his goods only among sons and did not separate them from other different stocks then living. Hence it is evident that they were the first after Adam who (sprung from his loins) began to inhabit and labor upon the earth. Before Adam (it is said), no man existed to till the earth (Gen. 2:5).

XIII. Although it is indubitable that agriculture was the first kind of life (which Adam followed with his sons and most especially employed himself in husbandry and the care of flocks and herds because the first care of men ought to have respect to the first and most necessary supports of this life, which are principally drawn from both of these), it is not to be supposed on this account that there were before Adam various artificers to prepare the implements necessary for their exercise. This is so because agriculture could be practiced far more easily and successfully than now and because from the very family of Adam (which had by the divine blessing multiplied in a wonderful manner) many could have sprung devoting themselves to these arts. This is indicated afterwards concerning Tubal Cain, the third from Cain (Gen. 4:22). He was an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron. If Abel had to guard sheep, we are not therefore to suppose that there

were thieves among the Preadamites whom he had to drive off. There could already be those of his own brothers and descendants whom he would fear for himself (not to mention wild beasts, against whom he would have to guard his sheep).

XIV. When Cain was made an exile and a wanderer from the face of God, he is said to have feared "that everyone that found him would slay him" (Gen. 4:14). There is no need to feign Preadamites whom he feared, for there were many children of Adam, also many sons and grandsons of Abel himself (more than a hundred years old when he was killed) whom he could then fear as avengers of fraternal and paternal blood. These words properly indicate a disturbed conscience which usually fears all safe things and expects the just punishment of divine wrath to be inflicted by the ministry either of men or of beasts.

XV. Although Moses intended to give the special origin and history of his own nation and to describe the first beginnings of the church, yet he was unwilling to stop in that, but wished to set forth the origin of the world itself. Thus he went back to the very commencement and refers to the first beginnings of the church and the genealogy of his own people from the very cradle of the world. This is clearly confirmed by the fact that from the three sons of Noah (descendants of Adam), all nations in the whole world sprung (as is evident from Gen. 10:32). The celebrated Bochart has abundantly demonstrated this in his *Geographiae sacrae pars prior*: *Phaleg seu de dispersione gentium* (1646). This could not have been said if (besides Adam from whom Noah was to spring) a great many more men had been created. Hence also it is evident that the Jews only are most absurdly said to be Adamites, since other nations (most foreign to the Jews) drew their origin from Adam and Noah.

XVI. The expression of Eve at the birth of Seth ("God hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew," Gen. 4:25) does not signify that there were absolutely no other sons of Eve, but only that none existed similar in piety and virtue to Abel recently killed, whom the pious mother hoped and desired to be in some measure restored to life in Seth. Nor (if Moses says nothing about the names of daughters born to Adam and Eve because he wished to weave the genealogy of men, which is commonly drawn from the males and not from the females) does it follow that they had

none, since the patriarchs are said "to have begotten sons and daughters" (Gen. 5).

XVII. Although Paul says "until the law, sin was in the world" (Rom. 5:13), it does not follow that there were sinful men before Adam. It is falsely and gratuitously supposed that by the law here the apostle means the Adamic (viz., the one enacted with Adam about the tree of the knowledge of good and evil). But no other than the Mosaic Law can be meant. This is evident because: (1) Paul uses as equivalent "until Moses" and "until the law"; for as he says, "sin was in the world until the law," so he says, "death reigned from Adam to Moses." (2) No other law can be understood than that about which he speaks in the whole epistle, in order to show that no one can be justified by the law (whatever the Jews may pretend). This relates to no other than the Mosaic law. (3) He speaks of that law which followed the transgression of Adam (not what preceded it) because he says, "The law entered that the offence might abound" (Rom. 5:20). Although the law imposed upon Adam was indeed the first of all laws, it ought not on that account to be called simply law by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*) since it was merely positive and symbolical. Hence the Scriptures nowhere give it the name of law (which is frequently done in the case of the Mosaic law). It is not indeed to be denied that even before the law of Moses there was a natural law (from whose transgression arose sin and from sin death) because otherwise, as the apostle says, "where no law is, there is no transgression" (Rom. 4:15), nor death which results from it. But no one would on that account (except falsely) infer that the law (before which sin was not imputed) was the Adamic. In truth, what is added concerning "them who had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression" (Rom. 5:14) cannot be extended to the Preadamites, but must be referred to infants (who have not sinned actually like Adam, but are infected only by the original taint, subjecting them to condemnation and death). Hence although they may well be called sinners equally with Adam, yet they cannot be said equally to have sinned actually after his similitude, not only specifically (in which sense no one even of adults can sin after the similitude of Adam's sin, which was peculiar to him), but also generically (in which sense all actual sins are similar to his).

Ninth Question: The Creation of Man

Was man created in puris naturalibus, *or could he have been so created? We deny against the Pelagians and Scholastics*

I. In order to better understand this question between us and the ancient and more modern Pelagians, we must before all things ascertain what is meant here by a state of pure nature or by pure naturals.

The different senses of the word "natural." What are pure naturals and the state of pure nature?

II. Natural can be taken in three ways: either for what constituted nature and is its essential or integral part; or for what immediately and necessarily follows the constituted nature (as its property); or for what is born with and agreeable to nature, adorning and perfecting it (such as is the habit born with us). We do not treat here of naturals in the third sense, but in the first and second, i.e., either in the constituted or the consecutive (called "pure" in opposition to accidents or separable qualities). Thus man is said to be in pure naturals (*puris naturalibus*) who consists of his own parts and essential properties without the gift of original righteousness and without any superadded qualities or habits (good or evil). It is called a state of pure nature (*status purae naturae*) by a negative not a positive purity (by which namely he has nothing good or evil superadded to his nature).

III. The question is not whether we can conceive of man in pure naturals by thinking of his essence and essential properties and by not thinking of his goodness or depravity (which is confessed on both sides). Rather the question is whether man, as he came from the hand of God, was created in such a state (or at least could have been). This is what we deny.

IV. We deal here with the old and new Pelagians. The former, in order to destroy original sin and establish free will, pretended that man at the beginning was created (and even everyday is born) in a state of pure nature. Pelagius (quoted by Augustine) says, "All the good and evil by which we are either praiseworthy or culpable, does not arise with us, but is done by us; for we are born capable both of good and evil, but not in possession of these qualities; for in our birth we are equally destitute of virtue and vice;

and previous to moral agency, there is nothing in man but that which God created in him" (*A Treatise on the Grace of Christ and on Original Sin* 2.14 [13] [NPNF1, 5:241; PL 44.391]). The latter, however, agree with the former in this that they may the more easily prove original righteousness to have been a supernatural gift, superadded to nature (as a golden bit and a remedy to the languor and disease of nature, arising from the condition of the material). Hence they hold that a pure and fallen nature differs in no other way than a "naked" from a "despoiled" (as Bellarmine expresses it, "De gratia primi hominis," 5 in *Opera* [1858], 4:24). These differ only in that the one has lost what the other never had. Thus the pure nature has the relation of a negation, but the fallen nature of a privation, and so they maintain that Adam was created in pure naturals. It is true that all are not of this opinion and that there are some who, according to Medina, "by man constituted in pure naturals, understand man constituted in innocent nature, with a gifted and vigorous healing nature, so that he might remain in good and the practice of virtue, and perseverance if he wished, which undoubtedly appears to have been the opinion of Augustine" (*Expositio in primam secundae ... Thomae Aquinatis*, Q. 109*, Art. II [1580], p. 579). Jansen shows this at length in his *Augustinus* in the three books concerning the state of pure nature (Bks. 1–3 [1640/1964], 2:677–980). But the majority hold the opinion of Alensis (Alexander of Hales), Bonaventure and the Jesuits (with whom the Socinians and Remonstrants, following in the track of Pelagius, here agree).

Man was not created in a state of pure nature.

V. However, we maintain that man was never created in a state of pure nature so called, nor do we think he could have been so created. The reasons are: (1) because man was made in the image of God (Gen. 1:26) and thus morally good and upright (Ecc. 7:29). For since that image (as it is afterwards said) consisted principally of original righteousness, he cannot be said to have been created in a state of pure nature who was adorned with this from the beginning. (2) He was made to glorify and worship God (Prov. 16:4; Rom. 11:36), duties he could not perform unless endowed with the necessary gifts (viz., wisdom and holiness).

VI. (3) Where two things immediately opposed belong to any subject, one or other of the two must necessarily be in it. Now righteousness and sin are predicated of man as their fit (*dektikō*) subject and are directly (*amesōs*) opposed to each other. Therefore one or the other must necessarily be in him; nor can there be a man who is not either righteous or a sinner. To no purpose is the example of infants brought forward, who can neither be called righteous (because they do not act justly), nor sinners (because they cannot sin). For although an infant cannot be called righteous or a sinner by actual righteousness or sin, still he can by habitual and congenital (as he is rightly called rational because he has reason in the first act [*in actu primo*], although not as yet having actually reasoned or being able to reason).

VII. (4) That state of pure nature is a sheer figment; it never was, nor could be. Not in man's perfect state because in it he should be entire and innocent; not in the state of sin because he is born a child of wrath; not in the state of grace because he is born again a child of God; not in the state of glory because then his holiness and happiness will be consummated.

Sources of explanation.

VIII. The state of pure nature is not so called in opposition to an impure (for thus the state of integrity might properly be called because the nature was then pure and innocent), but in opposition to gifts and spiritual habits of righteousness and holiness (which the Romanists hold to be supernatural for the purpose of patronizing the integrity of free will and to make concupiscence natural in the first man).

IX. God could, indeed, have not created man. But it being posited that he willed to create him, he could not have created him lawless and not imposed a law upon him when created. For as there is always an essential physical dependence of the creature upon the Creator in the genus of being, so there must also be an ethical dependence in the genus of morals. Nay, although God had not subjected him to an external law, conscience and the dictates of right reason would have been a law to him (which the apostle calls "the work of the law," Rom. 2:15).

X. Since the very want of original righteousness is sin, man cannot be conceived as destitute of it without being conceived to be a sinner

(especially since that defect would not be a mere negation, but a privation of the rectitude that ought to be in him).

XI. There may be a man who is not righteous or who is not a sinner; but not one who is neither righteous nor a sinner. The former denies one of two things concerning the subject (which often occurs), but the latter denies both (which never occurs).

Tenth Question

In what consisted the image of God in which man was created?

I. As the image of God is the principal glory of man (by which he far excels other animals and approaches nearer to God), it becomes of the highest importance for us to know in what it most especially consists. Theologians explain it in different ways. In the first place, we will show negatively (*kat' arsin*) in what it does not consist; and second, we will see affirmatively (*kata thesin*) in what it does.

II. We must, however, premise that the Scriptures mention a fourfold image of God. The first is of the Son of God who is called "the image of the invisible God" (*eikōn tou Theou aoratou*, Col. 1:15); the second of Adam who was made in the image of God; the third of the renewed who are said to be "renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created them" (Col. 3:10); the fourth of man who in a peculiar manner is called "the image of God" above the woman, who is "the image of the man" (1 Cor. 11:7). The Son of God is the essential image of most perfect equality, having the same numerical essence with the Father. Adam is the accidental and analogical image of inadequate and imperfect similitude (as to nature, gifts and state). The renewed are the spiritual image (as to supernatural gifts). Man compared with woman is the image of authority (as to the power he has over his wife).

III. Again image signifies either the archetype (*archetypon*) itself (after whose copy something is made) or the things themselves in God (in the likeness of which man was made); or the ectype itself, which is made after the copy of another thing, or the similitude itself (which is in man and the relation to God himself). In the former sense, man is said to have been made in the image of God; in the latter, however, the very image of God.

The image of God does not consist in a participation of the divine essence.

IV. First, this image (negatively, *kat' arsin*) does not consist in a participation of the divine essence (as if the nature of man was a shadow [*aposkiasmation*] of the divine and a certain particle of the divine breath, as the Gentiles hold). For in this way the Son of God only is "the image of the invisible God" (Col. 1:15)—the essential and natural, and no mortal can attain to it because the finite cannot be a partaker of the infinite. And if we are said by grace to be "partakers of the divine nature" (2 Pet. 1:4), this is not to be understood of an essential, formal and intrinsic participation, but an analogical, accidental and extrinsic participation (by reason of the effects analogous to the divine perfections which are produced in us by the Spirit after the image of God).

Nor in the figure of the body of God.

V. (2) Nor does it consist in any figure of the body or external bearing in which man resembles God (the delirium of the Anthropomorphites of old). For although we do not think that every relation of that image should be altogether denied of the body and see some rays of it glittering there, whether we regard man's immortality of which his body is also in its own manner a partaker; or that majesty of bearing which Ovid thus elegantly expresses, "Whilst other animals look downwards upon the earth, he gave man a lofty face, and ordered him to look at heaven, and lift his countenance upwards towards the stars" (*Metamorphoses* 1.85 [Loeb, 3:8–9]); or attend to the admirable structure, symmetry and use of the organic body and all its members; still it is certain that image shone in the body not so much formally as consequently and effectively (inasmuch as both the figure of man itself and the majesty resulting from it testify to the power of man over the rest of creatures, and thus of his having a soul fitted for contemplation and knowledge; and thus the proper seat of the divine image is the soul and not the body). If human members are attributed to God in the Scriptures, it does not therefore follow that the image is to be placed properly in these, since they are ascribed to him after the manner of men

(*anthrōpopathōs*) and must be understood in a manner becoming God (*theoprepōs*) not formally and properly, but figuratively and analogically.

But (a) in nature; (b) rectitude; (c) dominion and immortality.

VI. Second (affirmatively, *kata thesin*), this image consisted in gifts bestowed upon man by creation. These were not only essential or only accidental, but both at the same time: internal as well as external, by which he was placed in such a degree of nature, perfection and authority that no visible creature was either more like or more closely allied to God. It consists in three things most especially: (a) In his nature; (b) rectitude of nature; (c) the happy state founded upon both. Antecedently in nature (as to the spirituality and immortality of the soul); formally in rectitude or original righteousness; consequently in the dominion and immortality of the whole man (which was the brightness of that shining image and the rays striking out in all directions which illumined the whole man).

(1) In the substance of the soul.

VII. The first part of the image, therefore, pertains to the substance of the soul and that too spiritual and incorruptible (or immortal intrinsically and as to its faculties, viz., the intellect and will and the liberty arising from both). All of these belong eminently and most perfectly to God. Hence man even after sin is said to be made in the image of God (Jam. 3:9), and the killing of man is called the destruction of the image of God (Gen. 9:6). In the latter, the killing of man made after the image of God is forbidden, which could not be said unless a certain part of the divine image was implanted in the very nature of the soul. If Scripture refers the image of God more often to righteousness and holiness (because these are its best parts), it does not on that account speak to the exclusion of it and deny that it also pertains to the soul itself. Nor is it absurd (*asystaton*) that the image should be said to be partly lost and partly conserved, and that in the same subject there is the image of God and of the Devil in different respects (*kat' allo kai allo*). The former indeed, in the essence of the soul and in the gifts remaining after the

fall; the latter, however, in depravity and pollution. Hence sinners in it are said to be like their father, the Devil, by doing his works (who yet do not cease to resemble their author by reason of spirituality and incorruptibility). Nor therefore is the error of Flacius recalled, which was not that he made the image to consist in the essence of the soul, but that he thought sin had injured the essence of the soul (which is false).

(2) In original righteousness.

VIII. (2) To it pertains rectitude and integrity, or the gifts bestowed upon man, usually expressed by original righteousness, which was created with man and bestowed upon him at his origin, embracing wisdom in the mind, holiness in the will, and rectitude and good order (*eutaxian*) in the affections. It bespeaks such a harmony among all his faculties that the members obey the affections, the affections the will, the will reason, reason the divine law, and thus the man exists upright and innocent and without sin, but yet in a state always mutable, endowed with a fourfold liberty: (a) from coaction; (b) from physical necessity; (c) from sin; (d) from misery (of which hereafter).

It is proved against the Socinians that original righteousness was given to Adam.

IX. Here the Socinians loudly contradict, the more easily to overthrow the truth and nature of original sin. They are not only willing to acknowledge that this righteousness belongs to the image of God, but absolutely deny that man was created in such righteousness. They indeed confess that man was made without the corruption of sin (which now is), but they deny that he was wise, just and holy and without the divorce and rebellion of the reason and the appetite. Thus innocence and the want of sin may be truly ascribed to him, but not righteousness. And thus they hold the image of God to be placed in dominion alone (see Socinus, *Praelectiones theologicae* 3 [1627], pp. 7–10). The Remonstrants follow him here (Colla. Hagi. p. 250+). However we think that man was created with that righteousness and

the principal part of the image consists in it. We prove our position by the following arguments.

X. First, because man was created upright and good and so originally righteous. Moral goodness and rectitude necessarily include righteousness; nay, it is the righteousness of which Moses speaks, "God saw every thing that he had made, and behold, it was very good" (Gen. 1:31). "God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions" (Ecc. 7:29). Socinus, however, falsely pretends that *tvb* in Gen. 1, does not signify rectitude of soul or righteousness, but the aptitude and fitness to that which God had proposed to himself (and is extended to all the works of creation). Because although this may be said of all God's works in general, yet it ought to pertain in particular to each one and should be applied peculiarly to man (according to the state of his nature and suitably to the end for which he was destined by God). Therefore as brutes and other creatures are called good by a natural goodness, man (who is a rational creature and should be in moral subjection to God and his law) is declared to be good by a moral goodness, without which he could not attain his appointed end (viz., the glory and worship of God). The word *yshr* in Ecc. 7:29 cannot only denote a negation of unrighteousness and a want of sin (with an indifference to good and evil), but necessarily marks the possession of righteousness by which he is reckoned upright and perfect (i.e., conformed to the law). It is frequently rendered in the Septuagint (in accordance with the subject matter) by *dikaion, katharon, kalon* and *agathon*. The antithesis confirms this because he opposes moral pravity in the vain reasonings of men to the rectitude in which man was created.

XI. Second, as is the image restored in us by grace and to be made perfect in us in glory, such ought it to have been as bestowed upon man in nature because he is renewed "after the image of the Creator" (*kat' eikona tou ktisantos*, Col. 3:10). Now that image is no other than the regeneration of man consisting in the illumination of the mind and holiness of the will. Hence we are said "to be transformed in the renewing of our mind" (Rom. 12:2) and "to be renewed in knowledge (*eis epignōsin*)" (Col. 3:10 and Eph. 4:24). "The new man" (which is the very image itself reformed in us) is said to be "after God, in righteousness and true holiness," i.e., either in true righteousness and holiness or in the righteousness and holiness which arise

from the truth. So the image of glory will be none other than a perfect likeness to God in knowledge and absolute holiness (Ps. 17:15; 1 Jn. 3:2).

XII. Third, God created man perfect, thus with original righteousness because this is the perfection of a rational soul. To no purpose does our opponent reply that the perfection of man is voluntary righteousness, not natural (which is obtained only after the use of free will). He takes for granted that voluntary righteousness is only such as is acquired by acts of the will, since it was given to man originally (and so connate, not acquired). Therefore it can be called both natural and voluntary: natural because created with man; voluntary both subjectively (because in the will) and effectively (because it produced free and voluntary acts).

XIII. Fourth, because man was made by God to acknowledge and worship his Creator and to exercise dominion over the other creatures. But he could do neither without original righteousness. For how could he either wisely and justly hold dominion over creatures or serve God, if not endued with wisdom and holiness?

Sources of explanation.

XIV. It is one thing to have original righteousness; another to have it immutably. If he had it in the latter manner, he could neither sin nor be pressed by any temptation. But because he had it mutably, he could do both (as the event teaches). Therefore, original righteousness was neither an absolute impotence of sinning, nor simply sinlessness, but the power not to sin from mutable righteousness (which indeed took away the will to sin, as long as he stood, but not the ability). Nor ought that image to place incapability of sinning in man (such as exists in God) because the similar is not the same. He could indeed imitate the holiness and righteousness of God and approach it, but still be far off from the holiness of God (which is essential, perfect and immutable).

XV. Although it may fairly be gathered from Gen. 1:26 that the image of God also consists in dominion (or draws that after it consequently), yet this ought not to be understood as exclusive of righteousness. This dominion necessarily requires and presupposes that (since the simple exercise of it demands reason—the just and mild, wisdom and righteousness, the perpetual and constant—perpetually).

XVI. Adam after his fall had the image still (as also his posterity even now have), since they are said to be made after the image of God. Yet this must be understood only relatively (as to certain natural remains of that image) and not absolutely (as to spiritual and supernatural qualities which are evidently lost and must be restored to us by the grace of regeneration).

XVII. The righteousness of grace and of glory in Christ, the second Adam, differs from the righteousness of nature. The former is immutable and incapable of being lost; the latter is not. Hence it is not strange (*mirum*) that the just man fell because he was mutably righteous.

XVIII. As flesh and spirit (taken physically) are disparates, not contraries, so also are the appetites, inclinations and habits of both in themselves. The repugnancy now found in them arises accidentally from sin. There was before the most complete harmony and good order (*eutaxia*) in the appetites, since the body obeyed the soul and the flesh reason (not violently, but naturally).

XIX. The wisdom of Adam shone forth in various things: both in giving names (*onomathesia*) to animals (which was not done at will and as a mere distinction, but from reason and agreeable to the nature of each, Gen. 2:19) and in the knowledge of the miraculous origin of his wife, Eve, whose nature and office he declares by a prophetic spirit (Gen. 2:23). If the eyes of our first parents are said to have been "opened" after sin, so that they perceived their nakedness, it does not follow that they did not know this before. They are said to have been opened, not as they were created by God, but as they had been obscured by the Devil (who had deceived them with the hope of divine knowledge and dignity, which after the fall they learned by bitter experience they had failed to obtain). Therefore they acknowledged that they were naked, not because like children they were ignorant of it before (because in Gen. 2:25 it is expressly said "they were both naked and were not ashamed"), but because they did not know that they needed garments. Original righteousness having been lost, they began to be confounded with their own baseness and to fear the eye of the Judge and the injury of the elements. Therefore their twofold nakedness must be considered: the one of innocence and holiness (which they acknowledged before the fall, nor did they blush on account of it because it was attended by no disorder and baseness [*ataxia*]); the other of guilt and turpitude after

their sin (which could not but suffuse them with shame as soon as conscience awoke and their eyes were opened to behold it).

XX. The wise and upright man does not sin in the compound sense (and as such), but he can sin in the divided sense when he falls from the wisdom and righteousness bestowed upon him (which Adam did). Although Adam knew theoretically what God had threatened about the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, yet he did not practically apply that threatening of God (of which he was conscious) as he ought to have done, in order to resist the temptation of the devil.

XXI. The same righteousness which is restored by Christ was given at first to Adam (as to the thing had, but not as to the mode of having). For the former was in him from his origin and by nature; the latter, however, only supernaturally and by grace; the first mutably, the second immutably and incapable of being lost.

(3) The image consists also in dominion and immortality.

XXII. The third part of the image of God consists in the dominion and immortality of man. Dominion is the power which was given to him by God as the chief over all lower creatures, by which he has the right to use them at pleasure. All are bound to serve him as their master and to minister to his use (which was an emanation [*aporroē*] of the divine image and an impress of the supreme dominion of the Creator, whose preeminence (*hyperochē*) in this respect was in some measure communicated to man). Hence his dominion is mentioned immediately in connection with the formation of man in the image of God. "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion" (*vyrdhv*) (or in order that they may have dominion, or who may have dominion) "over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth" (Gen. 1:26*). Now it was a dominion common to both (with respect to other creatures) although the man had it peculiarly (because having power over his wife, in which sense the man is called singularly the image of God, 1 Cor. 11:7). However although by the fall that dominion was very much broken and diminished, yet it did not on that account wholly perish. Hence

it was confirmed to Noah after the flood (Gen. 9:2, 3), which was not so much the first grant of power as the restitution in some sort of the ancient authority given before. But whatever that dominion was even before the fall, it differed infinitely from the dominion of God, which is independent, natural, absolute and unlimited. However man's, on the other hand, is dependent, precarious and circumscribed within its own limits.

XXIII. Immortality is here to be added, not only of the soul itself (which still remains after sin), but of the whole subsisting substance (*suppositi*); not absolute as that of the saints (which is an inability to die), but conditional (which is the power not to die if he had not sinned). We will treat the latter hereafter in a separate question.

Eleventh Question

Was original righteousness natural or supernatural? The former we affirm, the latter we deny against the Romanists

I. This question is urged by the Romanists and would not seem to be of great importance if it were a controversy only about a name. But because (under this shell) our opponents introduce various errors, it becomes necessary in order to understand the nature of the state of integrity, the truth of original sin and the condition of free will.

Natural is used in four ways: (1) originally; (2) constitutively; (3) perfectively; (4) transitively.

II. However because much logomachy is usually connected with this question (on account of the multiple signification of the words natural and supernatural), we must speak of them first. Natural is taken in four ways: (1) originally and subjectively, drawn from nature and concreated or born together with it and most deeply implanted in it (which is opposed to the adventitious); (2) constitutively and consecutively, constituting the nature of the thing or following and flowing from the principles of nature (such as are the essential part or properties of a thing which is opposed to the accidental); (3) perfectively, agreeing with the nature and adorning and

perfecting it (opposed to that which is against nature); (4) transitively, which ought to be propagated with the nature.

III. Again, nature can be considered either as whole or as corrupt. Some things are natural as to the first, which are supernatural as to the second. That was said to be natural to man in the entire nature, not only that which constituted his nature essentially (or necessarily followed it), but that which was so suitable to the nature and implanted in it that without it the nature could not be entire. But that is said to be supernatural which approached the entire man for his perfection above the principles of nature and endowments of the soul.

Statement of the question.

IV. The question is not whether original righteousness may be called natural constitutively *a priori* or consecutively *a posteriori* (as if it either constituted or followed the nature itself). No one of our divines asserts this. Nor is the question Is it such originally and transitively, drawn namely from the origin and which would have been propagated to his posterity if man had remained entire? No Romanist denies this. The question is not Is it natural with respect to the corrupt state? We readily allow that it is so alien from fallen man that he is not able to recover it without the supernatural gift of grace. But the question is—Is it natural with respect to the entire state, necessary to the perfection of the entire nature and pertaining to the native gifts of entire man? For thus man is not considered simply physically as man, but theologically and morally as sound and entire.

V. The Romanists hold original righteousness to be a supernatural gift, superadded to the native gifts and power of the entire man. Bellarmine explains the reason why they determine this to be so. There was in man naturally a contest between the flesh and the spirit, the reason and the appetite, from which flowed a certain disease and languor of nature, arising from the condition of the material. Therefore God added original righteousness as a "golden bridle," to repress that conflict and to cover like a precious garment their nakedness, and as a remedy to heal that weakness ("De gratia primi hominis," 5, 6 in *Opera* [1858], 4:23–29). This is the more common opinion among them, although the Jansenists and others

exclaim loudly against it. Whence arose this expression of the Scholastics: "Naturals remained untouched, but the supernaturals only were lost."

Proof that original righteousness was natural.

VI. However the orthodox (although not denying that this righteousness may be called supernatural with regard to the corrupt state and holding that it is not natural constitutively or consecutively) yet think it may well be called natural originally and perfectively (with regard to the pure state because created with it). Thus it is so necessary to the perfection of innocent man that without it he could not have been such.

VII. The reasons are: (1) Because goodness and rectitude are natural to man in a state of innocence, then original righteousness was also (which is made up of these). As was the relation of goodness to the remaining creatures, so also was the relation to man. Now goodness was natural to the remaining creatures (Gen. 1:31); therefore, also to man. The same is true with regard to rectitude, since it is ascribed to man from his creation as opposed to what is adventitious (Ecc. 7:29). Therefore it must have been natural.

VIII. (2) Whatever is transmitted to posterity must be natural; righteousness was to have been propagated to posterity if man had remained innocent (since indeed he would beget a like to himself). (3) Original sin, which is derived from parents to their children, is natural. Hence they are called "by nature children of wrath" (Eph. 2:3). Therefore the original righteousness opposed to it must also be natural. (4) The remains of the divine image are called natural because they are the work of the law (which the Gentiles do by nature, Rom. 2:14); therefore also the whole image itself.

IX. (5) If original righteousness were supernatural, then there would have been natural to Adam the privation of righteousness and all that must necessarily be present in a capacious subject, from which righteousness is absent (viz., ignorance, propensity to vice, concupiscence of the flesh, rebellion of the inferior against the superior part and other things of like kind—called by Bellarmine "diseases and languors of nature"). And yet this cannot be said without ascribing the same to the author of nature who consequently must be considered the author of sin. For as to Bellarmine's

reply that the concupiscence (which is now the punishment of sin) was then only a weakness and disease of nature (which was not from God, but from the condition of the material, as an ironmonger is not the author of the rust which the sword made by him contracts), it does not solve the difficulty. For (a) it is taken for granted that there was a weakness and disease in the sound nature; (b) it was assumed that this disease was not sin (while it is certain that that concupiscence and headlong propensity to vice contended against the law of God, was the cause of many sins and so must be itself sin). (c) The comparison of the iron worker does not apply here because rust follows the material of iron (which the workman does not make, but finds). However God made the very matter of man and indeed (according to Bellarmine) such as this disorder (*ataxia*) and rebellion would necessarily follow. Hence, as he was the author of the material, he must be called the author of that defect which necessarily follows it. Thus there will be cast upon the most wise Creator (*dēmiourgō*) either unskillfulness or impotency because he either did not foresee the taint of concupiscence necessarily arising from the condition of the material, and the whole disorder (*ataxian*) of the flesh against the spirit or could not remove it without injuring a most noble work. Both of these are equally impious and blasphemous.

X. (6) The natural end of man ought to suppose natural means for obtaining it. Happiness was the natural end of man, therefore it ought to have natural means (which could be no other than original righteousness). Nor ought it to be replied that it can be called the end as to appetite, but not as to consecution (*consecutionem*). Since the appetite of the first man could not be fruitless in his innocent nature, it ought to draw after it the obtainment—if not as to the event, at least as to the possibility so that the thing would be not only desirable, but possible. Otherwise it might be said that God had begrudged and denied to man alone (his most excellent work by far) what he had bestowed upon each thing created by him (viz., to be able to accomplish by fit power their own operation).

Sources of explanation.

XI. It is one thing to speak of the essence of man; another of his integrity and perfection. At the taking away of a part or of some essential property, there follows in truth the destruction of the thing; but not forthwith at the

privation of that which contributes to the integrity and perfecting of nature (such as original righteousness was). The nature indeed remains mutilated and depraved (since it has lost what perfected it), but is not destroyed as to essence.

XII. Although original righteousness may be said to have been natural to Adam, it does not follow that it is the same with the righteousness of God because God alone is righteous naturally in every way—essentially, independently and immutably; but man is so only in a certain respect and relatively—mutably, precariously and independently.

XIII. That anyone may be called "a natural son of God," it is not sufficient that he has something natural on account of which he may be called a son of God. Rather it is required that he have the same numerical nature with the Father, which can be said of Christ alone (the essential image of God) and not of our first parent, who obtained the name of son of God only by reason of a certain likeness.

XIV. To him who is dust according to all parts of his essence, natural original righteousness cannot belong. But man is called dust (Gen. 3:19) only relatively and with respect to his body. So as it is natural for man to be earthy on the part of the body (which was formed from the earth), so it ought to be natural for him to be just and holy as to the image of God in which he was created. Again, fall and liability to fall must be distinguished here: the one is to have a fall born with him; the other however to be able to fall. Man as dust had a liability to fall by which he could sin, but not a fall itself by which he must actually sin. The former denotes a state of mutable nature, but no disease or languor in it. The latter denotes a state of sin, which could not be in an innocent nature.

XV. So far is the inferior part of the soul from contending of itself with the superior that on the contrary (according to the Philosopher), it was born to obey (*peitharchein pephyke*) and is naturally subordinated to it (Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics* 10.9.4 [Loeb, 628–29]). The propensions of both can be diverse, but not contrary in themselves (rather only accidentally on account of sin). Man could be carried naturally towards both sensible and spiritual good, but in their own order and without a rebellion between the flesh and the spirit. Thus the soul would always hold dominion and the flesh obey and subject all its own motions and inclinations to it. The sensible good is contained in the intelligible good and the object of the

sensitive appetite stands related to the object of the natural (as the means to the end). Therefore, as long as man regarded the sensible good as the means, there was no vice in him. But when departing from God, he began to be drawn to the object of the sensitive appetite as his ultimate end and highest good (which was effected by sin). At length, the disorder (*ataxia*) arose which disturbed the order constituted by God. Therefore, we must accurately distinguish here the appetite (which was natural and ordinate) from that which was preternatural and inordinate. The latter is repugnant to reason, but not equally the former.

XVI. Although original righteousness can properly be called "grace" or "a gratuitous gift" (and so not due on the part of God, just as the nature itself also, created by him), it does not follow that it is supernatural or not due to the perfection of the innocent nature. For although God owed nothing to man, yet it being posited that he willed to create man after his own image, he was bound to create him righteous and holy.

XVII. Besides the habit infused by grace and acquired by practice, there is another connate and bestowed for the perfection of the creature. Nor is it confounded with natural power because the latter regards the constitution of nature in the genus of being; the former regards the perfection of the constituted nature in the genus of morals.

Twelfth Question

Did the first man before his fall possess immortality, or was he mortal in nature and condition? The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the Socinians

I. As the Socinians deny that original righteousness was given to Adam, so they are unwilling to acknowledge his immortality (which ought to be the consequence of righteousness) and maintain that death was the result of nature, not the wages of sin, so that man would have died even if he had never sinned. Their design is to overthrow original sin (which is built upon death as its proper effect in infants) and to deny the satisfaction of Christ for us.

Statement of the question.

II. The question does not concern essential and absolute immortality (in which there is neither an extrinsic nor intrinsic cause of destruction). This belongs to God alone, who is therefore called "the only immortal" (1 Tim. 6:16). Rather the question concerns comparative and participative immortality. (2) It does not concern the immortality of the soul in the genus of being and as to the state of nature (belonging to it in any state), but concerns the immortality of man in the genus of morals and as to happiness. (3) It does not concern the immortality of glory, which is placed in an absolute impotence of dying (suiting the saint alone, according to which they can die no more); but concerns the immortality of the way, which is placed in the conditional power not to die (by which man could not have died if he had not sinned). (4) It does not concern a remote mortality, in which sense that is called mortal which has a remote power of death (viz., which is composed of earthy and elementary matter). Thus Adam can be called mortal remotely because his body was of dust and composed of contrary qualities. Rather it concerns a proximate mortality on which the act immediately depends and which implies the necessity of dying. The question is whether Adam was so mortal by a proximate power as that he would necessarily and certainly have died even if he had not sinned. The Socinians affirm this. "Natural death, so far forth as it is natural and common to all, is not the wages of sin, but the proper result of our nature, which Adam himself received at his creation" (Socinus, *De Iesu Christo Servatore*, Pt. III.8 [1594], p. 294). This he endeavors to confirm by various reasons (*Praelectionis theologicae* 1 [1627], pp. 1–2). The orthodox, however, deny that Adam, although mortal remotely by reason of his body (which was resolvable into its principles), was mortal proximately. They think he would never have died if he had persevered in his integrity because the holiness of the soul would have preserved his body from death and corruption.

Proof that Adam was immortal.

III. The reasons are: (1) Man was made in the image of God, which contains these two principal rays—holiness and immortality. As there are two in God—the good (*to agathon*, which is related to moral goodness) and the blessed (*to makarion*, which puts on the form of physical good)—so

these two ought to correspond in the creature which bears God's image, so as to be assimilated to him in holiness and happiness, in righteousness and life. Nor does it follow from this that man could no more die than God. For that image was not essential (and of all kinds of equality) as was the case with Christ, but analogical (and only of a certain likeness), which falls very far below the immortality of God.

IV. (2) If Adam was righteous, he ought to have been immortal because there is a necessary connection between righteousness and life. (a) From the order of God who has joined righteousness and life in the law by an indissoluble bond (as he joined closely together sin and death: "Do this and thou shalt live; the soul that sinneth it shall die"). (b) From the nature of the thing itself, which demands that homogeneous things should not be separated from each other. Now moral good and physical good are homogeneous, as moral evil answers to physical. Hence they necessarily follow each other and cannot be divided. For as the highest virtue cannot always consist with a life by far the most miserable, so neither can the highest depravity be consistent with perfect happiness. Although for a time and by dispensation, righteousness and life could be separated (as was seen in Christ), yet this cannot be the case perpetually. Nor does a consideration of the wisdom and goodness of God allow this. Since God cannot but love himself (as the object of supreme love), he cannot also help loving his own creatures (in whom he sees his image shining); and if he loves, he cannot but wish them well; and by wishing them well, to do them good, so as to make them partakers of his own life and happiness (since he can do what he wills).

V. (3) Because Adam by his sin contracted the death threatened as the punishment of sin (Gen. 2:17; 3:19). Hence it is said to have entered by sin as its wages (Rom. 5:12; 6:23). He would have been free from this if he had not sinned (which could not be said if it was a result of nature). Nor does it help them to object that it refers to eternal, not to temporal death; for we must not limit what the Holy Spirit does not limit. The Scriptures speak in general about death. Thus under it is comprehended whatever comes under the name of death in the Scriptures (and so bodily no less than eternal death must be understood). This is evident even from the fact that it is described by a return to dust (Gen. 3:19; Ecc. 12:7) and is extended to infants in this life (Rom. 5:14), who are subjected to temporal death. To no purpose is it

also added that the sentence (Gen. 2:17) is only threatening (*comminatoriam*), not definitive (since Adam did not indeed die on the very day he sinned). Although the punishment of death was not inflicted on man at the very moment or day in which he sinned (as to all his parts), yet it began to be inflicted both as to guilt and the necessity of dying (to which he was exposed), as to spiritual death and as to the beginnings of bodily death (which he began to feel in himself in the miseries, diseases and other preludes of death to which he was exposed).

VI. (4) Because what is against nature cannot be a result of nature, since all things in the state of innocence were very good and agreeable to his nature. Yet death is against nature as destroying the composite and resolving the body into dust. Thus it happens that men by nature dread and turn away from death.

VII. (5) Because there were no causes of death in man before the fall: neither internal, such as sin, contest of affections, bad temperament (*dyskrasia*) of humors, and warm and humid natural defects (whence languor and diseases); nor external, as the corruption of the elements, want of aliment, or external force to act against man. For as the perfect constitution of man hindered the former, so the special care and protection of God removed the latter. Hence the Milevan Council (416) utters an anathema against him "who says that Adam, the first man, was made mortal, so that whether he sinned or not, he would die in body, not by the demerit of sin but by necessity of nature" (Mansi 4:327; cf. Hefele 2:455).

Sources of explanation.

VIII. The absolute immortality of the goal differs from the conditional of the way. To the former belongs likeness to the angels (*isangelia*) and the negation of procreation and offspring (of which Christ speaks in Lk. 20:35, 36). But this cannot be said equally of the latter because in it the human race is to be propagated. Although the procreation of offspring did not belong to the conservation of the species (as now, after sin and death were introduced into the world, in the corrupted nature), yet it was necessary for its multiplication according to the primeval blessing (Gen. 1:28). The same ought to be said of the necessity of food and drink, which will not be necessary in the immortality of glory, but which was to be necessary in the

immortality of nature (which God wished not to procure immediately but by the intervention of food for the support of the animal life). Nor if it is said that the stomach will be destroyed with food (1 Cor. 6:13), does this properly refer to Adam as innocent, but to men after the fall. This must not be understood so much with respect to nature (since the whole man will rise again) as with respect to the role of the stomach and the necessity of food (which will cease).

IX. Although the body of Adam was in origin earthy (and as composed, so also resolvable, through the indisposition of matter), yet it could have been immortal through the dignity of original righteousness and the power of God's special grace. There were indeed present the remote causes of death in the corruptible material and elementary mixture and his body was subject to pain and vulnerable. But the proximate cause (sin) not being granted, they could never be brought out into act. For the soul (free from the corruption of sin) removed corruption from the body and original righteousness was (as it were) connate salt (which prevented corruption, which would otherwise have arisen from the condition of the material).

X. The tree to life was not given to Adam to prevent death (as if his life depended upon eating of that tree). It was given partly to seal the immortality of man in that state, to be to him a pledge and a sacrament (both that he would not fall from the happiness in which he had been created [provided he did not fail in duty and also that he would obtain at length the immortality of the goal] and partly to preserve his life always in equal vigor [as other food was not to serve for the reparation of worn powers, but only for their conservation]).

XI. The *psychikon* (or "animal" body) as opposed to the *pneumatikon* (or "spiritual") can be understood in two ways: either in its physical being only (as recently given to Adam in his state of integrity, in which he ought to pass an animal and earthly life and had need of the support of food, as also sleep and rest); or in its physical and moral being together (as after sin, it is transformed by generation into a corrupt animal life). In the latter sense, actual corruptibility belonged to him; but in the former only a potential corruptibility inasmuch as man (left in the hand of his own counsel) could fall from God. With that potential and remote corruptibility and mortality, actual immortality and incorruptibility cannot stand. Although therefore the body was not spiritual (such as bodies after the resurrection will be, not by

nature, but by qualities, which it behooves not to be able to die), still it was immortal (inasmuch as it was perpetually vivified by the holy soul and consequently could not die). When Paul treats of the animal body (*psychikō*, 1 Cor. 15:44, 46), he does not speak of Adam's body in his innocent state, but as it was after the fall. For he treats of the body sown by death in "corruption, in dishonor, and in weakness" (*en phthora, en atimia ... astheneia*, 1 Cor. 15:42, 43*), which can be said morally only of the animal body corrupted by sin. Again, it speaks of Adam in relation to the manner in which we bear his image in opposition to Christ (1 Cor. 15:49), i.e., not only in nature, but in sin (Gen. 5:3). And what the apostle adduces concerning the first man made a living soul (1 Cor. 15:45) does not apply here to prove that Adam had simply an animal and corruptible body, but only to describe the subject (which could fall into such a state as had been described before because it was in a mutable condition and capable of falling—in which therefore it could be made actually corruptible and mortal by sin).

XII. Although Christ has not freed us from being exposed to death, still he has delivered us from its penalty because it is no more the wages of sin to believers, but the passage to a better life; no more a curse, but a blessing (Rev. 14:13). Second, although Christ has not as yet taken away mortality actually, yet he has already taken it away deservedly on the cross (and will actually take it away by his efficacy in the resurrection with other calamities flowing from sin, 1 Cor. 15:26, 54, 55).

XIII. What is generative is also corruptible, by a remote power, but not immediately by a proximate power. (2) The axiom avails in a corrupt, not in a perfect state. Neither is it necessary for the same body generated in integrity, to be actually corrupted (an internal cause, to wit, holiness being present, to keep off that corruption). The concourse of elementary qualities mutually destroying each other can indeed now effect corruption. Afterwards by sin these contrary qualities began to contend and conspire for the ruin of the body. But before, when equably tempered between themselves, they concurred in a friendly manner to the conservation of man, no actual corruption could intervene (as there could be none in the body of Christ and will be none in the glorified body).

Thirteenth Question: The Origin of the Soul

Are souls created by God, or are they propagated? We affirm the former and deny the latter

I. Although there are various opinions of theologians and philosophers about the origin of the soul, yet principally there are two to which the others can be referred: one asserting the creation, the other the propagation (*traducem*) of the soul. The former holds all souls to have been immediately created by God and by creating infused; thus to be produced from nothing and without any preexisting material. The latter, however, maintains that souls are propagated. The former is the opinion of almost all the orthodox (with many of the fathers and Scholastics). The latter is embraced by the Lutherans. Tertullian was the author of propagation (*traducis*) in *Treatise on the Soul* (ANF 3:181–235), whom the Luciferians and many of the Latins followed. Augustine suspends his judgment (*epechei*) on this point and, although often discussing the question, still would not determine anything about it (cf. Letter 166 "To Jerome" [FC 30:6–31]; Letter 190 "To Optatus" [FC 30:271–88]; *The Retractions* 1.1 [3] [FC 60:9–10]). He testifies that "he still did not know what was to be held" (ibid., 2.82 [56] [FC 60:244; PL 32.653]).

II. Those who believe in propagation do not all think and speak together. Some hold the soul to be propagated from the semen of the parents and produced from the potency of matter. But this is rejected by most as less likely because if it depended upon the virtue of the semen, it would also be corporeal and subject to corruption. Others hold it to be from the soul of the father by propagation, yet in a manner inscrutable and unknown to us (Martinius, *Miscellanearum Disputationum*, Bk. 3, Disp. 7 [1603], pp. 541–42). Others maintain that the soul of the father procreates the soul of the son from a certain spiritual and incorporeal seed (as Timothy Bright). Finally, others (the more common opinion) think the soul is propagated by the soul, not by a decision and partition of the paternal soul, but in a spiritual manner, as light is kindled by light (so Balthasar Meisner and most Lutherans).

The creation of souls is proved.

III. However, we endorse the creation of the soul: (1) from the law of creation; (2) from the testimony of Scripture; (3) from reasons. (1) From the law of creation, because the origin of our souls ought to be the same as of the soul of Adam; not only because we ought to bear his image (1 Cor. 15:47, 48), but also because his creation (as the first individual of the whole species) is an example of the formation of all men (as the wedlock of our first parents was an example for the rest). But the soul of Adam was created immediately by God, since "he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life" (Gen. 2:7). Thus it is evident his soul was not produced from potent material, but came to him extrinsically through creation and was infused into the body by the breath of God himself. Nor ought it to be objected that we cannot argue from Adam to ourselves because the same thing might be said of the origin of the body (which nevertheless is not the case, since ours is generated from seed, while that of Adam was created from the dust of the earth). Although there may be a disparity by reason of the efficient cause on account of the diversity of the subjects (because as the body is elementary and material, it can be produced by man through generation; but the soul, being immaterial and simple, cannot spring from any other source than God by creation), yet with respect to the material cause a comparison may rightly be made. For as the soul of Adam was created out of nothing, so also are the souls of his posterity; and as his body was formed of the dust of the earth, so also our bodies from seed (which itself also is earthly and material). Therefore the mode of action with respect to Adam was also singular, yet the nature of the thing is the same in both cases. This is confirmed by the production of Eve herself whose origin as to the body is described as from a rib of Adam, but of the soul no mention is made. Hence it is plainly gathered that the origin of her soul was not different from that of the soul of Adam because otherwise Moses would not have passed it over in silence (his purpose being to describe the origin of all things). And Adam himself would have mentioned this origin, yea he would have declared it specially; he would have said not only "this is bone of my bones," but "soul of my soul" (Gen. 2:23). This would have set forth more strongly the bond of wedlock, which should be not only in the bodies, but also in the souls. Finally, if Adam's soul and ours had a different origin, they could not be said to be of the same species because his was from

nothing. Ours, however, would be from some preexisting material wholly dissimilar.

IV. Second, from the testimony of Scripture, in which God is spoken of as the author and Creator of the soul in a peculiar manner distinct from the body: "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it" (Ecc. 12:7). Here a manifest difference is marked between the origin and the destruction of the body and the soul. The one is said to return to the dust (whence it was taken); the other, however, to return unto God (who gave it). Therefore since the body returns thither whence it had its origin, so also the soul. This is more clearly confirmed by the fact that God is said to "give the spirit" (which cannot be understood of the common giving by concourse with second causes). For he also gives the body itself no less than the soul because he is the first cause of both (nor would he well be said by antithesis [*kat' antithesin*] to have given the spirit). Rather this is understood concerning the proper and peculiar mode of origin (which does not belong to the body). Nor ought it to be said that this is to be referred to the first creation of Adam. The scope, the words and circumstances of the text prove that it treats of the ordinary birth and destruction of men. Accordingly their bodies return to the dust (i.e., to the earth) whence they were taken, while their spirits return unto God, the Judge, who gave them (either for glory or for punishment).

V. "The word of the Lord, which stretcheth forth the heavens, and layeth the foundation of the earth, and formeth the spirit of man within him" (Zech. 12:1). Whence a multiple argument is drawn for the creation against the birth of the soul (*psychogonian*). (1) He is said to form the spirit of man within him; therefore he ought to produce it immediately without the intervention of man. (2) The formation of the spirit is joined with the stretching out of the heavens and the founding of the earth, as of the same order and grade. Therefore since the former two are works of omnipotence, made immediately by God and without second causes, so the last ought to be also. Nor can this be referred to the mediate production of God because thus man would be admitted to a participation of causality, which the text does not allow (since it asserts the production of the soul as well as that of the heaven and earth to be peculiar to God). However, this is falsely restricted to the first production of man since it ought to be extended equally to all. Hence when it speaks of the production of the soul elsewhere,

the Scripture does not use the singular (as if referring to the one soul of Adam), but the plural (Ps. 33:15; Is. 57:16). But man here is not taken individually for Adam, but specifically for any man.

VI. "We have had fathers of our flesh which corrected us, and we gave them reverence: shall we not much rather be in subjection unto the Father of spirits, and live?" (Heb. 12:9). And Peter calls him in a peculiar manner a "faithful Creator of souls" (1 Pet. 4:19). In Num. 16:22, God is called "the God of the spirits of all flesh." So too Is. 57:16: "For I will not contend forever, neither will I be always wroth: for the spirit should fail before me, and the souls which I have made." Now why should God be called "the Father of spirits" in contradistinction to "the fathers of the flesh" unless the origin of each was different? And yet if souls are propagated, the parents of the body and the soul should be the same. Indeed "the flesh" here cannot signify the old man or inborn corruption because then it would not be opposed to spirits (*pneumasi*) in the plural, but to spirit (*pneumati*) in the singular. Rather it designates the body, and they are called "fathers of the flesh" who generate the flesh. So the word "spirit" ought not to be referred to spiritual gifts (which are not treated of here), but to the other part of man opposed to the body. Nor can the omission of the pronoun *hēmōn* (with respect to the flesh) be a hindrance because it is to be repeated *apo koinou* (since he speaks about the same according to the principles and origin of the diverse parts). Hence in Num. 16:22, he is called "the father of the spirits of all flesh" (i.e., of all men). Again he cannot be called "the Father of spirits" mediately, as he is called "the father of the rain" (Job 38:28) because he is its author (although not immediately). Thus the antithesis between the fathers of the flesh and the father of spirits would not stand, and the force of the apostolic exhortation to afford greater obedience to God than to earthly fathers would fall. Nor if the concourse of God is not excluded from the production of the flesh (although attributed to earthly fathers because he is the universal first cause), ought the concourse of man in the production of the spirit to be excluded (because he is the particular second cause).

VII. Third, the same thing is proved by arguments from reason. The soul is propagated by generation, either from both parents or from one only; either as to its totality or only as to a part. But neither can be said. Not the former because thus two souls would coalesce into one and be mingled. Not the latter, for if from one (either the father or the mother only) no reason

can be given why it should be propagated by the one rather than by the other (since both parents are equally the principle of generation). If the whole is propagated, then the parents will be without it and so will be deprived of life. If a part, it will be divisible and consequently material and mortal. Nor can it be reasonably replied here that neither the whole soul nor a part of it is propagated, but a certain substance born of the soul and (as it were) an immortal seed of the soul. For it is taken for granted that there is a seed of the soul by which it either generates or is generated; yet such a seed cannot be granted (which does not fall from the soul), and therefore proves it to be material and divisible.

VIII. Again, all modes of propagation are pressed by the most serious difficulties; nor can they be admitted without overthrowing the spirituality of the rational soul. Not the first, which is held by those who consider the soul to be produced from the power of seed so that it is begotten with the body. For the effect cannot (in the total genus) be more noble than its cause; nor can things corporeal and elementary be so elevated as to produce a spiritual and rational thing. If generated from seed, with the seed also it will be corrupted. Men and brutes would have the same origin and consequently the same destruction. Not the second, which is held by those who think the soul of the son to be from that of the father in a manner inscrutable and unknown by us. This entangles rather than unfolds the matter. For the father produces the son either from some preexistent matter or from none; not from none because he would thus create; not from some because either it would be the corporeal substance of a seed (which has just been proved to be false) or it would be a certain spiritual substance of the soul (which again cannot be said). This is true because that spiritual substance is made either from the whole soul of the father or from a part only. Not from the whole because thus the soul of the father would vanish and be converted into that spiritual seed. Not from a part because thus the soul of the father would be divisible into parts, and because that substance is corruptible and perishes in the very instant the soul is produced. But then it will no longer be a spiritual or incorruptible substance. Thus it would follow that there are two spirits in the begotten man: the soul of the son and the spiritual substance from which his soul was produced. Besides, it is repugnant to the nature of seed for it to remain after the generation of the thing (because it ought to be transmuted into what springs from the seed).

IX. Not the third even though it may seem preferable to others. They hold that it is said to be propagated not by alienation, but by communication (as when light is kindled from light without any division of the other). (1) But the communication made of one and the same thing and without any alienation occurs only in an infinite and not in a finite essence (in which the same numerical essence cannot be communicated to another, but a similar only is produced). (2) The soul of the son cannot be produced from that of the father; neither terminatively (because the *terminus a quo* perishes, the *terminus ad quem* being produced), nor decisively (because the soul is without parts [*ameristos*]), nor constitutively (because the soul of the father is not a constitutive part of the soul of the son). (3) The similitude of the light does not apply. Besides the fact that the flame and candle are corporeal substances (while here the subject is a spiritual), it is certain that light is produced from the potency of the material. Nor can it be kindled without a decision of fiery particles transmitted from the lighted to the extinguished torch (which cannot be said of the soul).

X. Since, therefore, the opinion of propagation labors under inextricable difficulties, and no reason drawn from any other source forces us to admit it, we deservedly embrace the option of creation as more consistent with Scripture and right reason. This was also evidently the opinion of most of the heathen philosophers themselves. Hence the following expression of Zoroaster according to Ficinum: "You must hasten to the sunlight and to the father's sunbeams: thence a soul will be sent to you fully enslaved to mind" (*Chrē speudein se pros to phaos, kai pros patros augas Enthen epemphthē soi psychē polyn hessamenē noun*, *Theologia Platonica de immortalitate animorum* 10 [1559], p. 160). Aristotle asserts that "the mind or intellect, and that alone enters from without, and is alone divine" (*ton noun thyrathen epeisienai kai theion einai monon*, *Generation of Animals* 2.3.27–28 [Loeb, 170–71]). Cicero says, "No origin of the soul can be found upon earth for there is nothing in the soul mixed and concrete that seems to be or born from the earth and made.… Thus whatever that is which perceives, knows, wishes and flourishes, is heavenly and divine and on that account must necessarily be eternal" (*Tusculan Disputations* 1.66 [Loeb, 76–79]).

Sources of explanation.

XI. God is said to have rested from all his work (Gen. 2:2), not by retiring from the administration of things, but by ceasing from the creation of new species or individuals (which might be the principles of new species). Thus he works even now (Jn. 5:17) by administering the instituted nature and multiplying whatever was; not, however, by instituting what was not. Now the souls which he creates every day are new individuals of species already created.

XII. Although the soul is not propagated, the divine blessing given at first (Gen. 1:28) does not cease to exert its power in the generation of men. For God always cooperates with the generators and the generation, not only by preserving man's prolific power, but also by infusing the soul into the disposed body.

XIII. It is not necessary in order that man may be said to generate man that he should generate all natures or essential parts of the compound. Otherwise, the blessed virgin did not beget true God and man. Rather it suffices that he prepares and works up the material and renders it fit for the introduction of form and attains the union of the soul with the body (by which man is constituted in his being as man and is made such a physical compound). For generation tends to the compound, not however to the production of both parts. As man is said to kill a man (who dissolves the union of the soul with the body although he does not even touch the soul), so man generates man because he joins together those parts from which man springs although not a soul-begetter (*psychogonos*). Nor ought he who generates the whole man to be forthwith the producer of the whole of man.

XIV. Adam can be said to have begotten man after his own image, although he did not produce the soul. The cause of the similitude is not the propagation of the soul, but the production of bodies of the same temperament with the parents. For from the different temperament and humors of the body, different propensities and affections are also born in our souls.

XV. When souls are said to have "gone out of the loins of Jacob" (Gen. 46:26), they are not understood properly, but synecdochically for the "persons" (a most usual manner of expression with the Scriptures). Moreover, there was no need that Jacob should contribute anything to the production of these souls. It suffices that he concurred to their conjunction or subsistence in the body mediately or immediately. Therefore they are

said to have gone out, not as to being or substance simply, but as to subsistence in the body and union with it.

XVI. Although Christ was no less in Abraham (according to the flesh) than Levi (who was tithed in his loins, Heb. 7:9–10*), it does not follow that Levi was in him according to his soul (so that the soul of Levi was propagated and that a distinction may be preserved). Rather Levi (with respect to person) was in Abraham according to seminal mode and the natural powers of the father and mother (from whom he was to be born). But Christ was in him only as to the human nature with regard to the mother; not, however, as to his divine nature and person. Thus his person could not be tithed; but as a superior he tithed Abraham and blessed him in Melchizedek (his type), not as man, but as the Mediator, God-man (*theanthrōpos*), performing a kingly and priestly office.

XVII. The propagation of original sin ought not to cause a denial of the creation of souls and the adoption of propagation because it can be sufficiently saved without this hypothesis (as will be demonstrated in its place). Although the soul is not materially from Adam (as to substance), yet it is originally from him as to subsistence. And as man is rightly said to beget man (although he does not beget the soul), so an impure progenerates an impure, especially (the just judgment of God intervening) that by which it was established that what he had bestowed upon the first man, he should at the same time have and lose for himself as well as his posterity. Now although it is curious to inquire and rash to define why God infuses a soul tainted with sin and joins it to an impure body, it is certainly evident that God did not will (on account of the sin of man) to abolish the first sanction concerning the propagation of the human race by generation. Thus the order of the universe and the conservation of human nature demanded it.

Fourteenth Question: The Immortality of the Soul

Is the soul immortal in virtue of its intrinsic constitution? We affirm

I. The true origin of the soul having been proved, its immortality must also be demonstrated. We must labor the more diligently upon this (atheists and libertines using great efforts to impugn it) in order the more easily to take away from the world all sense of the divinity and desire of piety. The

pious, on the contrary, embrace it as a primary head of faith. There can be none more strongly exciting to piety, nor more efficacious in life as well as in death. It is an argument of consolation since belief in immortality (*athanasias*) is the foundation of blessedness (*euthanasias*).

II. However, there have been different opinions about this question. (1) Those denying—such as were formerly the Sadducees and the Epicureans and atheists of our day, who hold that the soul is entirely extinguished with the body. They who think the soul dies with the body, but believe it will afterwards be raised with it, do not differ much from these. This was the heresy formerly of some Arabians, according to Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* 6.37* [FC 29:62]) and Augustine (*De Haeresibus* 83 [PL 42.46]). It is renewed in this age by the milder Socinians and Anabaptists who, pressing in their footsteps, presume to defend at least a night of the soul (viz., that souls either sleep and are without all sense or are extinguished until the resurrection). Smaltzius says, "The soul after death is endowed with no sense" (*Refutatio Thesium D. Wolfgangi Frantzii*, "De Extremo Iudicio," Disp. VII [1614], p. 412). (2) Those doubting—such as the sceptics and academics, old and new. (3) Those affirming—such as were the sounder philosophers and now all the orthodox.

III. Immortality may be either extrinsic (having no external principle destructive of itself); or intrinsic (having in itself a principle of corruption and destruction). Again immortal is said extrinsically, either with respect to the first cause or with respect to second causes. The question here is not whether the soul is immortal extrinsically. For although with respect to second causes it may properly be so called (because no second cause can resolve it into its principles, which has none), yet it cannot be so called with respect to the first cause (because God who created can annihilate it). But the question is properly about intrinsic immortality or its incorruptibility.

IV. Again, immortal is such either by nature strictly considered (to whose nature it is simply repugnant for it to fail in any way) either extrinsically or intrinsically; or broadly (which has by natural constitution no intrinsic principle of destruction). The question is not whether the soul is immortal in the first sense (which belongs to God alone, 1 Tim. 6:16), but in the second.

V. Finally, immortality in the genus of being and as to the conservation of the soul, differs from immortality in the genus of morals and as to its

glory and happiness. We do not treat here of the latter (which has been spoken of in Question 12), proper to the souls of believers alone (while others lie in spiritual and eternal death), but of the former (which belongs to the soul in every state).

Proof of the immortality of the soul. (1) From Scripture.

VI. Now that such is the condition of the rational soul, Scripture frequently teaches and reason confirms. First, Scripture establishes it most clearly in the celebrated passage where Christ (dealing with the Sadducees who denied the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body) argues from the federal promise given to the patriarchs, in which God testified that he is the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Mt. 22:32; cf. Ex. 3:6). However, since "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living," thence he necessarily gathers both that their souls were immortal and that their bodies would be raised. There are three foundations for this reasoning. First, the covenant which God made with man necessarily demands the existence of those with whom the covenant was made. Otherwise there could not be the relation (*schesis*) between God and men, nor could the benefits (which tend to the communion of life and happiness) be communicated to them. Second, the covenant of God is not temporal, but eternal, remaining even after death. Thus even after their death, God is called their God. Third, this covenant was made with the whole man and not with the soul only (the one part). Hence it follows that the patriarchs (with whom God made the covenant) ought to exist, not only for a time, but also after death and forever; not only as to the soul, but also as to the body (which, moreover, in its own time ought to be raised). This invincibly proves both the immortality of their souls and the resurrection of their bodies. For they (of whom God is the God by an eternal covenant) ought also to live forever. Now God is the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and calls himself such even after their death. Therefore they ought to live even after their death, if not as to the body yet as to the soul because as Luke adds "all live unto him" (*pantes autō zōsin*, Lk. 20:38), until at the last day the whole man himself both in body and soul shall enjoy the life of God.

Although this passage speaks directly of the happy immortality and resurrection of believers in virtue of the covenant, it is with no less propriety extended to the immortality of nature (because the one necessarily supposes the other). And if the souls of believers are to live forever that they may enjoy the happiness promised to them, the relation of the justice of God demands that the souls of the wicked should never perish, that they may be visited with the punishments denounced by him.

VII. Second, the same thing is proved by the passages which set forth a different exit of the body and the soul. Thus, when "the body" is said to "return to the dust and the spirit to return to God who gave it" (Ecc. 12:7), it is manifestly intimated that the soul subsists after the destruction of the body; for if extinguished with the body, how is it said to return to God? It returns, therefore, to God as the extrinsic and efficient principle of its origin; not to be extinguished, but either to be made happy or to be punished by him. The body returns to the dust as its material and intrinsic principle into which it is resolved. Ps. 146:4 applies here: "The breath of man goeth forth," while "he" (as to the body) "returneth to his earth." Now if the soul is extinguished with the body, why is it said to go out of him? So Christ would falsely distinguish between men (who can kill the body and not the soul) and God (who can destroy both soul and body in hell) if the soul could be destroyed with the body: "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell" (Mt. 10:28). Nor should it be said that he here treats of ruin and destruction because by *to apolesai* is not signified extinction or destruction, but only punishment (because he speaks of hell whose torment is said to be eternal). Luke sets this forth by "to cast into hell" (*to embalein eis tēn geennan*, Lk. 12:5, viz., that man may be tormented forever in soul and body).

VIII. Here belong all those passages which either promise eternal life to believers or threaten the wicked with eternal punishment; and those which treat of the last judgment, as of eternal judgment (Heb. 6:2), because on it is adjudicated the eternal reward or eternal punishment (Mt. 25:34, 41). All these would be false if death ended all things in man and nothing remained in him after death.

IX. If the soul perishes with the body or is sunk in a heavy sleep, how does Paul (with believers) after the dissolution of the earthly tabernacle

expect a building and house eternal and not made with hands (*acheiropoiēton*) in heaven? How does he with them wish "rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord" (*ekdēmēsai ek tou sōmatos kai endēmēsai pros ton Kyrion*, 2 Cor. 5:1, 8) and elsewhere desire "to depart" (or to go to the Lord) "and to be with Christ" (Phil. 1:23)? How is the soul of Lazarus carried after death to the bosom of Abraham, where it sweetly rests, while that of the rich man, on the contrary, is most miserably tormented in hell (Lk. 16:19–31)? How are the souls of the martyrs represented "under the altar, clad in white robes" (symbols of the glory they enjoy) "crying out" and calling for the judgment of God (Rev. 6:9–11*)? How are the spirits of the wicked said to be "bound in prison" (*en phylakē*, viz., the infernal, 1 Pet 3:19), where they suffer the deserved punishment of their contumacy and perfidy?

(2) From the providence of God, his truth, his wisdom, religion, the desire of immortality.

X. Manifold reason also proves it. First, the immortality of the soul is demanded by the providence and justice of God to render good to the good, evil to the evil. Since, in the most wise counsel of God, this is not always done in the present life, it ought necessarily to be looked for in the other (in which that distribution of rewards and punishments may be made). The truth of God also demands it, for he promises the highest happiness to the pious and extreme misery to the wicked, not only in this but also in the future world. His wisdom and goodness demand it; he cannot suffer the destruction of men and brutes to be the same, but as their origin is different, so he wishes a different end to each. Religion and piety demand it; for to no purpose is God worshipped and are believers anxious about the promotion of their holiness, nor do they deny themselves and bear patiently the yoke of calamities and the cross, if the same end awaits the pious and the impious with the beasts. The Epicureans would be the most wise, who pamper their bodies and have no thought but how they may indulge their passions and wallow in luxurious delights: "Let us eat and drink," they say, "tomorrow we die" (1 Cor. 15:32). The desire of immortality, innate in all, demands it; also that infinite appetite which can never be satiated except with eternal

and infinite good. For, since this cannot be a vain and deceitful desire implanted in individuals by the deity and by nature, the immortality of the soul must be granted that it may be fulfilled.

(3) From its spirituality.

XI. Second, its spirituality proves it. For whatever is spiritual and free from the contagion of matter is immortal. For being in the highest degree simple and indivisible, it is devoid of contrariety (which arises only from contrary qualities), and there is nothing by which it can be corrupted intrinsically or perish. That at length is mortal which is material and compound and consists of contrary qualities contending against each other. If, therefore, the soul is spiritual, it neither is produced from the power of a material, nor depends upon it—not in becoming, or in being—because it has a peculiar mode of subsistence and so does not die with the body, but can subsist separated from it. That the soul is spiritual is not proved better than from its operations, which indicate *a posteriori* the kind of principle whence they spring. If they are spiritual, the soul itself also must be spiritual.

(4) From its independence of the body.

XII. That its operations are spiritual is gathered certainly from their being independent of the body (whence also follows the independence of the soul itself). For if the soul can act independently of the body, it can also subsist independently of the body, for the mode of operating follows the mode of being. And that the soul operates independently of the body is evident even from the sole understanding of God, angels and the soul itself (which by a reflex act beholds itself) and from exstatic (*extaticis*) motions. For that such acts are spiritual and independent of the body, the thing itself exclaims. This is so both by reason of the object (because the mind is occupied about things spiritual and incorporeal and eternal) whither it could not rise (unless spiritual and incorporeal, for the effect is not in its whole genus more noble than its cause); and with respect to the mode (because it is occupied with those objects in a spiritual manner and without the use of the bodily organs, which have no proportion to the spiritual and incorporeal object). Hence the

more the mind is carried out of and abstracted from the senses, the purer and more acutely is it accustomed to understand.

XIII. It is one thing for the soul to depend upon the body (as upon a subject and efficient); another to depend upon it as an object and occasion. When Aristotle says, "The perceiver ought to look at phantasms" (*On the Soul* 3.7 [Loeb, 8:176–77]), he notes the latter dependency, not the former. For understanding is not made ordinarily without a phantasy (initially, conditionally and objectively) because the phantasm is the object about which the mind is occupied. Rather it does not depend upon the phantasy effectively or subjectively because it is neither elicited by it nor received in it, but is effected by the intellect alone and received in it alone. Yet on account of its union with the body, the soul does not work through the intellect without first working through the phantasy, so that by an operation through the phantasy and at the presence of phantasms, it is excited to work through the intellect. Again, it is not true that understanding always depends upon the phantasy. Although it is so with respect to external sensible things and singulars, it cannot be so equally with respect to universals and immaterial things. For the understanding of God (for instance) and of angels depends upon no phantasm, under which no such objects can fall. And since the soul understands itself (being intimately present with itself), it does not need the help of a phantasm, but can have a naked and intuitive knowledge of itself through itself. Even this alone sufficiently proves that there is a certain operation peculiar to the rational soul and independent of the body.

XIV. However, although the soul does not use a bodily organ for understanding, it does not follow that the soul can understand in every place (because it does not in every place have the aid of the senses which it must use while in the body, but only in the brain). Nor (if this is denied) could a reason be given for fury and madness, which cannot belong to the soul unless on the part of an injured organ. These do not fall upon the soul except by accident on account of the ministering senses and faculties being vitiated and corrupted. Thus the corruption of the brain can cause fury and delirium from the bad disposition of the phantasy or common sense (by which it happens that confused and disturbed objects are presented to the intellect, which being thus preoccupied, can judge nothing rightly). Hence if insanity is sometimes cured by hellebore or other corporeal remedies, the

entire cure pertains to the injured brain (which must necessarily be healed that the soul may exercise its operations). The same must be said of the diversity of the soul's operations in regard to the age of man. It is not necessary that a change should be made in the soul, but in the organs of the body (whose ministry it uses in eliciting sensations). Hence it is that in the infant from the beginning, it reasons either little or not at all because either no (or a few) phantasms (on account of the weakness of the organs) are as yet present from which to receive the occasion of reasoning. In decrepit age, it cannot reason any more (or only weakly, as old men in second childhood) because the phantasms are either wholly or in great part destroyed, and what survive are obscurely presented to the intellect. It sometimes also happens that, the powers of the body declining, there is a great strength in the soul, and the more the body is depressed and weakened, the higher the mind rises (as if rejoicing to depart from this prison of the body).

From the consent of nations.

XV. To the confirmation of the same truth, the consent of nations adds great weight. These have all approved it by their vote, and especially those considered the wisest men in them (a few Epicureans alone excepted, whom Pliny, *Natural History* 7.55 [Loeb, 2:633–35] favored, who seem to have spoken rather in accordance with their wishes than real belief). It would be useless to heap up testimonies here. They may be read in Plesseus (*A Worke Concerning the truenesse of Christian Religion* 15 [1617], pp. 240–69), Vives, Zanchius and others who have openly followed this argument.

Sources of explanation.

XVI. It is one thing to speak of the truth of a thing; another to speak of the opinion of the carnal man who judges from appearances and external events (which fall under the senses). When Solomon says, "That which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; so that a man hath no preeminence above a beast" (Ecc. 3:19*), he does not speak in the first sense, but in the second (to teach that from external things cannot be

gathered the difference between man and the brute, since the same necessity of death hangs equally over them). Thus he proves the vanity of human sense, which, not rising higher than these external things, knows not how to distinguish between the end of man and of the brute. For in other places (speaking from the light of faith and according to the truth of the thing), he sufficiently testifies that he is of a different opinion when he says that "the body returns to the dust, as it was; but the spirit shall return unto God who gave it" (Ecc. 12:7); this is the whole duty of man, "to fear God, and to keep his commandments" (Ecc. 12:13*) which he would say to no purpose if he believed the soul to be extinguished with the body. Again, "who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward" (Ecc. 3:21) (i.e., enjoys eternal life); for no mortal from the external state and the light of reason without the light of the Holy Spirit can be certainly assured of this. In the same sense, he says, "No man knoweth either love or hatred" (i.e., from external events), as he immediately adds, "There is one event to the righteous, and to the wicked; to the good and to the unclean; to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not" (Ecc. 9:1, 2). It can also with truth be said that the Preacher here compares man with the brute in the truth and necessity of death. The particles "as is," "so is" are not shadowing forth the mode, but only the necessity and truth of the thing itself (as often elsewhere). And when the spirit of brutes and of men is said to be the same, the soul itself is not meant, but only the breath (as it occurs frequently in Scripture in this sense, Job 9:18; Jam. 2:26).

XVII. The dead are said not to praise God (Pss. 30:9; 88:12; 115:17; Is. 38:18), not absolutely and simply (as if they ceased to exist, for elsewhere the dead in the Lord are called "happy," Rev. 14:13), but relatively (regard being had to the praise due to him in the church militant from believers in the communion of saints by which other travellers are built up and excited to the same duty, which cannot be the case with the dead who cherish no longer any intercourse with the living). If the dead are said not to be —"spare me, that I may recover strength, before I go hence, and be no more" (Ps. 39:13)—this cannot be understood absolutely, but relatively (as to the whole compound) and inasmuch as they are no more among men and enjoy no communion with them.

XVIII. What has an origin can also have an end, in the manner in which it had its origin. What is generated can be corrupted. But what is created (if

it is spiritual) can only be annihilated. So what has a natural and material origin, also has destruction. But the soul has a supernatural origin.

XIX. Although in the disembodied soul there can be no species or sensible ideas arising from phantasms, it does not follow that there are no intelligibles which exist in the soul itself. For besides common notions (*koinas ennoias*) which were impressed upon it from the beginning, the habits of vice which it contracted in the body, and the supernatural habits of virtues (which God infuses into the hearts of believers) ought to remain in it. Nor can faith and love, once produced in the soul by grace, ever be blotted out from it.

XX. Although the separated soul does not have organs and phantasms (by the intervention of which it may understand), it does not follow that it remains torpid and at rest. For there is one mode of understanding in the soul united to the body; another, however, in the soul separated. It can understand with the help of such phantasms, as can the angels.

XXI. Some operations of man are organic and material, others inorganic and immaterial (or spiritual). The former (sensation, vision, etc.) depend on the body and can be performed only in the body. But the latter are performed even without the body.

XXII. Although for the most part, nothing is in the understanding which was not before in some sense (because the soul, as long as it is in the body, uses bodily organs to exercise its operations, if not to elicit, still as to imperate acts, and ordinarily needs phantasms as objects about which to exercise itself), yet this is not true absolutely and simply. For God, who is in the intellect, was never in any sense; and the soul, which beholds itself and reflects upon itself, cannot be said to have been in any sense.

XXIII. When men are said to be "a wind that passeth away, and cometh not again" (Ps. 78:39), by the wind (*spiritum*) is not designated the soul, but the wind (*ventus*). This is done to denote the shortness and frailty of human life which, like the wind, quickly passes (as Job 7:7 says, "O remember that my life is wind").

XXIV. When the dead are said to sleep (Jn. 11:11; 1 Cor. 11:30; 1 Thess. 4:15 and elsewhere), this is not to be understood with respect to the soul (which is received into heaven and lives with Christ), but with respect to the body (which must be recalled to life as from a sleep to an awakening). Death is often on this account compared to sleep, which is called its brother

and image. Hence elsewhere they are said “to sleep in the dust” (Dan. 12:2), which can be referred to the body alone.

XXV. Inchoate blessedness differs from consummated blessedness. The passages which promise happiness after the resurrection do not thereby imply that souls sleep or are excluded from the vision of God before that time. Rather they treat of the consummation of blessedness which began immediately on the death of the believer.

SIXTH TOPIC

THE ACTUAL PROVIDENCE OF GOD

FIRST QUESTION

Is there a providence? We affirm

I. As the works of nature are usually distributed into the works of creation and providence, the doctrine of creation is rightly followed by an examination of providence (which cannot be ignored without serious loss or be known without singular consolation).

Meaning of the word "providence".

II. The word "providence" was called by the Greeks *pronoia* because *proteron noei* (as Favorinus says, *Dictionarium Varini Phavorini* [1538], pp. 1569–70) embraces three things especially: *prognōsin, prothesin* and *dioikēsin*—the knowledge of the mind, the decree of the will and the efficacious administration of the things decreed; directing knowledge, commanding will and fulfilling power, as Hugo St. Victor expresses it. The first foresees, the second provides, the third procures. Hence providence can be viewed either in the antecedent decree or in the subsequent execution. The former is the eternal destination of all things to their ends; the latter is the temporal government of all things according to that decree. The former is an immanent act in God; the latter is a transitive action out of God. We here treat principally of the providence of God in the second respect (*schesei*).

Is there a providence?

III. The first question (concerning providence—whether there is any) ought scarcely to come up among Christians (unless not a few atheists may still be found among them who, professing the name of Christ, yet deny the truth of Christ both with their tongues and in their lives and not only question that saving doctrine, the true inheritance of the church, with the old Epicureans, but presume to deny it altogether, ascribing all things to fortune and chance and either endeavor to remove God himself away from the world or make him listless [*apronoēton*], caring for neither his own nor other things). Against such human monsters, the orthodox truth must be confirmed. From this it will be evident that there is a providence in the world by which all things (even the smallest) are not only at the same time most wisely and powerfully directed, but also so connected with the divinity that it cannot be wholly denied without at the same time denying God.

Providence is proved: (1) from nature and the consent of the nations.

IV. To demonstrate this primary head of faith and religion (and so overthrow the impiety of the scoffing enemies of God [*theomachōn*]) even the very voice of nature and the consent of nations, and the vote of the wisest among the heathen can suffice. They all with one mouth (if you except a few Epicureans) have borne constant testimony to this truth. Plato, in his discourse concerning God, lays down this foundation: "The gods have a care for all things, small and great" (*hōs eisin epimeloumenoi theoi pantōn mikrōn kai meizonōn*, *Epinomis* 980d [Loeb, 12:448–49]). Aristotle, or whoever is the author of the book: "What the helmsman in the ship, the charioteer in a chariot, the leader in a choir, the law in a state, the general in an army is, the same is God in the world" (*hōsper ev nēi kybernētēs, en harmati hēniochos, en chorō de koryphaios, en polei de nomos, en stratopedō hēgemōn, touto theos en kosmō*, *On the Cosmos* 6 [Loeb, 402–3]). The Stoics constantly maintain this. So frequently and solidly is it asserted by them, says Lipsius, that they were a joke and sport to their opponents who were accustomed to calling this the prophesying old woman of the Stoics. Seneca proves it by many arguments in a special treatise dealing with why evils happen to good men: "Providence is over all and

God takes care of us"; and afterwards, "It is superfluous at present to obtrude the truth that so great a work cannot stand without a guardian and that this certain revolution of the stars is not by fortuitous impulse and that what chance incites is often disturbed and quickly destroyed; that this uninterrupted velocity proceeds under the government of eternal law, that this order is not wandering matter" (*De Providentia* 1.1, 2 [Loeb, 1:2–4]). Cicero solidly builds it up by various arguments from the motion, situation, etc. of the heavens; the stability, form, adornment of the earth and other similar arguments (*De Natura Deorum* 2 [Loeb, 19:122–285]). And providence (*pronoia*) was made so much of among the heathen that she was worshipped as a goddess in Delos because she assisted Latona in labor (to wit, under this covering signifying that nature, designated by Latona, can do nothing without the midwife providence, who assists her as if pregnant and laboring in birth, i.e., that second causes can do nothing without the first).

(2) From the Scriptures.

V. It is more strongly and clearly established by the testimony of Scripture. Scripture is accustomed to joining the creation of things with their providence. It sets forth God, who is not only the Creator (*ktistēs*), but also the *pronoētēs* (not only the momentary Creator, departing immediately from the work made by him, but also the constant provider, cherishing and sustaining his own work by his continual influx and taking perpetual care of it); "for neither as one departs from the structure of the house he has built and, he stopping and departing, his work stands, can the world so stand even an instant if God withdraw from it his control" (as Augustine says, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* 4.12 [ACW 41:117; PL 34.304]). "To make well and so take good care of what is made both belong to God" (*kalōs poiēsai, kai tōn genomenōn kalōs epimelēthēnai*, Nemesis, *The Nature of Man* 42.2* [1636], pp. 594, 595–96; PG 40.788). There is no need to heap up the Scripture passages establishing this point. They are almost as many as there are pages in the Bible, since nothing is inculcated more frequently, nothing more clearly in the word of God. You may consult Job 12, 38, 39, 40, 41; Pss. 19, 91, 104, 107, 136; Prov. 16, 20; Jer. 10; Mt. 6, 10; Acts 14, 17. Christ says, "My father worketh hitherto" (Jn. 5:17), not as if creating new things, but conserving and governing those already created. Thus "not

even one sparrow can fall without the will of our heavenly father, and the very hairs of our head are all numbered" (Lk. 12:6, 7). And Paul says, "God has not left himself without witness (*amartyron*) in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness" (Acts 14:17). He testifies, "God giveth to us life, and breath and all things, and we live and move and have our being in him" (Acts 17:25, 28*). And elsewhere he teaches that "God works all things according to the counsel of his own will" (Eph. 1:11); "the Son upholds all things by the word of his power" (Heb. 1:3); and "by him all things consist" (Col. 1:17) and so in innumerable passages. This very thing is also shadowed forth by various symbols, but most especially by the threefold type: (1) Mount Moriah (Gen. 22:8), where God gives a most illustrious proof in the conservation of Isaac and the substitution of a ram in his place, whence the church claims this symbol as proper and peculiar to herself—"the Lord will provide" (*yhvh yr'h*). (2) Jacob's ladder (Gen. 28:12, 13), called by Philo the heavenly ladder (*ouranoklimaka*, *On Dreams* 1.3 also 1.159 and 2.3 [Loeb, 5:294–95, 380–81, 442–45]), in which God is represented as sitting upon the ladder, governing and regulating most wisely all heavenly, earthly, visible and invisible things. (3) The chariot of Ezk. 1 in which not only "the eyed wheels" with the vital spirit in them, by which they were moved, indicates not only intimate providence (which has both an eternal and most piercing eye, beholding all things [as it is elsewhere described, Zech. 4*:10*] and a most efficacious power by which it is moved); but a wheel is also placed "in a wheel" (the lesser in the greater) to denote the concatenation and dependence of second causes upon the first.

(3) From the nature of God.

VI. Third, the same thing is proved: (1) from the nature of God himself. "For if God is, he is assuredly provident" (Lactantius, *The Wrath of God* 9 [FC 54:75; PL 7.98]). Nor can the world consist without him anymore than it can be created because the same reasons which impelled him to create also impel him to govern. (2) From his independency and causality, by which all created things and second causes must depend upon him both in being and in operation. (3) From his wisdom, power and goodness. For if God does not care for the world, it is either because he does not know or

because he cannot or because he does not wish to. But how can this be said without the greatest blasphemy against him, since he is most wise (foreseeing all things and for all) and most powerful (with whom nothing is impossible [*adynaton*]) and the best (who as he created the world at first with the highest goodness, so he cannot but conserve and govern it when created by the same).

(4) From the nature of created things; (5) from the harmony and order of the world; (6) from predictions; (7) from the revolutions of empires; (8) from blessings and judgments; (9) from conscience.

VII. Fourth, the same thing is demonstrated *a posteriori*. (a) By the nature and condition of created things. For since they were produced from nothing, they neither have of themselves any power of subsisting nor could they subsist even for a moment, if not continually sustained by the same hand that formed them. "Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled: thou takest away their breath, they die, and return to their dust. Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created: and thou renewest the face of the earth" (Ps. 104:29, 30). Besides since many of them neither foresee nor can foresee their end (and yet are carried towards it by certain laws and a constant course), they must be directed altogether by a superior mind prescient of all things. (b) The admirable harmony and order observable in the world among so many things (both confused in species and mutually opposed to each other) cannot be granted without a superior ruler and governor. (c) The predictions of future events a long while before they happened, which (without a divine providence) could be neither granted nor conceived. For unless all things were disposed (and happened) by his immutable will such predictions would be merely conjectures and would rest upon an uncertainty. (d) The establishment and revolutions of empires and republics in which the secret providence of the deity intervenes—taking away and conferring crowns at pleasure, raising up and putting down, transferring and constituting kings, changing times and seasons (as even the worst men are compelled to confess). For whence is it that empires are erected in the world and are

conserved when established, that a regard is paid to law and political order, and that the world does not become a hive of robbers (since the multitude of evilly disposed persons is always greater, who wish the laws to be removed, than of the good, who defend them)? Assuredly it cannot be supposed that this happens without God, and that it can be directed by another than him "by whom kings rule" (Prov. 8:15); "who ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will" (Dan. 4:32). (e) The extraordinary blessings and judgments which God pours out either upon the good or upon the evil (beyond and above all order or apparatus of human things), (f) The sense of conscience; for "the conscience is a God to all mortals" (*brotois hapasin hē syneidēsis Theos*, *Menandri sententiae* 107 [ed. S. Jaekel, 1964], p. 39). For if there is no providence, and all things are directed by chance and fortune, why does conscience accuse and excuse men (Rom. 2:15)? Why do they tremble at the recollection of crimes and the sense of the judgment? Why do the wicked, driven by the furies of their own evil conscience, "tremble and turn pale at every flash when it thunders; and also sink under the first murmur of heaven" (as Juvenal says, *Satires* 13.223–24 [Loeb, 262–63])? Why can this witness and inexorable judge not be driven out altogether so that it can never return? For what is more vain than this fear, if, the care of the universe being neglected, God regards and esteems equally the piety and wickedness of mortals?

VIII. Finally, all the arguments by which we have already proved the existence of God favor also his providence. For providence is so connected with the divinity that it cannot be asserted or denied without either asserting or denying God himself. Hence the Scriptures everywhere separate God from idols by the argument of providence (Is. 41:22, 23; 42:8, 9; Job 12:7–9). By the heathen, God and providence (*theos kai pronoia*) are used promiscuously. Not only they who deny the existence, but also they who deny the providence of God, are condemned as atheists (*atheotētos*).

Sources of explanation.

IX. The providence of God neither takes away the contingency of things (because it always remains indifferent with respect to the second cause, what becomes necessary by providence with respect to the first cause); nor overthrows the liberty of the will (because the hypothetical necessity of the

decree brings no coaction to the will, but permits it to exercise its own movement most freely, although inevitably); nor does away with the use of means (because the certainty of the end does not take away, but supposes the necessity of the means). The concourse of the first cause does not exclude the concourse of second causes; yea, it draws this after itself, since as God decreed to produce such an effect by the action of providence, he decreed equally to carry it out by the intervention of means and second causes. Nor does it abolish the relation of punishments and rewards because the necessity which providence brings is not absolute, physical and compulsory (which does destroy liberty), but relative (from the hypothesis of the decree of immutability, which indeed renders man dependent and accountable [*hypeuthynon*], but always leaves him rational and free, and so worthy of reward or punishment in good and evil deeds).

X. Sin (which is repugnant to the divine will) cannot be produced by the providence of God effectively; but nothing hinders it from being ordained by his providence permissively and directed efficaciously without any blame upon divine providence (as will hereafter be proved more fully).

XI. Things so confused in themselves as to be incapable of being reduced to order in any way cannot be said to be governed by providence. But in this sense, nothing can be called confused and disordered (*atakton*) in the world. For if some things seem confused and disarranged, they are so only with respect to us (who cannot see the causes of things, their modes and ends), not in themselves and with respect to God (by whom they are most wisely directed). For nothing appears to be so disturbed to us, yet still shines with a remarkable order of divine wisdom and justice. Thus in the selling of Joseph and the crucifixion of Christ, there was a horrible disorder (*ataxia*) as to the counsels of men, but a most wise order as to the decree of God (who as he elicits light from darkness, so also good from evil). Thus he wished to manage these events to the manifestation of his own glory and the safety of the church, since nothing was done here which "the hand and counsel of God had not even before decreed to be done" (Acts 4:28). "Ye thought evil against me," says Joseph to his brethren, "but God meant it unto good" (Gen. 50:20).

XII. Although the happiness of the wicked and the calamities of the pious often inspired the heathen with doubts concerning providence; yea, have frequently tried even believers themselves and most holy men of God

(who so often complained of them as we find in Scripture), yet this ought not to weaken our belief in providence. (1) Because the relation of providence and justice indeed demands that it be well with the good and evil with the wicked, but does not equally demand that it be always well with the good and always evil with the wicked; yea, God's wonderful wisdom shines out in this dispensation of things, while he wishes many wickednesses to be punished now in this life (that men may be instructed concerning justice and providence), but many also he leaves unpunished here to intimate that another world exists after this life (in which he will render to each according to his deeds). Augustine unfolds this excellently: "If every sin should now be punished with manifest punishment, it would be supposed that nothing would be left for the last judgment. Again, if the divinity did not now openly punish any sin, it would be supposed that there is no providence" (CG 1.8 [FC 8:29; PL 41.20]). He had already given the reason for this dispensation: "It has pleased divine providence to prepare good things for the righteous hereafter which the unrighteous will not enjoy, and evils for the wicked with which the good will not be tormented. He wished, however, those temporal goods and evils to be common to both so that neither the good should be sought too eagerly, which the wicked also are seen to have, nor the ills be ignobly shunned, with which the good also are for the most part affected" (ibid., p. 28; PL 41.20). (2) If we enter into the shrine of God, we will readily discover that neither are they properly evils by which the faithful are exercised (although they seem so to us) because the issue is good to them (Rom. 8:28); nor are the goods (in which the wicked abound) such to them because they are turned into their destruction. For to the good, even the very worst things are turned into blessings; so to the wicked even their best things issue in evil. "Assuredly thou didst set them in slippery places," says Asaph, "thou castedst them down into destruction, how are they brought into desolation, as in a moment" (Ps. 73:18, 19*). Claudian beautifully follows this out: "The thought has often entered my wavering mind, whether the gods above have a care for the earth or no ruler is present and mortal things flow along by uncertain chance. For when I had sought the covenants of the arranged world, and the prescribed boundaries of the sea, and the ebb and flow of rivers, and the changes of day and night, then I supposed all things to be established by the counsel of God … But when I beheld the affairs of men

involved in so great darkness and the wicked flourishing long in joy and the pious troubled, again weakened religion totters … At length the punishment of Rufinus removes this tumult and absolves the gods; now I do not complain that the unjust have reached the height of prosperity, they are raised on high that they may experience a greater fall" (*The First Book Against Rufinus* [Loeb, 1:26–29]). Nor otherwise Seneca: "When you see good men and accepted of God labor and sweat and toil, while the wicked grow wanton and roll in pleasures, think that we are pleased with the modesty of children, the license of slaves; that the former are restrained by a severer discipline, and the boldness of the latter is encouraged. The same thing is evident to you concerning God; he does not hold the good man in pleasures; he tries, strengthens and prepares him for himself" (*De Providentia* 1.6 [Loeb, 1:6–7]). "Calamity is the occasion of virtue. Anyone would rightly call them miserable who become sluggish with too great happiness, whom inactive tranquility holds as it were on a motionless sea. Whatever happens to them comes new; adversity presses more those who have never experienced it. The yoke is grievous to the tender neck. The recruit grows pale at the mere thought of a wound; the veteran looks at his gore without flinching because he knows that he has often conquered after blood. And thus God strengthens, examines, exercises those whom he approves and loves, while he preserves for many evils to come those whom he seems to favor, and spares" (*De Providentia* 4.6–7 [Loeb, 1:26–28]). There are in the same place many other similar things worthy to be read in which the most wise providence is established from this distribution of good and evil. So it is a wonder that Christians should doubt concerning providence on account of that from which the Gentiles themselves elicit an undoubted argument in favor of it.

Second Question

Is the providence of God rightly called "fate," and is a fatal necessity properly ascribed to it? We distinguish

Occasion of the question.

I. The question is necessary not only that it may be evident what ought to be the use of the word "fate" among Christians (about which divines are not agreed), but also that our doctrine may be freed from the calumnies of Romanists and others (who continually oppose to it the tables of the fates and the fatal and Stoical necessity of all things and events).

Derivation of the word "fate".

II. The word *fatum* is Latin derived from *fando* (i.e., "speaking" as if the utterance or word, decree, command and will of God). Priscian says, "Speaking after the manner of the Gentiles it was called fate because Jupiter spoke that to the fates who inscribed his will upon brazen tablets, or because the Parcae spoke it" (cf. Priscian, *Opera* 1 [ed. A. Krehl, 1819], pp. 396, 627). Minucius Felix says, "What else is fate than what God has spoken of each one of us?" (*Octavius* 36 [ANF 4:195; PL 3.365]). By the Greeks, it is called *eimarmenē*, from the verb *meirō* ("I divide, distribute, appoint"), and *to peprōmenon* (i.e., ordained, determined) from *apo tou peratoō* ("I end, finish") because by it things are determined by God. The Stoic philosophers used this word to signify providence, from whom the Christians, both ancient and more modern, borrowed it and frequently use it.

How many kinds of fate are there?

III. However, it is used in many ways by authors, whence a fourfold fate arises, as Pico della Mirandola observes—"physical, mathematical, Stoical and Christian fate" (*Disputationes Adversus Astrologiam Divinatricam* 4.4 [1943], pp. 442–56). First, physical fate, which is nothing else than the order and series of natural causes defined to their effects (whose necessity is natural). Its principle is nature or the power of acting (which God imparted to things in creation). The effects are all those events which depend in themselves upon natural causes. Such as depend upon the free will of man or also happen by chance are opposed to this.

2. Mathematical.

IV. Second, fate is mathematical, of the Chaldeans and astrologers (called by Bradwardine "astral"). It is the necessity of things and events arising from the position of the heavens and of the stars (or from constellations) by which not only the elements and mixed bodies, but also the wills of men are said to be necessarily impelled to their acts. In this sense, Manilius often uses the word fate: "The fates have given to you the laws of life and of death" (*Astronomica* 4.23 [Loeb, 224–25]). Augustine says, "When men hear the word fate, they understand nothing but the force of the position of the stars, such as it is when anyone is born or conceived" (CG 5.1 [FC 8:242; PL 41.141]). This fate he elsewhere calls foolish: "If thy heart were not foolish, thou wouldst not believe in fate" ("Tractate 37," *On the Gospel of St. John* [NPNF1, 7:216; PL 35.1674]). Indeed it contends against Scripture, right reason and universal experience. To this some refer the Jewish and Pharisaical fate, concerning which Josephus (speaking of the Pharisees) says that they ascribe to fate whatever happens, which belongs to nothing else than the astrological fate as sufficiently appears from their trite axiom, "all things depend upon planets" (*hkhl thlvy bmtsl*, AJ 18.13 [Loeb, 9:10–11]). They "ascribe all things to fate and to God" (JW 2.163 [Loeb, 2:384–85]). However Josephus teaches this, it must be understood with a certain limitation, since he says, "The Pharisees attribute some, not all things to fate" (AJ 13.172 [Loeb, 7:310–11]).

3. Stoical fate.

V. The third is the Stoical fate, which (according to Chrysippus) "is a certain natural order and connection of all things from eternity, some being consequent upon others, and an immutable complication of this kind remaining" (in Gellius, *Attic Nights* 7*2.3 [Loeb, 2:94–95]); or (according to Cicero) "the order and series of causes when cause woven with cause produces the thing from itself" (*De Divinitate* 1.55.125 [Loeb, 20:360–61]) —to which they subject and bind God himself. Seneca says, "One and the same chain of necessity ties God and men. The same irrevocable and unalterable course carries on divine and human things. The very maker and governor of all things that write the Fates, follows them. He did but once command, but he always obeys" (*De Providentia* 5.8 [Loeb, 1:38–39]). But the real opinion of the Stoics on this subject is not very clear (viz., whether

they held that all causes by fate were natural and defined, so that the liberty of the human will and the contingency of events would be taken away by it; and God would be so bound to the order of causes or of things made by him that he could not act otherwise—which is commonly ascribed to them; or whether they wished only to assert the immutability of the divine decrees, not however to take away either the liberty of man or the contingency of events). The latter Lipsius maintains and many with him (*Physiologiae Stoicorum* 1, Diss. 12 [1604], pp. 28–32). Augustine unfolds this opinion in these words: "who call by the name fate not the constitution of the stars just as it is, when anything is conceived or born or begun, but the connection and series of all causes by which everything is done which is done; we must not labor and contend with them in a controversy of words since they ascribe to the supreme will and power of God that order and certain connection of causes, who is believed best and most truly both to know all things before they happen, and leaves nothing unarranged, from whom are all powers, although not the wills of all. And that they so call fate especially the will itself of the supreme God whose power is insuperably perceived through all things, is thus proved" (CG 5.8 [FC 8:254; PL 41.148]). If this is truly the genuine opinion of the Stoics (as seems to be evident from Seneca), they are not to be disturbed as they approach very near to the truth. But because it is the custom among many to impute a different fate to the Stoics which (namely) imposes a fatal and ineluctable necessity upon all things and an eternal and natural series of causes and things among themselves (to which God himself is subjected), we profess to be most widely separated from them. For since they are said commonly to place a necessity out of God in the perpetual and eternal connection of things, we place it in God himself and his eternal decree. They subject God to necessity, we subject necessity to God. They pretend that all causes are natural and defined; we constantly maintain a difference between natural and free causes and believe that both depend on the providence of God. Hence it is evident that the Stoical fate understood in this sense cannot without injustice be charged against our doctrine. For although we hold that all things happen by an inevitable necessity through providence, still there is nothing common to us with them. We do not urge an absolute necessity in the causes themselves (as they do), but only a hypothetical from the decree. Nor do we feign a natural and eternal series of causes and so inevitable

even as to God, but a temporal (as are the causes themselves, made by God himself—to whose good pleasure and rule it is so subject that he can at pleasure either change or hinder or take it away).

4. Christian fate.

VI. The fourth fate (which we call Christian) is the series and order of causes depending on divine providence by which it produces its own effects. In this sense, the fathers frequently used the word "fate" and Thomas Aquinas proves it at length and establishes its certainty and immobility (ST, I, Q. 116*, pp. 566–68). However, this is now taken actively for the divine decree itself (and so does not differ from providence), then passively, for the very complexion and disposition of all causes to their own effects (according as they depend upon the immutable providence of God). Thus it is distinguished from providence by reason of the subject (because providence is in God, while fate is from God in second causes) and by reason of order (because fate depends on providence, not the contrary) and in the object (because all things lie under providence, but not under fate; those, for instance, which take place immediately by God). Boethius thus defines it: "An immovable disposition inherent in movable things, by which divine providence weaves together each in its own orders" (*The Consolation of Philosophy* 4*.6.34–35 [Loeb, 358–59]).

VII. Hence we readily gather the answer to be given to the proposed question of whether providence is rightly called "fate" or whether we may properly use the word "fate" in this argument. For although we grant it may be used in a sound sense and do not believe that a controversy ought to arise on that account, if it is evident concerning the thing itself and nothing else is understood by the word than the Christian fate (just explained by us). Still we think it safer with Calvin to abstain from the word in the Christian school (ICR 1.16.8, p. 207–8). First, because it is contaminated by heathenism, superstition and impiety and belongs to the number of those whose profane novelties Paul commands us to flee. Second, because it is too much exposed to the calumnies of opponents, who with the name charge us with receiving also the doctrine and so endeavor to fasten its odium upon the truth of God. Nor can there be the same reasons against the word "providence" (also used by the heathen to confirm their own

figments) because this is handed down to us in Scripture itself. Fate, however, by no means appears in Scripture. This was the opinion of Augustine: “If anyone calls the very power and will of God fate, let him hold the opinion, but let him correct the language” (CG 5.1 [FC 8:242; PL 41.141]).

Third Question: The Object of Providence

Do all things come under providence—small as well as great, contingent and free, natural and necessary? We affirm

The occasion of the question.

I. The occasion for the question arises from those who, although seeming to acknowledge the providence of God, still shut it up in too narrow limits. These either restrict it to heavenly things only, so that in the sublunary there is room for chance and fortune and the contingency of things (as the Peripatetics); or extend it to the sublunary also, but natural, not free and contingent (as the Pelagians, who to make men free have made them sacrilegious); or refer it to great things, the mean and minute being excepted, which after the Peripatetics some of the Scholastics also held. Thomas Aquinas especially asserts this: “Although God may know the number of individuals, yet the number of oxen and gnats and other similar things was not preordained by him” (ST, I, Q. 23, Art. 7, p. 131). However, we believe that all things without exception are under divine providence: whether heavenly or sublunary, great or small, necessary and natural or free and contingent. Thus nothing in the nature of things can be granted or happen which does not depend upon it.

All things are under providence.

II. The reasons are: (1) God created all things, therefore he also takes care of all things. For if it was glorious for God to create them, it ought not to be unbecoming in him to take care of them. Nay, as he created, he is bound to conserve and govern them continually, since he never deserts his own work,

but ought to be perpetually present with it that it may not sink back into nothingness.

III. Second, Scripture most clearly establishes this both in general and in particular. In general, in those passages which claim the care and government of all things for God: "Thou, even thou, art Lord alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host, the earth, and all things that are therein, and thou preservest them all" (Neh. 9:6); "He giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; for in him we live, and move, and have our being" (Acts 17:25, 28); "He upholds all things by the word of his power" (Heb. 1:3); "The eyes of all wait upon thee; and thou givest them their meat in due season. Thou openest thine hand, and satisfieth the desire of every living thing" (Ps. 145:15, 16); and so in innumerable passages.

Even the smallest.

IV. In particular, in those passages which subject to the providence of God all the species of things and especially those which come into controversy, the smallest things no less than the greatest are said to depend upon it. What is more insignificant than "the hairs of our head"? And yet "all" are said to be "numbered by God" (Lk. 12:7). What is more unimportant than a sparrow? Yet not one of them falls to the ground without the will of the heavenly Father (Mt. 10:29) who feeds all the fowls of the air by his providence (Mt. 6:26) and gives food to the young ravens (Ps. 147:9). What is of less importance than the grass and the flowers of the field? And yet God clothes and makes them grow (Mt. 6:28, 30). What is more mean than lice, frogs, locusts, worms and other insects? Yet God is said to raise up these for the execution of his judgments (Ex. 8:16, 17; 10:12); nay, they are called "his strong army, executing his word" (Joel 2:11).

V. Although the providence of God is exercised about rational creatures far more illustriously and efficaciously, other things are not therefore to be withdrawn from it, since it extends to both (Ps. 36:6; 145:15, 16). And what Paul says ("Doth God take care for oxen?" 1 Cor. 9:9) must not be understood simply and absolutely because oxen are a care to God who conserves and nourishes them (Ps. 36:6); but only relatively, to teach that the command ("muzzle not the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn")

has most special reference to the minister of the gospel and is given for their sake, that men may know what is their duty towards those who minister to them (an argument from the lesser to the greater). If God wishes the ox to live by his labor, much more just is it that the minister should live by the gospel (which is clear from the antecedents and consequents). Nor does Paul here speak properly so much of providence that he may bring oxen under it, as of the legislation which was instituted; not so much for the sake of beasts as of men for whose institution alone it was appointed.

VI. God is so great in great things as not to be small in small. Nor is he said to have so given the earth to the sons of men (Ps. 115:16), but that from the heaven of heavens he always looks down upon and retains them in his care. The psalmist means this—that God, content with his own glory, inhabits the heavens and does not need to seek anything out of himself, but has made the earth for the use of men and has enriched it with all goods that they might want nothing. Therefore he is said to have preserved the heavens for himself, as a seat of glory and the sanctuary of his majesty, and to have given the earth to men; not for supreme dominion and absolute power, but only for use with a dependence on his providence.

VII. If it was not unworthy of the majesty of God to create even the meanest and smallest things because they contribute to the greater demonstration of his wisdom and the perfection of the universe in so great a variety of creatures, why should it be derogatory to his glory to conserve them? It is not beneath the glory of the sun to illuminate with his rays the very lowest places (nay, even filthy and polluted); but in this way the greatness of its splendor is rather shown. Nor must we say (with Corvinus) that God does not care for the smallest things. For this has no relation of goodness and justice, since indeed it cannot be said that goodness or divine justice can shine forth from the smallest creatures. Besides the fact that there are other properties of God by the manifestation of which (in the smallest things) his glory is illustrated (to wit, wisdom and power), it is certain that God wished to exhibit his goodness even in things most mean, often to exercise justice through the smallest animals—frogs, vermin, worms, etc. See Topic III, Question 12, Section iv, where the passage of Jerome on Hab. 1 is explained and excused (*Commentariorum in Abacuc* 1 [PL 25.1275–88]); to this add Sixtus of Senensis (*Bibliotheca sancta* 5, annot. 257 [1575], 2:193–94) who from Jerome himself (*Commentariorum*

in Evangelium Matthaei [PL 26.68–69 on Mt. 10:29–30]) and from Lombard (*Sententiarum* 1, Dist. 39 [PL 192/2.630]) softens his words and draws them to a better sense.

2. Contingent and fortuitous.

VIII. Second, Scripture in many places asserts that contingent and fortuitous events fall under providence. Nothing is more contingent than the killing of a man by a woodcutter contrary to his own intention, and yet this is ascribed to God, who is said to deliver him into the hand of the slayer (Ex. 21:12, 13; Dt. 19:4f.). Nothing is more casual and fortuitous than lots, and yet their falling out is referred to God himself: "The lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord" (Prov. 16:33). Nothing was more contingent than the selling of Joseph and his incarceration and exaltation, yet Joseph himself testifies that these were all ordered in the providence of God: "So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God" (Gen. 45:8). "Ye meant it for evil, but God meant it for good, that he might preserve in life a great people as he has done this day" (Gen. 50:20). Innumerable similar events, plainly contingent and fortuitous, are expressly ascribed to providence (cf. Gen. 22:8, 13; 24:12, 13ff.; Gen. 27:20; Prov. 21:31; Mt. 10:29, 30).

IX. Therefore, nothing in the nature of things can be granted as so fortuitous and casual as not to be governed by the providence of God and so not happening necessarily and infallibly with respect to the divine decree. Hence we proscribe the impious and blasphemous voices of the heathen who substitute Fortune (blind and standing upon a rolling globe) for the most wise and powerful providence: such as that of Pliny who holds that "Fortune alone fills both pages in the account-book of mortals" (*Natural History* 2.5.22 [Loeb, 1:184–85]); and Juvenal, "Thou hast no divinity, O Fortune, if there be prudence; but we make thee a goddess, and place thee in heaven" (*Satires* 10.365–66 [Loeb, 220–21])!

X. Still it must not on this account be supposed that all contingency is removed from the world. For God, who works all in all, so governs and rules second causes as not to take away their nature and condition. Rather he keeps, conserves and permits them also to exercise and act out their own motions (as the prime mover may be considered so to hurl along the lower

spheres that nevertheless their own proper and special motion remains to them and that does not cease to be the considered contingent with respect to the second cause, from which the denomination and specification of the act is taken, whose mode of acting is contingent and not determined to one direction, which still happens certainly and infallibly from the immutable disposition of divine providence). For that infallibility of the event from the hypothesis does not take away their contingency from the condition of second causes and from their mode of acting (in which there is always an intrinsic faculty and indifference to the opposite). So it was necessary for Joseph to be sold by his brethren and to go down to Egypt because it had been so determined by God for the preservation of Jacob's family. Yet it was contingent with respect to the brothers of Joseph who might either have killed him or not have sold him. Therefore things which are absolutely and in every way necessary (both as to their futurition and as to the mode in which they are done and produced) differ from those which are of a hypothetical necessity from the divine ordination. The former cannot consist with contingency, but nothing prevents those things (which as to mode of production take place contingently with respect to second causes) from still having a necessity of consequence or of the infallible futurition of the event from the order of providence (cf. Topic IV, Question 4).

3. Voluntary and free.

XI. Third, it is evident from the Scriptures that free and voluntary things, which are in our power (*eph' hēmin*) and are done with purpose (*ek proaireseōs*), are governed by providence. "The preparations of the heart in man, and the answer of the tongue, is from the Lord" (Prov. 16:1); "A man's heart deviseth his way: but the Lord directeth his steps" (Prov. 16:9); "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will" (Prov. 21:1); "O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself: it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps" (Jer. 10:23). "From the place of his habitation he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth. He fashioneth their hearts alike; he considereth all their works" (Ps. 33:14, 15). This is clearly confirmed by the examples of Laban (Gen. 31:29), Esau (Gen. 33:4), the Egyptians (Ex. 12:36), Balaam (Num. 22, 23), Saul (1 S. 24:15, 18; 26:17) and others. Manifold reason

also convinces us of it. As man depends upon God as to essence and life, so he must depend upon him as to the actions and movements of his soul (the better part of man). For to pretend that man is independent in will and action is to make him independent in being because whatever he is in acting such he is in being. Finally, if free actions do not depend upon God and are not governed by him, they would be performed, God being either ignorant and unconscious or neglecting or unwilling (which cannot be said and thought without impiety). In what way the providence of God concurs with the will of man (yet without destroying his liberty) will be seen in what follows.

Fourth Question: The Acts of Providence

Is providence occupied only in the conservation and sustentation of things; or also in their government (through which God himself acts and efficaciously concurs with them by a concourse not general and indifferent, but particular, specific and immediate)? We deny the former and affirm the latter, against the Jesuits, Socinians and Remonstrants

I. This question has two parts: the first, concerning the conservation of things; the second, concerning the government of them. By these two acts, God's providence is usually described. Conservation is that by which God conserves all creatures in their own state (which is done by a conservation of essence in the species, of existence in individuals and of virtues to their operations). Government is that by which God governs universals and singulars, and directs and draws them out to ends foreappointed by him.

Statement of the question.

II. As to the first, the question is not whether the providence of God is concerned with the conservation of things. This is acknowledged on both sides. Scripture teaches (Neh. 9:6; Ps. 36:6; 104:27, 29; Heb. 1:3; Acts 17:28) and reason approves it. As things could not have been made without God, so neither without him could they subsist even for a moment; otherwise they would be independent, which pertains to God alone. But the question is whether the whole relation of providence consists in that

conservation and in this—that God gives and conserves to second causes the power of acting and permits them to act; or whether it consists also in government by which God himself acts and efficaciously concurs with his creatures.

Opinion of Durandus.

III. The controversy here is with Durandus and some of the Romanists who agree with him. They place providence and the concourse of God only in this—that to the creature, previously made capable of acting, he merely conserves the strength and permits actions at pleasure (as if sufficient of itself alone to act). Louis de Dola thus explains this: "For God to concur is either to create a free will, as in natural acts, or to give in supernatural the potency of habit of acting or not acting, by which the will itself performs the whole in every supernatural act, and without any other concourse of God actually exciting the action" (*Disputatio ... de modo coniunctionis concursuum Dei et creaturae* [1634]+). He so approved this comment as to think it the only means fit to remove the controversies which have been agitated for so many years between the Dominicans and Jesuits about the method of the divine concourse.

Of the Jesuits.

IV. The Jesuits (although confessing that God's providence does not consist in the mere conservation of things, but also in the influx and concourse of God) still (when they come to the explanation of concourse) maintain it to be only general and indifferent, determined by second causes: as the sun, the universal generating cause, is determined by man generating as a particular cause—hence not a horse is generated but a man, since the influx of the sun is of itself indifferent to the generation of a man and of a horse. So they hold the influx of the first cause to be indifferent to this action or the contrary. Nor is it antecedent and previously moving, but on the contrary the second cause determines itself before the first cause acts (which does not excite the second cause to motion, but the second cause is the occasion of the acting of the first cause). This is the common opinion of the Jesuits followed by the Socinians and Remonstrants. Both profess to

have embraced it principally for two reasons: one is to vindicate God from the causality of sin; the other to establish the liberty and indifference (*adiaphoria*) of the human will in all acts (especially in conversion) and to reconcile it with divine providence.

Of the Thomists.

V. But far differently do the Thomists and Dominicans in the Romish communion determine, who urge a physical predetermination, that all second causes are predetermined to acting by God, and he not only acts with the second cause in the effect, but also immediately on itself, and so the will is by him determined to will or nill this in particular, not only in good but also in evil actions. Hence Thomas Aquinas says, "When the free will moves itself, this does not exclude its being moved by another, from whom it receives the very power to move itself" (ST, I, Q. 83, Art. 1, p. 418). Elsewhere he places the concourse of God in these five things: (1) inasmuch as he gives to second causes the strength and faculty to act; (2) inasmuch as he keeps and sustains them in being and vigor; (3) inasmuch as he excites and applies second causes to acting; (4) inasmuch as he determines them to acting; (5) inasmuch as he rules and directs them that they may accomplish the ends determined by himself (ST, I, Q. 105, pp. 515–21; *Summa Contra Gentiles* 3.70 [trans. J.V. Bourke, 1956], pp. 235–37). Alvarez, the Dominican, has written copiously on this subject (*De auxiliis divinae gratiae* [1620]). The orthodox approach is the last of these. As much against Durandus as against the Jesuits, Socinians and Arminians, they maintain that the providence of God consists not only in the conservation of things, but also in the concourse of God; not indifferent and general, but particular and specific (by which it flows immediately into both cause and effect).

Providence does not consist only in the conservation of things, but also in a particular and immediate concourse.

VI. First, because Scripture everywhere ascribes to God (as the first cause) the actions of causes. This would not be truly said if the whole method of providence consisted in conservation alone and the sustentation of faculties, and God did not effectively concur with them. Thus God is said to have "sent Joseph into Egypt" (Gen. 45:7); "to have the heart of the king in his hand and so turn it whithersoever he will" (Prov. 21:1); "to use the wicked as an axe," rod, saw, staff, for his work (Is. 10:15, 26; 13:5). For as these do not work of themselves unless the artificer concurs, so second causes (compared to these instruments) do not act by their own power alone, but are moved at length by the first cause. Nor can it be objected that God can be said to concur, inasmuch as he gives to creatures the faculty of acting and preserves it (although he does not concur effectively with them). It is one thing to concur with the conservation of faculties; another with their operations. God, however, in the adduced passages is said to have concurred with the actions themselves, and the similitude quoted proves this necessarily. For although instruments may themselves have the faculty of operating, yet they cannot operate without the concurrence of the artificer and the application of his hand.

VII. The following passages in which we are said "to live and move and have our being in God" (Acts 17:28; cf. Col. 1:17) apply here. For in and by whom we are and are moved, from him all our actions must also effectively depend. To these, others can be added in which the works of believers are ascribed to God. For how can God be said "to work in us to will and to do" (Phil. 2:13) and "to work all things in us" (1 Cor. 12:6 and others of the same kind), if his providence consists only in the preservation of faculties or in a general and indifferent concourse?

VIII. (2) Because God is the regulator and Lord of the world and by consequence of all that exists or is done in it. This cannot be done by mere conservation or a general concourse because to regulate is so to preside over that he who presides, rules by a destined order (which embraces both the settling of the end and the ordination of the means). Thus because he is the Lord of singulars, he holds subject to his sway all and every motion, action and event—external and internal, good and bad.

IX. (3) As the creature has itself in being with respect to God, so also it ought to have itself in working, for the mode of working follows the mode of being (for these walk side by side). Now every creature depends upon

God in being, therefore also in operation. But if God by his providence is occupied only with the conservation of things (or with a general and indifferent concourse determined by the second cause), the creature in working will not depend upon God; nay, God will rather depend upon the creature, and the first cause will be made the second and the second the first. Nor will this second be any longer subordinate, but coordinate and independent. So there will be many first beings and first principles; yea as many principles as there are causes and wills of men and angels. For as Thomas Aquinas well remarks, it is essential to a first principle that it can act without the help or influence of a prior agent.

X. (4) If only a general concourse of God is granted, in vain is he prayed to for obtaining anything because he can neither avert evil nor confer good, unless just as it pleases men to determine the motion of God himself. To no purpose also do we give thanks for blessings procured through free agencies; to no purpose do we trust and hope in God and patiently submit our wills to him. For God concurring, the good or evil which we hope or fear can as much not happen as happen.

XI. (5) On the ground of a general and indifferent concourse, God will be no more the cause of good than of evil since he is not determined to species or quality; nor is either able to be determined from God himself, but it will be determined and specificated by the human will. The absurdity of this is evident in many ways: (a) because the providence of God about human things would lie under men themselves or their will; (b) the parts of man's will would be better and prior and God (being inferior) who would only follow man's will; (c) the determination of the influx indifferent to this or that particular action (and the very action in particular) would be independent, resting upon the mere will of man. All these are blasphemous and atheistical (*atheologa*); also contrary to what is written (*antigrapha*) since Scripture repeatedly testifies that God is the cause of all good, whether natural or moral (Jam. 1:17; 1 Cor. 4:7; Rom. 11:36; Gen. 1:31).

XII. (6) If God concurs with creatures only by conservation or by a general and indifferent concourse: (a) the disposing of lots could not be said to be from God, because from the concourse of God plainly indifferent to this or that lot, the falling out of this rather than of that lot is not, but it is either from fortune or the hand taking up the lot; (b) the fall of a sparrow will not be from God because the flying rather than the not flying is not

determined by God; (c) all these things will be false: “God gives the snow, showers, ice, winds, food to ravens, wings to the stork, strength to the horse” (Job. 37, 38, 39; Pss. 104, 147); “food to the famished”; “opens the eyes of the blind”; “helps orphans and widows”; “brings to death, and raises from the sepulchre” (1 S. 2:7–9; Ps. 146:7, 8 and the like, attributed in Scripture to him). All these effects are determined and cannot be ascribed to an indifferent and indeterminate concourse of God, on which these effects no more than the contrary can depend. This holds good also as to free acts. Nor can Bellarmine escape while he maintains “that the human action is evidently wholly from God and receives from him not only generic, but also specific and singular being; but it receives that by a concourse determined to such action by the human will or by the creature, and therefore does not receive specific being from the mode of God’s acting, but from the mode of acting of the human will” (“De amissione gratiae et statu peccati,” 2.18* in *Opera* [1858], 4:117). He either speaks absurdly (*asystata*) or takes for granted what must be proved. For if the whole human action has from God specific being, how is it said afterwards not to have it from the mode of God’s acting? (2) If the action of God is determined to such action by the human will, the event ought therefore to be ascribed to the human will principally, not however to the concourse of God who is indifferent to this effect.

XIII. (7) Finally, the general and indifferent concourse being posited: (a) the decree of God would be rendered uncertain and prescience fallible because both these would depend upon the mutable will of man. (b) The operations of the will would be withdrawn from the dominion of God; man would become independent and from a subject become an ally of God (on whose nod God himself ought to depend), (c) The creature would act more than God because the special motion is better than the general; he would be more perfect because what determines is more perfect than that which is determined. (d) The special reason of piety (situated in the dependence of our will upon the will of God) would be subverted. We could no longer say, “If the Lord will, we shall do this or that” (Jam. 4:15). Rather God (as if reduced to order) ought to say, “If man wills to do, let this or that be done.”

Sources of explanation.

XIV. There is one universal cause (relatively so called) acting by a physical necessity (as the sun and the stars); another, however, universal absolutely, most wisely and freely operating (such as God is). The former indeed concurs only by a general and indifferent influx, but not the latter. It is so universal with respect to objects distinct in species that as to mode of concourse it acts also particularly and, as it wishes, concurs with second causes.

XV. Although God conserves the free will (because he created it), it does not follow that he ought to govern it by a general concourse only. The liberty of the will is not absolute and independent, but limited and dependent upon God (to whose condition it suffices that man act by his own motion and from preference [*ek proaireseōs*]). This is not taken away by a special and determinate influx (which does not overthrow the nature of things), but acts suitably to their properties.

XVI. The power which is absolutely and every way indifferent and inderminate and depends upon no other thing cannot be determined by the providence of God. The human will is not so called indifferent; rather relatively (inasmuch as if considered in itself), it is indifferent to various objects, although otherwise it depends upon God and his providence (by which it exists and is moved). Although it determines itself, this nonetheless does not hinder it from being determined by God because the determination of God does not exclude the determination of man.

XVII. The determination made by the manner of efficient cause differs from that made by the manner of a formal and subjective cause. Effects are determined by second causes by manner of a formal and material cause, but by the first cause by way of the efficient cause.

XVIII. The particular cause which concurs by a particular influx is denominated from its effect, since it is not only efficient, but also proximate (formal and subjective) and produces the effect of itself. But in this sense God cannot be called the particular cause (although he concurs by a particular influx) because he is not the proximate or formal cause, but only the efficient cause working in another.

XIX. The general influx is falsely maintained to be necessary either to preserve the liberty of man or to remove from God the causality of sin. For neither follows from a particular influx, as will be proved in the following question.

Fifth Question: The Concourse of God

Does God concur with second causes not only by a particular and simultaneous, but also by a previous concourse? We affirm

I. Since the question concerning the concourse (*concursus*) of God is one of the most difficult in theology (in the explanation of which, if anywhere else, great labor must be employed) and error is most dangerous, it demands a peculiar and accurate discussion.

Physical and moral concourse.

II. On the state of the question observe: (1) One concourse is physical by which one concurs and acts after the manner of a physical cause, i.e., truly and efficaciously and really flows into the effect by a certain positive influx; another is moral by which he operates after the manner of a moral cause, i.e., by persuading or dissuading or by proposing or removing the objects and occasions. We do not treat here of moral, but of physical concourse.

Mediate and immediate.

III. 2) One concourse is mediate; another immediate. For a cause can be said to act either mediately or immediately both as to the subsisting substance and as to virtue. That cause acts immediately by the immediation of the subsisting substance between which and the effect no other singular subsisting substance (subsisting of itself) is interposed (which previously receives in itself the action of the agent, as water which washes and cools the hand). The other, on the contrary, acts mediately by the mediation of the subsisting substance between which and the effect another subsisting substance falls (as the chisel between the artist and the statue). A cause acts immediately by the immediation of virtue which acts by a virtue or power proper to itself and not received from any other source (as fire warms by its own heat). A cause acts mediately, however, by the mediation of virtue which operates by a virtue not its own or proper to itself, but received and borrowed from another source (as when the moon by light borrowed from

the sun illuminates the earth, she is said to illuminate mediately by a mediation of virtue, i.e., the virtue of the sun mediating). Now God concurs with second causes immediately by an immediation both of virtue (because he acts by his proper power not furnished from another source) and of subsisting substance (because by his own essence he attains the thing). Nor, if he uses second causes as means, does it follow that he does not act immediately also. For he uses them not with respect to the action of the creature and consequently of the effect itself (as if he did not reach it immediately), but inasmuch as he subordinates second causes to himself (by flowing into which he also reaches the effect itself immediately).

3. Concourse by way of principle and by way of action.

IV. (3) Again, concourse is so called either by way of principle or by way of the first act by which God conserves the power of the second act and permits it to act; or by way of action, inasmuch as God is the proximate principle of the operation put forth by the second cause so that the operation and action of God concurring is the very same as that which is included in the action itself of the creature (as if by itself also and immediately tending to the same end to which the action of the creature tends). With regard to the end, the latter is the same with the very cooperation of God. We do not treat here of the first, but of the second.

4. Previous and simultaneous concourse.

V. (4) Finally, one concourse is called previous and predetermining; another simultaneous or concomitant. The previous is the action of God by which he, flowing into causes and their principles, excites and previously moves creatures to action and directs to the doing of a particular thing. Simultaneous, however, is that by which God produces the action of the creature as to its being or substance by which he is supposed to flow together with creatures into their actions and effects, but not into the creatures themselves. Although they do not differ really, but only in reason (because the simultaneous concourse is nothing else than continued

previous concourse which not only flows into the causes themselves, that it may work in them, but into the effect itself, so as to act with them), yet they can be considered distinctly.

Statement of the question.

VI. However, what is understood by previous concourse (with greater propriety termed "preconcourse"), that very thing is usually designated by the name of predetermination or premotion, by which God excites and directs the second cause to acting. Thus antecedently to all operation of the creature or before the creature operates by nature and reason, he really and efficaciously moves it to act in single actions so that without this premotion the second cause could not operate, but (this premotion being posited) it would be impossible in the compound sense for the second cause not to do that same thing to which it was previously moved by the first cause. The question therefore about concourse comes to this—whether it is only simultaneous or also previous. There are various opinions among Romanists about this. For some (as the Jesuits who maintain a middle knowledge) recognize only a simultaneous concourse and deny the previous or predetermination (maintaining that God indeed flows in, but not into the second cause, but with the second cause into its action). However others (as the Thomists and Dominicans) stand up for a previous concourse or predetermination. They are therefore called "Predeterminers" and hold the predetermination of God to be necessary in all the acts of his creatures, whether natural or free. Some of our divines admit the previous concourse only as to the good works of grace, but think the simultaneous is sufficient in all others. Others think that both the previous and simultaneous should be joined together here in order that the whole method of God's providence may be truly explained. Now although weighty reasons are not wanting on both sides (by which the negative or affirmative opinion may be strengthened), still we believe the latter to be the truer and safer.

Previous concourse is proved.

VII. Besides the arguments adduced in the preceding question to prove the particular concourse of God, the following also favor this opinion. (1) From

the nature of the first cause and the subordination of second causes. The first cause is the prime mover in every action so that the second cause cannot move unless it is moved, nor act unless acted upon by the first. Otherwise it would be the principle of its own motion and so would no longer be the second cause, but the first. Nor can it be objected that the second cause is always subordinated to the first, both by reason of simultaneous concourse (which is by nature and order prior to the concourse of the creature) and by reason of the sustentation of the faculties through which the second cause acts. We answer that neither can save the dependence of the second cause in acting. Not the former, because where only a simultaneous concourse is granted, there God operates indeed with the creature, but not in it; so the first and second causes are partial and allied causes of the same action (like two horses drawing a chariot) and so each uses its proper and peculiar influx (which it has from itself) so that in flowing in it does not depend upon the influx of the other cause as upon a cause truly efficient (although the effect depends on both). Not the latter, because the conservation of its nature and powers makes the second cause depend upon God in being, but not in operating and causing (which is what the question is about). Since we deal here with the motion and determination of the second cause, which (if not maintained to be done by God, but from the creature alone) on that very account it will be independent in acting and God could not be considered as the first cause of that motion (which as an entity ought still to depend upon him).

VIII. (2) What is of itself indifferent to many acts, to act or not act, must necessarily be determined to act by another because what is potential (*in potentia*) cannot be reduced to actuality except by something which is in act (*in actu*). But every second cause (especially the will of man) is such. Therefore it is necessary that it be determined to actuality by some other external principle (which can be no other than God himself). Nor ought it to be said that the indifference of the will or of the second cause does not hinder them from determining themselves when the proper objects are presented to them. Although second causes have sufficient power to act in the order of second causes and can determine themselves to act in a particular way, yet they do not cease to have need of the previous motion of God in order to obtain the certainty of the event. Otherwise no prescience of

God could be held certain concerning them, since from their own nature they are indifferent.

IX. Third, if God does not concur by a previous concourse (by determining the creature antecedently to his act), neither could he be joined in acting with the creature by a simultaneous concourse. That two free wills may be joined together and agree to elicit the same common action at the same time and immediately (and proximately and undividedly) and that not casually and fortuitously but infallibly and so certainly as to imply a contradiction for one to elicit such an action without the other, either both ought to be conjoined by a very powerful superior cause to elicit the same action in the same point of time or both are by their own nature determined to that operation so that they cannot help producing it; or one determines the operation of the other and consequently determines the other cause to act. Besides these no other method of conjunction and of concurrence for the production of one and the same operation can be imagined. But no one of these three (except the third) can belong to the first cause. Not the former, because since God is the first cause (having none above himself), he cannot be subordinated to a third superior cause. Not the latter, because God is not determined necessarily to operating, since in all external concourse he is perfectly free. Nor do many second causes act from necessity of nature, but freely (which therefore ought to be masters of their own acts, so however as to depend always upon the first cause both in being and in operation). Hence it follows that the infallibility of the event cannot arise from any other cause than the divine predetermination.

X. Fourth, God by an absolute and efficacious will decreed from eternity all acts (even free) antecedently to the foresight of the determination of the free will itself. Therefore he ought also in time to predetermine the will to the same acts; otherwise God's eternal decree could be frustrated. The reason of the consequence is drawn from the connection of God's decree with its execution. Whatever he decreed, that he follows out; and whatever he performs in time, he decreed from eternity. The antecedent is proved because since the futurition of things depends upon no other than God's decree, nothing can be done in time which has not been decreed by him from eternity. The objection is frivolous that God did not decree to effect all things, but only to permit many. For although the decree is only permissively occupied about the wickedness of the act, it nevertheless does

not hinder it from being effectively occupied about the physical entity of the action itself (as will be more fully proved hereafter).

Sources of explanation.

XI. Predetermination does not destroy, but conserves the liberty of the will. By it, God does not compel rational creatures or make them act by a physical or brute necessity. Rather he only effects this—that they act both consistently with themselves and in accordance with their own nature, i.e., from preference (*ek proaireseōs*) and spontaneously (to wit, they are so determined by God that they also determine themselves). Now although what is predetermined is not any more indifferent to act or not to act in the second act and in the compound sense, yet it can always be indifferent in the first act and in the divided sense (as the will, when it determines itself, can still be in itself indifferent). The fount of error is the measuring of the nature of liberty from equilibrium (*isorropia*) and making indifference (*to amphirrepes*) essential to it. Liberty must be defined by willingness and spontaneity (as will be seen in the proper place).

XII. The necessity carried into things by predetermination is not destructive of liberty because it is not consequent. Nor does it make either the cause itself to be necessary or the effect to proceed just as from the cause itself, but of consequence which only secures the action of a cause of this kind and indeed agreeably to itself and so spontaneously and willingly. Hence these two can at the same time be true: man wills spontaneously, and, with respect to providence or premotion, he cannot help willing. For that premotion of God is such that it takes place in accordance with the nature of things and does not take away from second causes the mode of operation proper to each.

XIII. Although creatures (in the genus of second causes and dependent upon God) have sufficient intrinsic power to act, it does not follow that the extrinsic premotion of God is unnecessary by which they may be excited to operation. Rather because they ought to be subordinated to the first cause and depend upon it, that premotion must necessarily be supposed in order that they may elicit their own acts. And it cannot be concluded from this that creatures are only passive because that premotion secures the action of creatures and elicits their own actions from themselves (which both their

diverse essences and also faculties and strength, of which there would be no need if they did not act, show). Therefore it does not follow from the premotion of God that second causes do nothing, but only do nothing independently.

XIV. Although God previously moves second causes, still he cannot be said to produce the actions of second causes (for instance, to make warm or to walk). These actions belong to God only efficiently, but to creatures they belong not only efficiently, but also formally and subjectively (as from them the creatures are better denominated than God himself).

XV. Although creatures are the instruments which God uses for the execution of their own works, they do not cease to have a proper influx and to hold the relation (*schesin*) of principal causes (not indeed with respect to God, but to the remaining causes subordinate to him). Nor is it absurd that there should be two totally acting causes of the same numerical effect of a different order, since the action of both causes is only one, by which they concur to the effect.

XVI. Although the premotion of God is extended to evil actions, it does not on that account make God guilty of the fault or the author of sin. It only pertains to actions inasmuch as they are material and entitative (*entitative*), not however as they are moral, i.e., to the substance of the act, but not to its wickedness. Nor is it a new thing for one and the same action to be considered in different ways, either physically or morally. The magistrate is the cause of the death inflicted on the guilty person by the executioner, but is not the cause of the cruelty exhibited in that execution; the harp player is the cause of the sound, but not of the dissonance arising from the strings; and he who drives a lame horse is the cause of the motion, but not the lameness. Nor is it an objection that the wickedness is necessarily and inseparably annexed to such action. Hence it would seem to follow that he who is the cause of the action, must also be the cause of the wickedness because the created will is otherwise the moral cause of the wickedness, except inasmuch as it is the material cause of the act, to which the wickedness is necessarily bound. We answer that it is falsely supposed that the created will is not otherwise the cause of the wickedness than inasmuch as it is the cause of the act to which wickedness is annexed. The will, as a physical agent, is the physical cause of the act; but as a moral agent, the will is the moral cause of the wickedness, not simply because it produces the

act, but because it produces such an act against the law to which man is subject. Therefore, the reason why wickedness may be imputed to the human will is not simply because it produces the act in the genus of being (as a physical agent), but because it is man subject to the law who performs a forbidden act (as a moral agent). Hence moral wickedness does not follow intrinsically and from the nature of the thing to the act (as the act is in the genus of nature), but as it proceeds from a deficient created will (to which moreover the causality of sin must be attributed and not to God). Finally, reason no less contends against simultaneous concourse than against previous because according to it God concurs even truly and efficiently to the material act of sin, therefore he ought also to be the cause of the wickedness annexed to it. The sounder Scholastics agree with us. Thomas Aquinas says, "God in an action connected with deformity, does what belongs to the action, does not do what belongs to the deformity; for although in any effect there are many things inseparably connected, it does not behoove that whatever may be the cause of it as to one, should also be the cause as to the other" (2 Dist. 37, Q. 2, Art. 2+). Thus Cajetan: "Thirdly, it follows that it is not the same to concur with such an act according to what it has from the agent as such, and according to what it has from the agent as deficient, just as it is not the same to be an agent and to be deficient" (*Commentaria in Summam Theologicam Divi Thomae*, I–II, QQ. LXXI–CXIV [1948], p. 50 on I–II, Q. 79, Art. 1). Alvarez says, "It does not follow that God is the cause of sin because he determines to the act; because the deformity follows the act, not as it is in the genus of nature, but as it is in the genus of morals and as it is caused by the free will" (lib. 2, cap. 9+).

XVII. Since in every moral action we must necessarily distinguish the substance of the act in the genus of being from the goodness and wickedness of the same in the genus of morals—the action of understanding and willing simply (which has a material relation) from the action of understanding and willing this or that lawful or unlawful object (which has a formal relation)—it is evident that no action can be called essentially good or bad, but only as it is here and now circumstantiated in the genus of morals, i.e., with a relation (*schesei*) to this or that good or bad moral object. Thus the volition of stealing reduplicatively and circumstantiated here and now, is indeed essentially evil with regard to another's property;

but the volition, to which that circumstance happens by which it is a volition to steal, is not essentially evil in like manner. Therefore, nothing hinders God from being the cause of the action itself, except inasmuch as it is a singular action simply in the genus of being (with regard to materiality, but not with regard to its formality) and inasmuch as it is an action circumstantiated in the genus of morals to such an action, i.e., inasmuch as it is an act of stealing. The same can be said of hatred of God which is objected by various persons as intrinsically and essentially evil. For although hatred of God reduplicatively and formally as such and circumstantiated to such an object, is intrinsically evil and can be nothing else than sinful, yet if considered simply as a physical action abstracted from this object, it can have a metaphysical goodness of being and be morally indifferent and so far can be from God. Although therefore on the determination of God as to the substance of the act, transgression (*anomia*) necessarily follows (marked in hatred of God), yet it must not be thought to depend effectively on it, so that the causality of sin can be referred to it (for that determination is only physical, not moral—which alone is sinful).

XVIII. The predetermination of God in evil acts is not repugnant to his permission because they are not occupied about the same things. The former regards the substance of the act, the latter, however, its wickedness; the former reaches the material (effecting it), but the latter the formality (leaving it to the free will of man, which alone is the deficient moral cause). For as in an evil act, there is, as it were, a twofold formal relation (one having the relation of effect, the other having the relation of defect), God can move and predetermine to that which has the relation of effect, but can only permit the other which has the relation of defect.

XIX. Since the will of precept and of decree respect diverse objects, nothing prevents God from willing a thing by his will of decree which he does not will (but prohibits) by his will of precept. Thus what is contrary to the revealed will of sign can be done according to the secret will of good purpose. God was unwilling that the brethren of Joseph should sell him and that the Jews should crucify Christ, since they were most heinous crimes against the law. Yet he is said to have willed, yea, even to have done these things (Gen. 45:7; Acts 4:28).

SIXTH QUESTION

How can the concourse of God be reconciled with the contingency and liberty of second causes—especially of the will of man?

Difficulty of the question.

I. This question is no less difficult than the preceding; nay somewhat more difficult and incapable of being sufficiently explained, unless we follow the light of the divine word and religiously restrain ourselves within the bounds prescribed by it. These two things we derive most clearly from the Scriptures: that the providence of God concurs with all second causes and especially with the human will; yet the contingency and liberty of the will remain unimpaired. But how these two things can consist with each other, no mortal can in this life perfectly understand. Nor should it seem a cause for wonder, since he has a thousand ways (to us incomprehensible) of concurring with our will, insinuating himself into us and turning our hearts, so that by acting freely as we will, we still do nothing besides the will and determination of God. Thus here deservedly, if anywhere else, we may exclaim: "O the depth (*ō bathos*) how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" (Rom. 11:33).

II. Now although the method of this reconciliation cannot in this life be clearly and perfectly explained by us, still it can in some measure be described as far as is sufficient for salvation by the previous light of the divine word. Before all things, this must always be remembered, that things the most certain and evident of themselves are not to be called into question on account of other uncertain and inevident things (i.e., we must distinguish the thing from the mode of the thing). Although ignorant of the mode of a thing, still we ought not on that account to deny the thing itself. With regard to the latter there is a certainty, since numberless things are most true which yet in the very highest degree surpass our comprehension. Therefore these two things are indubitable: that God on the one hand by his providence not only decreed but most certainly secures the event of all things, whether free or contingent; on the other hand, however, man is always free in acting and many effects are contingent. Although I cannot understand how these can be mutually connected together, yet (on account of ignorance of the mode)

the thing itself is (which is certain from another source, i.e., from the word) not either to be called in question or wholly denied.

False methods of reconciliation must be rejected; the first by prescience.

III. Many attempts at reconciliation have been made, but with little success. For whether we look to the prescience of God or to his permission or to the indifferent influx of providence (the three principal modes of reconciliation brought forward by our opponents), it is easy to show that they are not only vain and fictitious, but false, impious, contrary to the Scriptures and derogatory to the providence of God. And indeed as to the last, nothing more need be said here because we have fully treated of it in the preceding question. Of the other two, the same thing must be briefly demonstrated—that they will by no means suffice. For as to prescience, it is first gratuitously supposed that the providence of God is contained in the act of prescience alone by which future things are known. But since it also includes an act of will (by which their infallible futurition is decreed) so all contingent and free causes must have a relation (*schesin*) to providence, not only inasmuch as they are known before by God as future, but also inasmuch as from eternity they were decreed to be future and in time should be infallibly moved and ordained to their effects. (2) Again it is falsely supposed that there is no connection of foreknown things with prescience and that it imposes no necessity upon them. Yet Scripture teaches both most clearly in numberless passages (Mt. 18:7; 26:54; Mk. 8:31; Lk. 24:7, 46; 1 Cor. 11:19); and reason proves it. Otherwise (unless there existed this necessary connection between them), the prescience of God could be deceived and his decree changed (both of which are blasphemous).

2. By permission.

IV. They who have recourse to permission succeed no better. Although permission ought to have its own place in explaining the providence of God in evil (as will hereafter be seen), yet it is falsely used for this reconciliation: both because more acts of God than a bare permission are

granted here (implying his special and efficacious concourse), and because it is improperly supposed that the permission is conjoined with the indifference of sinners as to the event. The permission of God being posited, sin necessarily follows; if not on the part of man's free will, yet on the part of God's decree. Otherwise that action might be prevented and thus the decree of God concerning it be frustrated; for example, the selling of Joseph or the crucifixion of Christ, which nevertheless Scripture denies and the nature of the thing itself forbids.

The true method is founded upon the order of causes and the mode of acting proper to them.

V. The true method of harmonizing them must therefore be sought from some other source (viz., from the order of causes among themselves and the mode of acting proper to them). This can be explained in the following propositions. First, the concourse of providence and of the human will is not of collateral and equal causes, but of unequal and subordinate. The reason is drawn from the nature of each. Since the former is the concourse of the Creator and the latter of the creature (the one a concourse of the first, universal and hyperphysical cause; the other, however, of the second, particular and physical cause), there cannot be granted a coordination between them such as exists between allied and partial causes joined together to the production of one and the same effect (to which they do not singly suffice). Rather a subordination must necessarily be admitted by which the first presides, the second are subject; the former act independently, the latter, however, dependently. This is so necessary that without the second causes neither can exist nor be even imagined.

VI. Second, God so concurs with second causes that although he previously moves and predetermines them by a motion not general only but also special, still he moves them according to their own nature and does not take away from them their own proper mode of operating. The reason is because as the decree of God is occupied not only about the determination of things which ought to be done, but also of the means according to which they are to be done relative to the nature and condition of each, thus actual providence (which is the execution of this decree) secures not only the

infallible futurition of the thing decreed, but also its taking place in the very manner decreed (to wit, agreeably to the nature of each; i.e., necessary things take place necessarily, free and contingent things, however, freely and contingently). For as there are two kinds of causes, some definite and general (always acting in the same way—as fire which burns, the sun which shines), others indefinite and free (which can act or not act in this or that way); so God conserves their nature and concurs in acting with them according to it. With the definite, he himself determines them without a proper determination; with the indefinite and free, however, they also determine themselves by the proper judgment of reason and the free disposition of the will (which God does not take away from man because he would thus destroy his own work, but leaves and strengthens it). And further, that admirable force of providence here displays itself by which it so joins itself to the nature of each thing that although infallibly and necessarily carrying out the thing decreed, still this is accomplished conveniently to its nature by the intervention of the second cause by reaching from end to end strictly and disposing all things sweetly.

VII. Third, it follows, since providence does not concur with the human will, either by coaction (compelling the unwilling will) or by determining it physically (as a brute and blind thing without judgment), but rationally (by turning the will in a manner suitable to itself), that it may determine itself as the proximate cause of its own actions by the proper judgment of reason and the spontaneous election of the will so that it does no violence to our will but rather kindly cherishes it. These two are the only kinds of necessity which destroy liberty and are incompatible (*asystatoi*) with it: natural and coactive necessity. The others (arising from God's decree and the motion of the first cause or from the object and the last judgment of the practical intellect) so far from overthrowing liberty, rather defend it, because they turn, do not compel, the will and make it willing from unwilling. For whoever does spontaneously what he wills from a judgment of reason and a full consent of will cannot help doing that freely even if he does it necessarily (from whatever source that necessity flows, whether from the very existence of the thing [because whatever is, when it is, is necessarily] or from the object efficaciously moving the mind and the will or from a first cause decreeing and concurring).

VIII. Fourth, God so concurs with the human will as still to determine it differently in good and evil. For in the good actions, God so previously moves the will as to be the author of them (not only in the genus of nature, but also according to their moral goodness) by determining the will not only as to the thing (i.e., the good) either in general or in particular, but also as to the mode so that what is done should be well done. He does this partly by giving to it good qualities through special help or supernatural grace, partly by exciting them when given (helping and leading into act through their cooperation [*synergeian*]). Hence while he suggests pious thoughts to man (2 Cor. 3:5), he causes man also to consider his own way (Prov. 16:9; Hag. 1:5); while he gives a new heart and puts a new spirit within us, he makes us also to walk in his commandments (Ezk. 36:27); while he works in us both to will and to do, he sees to it that we ourselves also work out our own salvation with fear and trembling (Phil. 2:12, 13). In evil actions, however, he so concurs as neither to effect, assist, nor approve of them, but to permit and efficaciously direct; not by infusing wickedness, but by so determining rational creatures physically to the substance of the act in the genus of being, that they (when left to themselves failing from the law) move and determine themselves to bad actions in the genus of morals, performing them freely and voluntarily (*hekousiōs*). Hence the guilt rests upon them alone, from which God is therefore free (as will be more fully proved in the following question).

Sources of explanation.

IX. Absolute and independent liberty (belonging to God alone) differs from the limited and dependent (proper to creatures). By the former, God so determines himself as to be ruled and determined by no other; but the determination of another consists best with the latter because man does not cease to act spontaneously and from preference (*ek proaireseōs*), although these motions are excited and ordered from another source.

X. Although the will (relative to providence and with respect to the second act) while exerting its operation cannot be indifferent to doing or omitting this or that thing (because it is determined to one of opposites), yet this does not prevent it (considered in itself and in the first act) from being indifferent in its own nature and undetermined to many things and from

freely determining itself. It is indeed certain that there cannot be a determinate effect of an indeterminate cause, if this is the only one; but if to produce one and the same effect, a superior cause concurs with the human will (acting not only by it but also with it), the proximate causes (of themselves indeterminate of the effect) can be so determined by that superior cause that it does not do violence to the will, but suffers it to act by its own motion and free will. Nay, it uses this very liberty to execute its own counsels because God also decreed that man should spontaneously and freely serve his decree. The same must be said of contingency which can be attributed to the effect with respect to the second cause which in other respects is necessary with respect to the first cause (as has already been seen). The other matters belonging here were discussed in the preceding question.

XI. Moreover if any scruple still remains in a most obscure subject or anything which surpasses our comprehension (as indeed it must not be denied that many things here are impervious to us), it is more satisfactory to be humbly ignorant than rashly to define. It is fitting that we remember that the ways of God are not our ways; they are to be admired, not thoughtlessly searched into. And we (insignificant mortals) ought to be satisfied with firmly retaining the fact (*to hoti*) (which is most clearly revealed in the word), although it is not granted to us now to know fully the why (*to dioti*) or the how (*to pōs*).

Seventh Question: The Providence of God in Evil

Do sins fall under providence, and how is it applied to them?

Pelagians sin in defect.

The Manichaeans and Libertines in excess.

I. In this question, which all confess to be the most intricate and difficult among those agitated concerning providence, two extremes occur which are equally dangerous and to be avoided. First in defect, wherein an otiose permission about sins is ascribed to God. The other in excess, when the causality of sin is charged upon God. The former clashes with the

providence of God, but the latter with his justice and holiness. Into the former, the Pelagians, who refer the method of God's providence about evil to a bare and idle permission, run (as if he put forth no action in reference to it, but only indifferently beheld and permitted it). On the latter, however, the Manichaeans, Simonians and Priscillianists formerly struck who made God the cause of wickedness and of sins. This sinners readily seize to excuse their crimes: as Homer's Agamemnon, "I am not to be blamed, but Jupiter and fate" (*egō d' ouk aitios eimi, alla Zeus kai Moira*, *Iliad* 19.86–87 [Loeb, 2:342–43]); and Lyconides in the *Aulularia* of Plautus, "God was the instigator, I believe the gods wished it" (*The Pot of Gold* [Loeb, 1:310–11]). This impiety is indulged by the Libertines of the present time.

II. The orthodox hold the mean between these extremes, maintaining that the providence of God is so occupied about sin as neither idly to permit it (as the Pelagians think) nor efficiently to produce it (as the Libertines suppose), but efficaciously to order and direct it. However, in order that this may be readily understood, we must treat of it a little more distinctly.

How God concurs to the act of sin.

To the adjunct.

III. First, three things must be accurately distinguished in sin: (1) the entity itself of the act which has the relation of material; (2) the disorder (*ataxia*) and wickedness joined with it (or its concomitant) which puts on the notion of the formal; (3) the consequent judgment called the adjunct. God is occupied in different ways about these. As to the first, since an act as such is always good as to its entity, God concurs to it effectively and physically, not only by conserving the nature, but by exciting its motions and actions by a physical motion, as being good naturally (in which sense we are said "to live, move and have our being in him," Acts 17:28). As to the third (which is related to the judgment of God) which is joined with sin, not of itself in relation to the sinner (who thinks or intends no such thing, Gen. 50:20; Is. 10:5–7), but accidentally in relation to God permitting sins and ordaining them to a good end beyond their own nature—God holds himself also positively and efficaciously, since what as such has the relation of good must be from God. And although both the fault and the punishment can be

the same materially, yet formally and according to different relations (*scheseis*) vice and judgment, wickedness and guilt can always be distinguished in the same evil action.

To the wickedness.

IV. As to the second, which is the lawlessness (*anomia*) itself, God can be called neither its physical cause (because he neither inspires nor infuses nor does it) nor its ethical cause (because he neither commands nor approves and persuades, but more severely forbids and punishes it). Thus God is said to nill iniquity (Pss. 5:4–6; 45:7), so to detest as not to be able to endure it: "He is of purer eyes than to behold evil" (Hab. 1:13); "God tempts no one, nor can he be tempted by any man" (viz., to sin, Jam. 1:13) because he is guiltless of evil (*kakōn anaitios*). But yet sin ought not to be removed from the providence of God, for it falls under it in many ways as to its beginning, progress and end. As to its beginning, he freely permits it; as to its progress, he wisely directs it; as to its end, he powerfully terminates and brings it to a good end. These are the three degrees of providence about sin of which we must speak.

1. As to the beginning, God acts: (a) by permission.

V. The first grade respects the beginning of sin, about which we say God is occupied permissively (about which Scripture frequently testifies: "I gave them up to their own hearts' lusts," Ps. 81:12; and "God in times past suffered all to walk in their own ways," Acts 14:16). But because this permission is not explained by all in the same way, its true method must be distinctly stated before all other things.

Which is not ethical, but physical.

VI. First, this permission is not ethical or moral (which is of right by a relaxation or dispensation of the law, which is opposed to prohibition). In this sense, if God permitted sin, he would also approve it as lawful or just (which is absurd). Rather this permission is physical (which is of fact by a not hindering, which is opposed to effecting). The former regards God as

legislator and Judge; the latter, however, as the supreme Lord and ruler of the world, governing and regulating the events of all things according to his will. The former is done by justice when he gives the license to do something; the latter by power when he does not exert the strength which could actually prevent this or that from being done.

Not idle, but efficacious.

VII. Second, this permission must not be conceived negatively, as if it was a mere keeping back (*anergia*) or cessation of his will and providence in evil works (by which God, sitting as it were on a watchtower, should behold only the event of the permitted action and who, therefore, would be left uncertain and doubtful—as the old Pelagians thought and as their followers of the present day hold obtruding upon us the comment of an otiose and inert permission; cf. Bellarmine, "God does not hold himself towards sins positively to will or nill, but negatively not to will" ("De amissione gratiae et statu peccati," 2.16 in *Opera* 4:107). But it must be conceived positively and affirmatively; not simply that God does not will to hinder sin (which is an otiose negation), but that he wills not to hinder (which is an efficacious affirmation). Thus the permission involves a positive act of the secret will by which God designedly and willingly determined not to hinder sin, although he may be said to nill it as to the revealed will of approbation. In this sense, our divines do not refuse to employ the word "permission" with the Scriptures. And if at any time they reject it (as Calvin, Beza and others), they understand it in the Pelagian sense of otiose "permission" which takes away from God his own right and sets up the idol of free will in its place. Hence Beza: "If by the word permission is meant this distinction (to wit, since God does not act in evil, but gives them up to Satan and their own lusts) that I repudiate not in the least. But if permission is opposed to will, this I reject as false and absurd; its falsity appearing from this, that if God unwillingly permits anything, he is not certainly God, i.e., Almighty; but if he is said to permit anything as not caring, how much do we differ from Epicureanism? It remains, therefore, that he willingly permits what he permits. Will then is not opposed to permission" (*A Little Book of Christian Questions and Responses*, Q. 179 [trans. K.M. Summers, 1986], pp. 72–73).

VIII. However when we say that permission is occupied positively with sin (if not on the part of the term, at least on the part of the principle, inasmuch as it includes a positive act of the will), this we understand not as if the divine will has sin as an object precisely of itself. For since his will can have for its object nothing but good, it cannot will evil as evil, but as terminated on the permission of that which is good. God, therefore, properly does not will sin to be done, but only wills to permit it. And if at any time sin is called the means of illustrating God's glory, it does not follow that God (who wills the end) ought also to will sin as such (which is the means to it). For it is called the means not so much causally and effectively (as if concurring finally to effect that end) as materially and objectively (because it is the occasion from which God illustrates his own glory). Again, it is not the means of itself because this rather obscures than illustrates the glory of God, but by accident from the wisdom of God (who elicits good from evil, as light from darkness). (3) He who wills the end wills also the means, but not always by the same volition. If the means are of a diverse nature, he can will the end by an effective volition because the end is of itself good; but he wills the means only by a permissive volition (if it is evil) not so much willing the means itself as the use of the means (to wit, the permission and ordination of sin itself).

IX. However, because it seems strange that God should permit sin, inquiry was made into the causes of that permission. The Arminians think the cause (either sole or principal) is that God is unwilling to help the free will granted to the creature by himself. But this cause does not avail because besides the fact that it is falsely supposed that providence cannot efficaciously concur with the sinning will without doing violence to the free will (which we have already refuted), if this were so, God could never hinder sin, lest the free will be compelled (which nevertheless he evidently often does). Therefore the causes of this permission must be sought elsewhere, and they can be various according to the various states of the creatures. For if innocent creatures are referred to, Scripture says nothing expressly as to the reason why he permitted angels or men to fall. However, because nothing takes place without his knowledge or against his will, it ought not to be doubted that it happened by a certain and deliberate counsel (which it is safer to admire than curiously to pry into). Of this only ought we to be certainly persuaded—that God has done nothing in this business

either repugnant to his justice (because he was not bound to hinder sin; or to his wisdom, because since he willed the condition of the creature to be mutable, there was no reason to oblige him to do anything towards it exceeding the mode of nature) or to his goodness (because the love with which he pursues the creature, as long as he continues in his integrity, does not forthwith proceed so far as to be bound to keep him from falling, especially since he can even from that evil elicit also good). Having this in view, Augustine says, "God knew that it pertained more to his most almighty goodness, even to bring good out of evil, than not to permit evil to be" (*Admonition and Grace* 10 [27] [FC 2:278; PL 44.932]). For if he had not permitted evil, his punitive justice would not have appeared, nor his pardoning mercy, nor the wisdom by which he turns evil into good, nor that wonderful love manifested in sending his Son into the world for the salvation of the church. As to the fallen creature, it is easier to assign the causes of the permission of sin because, since he is already corrupt, God can most justly permit sin either as a punishment (that preceding sins may be punished) or for chastisement (that the faithful, being thus admonished of their natural depravity, may be anxious to correct it) or for an example (that some may learn from the fall of others and walk more cautiously).

X. Now although the man is a partaker of the fault who does not turn anyone away from sin when he can, it does not follow that God in permitting sin becomes in any way guilty of sin because men are bound to hinder sin, both in themselves and in others. Hence the fault of his sons is imputed to Eli (whom he had by his indulgence permitted to sin, 1 S. 3:13); but God is bound to this by no law. Again, that permission bespeaks no influx and causality with respect to the creature sinning as to lawlessness (*anomian*), but a mere suspension of a hindrance; nor does it take away the spontaneity and choice (*proairesin*) of the creature, nor prevent it from acting most freely. Nor if sin infallibly follows upon the permission, can he therefore be called its cause but only the antecedent (which is necessarily supposed).

(b) By desertion.

XI. To permission, desertion must be added, by which God, in order not to hinder man from sinning, deserts him by withdrawing the grace opposed to

sin or by not giving it so efficaciously as to enable him to overcome the assailing temptation. This withdrawal is either privative (when he takes away the grace given before) or negative (when he does not furnish new grace necessary to persist). In the former sense, God deserts sinful men when he takes away from them the light they abuse and draws back his restraining Spirit. (In consequence of the removal of this barrier they rush with loosened reins into wickedness.) In the latter way, he deserted Adam by not giving (with the help without which he could not stand and by which he had the power if he wished) the help by which he might actually stand and might have the will which could.

Desertion is threefold: of exploration; of correction; penal.

XII. However, this desertion can be threefold: (1) of exploration, when God deserts man to prove him, such as is attributed to Hezekiah when he admitted the Babylonian ambassadors and opened all his treasures to them. God is said to "have left him, to try him, that he might know all that was in his heart" (2 Ch. 32:31). So he deserted Adam, when, permitting the temptation, he did not give him efficacious help by which he might resist it. God, as it were, retired to a distance in order to show how great is the weakness of human nature without the help of the Creator. (2) Of correction, with respect to the church and believers whom God is said to desert for a time that he may afterwards gather them with his everlasting mercies (Is. 54:7; Ps. 125:3 [?103:4]). (3) Penal, of the judgment, such as is denounced against sinners (2 K. 21:14; Jer. 7:29; 23:33) and is attributed to the Gentiles, whom he is said to have left in and given over to their own impure desires (Rom. 1:24).

XIII. The cause of this desertion, however, is always just and holy with God. At one time, it is manifest (as the desertion of sinners who deserve it on account of their preceding sins), at another it remains concealed (as in the first sin of Adam). In the meantime, its causality cannot in any way be ascribed to God because by that desertion he neither compelled him to fall, nor breathed into him the will to fall, nor took away any internal grace given in creation. He only denied the undue grace of confirmation (not

given) by the most free good pleasure of his own will (by which he dispenses of his own as he will—the equally free denier and bestower of his own gifts). Now although the necessity of the fall was with a denial of that grace, yet the liberty and spontaneity of man sinning was not destroyed. Rather it was shown that God willed that man should certainly fall. But as God willed his certain fall by an eternal decree, so at the same time he willed him to fall most freely; nor did his fall cease to be most free on account of that concourse of God denied to his actual perseverance any more than on account of the most free concourse of God with a necessary cause, the operation of that cause ceases to be necessary or natural.

XIV. However whether besides God's permission and desertion, there is a certain ulterior operation on his part is not undeservedly questioned. Some sharply contest, others assert it: the former, lest they should bring upon God some taint of wickedness or injustice (which would make him the author of sin); the latter, that they may not withdraw anything from divine providence. It is not indeed to be denied that many passages of Scripture, actively enunciating, can and ought to be explained passively, so that one may be said to do what he only permits and does not hinder: as when David is said to have "kept the Moabites alive" (2 S. 8:2), i.e., did not kill them; and Noah to have kept the animals alive (Gen. 6:19), i.e., conserved them. Thus certain passages which indicate action concerning the providence of God in evil, can be explained of his permission or the simple denial of grace (as Augustine often explains "to harden" by "not to soften"). Scripture, however, speaks too emphatically (*emphatikōteron*) to allow us to rest in permission alone; and we think something more is signified by those efficacious expressions employed, in which not only a certain withdrawal and not hindering on God's part is marked, but also a certain efficacious action is designated. Hence the Holy Spirit uses verbs not only in the Hiphil, but also in the Piel, by which the action is strengthened: as when he says "God hardened Pharaoh" (Ex. 4:21; 7:3); and elsewhere the Scripture says, "The wives of David were given to his son Absalom by God to be violated" (2 S. 12:11); yea, "God told Shimei to curse David" (2 S. 16:10); "Evil spirits were sent by God being commanded to injure" (1 K. 22:23); "He sends a spirit of error" (Is. 19:14); "fills with drunkenness" (Jer. 13:12, 13); "sends strong delusion that they should believe a lie" (2 Thess. 2:11); and innumerable other passages which are too strong to be explained of

bare permission. Otherwise many of God's judgments (executed by the reprobate) would be weakened and be the work of bare permission. And so it would be of the death of Christ itself on which our whole redemption hangs; nevertheless, the Holy Spirit expressly testifies that Herod and Pontius Pilate did nothing but what the hand and counsel of God (i.e., his efficacious decree) had determined before should be done (Acts 4:28).

The efficacy of providence appears: (1) in the presentation of occasions.

XV. No mortal, however, can either conceive or sufficiently explain what that efficacy of providence is. Three things most especially belong to it: (1) the offering of occasions; (2) the delivering over to Satan; (3) the immediate operation of God in the heart. First, the offering of occasions which can be procured only by the peculiar providence of God by the concourse of circumstances and the proposition of objects, fitted to move faculties constituted in this or that way (in which manner God does not infuse wickedness into the minds of men, but draws out into action the wickedness latent there). So for the sale of Joseph, he made the Midianite merchants come along; he willed the avarice of Achan to be excited by the sight of the Babylonian garment (Jos. 7:21); and that David's lust should be inflamed by the nakedness of Bathsheba. Such things affecting the senses are said and done as that although good in themselves and of a kind by which they ought to be softened, yet the impious falsely abuse them and are hardened by their own fault (as the commandments of God, the Egyptian plagues and the miracles wrought before Pharaoh; and the miracles of Christ: the former ought to have turned the heart of Pharaoh, the latter the hearts of the Jews, yet they hardened them the more).

(2) In delivering over to Satan.

XVI. (2) He not only presents occasions and objects, but delivers men over to Satan and their own evil desires (as God is said to have "given the Gentiles over to their own vile lusts, and to a reprobate mind" [Rom. 1:24, 26, 28] as a punishment of previous sins). So "an evil spirit from the Lord"

is said to have "troubled Saul" (1 S. 16:14) and a lying spirit to have been sent by God into the mouth of the false prophets (1 K. 22:22). Hence God, loosening the reins, works efficaciously in the "children of disobedience" (Eph. 2:2). For although actuated by so great a hatred against God and men as to be spontaneously intent upon all occasions of injuring and thus needing no spur, yet because he cannot attempt or carry out anything against the pleasure of God, he is sometimes sent by God and by his command is said to fulfil his own wicked designs. Now as Satan can be considered in three ways with respect to man (either as a tempter or an accuser or an executioner and tormenter), God can deliver men over to him in these three ways. As a tempter, when he sends the efficacy of error that men may believe a lie and be blinded by Satan (2 Thess. 2:9, 11; 2 Cor. 4:4); or as an accuser, when he exposes men to his accusations, as was the case with Job (cf. chap. 1) and Joshua (Zech. 3:1); or as an executioner and tormenter, when he delivers man to be vexed by him both in body and soul (in which sense the incestuous person is "delivered to Satan" by Paul [1 Cor. 5:5], and Hymenaeus and Alexander, 1 Tim. 1:20).

XVII. Satan, however, acts upon men in two ways: either externally by tempting the heart, now by the proposition of objects pleasing to the flesh, so as to impel them to license and rebellion (as was the case with our first parents) then by the sending of calamities and evils to cast them down into despair (as observed in Job and others); or internally by acting on the fancy and through the fancy affecting the intellect (by the representation of those phantasms which can seduce men and excite to evil or recall from good; or by operating on the humors and by the humors exciting the bodily appetites, either to inflame lust, or excite anger or to do other things to kindle the passions [*to thymikon*] or the desires [*to epithymētikon*] whose power is great especially in the unrenewed). In this sense, he is said to send into the heart of man what may persuade him; yea, to enter into man himself, as is said of Judas (Jn. 13:2, 27).

(3) In the internal operation of God.

XVIII. Third, besides the delivering over to Satan, there is also sometimes a certain internal operation of God in man by which he turns the heart of man to the execution of his counsel. Solomon refers to this when he says, "The

king's heart is in the hand of the Lord: he turneth it whithersoever he will" (Prov. 21:1). Augustine says, "God operates in the hearts of men to incline their wills whithersoever he will, whether to good according to his mercy, or to evil according to their desert, as by his own judgment, now open, then secret, yet always just" (*On Grace and Free Will* 43 [NPNF1, 5:463; PL 44.909]). However this can be done either by an internal proposition of objects (which can move the mind and will) or by the impression of thoughts (which although good in themselves, are yet accidentally converted into evil by the vice of corrupt man). Thus the brothers of Joseph think that he is loved by his parents and is honored with dreams by God; these are good thoughts which they impiously abused. Wresting them to envy, they take counsel concerning the removal of him. Pharaoh after the death of Joseph thinks he should see to it that the empire suffers no harm; a good thought undoubtedly sent from God, but falling into an evil mind was perverted to the destruction of the people. So what came into the mind of Caiphas, "It is expedient that one man should die for the people" (Jn. 11:50), was good, but was most wickedly abused to the nefarious slaughter of Christ. Again, God internally works in man when he causes objects to move him in a particular direction. For since man is prone to every evil (as containing in himself the seeds of all vices), yet that he inclines to this rather than that arises from no other source than the secret providence of God, inclining him rather in this than in that direction, not otherwise than a stream flowing downwards is turned by the industry of the conduit master in this rather than that direction. Since to men there lie open many ways of injuring, God (shutting others up) leaves one open that they may be moved in that way. Thus the wicked serve to execute his judgments, when he wishes to use them either to punish the wickedness of anyone or to test the faith of the pious or to arouse them from slothfulness. A remarkable instance of this occurs in Nebuchadnezzar drawing out an army against Judea rather than against Egypt (Ezk. 21:21–24). Therefore, since in these and other wonderful and ineffable ways, God can operate in men to execute his own judgments, it is not without reason that their actions are ascribed to the efficacious power of God.

Second, providence is occupied about the progress of sin by termination.

XIX. Thus it is occupied about the beginning of sin. It exerts itself also as to its progress by a powerful termination of it, placing limits to it, both of intension (that it may not grow out into immenseness) and of extension (that it may not spread more widely) and of duration (that it may not continue longer and so do more injury both to the sinner himself and to others). This he does either internally (by enlightening the mind to perceive the turpitude of sin and the greatness of the punishment due to it or by restraining and curbing the depraved desires) or externally (by repressing the fury of Satan and the world, removing the occasions of evil and also by calling away from sin by commands and threatenings). All this appears from the examples of Laban, Esau, Balaam, Sennacherib and many others (and especially from the history of Job and of Christ).

Third, about the end, by direction.

XX. Finally, as to the end in its wise ordination and direction, when beyond the nature of sin and the will of the sinner, by his wisdom and power he converts the evil into good and directs and draws it to a good end. "Ye thought evil against me," said Joseph (Gen. 50:20), "but God meant it unto good." Similar examples occur in Is. 10:5–7, Job 1:20–22, 2:9, 10, Acts 3:13–15. Now this ordination is not to be understood *a posteriori* (as if God, the existence of sin being foreseen, thought concerning its end), but *a priori*, by which God proposes an end to himself which he wills to bring about by sinners and their sinful actions (to which he also directs them by his providence because otherwise that ordination of the end would be only occasional and accidental).

XXI. But whatever may be the action of God about sins, still his providence always remains holy and free from all fault (as the solar rays are not affected although they may flow into filth or a carcass). And if at any time the same work is ascribed to God, to the Devil and the wicked (as the selling of Joseph, the hardening of Pharaoh, the calamity of Job, the deceit of Ahab, the numbering of the people, the death of Christ), yet it is ascribed

to them in different ways: to God indeed as a most holy work because from a good principle it tends to a good end; to men, however, as most wicked because from an evil principle, by evil means, they tend to an evil end. So the work which the Assyrian was about to perform by the command of God in the abduction of the people was good with respect to God (who willed in this way to chastise his own people). He is on this account called "the rod of God's anger, to whom he gave charge to take the spoil" (Is. 10:5, 6). Yet it is evil with respect to the Assyrian because he had no other end in view than the cutting off of the people and the fulfilling of his own desires: "I will send him against a hypocritical nation.… Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to destroy and cut off nations not a few" (Is. 10:6, 7). Therefore as a judge rightly employs lions and other wild beasts for the punishment of the guilty, a physician leeches (yea, even vipers) to cure the sick, so in this, the most wise counsel of God and his admirable power shines forth—that he uses the sins of creatures beyond their intention to good end; not by making the wills or actions of creatures evil, but ordaining them to a good end. As, however, the concourse of God's providence does not excuse the sinner (because he takes away neither liberty nor choice [*proairesin*] nor spontaneity), so neither can God be made guilty of sin (because he is always most holily employed in the most wicked works of men and for a good end). Now it is known that impelling and final causes make differences of actions and when there are many causes of the same effect (some good, others evil) such effect is good with respect to the good causes and evil with respect to the evil. "Since the Father delivered up the Son, and Judas delivered up his master, why in this delivery is man guilty and God righteous, unless because in the one thing which they did, the cause on account of which they did it is not the same?" as Augustine says (*Letter* 93, "To Vincent" [FC 18:63; PL 33.324]).

Sources of explanation.

XXII. God can rightly be called the cause of what he wills and decrees simply and by itself. But he did not decree sins simply, but relatively (inasmuch as they are actions); nor by themselves (inasmuch as they are evil works), but by accident (inasmuch as by these actions he willed to carry out his secret judgments). So he willed and decreed the selling of

Joseph and the crucifixion of Christ, but with the best end. The former, that the family of Jacob might be preserved; the latter, that the church might be redeemed. Each work was just and holy on the part of God although he willed to follow it out by the wickedness of men (which he did not will to effect, but only to permit). Bellarmine, however, falsely maintains that Gen. 45:7 and Acts 4:28 are not to be referred to the evil works, but to the "good passions" in them (as what on the part of the agents were most grevious crimes, on the part of the patients, Christ and Joseph bearing with equanimity the selling and the death, were works of the highest patience and consequently very good); cf. "De amissione gratiae et statu peccati," 2.2 in *Opera* (1858), 4:79. For Scripture ascribes to God not only the suffering of Joseph and of Christ, but also the action expressly from which that suffering arose. Joseph does not speak passively of himself—"I was sent hither by God"—but actively—"God sent me hither." The apostles do not say God willed that Christ should die, but actively the counsel and hand of God predetermined the very thing which Herod and Pontius Pilate did. Besides, since action and passion differ not really but rationally, whoever decrees the passion must also decree the action itself. If God willed Joseph to be sold and Christ to be crucified, he also by that very thing willed that the brothers should sell Joseph, and the Jews should nail Christ to the cross.

XXIII. He who impels men to evil (making good wills bad, either drawing them unwilling and nilling or inciting them morally to evil as evil by precept or suasion) is the cause of sin. But God is said to impel wills in themselves evil and spontaneously rushing into evils; not to evils as evils, but as they are his secret judgments. So that he is here to be regarded not simply as Lord (freely permitting the creature to fall), but as a most just Judge (punishing sin by sin) who, therefore, cannot be considered the author of sin, but only the administrator of punishment. Therefore there is one impulsion properly so called (of compulsion) by which violence is done to the free will; another improper and relative which conspires with liberty and involves only a necessity of consequence; or a conditioned necessity (not absolute and consequent). The former is faulty and makes him who uses it the author of sin; but not the latter which God employs towards the wicked.

XXIV. The common axiom—action and effect belong rather to the principal than the instrumental cause; hence it would seem to be inferred that God is the cause of sin because he uses Satan and the wicked as instruments for his work. This common axiom suffers various limitations. (1) It holds good in homogeneous causes, when both causes (the principal as well as the instrumental) are either positive or privative, physical or moral. For example, the word of God as an instrument sanctifies us; therefore much more the Holy Spirit by the word; the false prophet seduces Ahab, therefore much more the devil who acts through him. In the first, each cause is positive; in the last, each is privative. But this is not the case in heterogeneous causes when one (viz., the principal) is positive and physical, the other (viz., the instrumental) is privative and moral; or when one is subject to law, the other, however, irresponsible (*anypeuthynos*) and above law (or incapable of law). Hence the following do not hold good because the causes are heterogeneous: the sword as an instrument killing a man is not the culpable cause of the homicide, therefore neither is the man wielding the sword; or the executioner, as the instrument of a just judge, punishes the guilty animated by revenge, therefore much more the just judge. In the first, the principal cause is privative, obnoxious to law and moral; the instrumental cause is physical, positive and amenable to no law. In the other, however, the principal cause is positive, moral and congruous with law, but the instrumental is privative, moral and dissonant to law. So here God is the positive, physical, irresponsible (*anypeuthynos*) cause; men, however, are the privative and moral cause and obnoxious to law.

XXV. (2) It holds good in proper, pure and irrational instruments which borrow whatever they are and do from the principal agent and have nothing of their own intermixed. For there is no principal causality in them, but only an organic which flows from the virtue of the principal agent (as the cause of the homicide, committed with the sword, ought to be imputed not to the sword, but to the man who used it, because the sword is a pure and irrational [*alogon*] instrument). But it does not hold good in metaphorical and mixed instruments which have something of their own mixed (by which they work), and this they do not borrow from the principal cause. For example, the following does not hold good: a horse struck by the spur of its rider goes lame, therefore the rider himself is more lame. This is not the pure instrument of the rider, but such as has something of its own mixed in

the motion of lameness in which it is not subordinated to the rider (viz., a loosened shin bone) which is the adequate and principal cause of the lameness. Thus sinners are not proper and pure instruments, but rational, metaphorical and mixed (which have wickedness from themselves as the proper and adequate cause of sin). (3) The axiom holds good when the action of the principal cause is morally the same as the action of the instrument (as the disciple of Pelagius has a poor opinion of grace, therefore much more Pelagius himself; here the moral action of each cause is the same, of the principal and of the organic). But not equally, when the action is indeed the same materially and physically, but not morally. For then not only is the action of the organic cause not to be ascribed more especially to the principal cause, but it is not to be ascribed at all to it (as the Scholastics rightly teach: "Not from the substance of the real physical act arises the specification of the act as to moral being, but from the diverse moral circumstances"). For the same physical action can be just or unjust according to the diversity of agents, either of those subject to the law or of those unbound by law. And yet here, as was just said, the action of God is not morally the same as the action of the instrument, but only physically. Hence the fault in the instrument is not to be attributed to the principal cause.

XXVI. God commanded Shimei to curse David (2 S. 16:10) by a command of providence, not by a legal command; by a command physically directive, not morally suasive; by a judicial command of the will of good pleasure, as he is a just Judge, punishing and castigating, not by an approving command, of the signified will, as a lawgiver commanding; by a command not properly so called which he made known to Shimei and willed him to obey, but improper and figurative; as God is said to have commanded the fish to throw up Jonah (Jon. 2:10). In David's case, this is nothing else than the efficacious motion of God by which he inclined the evil will of Shimei to this sin for the punishment of David. Augustine explains it thus: "The Lord said to Shimei, curse David, not by commanding where obedience would be praised, but because he inclined his will, evil by his own proper fault, to this sin by his just and secret judgment" (*On Grace and Free Will* 1.20 [NPNF1, 5:461; PL 44.906]). Thus when God is said to have sent a lying spirit to deceive Ahab (1 K. 22:22), it is not of him approving, but permitting and efficaciously

ordaining it for the punishment of the wicked king. He did not give to that lying spirit the license to lie, but loosened the reins to it desirous and offering its aid.

XXVII. The cause of a cause is also the cause of the thing caused, holds good: (1) in adequate causes, provided another true and proximate cause of the thing caused itself does not intervene; (2) in causes by themselves, which produce the effect, inasmuch as they are such when they cause and when it is the cause both of the cause and the thing caused by itself; (3) in causes subordinated essentially and by necessity of nature and mutually depending on each other. But not in like manner, if it is indeed the cause by itself of the cause, but of the thing caused only accidentally (when the inferior cause produces the effect not simply from its own nature, but from some acceding defect). So this does not hold good—the human will is the cause of sin; God is the cause of the human will; therefore he is the cause of sin—for when the created will sins, it turns aside and fails from the order of the first cause. And God who is the cause of the will per se, cannot be called the cause of the evil action, which is from the will not simply in the genus of being (as it is from God), but from the will failing as to the law in the genus of morals.

How hardening and blinding are ascribed to God.

XXVIII. God is said to blind and to harden men not only negatively (by not enlightening and softening) and privatively (by withdrawing his grace whatever it may have been after men have abused it) and permissively (by not hindering), but also positively. Not by bringing in blindness or hardness (which is natural to man), but both objectively by presenting external objects to them which although ordained to another direction by their own nature, yet he knows will be drawn in a different way by their vice; and judicially by smiting them internally with blindness (the light which they abused being taken away or extinguished); and by loosening the reins to their lusts and delivering them up and enslaving them to Satan; and acting in many other inexplicable ways by which he exercises the judgment of just blinding and hardening upon the contumacious. Yet this does not hinder the wicked also from blinding and hardening themselves by the abuse of those things by which especially they ought to be softened (such is the

longsuffering and kindness of God, Rom. 2:4). The light of the word and the sweetness of the gospel, which becomes to them "a savor of death unto death" (2 Cor. 2:16), and the very castigations of God by which they ought to be corrected, make them more obstinate—"O Lord, thou has stricken them, but they have not grieved; they have made their faces harder than a rock" (Jer. 5:3). So one hardening is culpable on the part of men who harden themselves; just and penal on the part of God who hardens them by his righteous judgment for the punishment of previous sins.

And temptation.

XXIX. Temptation may be of trial or of seduction; the former good, the latter evil; that belongs to God, this to the Devil (who on that account is called the tempter [*ho peirazōn*] because as he tempted Adam and Christ, so every day he tempts believers to evil). In this sense, James says "God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man" (1:13) because God has nothing in himself which inclines in the slightest degree to sin (nay, which is not most widely separated from it). Thus he cannot be said to solicit others to sin, either by commands or counsels or any internal persuasion. If at any time he is said to tempt men (as Abraham [Gen. 22:1] and the Israelites [Dt. 8:2]), this must be understood of the temptation of trial, not of seduction. It is done to explore the faith and constancy of man (not that he is ignorant of them who is omniscient, but to make them known to man himself and to others). When we seek in the Lord's Prayer, "Lord, lead us not into temptation," we do not depreciate the former temptation (which is good), but the latter (which is evil). Into the latter, God can be said to lead us when he not only permits us to fall into it, but delivers us over to our lusts and to Satan (by which we are tempted). Thus we seek from the hypothesis of the divine will (i.e., if it so pleases God) that he may so provide for us that we be not led into the danger of temptation. But if it otherwise pleases God, either to permit it and to deliver us over to the will of our spiritual enemies that we should succumb to their temptations, but that strengthened by grace we may overcome them. Thus "he will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that we may be able to bear it" (1 Cor. 10:13). Hence Augustine says, "What is it, however, we say every day—Lead us not into

temptation—except that we be not delivered over to our lusts, for each one is tempted being drawn away and allured by his own lusts?" (*Against Julian* 5.4* [FC 35:259; PL 44.793]). And "Lead us not into temptation, means, permit us not to be drawn into it by desertion" (Letter 157 [89], "To Hilary," 2.5 [FC 20:321; PL 33.675]).

And seduction Jer. 20:7.

XXX. What is said in Jeremiah ("O Lord, thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived," 20:7) is not to be so understood as if God led him into dishonesty and error. For although God is said at one time to have put a lying spirit into the mouth of the false prophets of Ahab, yet it cannot be said that any of the holy prophets, whom God inspired, ever so erred as to predict a false thing in his name; or ever wandered from the truth in the prophetic office (although otherwise not infallible). But it can be understood in different ways. Either *phthh* (whence the Greek *peithō* seems to be derived) may be taken in a good sense for "to allure," "entice" or "persuade" (as also elsewhere, Gen. 9:27; Prov. 25:15; Hos. 2:14); or in this sense, "Thou hast allured me, and I was allured," i.e., to enter upon and perform my office, thou alone art to me the author of my calling and thou hast in some measure constrained me refusing. Or if it is taken in a bad sense for seduction (as in Ezk. 14:9), it must be understood hypothetically: if I am seduced that I may seduce others (as my enemies calumniate me), thou, O Lord, hast seduced me. But this is false, therefore that is too—intimating that their calumnies fall upon God (the author) or his doctrine. Or the words are humanly spoken according to the carnal sense and perturbation of mind (to wit, Jeremiah from weakness and the judgment of the flesh complains of being deceived by God and that too, because from the words of God falsely understood, he had experienced far otherwise than he thought God had indicated to him; not with the fault of the speaker, but of the hearer; for God had not said that he would not suffer, but that he would deliver him). If elsewhere he is said to seduce prophets or the people (Ezk. 14:9; Jer. 4:10), this is rightly referred both to God's permission and desertion because he permits men to be deceived and opposes no obstacle; and to the delivering over to Satan because he gives them up to Satan and impostors to be deceived.

Error, Job 12:16, 17.

XXXI. When it is said "the deceiver and the deceived are God's" (Job 12:16*), it can be understood in two ways: either in the dative ("the deceiver and the deceived are to God") to intimate that both the ignorance of deceived man and the wickedness of impostors and deceivers serve God (i.e., divine providence) as if his ministers, while God performs his secret (*euarestias*) will by them who resist his revealed will (*eudokias*) (inasmuch as he elicits good from evil). Or it may be understood in the genitive ("the deceiver and the deceived are of God") because each is in his power, so that no one errs or leads into error unless so far forth as it pleases him to permit (who can, if he will, both hinder and remove the error and the seduction; or because the very act of erring, when anyone seduces, is from God).

XXXII. When God says, "I gave my people also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live" (Ezk. 20:25), he seems not only to permit, but to command sin. The passage is explained in different ways. Some by "statutes not good" understand the idolatrous precepts of the Gentiles to which God in anger subjected his people (whose observance would bring eternal death upon them). Thus he may be said to have "given" because he permitted them to be given or because he blinded them by his just judgment (as unworthy of his government and enslaved to the empire of Satan) to obey a lie (which is the same as, I have taken away their understanding so that, my laws being despised, they may make severe and destructive laws for themselves). Others more fitly hold that they designate the very law of God, moral as well as ceremonial. Thus it is called "not good" either because it is useless for salvation (being "weak through the flesh," Rom. 8:3) or because ungrateful and unpleasant (as good is often taken for agreeable, Gen. 3:6) and so it is called elsewhere a grevious and intolerable yoke (*abastakton*, Acts 15:10); or because noxious and deadly, not per se, but by accident on account of the perversity of man (in which sense it is elsewhere called "the letter which killeth" and "the ministry of condemnation," 2 Cor. 3:6, 9*).

XXXIII. When we say with the Scriptures that the sins of men are permitted by God and efficaciously directed to a good end, we do not mean that the sins and crimes of the wicked are good works. Rather in the works done by the wicked, the motions and actions are good works in the genus of

being and just judgment of God, as the lawlessness (*anomia*) of the motions and actions is morally evil and from evil persons. So the evil intention of man is not from God in the genus of morals, but only in the genus of being. And if the end is said to conciliate goodness and loveliness to the means, it does not follow that sins (because ordained by God to a good end) are good. The axiom avails only of means (which of themselves tend to a good end) not of those which (beyond their own nature) are directed to it by the wisdom and power of God (such as sin is).

XXXIV. The rule of the apostle "We must not do evil, that good may come" (Rom. 3:8) does not apply here. It is one thing to do evil, but another to permit it, or to direct it to a good end and turn it into good. The former indicates injustice; the latter wisdom, goodness and power. (2) It is not lawful for men, who are accountable (*hypeuthynoi*), either to do evil, or to permit it; nor can such permission be granted in them without fault. But this cannot be said of God, who is not responsible (*anypeuthynos*), who has the best and wisest reasons for permitting. (3) If at any time Scripture says that God does evil, it does not mean evil reduplicatively as evil (in which sense it cannot have the relation of good), but inasmuch as it has the relation of judgment and is conducive and ordainable to the manifestation of his own glory (in which sense it has the relation of good).

XXXV. Whatever may be the action of God about sin, no reason for excuse can on that account be brought forward by the sinner: whether because he fulfils the will of God (because the will is not revealed and signified, proposed for a rule of life, but secret and of good purpose, which he does not know and least attends to, not approving or commanding, but most justly decreeing); or because that will cannot be resisted by man (because whatever of necessity is here happens by reason of the event, not by reason of the mode of action; of infallibility, not of compulsion; of consequence and relative, not of the consequent and absolute). Hence Paul, stopping the mouth of the wicked, says, "Who art thou, O man, that repliest against God?" (Rom. 9:19, 20). Or because God himself is said to harden and to blind (because the action of God does not overthrow man's liberty of action, for he is so hardened and blinded by God that he also most freely blinds and hardens himself; and because God's action is judicial, which men have already deserved on account of their previous sins).

EIGHTH QUESTION

Whether it follows and can be elicited by legitimate consequence from our doctrine that we make God the author of sin. We deny against the Romanists, Socinians, Remonstrants and Lutherans

I. Although the innocence of the orthodox doctrine about this argument has been often so clearly and solidly proved by our divines (against the atrocious calumnies of illiberal flings commonly directed against it by our opponents) that there would be no need to labor in its vindication; yet because they do not cease to renew that most unjust accusation and to traduce the purity of our faith in every way they can, it is just that we should drag the falsity of that calumny into the open light and free the religion we profess from their unjust criminations.

II. Before all things, however, we must observe that the question is not new and recently coined, but old. It was started even formerly by the Pelagians and assailed by Augustine (as his books against Julian abundantly testify). The occasion of the question was no other than this—that in the sins of men, Augustine maintained that God is not a bare permitter and idle spectator, but a most holy governor and most just Judge. There is no other reason why modern Pelagians endeavor to make the orthodox doctrine infamous (whose mouth it is not difficult to stop by the example of Augustine).

Statement of the question.

III. The question here, however, is not whether we in express words assert God to be the cause of sin! For although some do not blush to charge this blasphemy upon us (openly calumniating us as confirming this hypothesis by the words and examples of Scripture), yet others (more modest) do not dare to prefer this charge and acknowledge that no such thing is brought forward by us. “And if the question should be so formed,” says Bellarmine, “there would be none, since not only the Catholics, but also the Calvinists deny this” (“De amissione gratiae et statu peccati,” 2.2 in *Opera* [1858], 4:79). But the question is whether any such thing can be deduced necessarily and evidently from our doctrine. They charge us with really

thinking what we do not dare to profess in words and "if not in express words certainly by necessary arguments." Tirinus says, "They make God the author and cause of all sin" (*Theologicae elenchticae ... controversiarum fidei*, Cont. 1.12, number 8 [1648], p. 604). In this he follows the footsteps of Bellarmine (ibid., 2.3f. in *Opera* [1858], 4:80–85) and of Becanus (*Summa Theologicae Scholasticae* 2.2.6 [1651], p. 264); with whom agree Brochmand ("De Providentia Divina," 2, Q. 3 in *Universae theologicae systema* [1638], 1:527–37), Eckhard (*Fasciculus controversiarum Theologicarum* 1.10 [1631], pp. 205–11), Graverus (on Article 19*, "De causa peccati," in *Graverus redivivus ... praelectiones ... in Augustanam Confessionem* [1659], pp. 1036–68) and other Lutherans; Crellius ("De Deo et Ejus Attributis," 1.25 in *Opera* [1656], 4:75–89), Tilenus (*Traicte de la cause et de l'origine du peche* [1621]), Episcopius ('De Providentia,' in "Institutiones theologica," 4 sec. 4 of *Opera Theologica* [1678], pp. 360–400) and other Remonstrants in the synodical writings, p. 249+.

IV. To draw the sting of this calumny, however, even the following alone suffices: the public confessions of the Reformed churches, in express, careful and authoritative words condemn and censure this impiety: as the Augsburg, Art. 19 (Schaff, 3:20), the French, Art. 8 (Cochrane, 147), the (Second) Helvetic, chap. 8 (Cochrane, 236–37), the Belgic, Art. 13 (Cochrane, 197), the Canons of the Synod of Dort, First Head, Art. 1, 5, 15 (Schaff, 3:581–82, 584). To these are to be added the catechisms, defenses and other symbolic writings, the public and established testimonies of our innocence (which the adversaries themselves cannot distrust). Hence they are accustomed to drawing nothing from public standards to prove their calumnies, but only from the writings of private divines from which they falsely weave consequences.

V. Concerning the public and received opinion of any church, a judgment cannot and ought not to be formed from the writings of private persons. Thus it would be lawful, without compromising the doctrine of the Reformed churches, to pass over this crimination as a matter foreign to the subject and to leave it with its authors because we do not stand or fall with the judgment of each private divine, however illustrious. Still because we are persuaded of the sincerity of the doctrine of Zwingli, Luther, Calvin, Martyr, Beza and other distinguished servants of God (charged with this

crime), and it is evident that considerable injury has been done to these great heroes (deserving the gratitude of the church of God), and because it is also known that through them the doctrine of our churches is maliciously aimed at and blasphemously assailed, justice and equity demand that we permit them not to be overwhelmed by these unjust calumnies, since they furnish us with so many arguments to defend them.

VI. First, although they sometimes used harsh and not sufficiently accurate and fit phrases in explaining a difficult thing, they are not on that account to be violently attacked or abused. It is evident that their meaning was sound and pious, which they often professed both orally and in their writings concerning God, the sole author of all good and the strict punisher of evil. For it is calumnious to feign heresy in words which heresy "is in things, not in words" according to Jerome,* with whom Luther agrees—"it is wicked to determine heresy in words, since it is in the meaning alone, not in the words." Second, no expressions are found so harsh in any of them that analogous ones do not exist in the Scriptures; as when they say God blinds, hardens, seduces, sends the efficacy of error, gives men over to a reprobate mind. If these phrases are properly explained and vindicated by our opponents themselves according to the analogy of faith, why may not even the same similar phrases occuring in our divines be equally drawn to a kinder and more suitable sense according to the canon of charity? Nor ought the reply to be made here that the consequence does not hold good, both because men are variously deceived and err (especially about the divine mysteries), while God cannot err or be deceived; and because Scripture so fully and plainly declares itself that there can be no room for such a charge. We answer that the consequence remains unshaken whose force rests not upon the parity or equality of the authority of human and divine writings, but upon the identity or similarity of the phrases employed in both. As indeed such veneration is deservedly due to Scripture that what seems to be said more obscurely or even harsher in one place should be understood and explained according to others more clear; why should not a like equity be extended according to the law of charity to the men of God (as often as they strive not only to think but also to speak with Scripture)?

VII. Third, nothing is said by our party on this subject which cannot also be culled from our various opponents who speak more harshly; nay, stronger words have not been asserted by whole societies in the Romish

communion. For it is known that the Thomists and Dominicans agree here with us and sometimes used even harsher phrases. It is known that Occam and Gabriel Biel (according to Bartolomo Medina, in *Expositio in primam secundae ... Thomae Aquinatis*, Q. 79*, Art. II [1580], p. 419) did not fear to maintain that "God in strictness and propriety of speech is the cause of sin." But to omit others, Bellarmine, who fired with such a frenzy for calumniation inveighs against our divines, may be convicted of the same impiety and blasphemy. For he says, "God not only permits the wicked to do many evils, nor only deserts the pious, but also presides over the evil wills themselves, and rules and governs them, he twists and turns them by his invisible operation, that although by their own fault they are evil, yet by divine providence they are ordained to one evil rather than another, not positively, but permissively" ("De amissione gratiae et statu peccati," 2.13 in *Opera* [1858], 4:100). Nothing harsher than these words occurs among our divines. When, however, he adds that it is done permissively not positively, he shamefully contradicts himself. For he opposes that action by which he twists and turns the will of the wicked to bare permission. The thing itself cries out that the words "govern," "twist," "rule," "bend" signify a positive act and not a bare permission. Here belongs what he brings forward from Thomas Aquinas in the same place: "that God not only inclines evil wills to one rather than another thing, by permitting them to be carried to one and not permitting them to be carried to another, as he rightly taught but also by positively inclining them to one and turning them away from another" (ibid.). Thus in chapter 14 he says, "When in Scripture God is said to harden, to blind, he does that as a just Judge, and from God intervenes the punishment and ruin of those who are hardened and blinded" (ibid., 2.14, p. 104). So Cornelius a Lapide says, "God holds the wills of all men in his hand, so that he can bend them in any way whatsoever; now the will of man can exert itself in no work at all, whether good or evil, except God loosens the reins of his permission to it, nay, positively concurs and cooperates with it to produce this action and work" (*Commentaria in Sacram Scripturam* [1854], 1:316 on Ex. 7). Yet our divines intend nothing else, while asserting the efficacy of providence in evil. In this sense many others speak: as Pererius (*Selectarum disputationum ... super libro Exodi* [1607], "In Cap. xi Exodi: De induratione Pharaonis," pp. 308–39), Suarez ("De Concursu et Efficaci Auxilio Dei," 2.3 in *Opera* [1856–78], 11:106–

16), Ruiz and others. Arminius acknowledges that besides permission there "is the presentation of occasions and objects and the concourse of God which is necessary to the production of every act, since nothing at all can have any entity, unless from the first and highest being immediately producing it; this concourse, however, is not an immediate influx into the second cause, but the action of God immediately flowing into the effect of the creature, so that the same effect is produced by one and the same total action by God and the creature at the same time … So God is at the same time the effector and permitter of the same act" (Disputation 10, 'On the Righteousness and Efficacy of the Providence of God Concerning Evil,' "Public Disputations," 9 in *Works* [1956], 1:517). The same might easily be shown of the Lutherans and of that great man of God, Luther, who followed out this argument in far stronger terms than our divines when he says, "It is to torture the Word for anyone to say the sense of these words, I will harden the heart of Pharaoh, is 'I will permit it to be hardened,' 'I will give the occasion of hardening, while the sinner is not at once corrected' " (*On the Bondage of the Will* [LCC 17:223]); "The expression must be taken simply, as the words sound;" "since God works in evil and by evil, the evil is indeed done, yet God cannot do evil, although he does evil by evil persons, because being himself good he cannot do evil, yet he uses evil instruments which cannot escape the seizure and motion of his power. It is a fault therefore in the instruments, which God does not allow to remain idle, that they do evil, God himself employing them" (ibid., pp. 232–33). "In us, that is, by us, God works evil, not through his, but our own fault" (ibid., p. 234). "God deserting and Satan sinning, the will of Satan and of man being made evil, in working is seized by God and moved whithersoever he wills"; "the words of God, 'I will harden the heart of Pharaoh,' must be thus understood, 'I will cause the heart of Pharaoh to be hardened,' or 'that it be hardened, I operating and making it so' " (ibid., p. 235). He says the same in innumerable other passages of like import which are not dissimilar to the expressions of our divines. Therefore if these have a sound sense in the judgment of Lutherans, why can they not explain the words of our divines kindly also from the same charitable judgment?

VIII. Fourth, our divines so clearly explain their meaning and so expressly condemn this impious dogma in their writings that it cannot be charged upon them without the most gross injustice. Here belong the

passages of Zwingli, Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr and others (cited by Bellarmine, "De amissione gratiae et statu peccati," 2.2 in *Opera* [1858], 4:79–80 and Becanus, *Manuale controversariarum* 3.5.6 [1750], pp. 462–65). Calvin indeed was not only clearly the first, nay almost the only one to refute the Libertines in asserting the holiness of God. Also in his book concerning predestination (*Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God* [trans. J.K.S. Ried, 1961], pp. 168–82), he authoritatively strikes down this calumny (cf. also ICR 1.17.3*, pp. 214–15). Beza in this matter fully vindicates both Calvin and himself, and shows at length that from the doctrine of Calvin and his own "none of these blasphemies follow as consequences, to wit, either that God is the author of sin or delights in iniquity or even wills iniquity; or that Satan or men, doing wickedly, obey God, or inasmuch as they do evil, do what God wills, and so far forth are without blame. Let all blasphemies of this kind," says he, "be removed as far as possible not only from our tongues, but also from our thoughts" ("Ad Sebastioni Castellionis calumnias … aeternam Dei praedestionem," in *Volumen tractationum Theologicarum* [1582], p. 372). See also his refutation of the calumnies of Heshius, where he explains the same thing at large (*Kreophagia, sive Cyclops* [1561]).

IX. Fifth, if the foundation of the charge is examined, it will be evident that it is drawn from no other source than certain truncated words and phrases, twisted and by sophistical consequences drawn to a sense most foreign to their intention and scope. Hence, since they neither saw these consequences nor acknowledge them as their own (nay frequently express their hearty detestation of them and pronounce an anathema upon those holding such opinions), they cannot without great injustice be imputed to them, as if this was their genuine meaning and proper doctrine; especially since the antecedent from which they elicit them is from Scripture itself and for the most part expressed in its proper words.

Sources of explanation.

X. Although God may be said from eternity not only to have foreseen and permitted, but also to have willed and predestinated, the fall of man, and that all things are done not only with the permission but even with the will of God (as Calvin asserts, ICR 1.18.1, pp. 228–31 and 3.23.6, 8, 9, pp. 953–

55, 956–58), it does not follow that God is held by him to be the author of sin. For he only can be esteemed the author of sin who decrees and wills sins as to efficiency and approbation, not however as to permission and ordination only. That this is the meaning of Calvin, the passages cited prove. They have no other object than to oppose the will of God to the figment of bare and idle permission (which the Pelagians and most of the Scholastics obtrude), and to teach that the sin of Adam happened and that other things which take place in the world turn out, not at random and fortuitously, but by the certain counsel and providence of God. For God is occupied not only in permitting, but also in governing, terminating and directing them to a good end. It is one thing therefore to will sin itself, but another to will its permission and event; the latter Calvin says with Scripture, not the former.

XI. The dispensation of God by which crimes are said to be committed (Calvin, ICR 1.17.8, pp. 220–21) is not the efficiency of crimes, but the permission; yet not idle permission, but the governing of them and directing them to certain objects and ends. Nor if by that just dispensation of God, it is said that "whatever enemies" do "wickedly against us is not only permitted but also sent in by him" (ibid., p. 221) does it follow that the causality of sin is ascribed to God, because that application of Calvin is not the infusion of wickedness but the direction of the enemies (in whom wickedness is congenital) to certain objects by God, to execute his just judgments (as when bears were brought against the children at Bethel [2 K. 2:24] and the lion against the disobedient prophet [1 K. 13:24]). Thus he is said to have raised up Pharaoh against the Israelites (Ex. 9:16; Rom. 9:17).

XII. The secret nod of God, without which men are said to effect nothing (ICR 1.18.1, pp. 228–31), is not the complacency of God in their sins or an impulse to sins as such. Rather it is the motion: (1) physical; (2) judicial (in those whose sins are punished by sins by God as a just Judge); (3) directive to objects and certain ends (as when a rider with the bit drives and directs a horse whithersoever he wills, it does not become lame by the fault of the rider).

XIII. When Calvin says that the devil and all the wicked conceive, attempt and commit no evil deed except as God has permitted (nay, as far as God has commanded since they are compelled to perform his service), there is nothing to favor the crime charged against him (ICR 1.17.11, pp. 224–

25). (1) Because he says here nothing beyond what is written (*ater graphēs*). The phrase is Scriptural for it says that God commanded Shemei to curse David. (2) The command is understood not of moral preception (against the express prohibition of God, Ex. 22:28), but partly of prophetic prediction (2 S. 16:10), partly of secret motion and direction towards objects. (3) Coaction is not involved (or a violent impulsion or an inclination to evil of the will either indifferent or good), but a necessity only of infallibility, depending partly objectively on the natural wickedness of the devil and the impious, partly dispositively on the immutable counsel of God. (4) The passage is adduced in bad faith against the meaning of Calvin, for his design there is to console the pious against the fear and anxiety by which they are disturbed that they may know that the devil and the wicked are not permitted to torment them at pleasure, but are restrained by the powerful rein of providence that in all things (though raging and champing) they are subject to it, and their fury is turned even into the salvation of believers. "But," says he, "when they recall to mind that the devil and the whole cohort of the wicked are so thoroughly restrained by the hand of God as by a bit, as not to conceive any evil deed against us, nor attempt it when conceived, nor can move a finger to perpetrate what they consummately plot, unless so far as he permits, nay, unless so far as he commands, nor are held bound by fetters only, but even compelled by the bit to render obedience; they have a source of abundant consolation" (ibid., p. 224). Now who does not see that it is one thing for God to restrain the devil and the wicked as with a bit that they may not attempt and conceive evil deeds against the pious, but another for God to compel them to evil deeds? He wishes to intimate that they are compelled not to the evil deed (which they do voluntarily), but to obedience, that in acting badly they may serve God's counsel and do his will beyond their own mind and will.

XIV. If Calvin says that God works in the minds of the wicked and as the first cause does by them as instruments all those things which with respect to men are and are called true sins (ICR 1.17.5, pp. 216–17 and 1.18.1, 2, pp. 228–32), he ought not on that account to be accused of introducing *theomartēsian*. (1) He follows Scripture which frequently so speaks (as we have already seen). (2) God is said to work evils, but not as evils formally and in the abstract, but in the concrete and materially (inasmuch as they are works) or judicially (inasmuch as they are his just judgments). (3) That God

can use the wicked as instruments, yet without any taint of disgrace in himself, has been shown before. (4) Calvin so explains and vindicates himself that no room for the charge can remain: “Still what the Lord does stands always at a great distance from what Satan and the wicked undertake. He makes the evil instruments which he holds in his hand and can turn in any direction he pleases, to serve his justice. These, as they are evil, bring into effect the wickedness conceived by the depraved soul” (ICR 2.4.5, p. 313). In the work *Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God*, he shows at length that God so acts that by the wicked even themselves (although unconscious and unwilling) he fulfils what he has ordained; nor on that account is he either a partaker of any fault, nor are the evil instruments free from sin. But he explains his meaning more clearly still in his *Contre la secte phantastique des Libertins* (1545). After saying that those (who maintain that the providence of God effects all things) mingle all things and not only confound heaven with earth, but also God with the devil, he adds “this results from their not paying the slightest attention to two very necessary exceptions. The former is that Satan and the wicked are not so instruments of God that they also do not themselves act their own part. The other exception to which these unhappy persons pay no regard is this—that there is a great difference between the work of God and the work of the wicked, since God uses him in place of an instrument. For the wicked man is incited to his own crime by avarice or ambition or envy or cruelty and has in view no other end. And thus from that root, that is, from the affection of his mind and the end it has in view, the work derives its quality and is deservedly judged to be evil. But God has an altogether contrary relation, to wit, to exercise his justice for the preservation of the good; he uses his grace and goodness towards believers, but punishes the ill-deserving. Behold how we are to distinguish between God and men, that on the one side in the same work we contemplated his justice, goodness and judgment; on the other the wickedness of the devil and unbelievers” (CR 35.188–89; cf. also his *Calumniae nebulonis cuiusdam ... de occulta Dei Providentia* [1558], where he answers the calumnies of the abandoned man who traduced his doctrine as impious and blasphemous). Nor dissimilarly Beza (“Ad Sebastioni Castellionis calumnias … aeternam praedestionem,” in *Volumen tractationum Theologicarum* [1582], pp. 337–424, where he refutes the slanders of Heshius) who clearly explains the mind of Calvin

and his own; the passages in both should be consulted. (5) Bellarmine cannot find fault with Calvin for such modes of expression, since he himself used harsher when he says God "twists and bends wills, working invisibly in them" (as was noted before).

XV. When Peter Martyr says, "God is in some way the cause of sin" (*Most learned ... commentaries ... upon ... Romaines* [1568], p. 26); and "God in a certain measure willed the sin of Adam, and is its author, so far" (ibid., p. 302), it must be understood in a sound sense, not that he can be called the cause properly, but improperly and abusively (*katachrēstikōs*), to denote the adjoined antecedent, or the cause *sine qua non*, or to point out only the cause of action and not of the bad quality connected with it.

XVI. When Zwingli says, "Nor can anyone say, the robber is innocent; for he acted, God impelling him; for he sinned against the law. And yet you will say, he was forced to sin. I grant, I reply, that he was forced, but in this, that the one should be translated and the other crucified" (*On Providence* 6 [ed. S.M. Jackson, 1922], p. 183). Although the words may be a little too harsh if pressed closely, still they admit of a sound sense if impulsion and coaction are taken improperly for the efficacious and determinate motion not to the sinning but to the acting. Hence he does not say, "the thief sinned, God being the impeller," but only "he acted." It is one thing to act; another, however, to sin. Again, he does not assert properly that he was compelled, but as if by concession he says, "I grant that he was forced" (which is the expression of one granting, but not always of one approving the hypothesis).

XVII. From these, not to consume time in enumerating or pointing out other passages, it is clearly evident that the reputation of these great men is most unjustly traduced (as if they made God the author of sin, since it appears that they were the farthest removed from that blasphemy and more than once solidly refuted it; nor can any such thing be elicited from their writings except by false and violent consequences). But it is evident that this blasphemous opinion is still unjustly attributed to our churches, which our public confessions, and symbolical writings constantly reject and treat with detestation. Other defenses against these calumnies can be found in Topic IV, Question 14, "On the Absolute Decree of Reprobation."

NINTH QUESTION

Is there a use and an abuse of the doctrine of providence?

I. As they err in many ways theoretically about providence who either entirely deny it or are ignorant of it or corrupt its true nature and mode of operation (concerning whom we have already spoken), no less dangerously do they sin against it practically who are ignorant or neglect the right and lawful use of the doctrine.

Providence is sinned against as to the past: (1) by murmuring; (2) by desperation.

II. A manifold sin can be committed whether it is concerned with the past or the future. For as to the past, it is sinned: (1) by murmuring, when sinners rave against the providence of God and charge it with injustice. This is attributed to the wicked (Ezk. 18:29), as if they were visited undeservedly on account of others' sins, while yet they might find in themselves the most just causes of punishment (Ezk. 33:20). This sometimes happens to the pious also through the impatience of the flesh when they see the prosperity of the wicked and the adversity of the pious (Job 21:7, 8; Ps. 73:2, 3; Jer. 12:1). To this must be opposed a most humble submission which always adores the ways of providence as most holy, whatever they may seem to be to our flesh: such as in Job (1:21; 2:10), in David (Ps. 39:9), in Eli (1 S. 3:18) and others. (2) By desperation, when they sink into despair in evils as if it was all over with them and no hope of restoration remained: examples of which are found in Cain, Saul, Judas and others. Such was the young man in Plautus. As if seized by the fates, in his desperation, he plunged into destruction. "Unstable," said he, "is the lot of things; the fates drive men at pleasure. I will take myself to the precipice that I may there end the matter with my life" (cited in Calvin, ICR 1.17.3, p. 214). To this must be opposed a firm trust in God which will make us immovable and unshaken in the midst of trials and the high waves of calamities, when all things seem desperate on the part of men and second causes. Such was the hope of Job ("though he slay me, yet will I trust in him," 13:15) the faith of David (Ps. 23:6), the constancy of the three companions of Daniel (Dan. 3:16, 17).

(3) By the excusing of crimes.

III. Third, by the excusing of crimes when sinners set the providence of God over against their wickedness; for nothing is done except as God wills and permits (and nothing is more wicked than this thought). For although sins are not committed without the providence of God, yet neither does God come into alliance with the sin, nor are the wicked on that account freed from blame because they obey not the will of God, but their own lust. For true obedience answers to the revealed will set forth in the word, not to the secret will hidden in God. He obeys God who, being informed of his will, goes where he is called by it. But if men attempt anything against his command, it is not obedience, but rebellion and transgression (although otherwise they fulfil God's secret will). He, contrary to their intention, uses their evil works by his most wise and just ordination to execute his judgments (as has already been said).

As to the future: (1) by security and sloth; (2) by anxiety and distrust.

IV. As to the future, providence is sinned against: (1) by security and sloth by those who, wantonly despising the means most wisely instituted by divine providence, seek hiding places for their idleness and torpor in this most holy doctrine and, under the certainty of providentially ordained events give themselves up to carnal security, neglecting the means necessary for their conservation and salvation (as if the certainty of the end could take away the necessity of means, and the same God, who preordained the future event, did not also appoint beforehand the means to be used by men according to his precept and will). If he bounded man's life by certain limits, he committed the care of it to man and instructed him in the methods and helps for conserving it; made him also prescient of dangers, lest they should come upon him unawares; suggested cautions and remedies which he should use. Here belongs the rashness of those who (with an overweening confidence, without a call and necessity) refuse not to rush into dangers of any kind and are unwilling to use second causes (which are at hand) and the means divinely appointed (which is to tempt God). For

although he can preserve us no less without than with means, yet because he wills ordinarily that our desire and care also should be exercised, we cannot without guilt neglect those things which he willed to appoint for our use, whether in avoiding danger or averting evils. (2) By anxiety and distrust, when we are concerned unduly about the morrow's food and clothing and the necessities of life, as if God was not a provident Father making abundant provision for all. The words of Christ are very pertinent here: "Therefore I say unto you, take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment" (Mt. 6:25). He does not wish his creatures to divest themselves entirely of all care, since indeed men were born under this law that they should have some care; nay, this is not the last part of the miseries which the Lord has imposed upon us in punishment in order to humble us. But he condemns only the anxious care and superfluous solicitude with which the unbelieving and heathen usually distress themselves (arising from a distrust of providence), as if God (inactive) slept in heaven or paid no attention to human things. He therefore wishes believers to rest in the fatherly goodness and care of God and tranquilly to expect from him, in the exercise of their lawful calling, whatever they feel to be necessary for themselves.

(3) By a too great reliance upon second causes.

V. (3) By a too great reliance upon second causes; for as they who entirely neglect them tempt God, seeking whether he will even without means conserve them, no less do they also sin against him who ascribe too much to them, placing their confidence in them and clinging to these certain means as it were to a spike (*clavo*), leave no room for divine providence on account of their distrust (as for example Asa "who in his disease sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians," 2 Ch. 16:12). For although we ought to love and honor creatures (since God condescended to employ them in some part of his work), yet we are permitted to trust in God alone and to rest upon him as their most wise and provident Father (who is never wanting to them in time of need).

The use of providence.

VI. However, the use of this doctrine is far more fruitful and excellent, both in asserting the glory of God (to whom is here ascribed the praise of the highest wisdom, power and goodness) and in cherishing our faith and increasing our confidence which, when involved in the storms of trial, the persuasion of providence strengthens, like a most sure anchor in the sea of this wicked world. Here, therefore, is the first duty of the pious man—as to intellect, that he should not only raise his eyes to God as the first and primary cause of all things (being persuaded that nothing happens by chance, but that all things are directed by the most wise providence of God)—but also cherish the thought that the singular and special providence of God watches for his safety, whether his business is with men or with other creatures. This is taught not only by the clear promises of Scripture (Pss. 34; 37; 55; 91; Zech. 2:8; Is. 26:3; 49:15; Mt. 6; 10; Lk. 12; 1 Pet. 5:7), but also by the examples of the saints (whose ways he everywhere reads were guarded by God). The various passages which teach that all creatures are under the power of God so that they can attempt to perform nothing without his nod, favor this view.

Whence arises: (1) a desire of holiness; of gratitude; of patience; of repentance?

VII. (1) From this contemplation of God's providence, there ought to arise in the hearts of believers an earnest desire: (a) of holiness, that we may be made more cautious in our daily life because we are everywhere acting under the eye of God, who always stands nearest to us and from whose presence we can never withdraw ourselves, whatever we may do because "he sees and hears all things" (*pant' ephora kai pant' epakouei*). (b) Of gratitude, that we may in prosperity and favorable circumstances not sacrifice to our net, but tenderly kiss and reverence with a grateful mind the benevolent providence of God (Ps. 115:1), ascribing the glory not to ourselves, but to his name. He is the primary benefactor, whose beneficent hand embraces all second causes, whether they be men or inanimate creatures (Hos. 2:21, 22). (c) Of patience and humility in adversity by the

example of Christ (Lk. 22:42), of Joseph (Gen. 45:8; 50:20), of Job (1:21), of David (2 S. 16:10*; Ps. 39:9), that in all things which happen somewhat harshly to us we may acquiesce without a murmur in the will and providence of God (to which the Gentiles themselves were not strangers). "Our mind," says Seneca, "being adopted to this law, follows and obeys it and thinks whatever is done ought to be done, nor wishes to find fault with nature; it is best to suffer what you cannot alter and to follow without murmuring, God from whom as the author all things proceed. He is a bad soldier who follows his general with groans. Wherefore let us zealously and with alacrity take up his commands, nor desert this march of a most admirable work, into which whatever we suffer is woven" (*Epistle 107.9–10* [Loeb, 3:226–29]). And this must be done the more willingly because it becomes us to be persuaded that the evil deeds of even the bitterest enemies are both permitted and sent only by the just dispensation of God, since not even the devil himself comes forth to assail us without the nod of God; and so all things work together for good to us (*synergein*, Rom. 8:28), and the cups offered by so friendly a hand, although bitter to the flesh, are yet healthful to the spirit (Heb. 12:11). (d) Of repentance, for as the blessings of God invite us to gratitude, so adversities are his scourges which call us to repentance (Lam. 3:39; Is. 45:7; Am. 3:6; Heb. 12:9, 10).

2. Consolation.

VIII. Finally, from the belief in providence arises the greatest consolation and incredible tranquility of mind for the pious. It causes them, resting peacefully in the bosom of God and commending themselves entirely to his paternal care, always to hope well from him in the future, not doubting but that he will ever perform the office of a Father towards them in conferring good and turning away evils: examples of which are given in David (1 S. 17:37; Ps. 23:1, 4, 6) and in Paul (2 Tim. 4:17, 18). They feel that under his protection (who has all creatures in his power) nothing is to be feared by them, while walking in their proper calling. Hence, neither supinely neglecting means, nor carefully trusting to them, but prudently using them according to his command, they cast all their care upon the Lord (1 Pet. 5:7), and in all their perplexities always exclaim with the father of the faithful, "The Lord will provide" (*yhvh yr'h*).

SEVENTH TOPIC

ANGELS

FIRST QUESTION

Whether and when angels were created

I. Among the creatures (about which the providence of God is occupied) angels excel. Their dignity is so much the greater as they approach nearer the divine nature and are free from all contact with matter. The investigation of them is rightly stated before the rest.

Various names of angels: from their nature, power and dignity, office.

II. To premise something concerning them, their names are various in Scripture. Some are essential (*ousiōdē*), drawn from their nature, such as spirit (*pneumatos*); others are nonessential (*epousiōdē*) from the power, virtue and dignity with which they are endowed, such are the names "Seraphim" and "Cherubim" and "thrones," "dominions," "powers" (of which hereafter); others relative (*schetika*) and referring to the office or duty demanded of them, such as the name "angel" (signifying "legate") and "sent" or "ambassador" and the name "ministering spirits" (*pneumatōn leitourgikōn*, Heb. 1:14).

The existence of angels is proved.

III. The existence of angels is proved by many arguments, whatever the Sadducees of old said (and the false Christians of our day say, who press in their footsteps). (1) The grade of beings and the complement of the

universe: for as God has made in it creatures merely corporeal which strike the senses (as bodies); others partly corporeal and visible, partly spiritual and invisible (as men); so it was fitting to the perfection of the world that the merely spiritual should be created (such as are angels). (2) The various proofs drawn from wonderful effects surpassing human strength: from the oracles put forth among the Gentiles; from the apparition of specters; from the possessed speaking in foreign tongues. Since these could not proceed from God, nor agree with those men, they betray evil genii as their authors. And if they exist, the existence of good ones also ought not to be denied since they must have been good at least from the beginning. (3) The voice of Scripture which, in teaching this everywhere, supplies us with an apodictic argument beyond all exception.

IV. Since in truth mention is so often made of them in the books of Moses and the entire Scripture, it can seem a wonder how the Sadducees (who received the books of Moses) could fall into the error of denying the existence of angels, saying, "There is neither angel, nor spirit" (Acts 23:8). Hence some are unwilling that this should be understood absolutely, but think they referred only to guardian (*paredrous*) angels, placed over individuals for their protection. But others more truly think they wrested the passages of Scripture, either understanding by angels (there treated of) qualities produced by God in the imagination of him whom he wished to teach concerning anything; or by conceding that God indeed produced spirits when he wished to avail himself of their help, but afterwards (their function having been performed) they vanished with their bodies.

Proof that angels were created.

V. That angels are not coeternal with God (as the Peripatetics held), but created by him, not only reason proves (which evinces that all other entities are by participation from God as the highest being), but Scripture expressly asserts: (1) in general, when it affirms that heaven and earth (and thus all that are in them) were created by God (Gen. 1:1); (2) in particular, when it says, "The heavens were finished, and all the host of them" (Gen. 2:1). However, nothing is more familiar to Scripture than for angels to be called "the host of heaven" (Ps. 103:20, 21; 148:2; Lk. 2:13). Hence God is called "the Lord of hosts," principally from the angels who stand around him

(Dan. 7:10). Unless they were created by God, David and the apostle after him could not have said, "God made his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire" (Ps. 104:4; Heb. 1:7), "to be ministering spirits, sent forth to minister unto the salvation of believers" (Heb. 1:14).

VI. Paul clearly establishes this when he says, "By Christ were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him" (Col. 1:16*). For as by "visible," he wished to embrace all corporeal creatures (whether heavenly or sublunary), it is most certain that by "invisible," he wished to denote spiritual and intelligent creatures (to wit, angels).

In the Mosaic beginning.

VII. However, angels were created not before the Mosaic beginning, as the Socinians hold. Many of the ancient writers, especially the Greek fathers—Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzus, Basil and others (cited by Vossius, *De Theologia Gentili ... de origine ac progressu idolatrie* 1.17 [1641/1976], 1:129–30)—agree with them. Among the Latins, Jerome (*Commentariorum in Epistolam ad Titum* [PL 26.589–636]) and Ambrose (*Hexameron* 1.5 [19] [FC 42:18]) also concur. Some however think they speak not so much of the Mosaic beginning, as that they were created in the beginning before other creatures (as John of Damascus, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 2.2, 3 [NPNF2, 9:18–20] explains their opinion). Rather they were created in the very beginning of the world with all other creatures.

VIII. The reasons are: (1) because the Mosaic beginning is the beginning both of time and of every creature before which (from the style of Scripture also) nothing can be conceived but the abyss of eternity. Therefore the angels could not have existed before that beginning without existing from eternity. (2) Whatever was before the world is God because this prerogative is claimed for him in Scripture (Ps. 90:2; Prov. 8:22; Jn. 1:1). (3) Moses says expressly, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," i.e., both those bodies and all things which are contained in heaven and earth—to wit, in the beginning of time and of creation, as Lyranus expresses it (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria* [1617], 1:4 on Gen. 1:1). Therefore, angels were not created before that beginning. This is more

evidently asserted in Ex. 20:11: "In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and all that in them is"—therefore angels also.

IX. Although Moses does not mention expressly the creation of angels, it does not follow on that account that he is altogether silent concerning them. As has been said, he could embrace them under the hosts of heaven or under the first born light or under the heavens and the earth. The cause of his silence was not either the idol-loving (*phileidōlon*) disposition of the Israelites (strongly inclined to idolatry) because he ought thus equally to have omitted the mention of them in his books (which however is not the case); nor the slowness of the people to whom he wished to set forth in suitable style the origin of the visible world (since indeed by the tradition of the elders at least, angels were not unknown to the Israelites); nor was there need to explain fully the angelic nature to a rude people, but only to set forth its origin. Rather the silence of Moses arose from his design to weave a history of the church and to trace its origin from the beginning of the world. Thus he considered it sufficient to delineate the origin of the world from which the church took its rise, speaking now and then also of angels (as the nature of his purpose in adorning the history of the church demanded). The same is true in the histories of the kingdoms when mention is not always made of the origin of neighboring kingdoms.

X. The passage in which the morning stars and the sons of God are said to have sung together for joy when he founded the earth (Job 38:6, 7) proves indeed that they were created in the beginning and immediately broke forth into praise of their Creator. But there is nothing here whence it can be inferred that they were created long before the Mosaic beginning. Yea, since it is evident from this that they were a part of the universe, no reason can be given why that part remained separated from its own whole through as many ages. Furthermore what need was there to create those ministering spirits at so great a distance of time before men existed to whom they could be sent and unto whom they could minister?

Second Question

Are angels spiritual and incorporeal substances? We affirm

Two opinions: (1) of those who give bodies to angels.

I. Theologians hold two opinions about this question. The first denies that angels are mere spirits, free from all matter; the other affirms it. Many of the fathers (after the Platonists) followed the first, attributing proper bodies to angels: as Tertullian, *On the Flesh of Christ* 3 (ANF 3:523) and? *Against Praxeas* 7 (ANF 3:602), Augustine, CG 15.23 (FC 14:470–75) and *The Trinity* 2.7 (FC 45:66–67), Bernard, "Sermon 5," *Song of Solomon* (trans. S.J. Eales, 1984 repr.), pp. 24–28, the author of the book *De Ecclesiasticus Dogmatibus* 12* (PL 42.1216) (which is preserved in volume 3 of the works of Augustine), who openly defines angels to be corporeal, whom Vorstius follows (*Doct. Conradi Vorstii Apologetica Exegesis* 7 [1611], pp. 29–33). However, the second is the common and received opinion among the Romanists as well as among our divines (which we retain).

(2) Of those who deny it, which is proved.

II. First, Scripture expressly calls them spirits (*pneumata*); now for what purpose would they be called "spirits" if they are corporeal? Spirit is diametrically opposed to body: "A spirit hath not flesh and bones," says Christ, "as ye see me have" (Lk. 24:39). For the same reason they are classed among things "invisible" (*ta aorata*, Col. 1:16) and are thus distinguished from all the works of God which strike the senses. Although they are compared to winds and flames of fire, they are not therefore to be termed corporeal. Otherwise a body must be ascribed to God (who willed to shadow himself forth often under these similitudes). Rather they are so called analogically, to teach that they are like the winds and the lightning—most swift messengers of God.

III. Second, spiritual faculties and operations are attributed to them which cannot proceed from a corporeal nature (such as intellect and will, and the acts elicited by them) and which, therefore, necessarily demand a spiritual and immaterial cause. Third, if they were corporeal they would have quantity and so would be impenetrable, and more than one could not be at the same time in the same place (which nevertheless did happen, for a

"legion" of demons is said to have been in one possessed, Lk. 8:30). Fourth, if they already had bodies, they could not and ought not to assume other bodies. However, they evidently often did when they presented themselves to be seen in assumed bodies.

IV. Although they are called spiritual, still they are not to be considered as rejoicing in an absolute and the highest simplicity (which belongs to God alone from whom they are infinitely distant); not that they coalesce with matter, but because they are subjected to accidents. Thus in them are always distinguished the genus and *differentia* (the distinguishing quality), power and act, subject and accident.

Sources of explanation.

V. Body either is opposed to shadow or apparition (*phasei*) and phantasm; or denotes a thing truly existing; or properly denotes what is material and composed of quantitative parts. In the former sense, a body is attributed to God by Tertullian (*Against Praxeas* 7 [ANF 3:602; PL 2.162]), and thus angels could be called corporeal, but very loosely (*akyrōs*). Or body is said of all that is composed in any way and mutable; thus every created substance might be called corporeal with respect to God who is most simple and immutable. "The soul with respect to the incorporeal God is corporeal, nothing should be believed to be invisible and incorporeal by nature except God alone, who is so called because he is infinite and uncircumscribed" (Augustine, *De Spiritu et Anima* 18 [PL 40.793; now spurious]). Thus John of Damascus understands it: "for the deity only is really immaterial and incorporeal" (*monon gar ontōs aulon to theion esti kai asōmaton*, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1*.4 [NPNF2, 9:3; PG 94.800]). Thus the Scholastics reconcile the sayings of the fathers—that they called angels, spirits with respect to us, but bodies with respect to God (which indeed would modify their opinion, without however removing altogether their improper phraseology [*akyrologian*] and error).

VI. The apparitions of angels in which they exhibited themselves to men do not prove them to be corporeal because they appeared not in bodies of their own, but in assumed bodies. Hence they were visible and tangible, not of themselves, but only incidentally. What those bodies were, however, will be seen hereafter.

VII. Although angels are said to be in a certain *ubi* or "place," it does not follow on that account that they are corporeal (as if bodies alone can be said to be in a place and spiritual things could not otherwise be said to be anywhere than by efficaciously acting, as the more modern philosophers maintain). The circumscriptive "where" (belonging to bodies alone) is falsely confounded with the definitive "where" (belonging to spirits). Nor can it be immediately denied that a thing can be in a place, although not coextensive with the space in which it is. Nay, so necessary is it that everything which is should be somewhere, that it has been well said that it is not which is nowhere. As Augustine rightly expresses it, "Whatever is, cannot be nowhere" (*The Immortality of the Soul* 1 [FC 4:16; PL 32.1021]). Whatever is finite, for that very reason, ought to be bounded by its own certain "where," i.e., may be so here as not to be there. Nor can virtual presence be separated here from substantial, since the former necessarily supposes the latter as its principle. For as to operate supposes existence, so every cause ought to be where it operates. However although the presence of angels may be known *a posteriori* from their operation, it does not follow that the whole relation of presence consists in operation alone, since it is not always necessary for it to operate at least outwardly. Nor is it more absurd for an angel to be somewhere by essence than by operation, since both are spiritual. Now although contact between body and spirit cannot be conceived, yet we can well understand that there may be a relation between them (as between two things mutually coexisting with each other) which suffices for founding the relation of presence or whereness (*ubietatis*) in a spirit. As therefore an angel does not by essence have a relation to place, as if it occupied and was coextensive with it, still it does not cease to have a relation (*schesin*) to the locality in which it is by the finiteness of its essence (indivisibly and without the extension of itself).

VIII. The corporeity of angels is no better collected from their motion. For although local motion properly belongs to bodies (in which there is a mover and a thing moved), yet there may be granted without repugnancy, if not a change of place, at least of the definitive locality (in finite beings of whatever kind), when one locality having been left, they settle in another. And, moreover, there is no need of quantity or dimension properly so called; for although the placing is divisible and extended, yet the thing placed always remains indivisible, and only virtually can be said in any way

to be coextended with space by an intrinsic definition of essence. In vain, however, is it objected here by some that motion cannot be ascribed to an angel, except insofar as it changes in operation. Since it cannot operate except where it is, it cannot change its operation without a change of its substantial locality. Scripture clearly intimates this when it speaks concerning the advent and departure of angels. Indeed they could not descend to earth without leaving heaven, nor go up to heaven without departing from the earth (and so changing their previous "where"; otherwise they would be everywhere).

IX. Although "eternal fire" is said to be prepared for the devil and his angels (Mt. 25:41), it does not follow that angels are corporeal because it is not necessary that a material and corporeal fire should be understood. Rather a spiritual and figurative fire describes the most excruciating torments of hell (as the joys of eternal life are usually adumbrated under the symbols of the most pleasant and agreeable things).

THIRD QUESTION: ANGELIC KNOWLEDGE

What is the mode and what is the object of angelic knowledge?

Statement of the question.

I. The question is not whether angels are endowed with the gift of understanding (for this all confess). Even the name of "intelligences" alone, given to them on account of their surpassing knowledge, sufficiently proves this. Rather the question is how and what do they understand; or what is the mode and what is the object of their knowledge? For as the former is denied by no one, so the latter is known by no one perfectly; and Scripture being silent, it must not be rashly defined by us. Thus the vain and curious questions of the Scholastics being dismissed (who wish to enter into what they have not seen [*embateuein eis ha mē heōrokasi*]), we must here be soberly wise from the word.

II. Angelic knowledge in general can be distinguished into four kinds: natural, revealed, experimental, and supernatural. (1) The natural is what was given to angels from the beginning of the creation, common both to the good and the bad ones. (2) The revealed, by which they know many things

from the revelation of God, of which they were before ignorant (as to Dan. 9, the mystery of the seventy weeks is revealed by the angel Gabriel; and in the Apocalypse, God revealed many things to the angels that they might announce them to men). (3) Experimental and acquired, arising from the things which are done in the world and especially in the church (concerning which cf. Eph. 3:10 and Lk. 15:10). (4) Supernatural, belonging only to good angels, with which they were furnished by God in confirmation; by which they so perfectly behold him that they constantly cleave to him, nor do they wish to leave him forever.

All things are not the objects of angelic knowledge.

III. The object of angelic knowledge is: (1) negatively (*kat' arsin*) not all things (a) because Christ testifies that "they do not know the day of judgment" (Mk. 13:32); (b) because they learn many things every day from revelation which they did not know before (Eph. 3:10), whence they are said by Peter to desire to look into (*parakypsai*) the gospel mysteries (1 Pet. 1:12), i.e., from an earnest desire to learn the mysteries of piety they stoop and as it were bend their heads (alluding to the cherubim of the ark whose eyes looked towards the mercy seat, Ex. 25:20); (c) because omniscience belongs to God alone, who is an infinite being; but finite ought also to be the knowledge of all creatures whose essence is finite and circumscribed by certain limits. Now although the angels see God who sees all things, it does not follow that they see all things in the essence of God. Since he is a voluntary agent, he does not necessarily expose all things to their sight, but only as he wills. They see therefore as much as he wills them to see. So he, who sees the sun illuminating all things, does not immediately see all things.

Not future contingencies.

IV. (2) Not future contingent things depending on the free will of God and which can be known by the creature certainly only from his revelation. For he claims the knowledge of them as peculiar to himself and incommunicable to others (Is. 41:22, 23; 42:8, 9; 44:7, 8). The created intellect cannot predict future things, except by looking into the causes from

which they spring; but future contingencies have no definite causes, consequently the created intellect cannot by its own proper light see through them. And if angels sometimes predicted future things, it does not follow that these events fell under their natural knowledge. They could have done this either from divine revelation exhibited to them that they might disclose them to men or from mere conjecture (as in evil angels, which is ascertained to be for the most part deceitful, as is evident from the oracles of the Gentiles).

Not the heart.

V. (3) They do not know the heart because God reserves this for himself (Jer. 17:9; 2 Ch. 6:30, to wit, in itself and immediately; although in its effects and external signs they can in some measure know their thoughts). They can indeed apprehend the phantasm about which the intellect is exercised, but they cannot know immediately and of themselves the judgment of the mind concerning these phantasms. This is proper to God alone.

But God.

VI. Affirmatively (*kata thesin*): (1) they know God and divine things; not that they comprehend the divine essence (because a finite cannot contain the infinite), but inasmuch as they so far apprehend the rays of his majesty and glory, as the weakness of the creature can endure. Hence they are said "always to behold the face of God in heaven" (Mt. 18:10).

Angels and men.

(2) Themselves and men, because if they did not, they would be less perfect in understanding than men who know themselves and others; nor could they take care of men and keep guard over them, if they did not know them. (3) Other creatures of God, celestial as well as sublunary, universals as well as singulars, as much indeed as their nature allows, far more perfectly than men.

What is the mode of angelic knowledge?

VII. But it is more difficult to understand the mode of angelic knowledge, concerning which bold and anxious questions are raised by the Scholastics. Leaving these to them, we will only remark briefly: (1) that the angelic knowledge is only intellectual, not sensitive (the latter is organic and belongs only to bodies, which the angels have not). Hence no corporeal act is properly ascribed to them. Neither do they need corporeal organs or external senses which, as windows, they may open to objects. (2) That angels do not understand by their own essence; for thus the angelic essence would contain all things and be the cause and image of them (which belongs to the infinite God alone). Rather they understand by certain representations and ideas or similitudes of things, partly inborn and implanted from the first creation of things (which they know naturally), partly acquired (of things which they know either from divine revelation, God presenting such ideas to their intellect), or from experience (by representations abstracted from the things themselves). However although we do not know how they can abstract such representations or images from things (since they are destitute of external senses), we are not on this account to deny that this is done by them. Nor does anything seem to prevent them from having the power to abstract images from things and to represent them to their intellect (as may be gathered even from this, that in their conversations with the saints, they hear their voices and answer them). Now although we say that an angel understands other things by images, yet we do not suppose these are required for the knowledge of himself which can be obtained immediately through his own essence. This is not because the intellection of an angel is its own essence (since no substance is constituted in its substantial being by its own operation, and the cause must always be distinguished from its effect and the principle of intellection from its act and exercise), but because the essence of an angel is the reason and principle of knowing himself without any intelligible representation superadded (for since it is actually intelligible and intimately present to the angelic intellect, he has no need of an image for the understanding of himself).

VIII. (3) The knowledge also is not intuitive and cognizable by the intellect, but discursive and ratiocinative. To know intuitively belongs to

God alone, since he sees things themselves in their essence immediately and has no need of reasoning to collect one thing from another. But all creatures, being finite and depending upon images, cannot perceive things intuitively. Therefore the angel does not see through all things by a simple and instantaneous intuition, but in a manner analogous to our reasoning (but far more perfect, not languid, imperfect and obscure [such as ours is], but most penetrating and subtle).

IX. That there is mutual communication among the angels, Scripture testifies when it speaks of angelic colloquies (Zech. 2:3) and introduces them shouting to each other (Is. 6:3; Rev. 7:2; 14:18). But what it is and how it is conducted, neither Scripture informs us, nor can any mortal affirm (whatever the Scholastics may here rashly prattle about the "speech of angels" as if they had heard them talking). Some hold that in the angelic intellect its knowledge shines as in a mirror; others that the angelic intellection is impressed by one angel upon the intellect of the other; others that by the will is covered and revealed the secret which is shut up by the will alone. But all these are curiously searched into and rashly defined. It is sufficient for us to hold the fact (*to on*) or the thing, although we are ignorant of the how (*to poion*) or the mode. Here belongs the expression of John of Damascus speaking of angels: "There is no need of tongue and hearing, but without spoken words they mutually exchange their own thoughts and desires" (*ou glōssēs kai akoēs deitai, all' aneu logou prophorikou metadidoasin allēlois ta idia noēmata kai bouleumata*, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 2.3 [NPNF2, 9:19; PG 94.868–69]). What the apostle says of the tongues of angels ("Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels," 1 Cor. 13:1) does not belong here because he speaks hyperbolically and hypothetically for greater emphasis, to denote the most excellent and eloquent tongue (such as the tongues of angels would be, if they spoke; the most beautiful and attractive face is called an "angelic face" [Acts 6:15]; and the "food of angels" [Ps. 78:25] means exquisite and the best food).

Fourth Question

What is the will and the free will of angels? Do affections belong to them?

I. The will follows the intellection of angels which is most free and far more perfect than man's will (which is often disturbed by passions and bodily motions). What its method is, however, Scripture does not teach, nor is it of much importance to know.

II. This is certain—that their will is neither independent (because always in subjection to God) nor operative (as if they operated by their own will). To operate by mere will and most powerful control belongs to God alone. All creatures, however, besides will, need power to be the effective principle of operations outwardly and to really flow into the effect. Rather it is a most free principle of willing, from which manifold and various acts are spontaneously elicited in relation to the objects, according to the dictate of the practical intellect.

III. Now from both faculties arises their free will (of which angels are partakers; indeed, in a more noble sense than men). Then free will, although from the beginning undetermined to good and to evil, afterwards in the good (determined indeed by the confirmation of God) is only to good; in the bad, however (by their own sin) to evil only, according to the just desertion of God.

IV. As angels have no sensitive knowledge, so neither do sensitive appetites, nor affections, nor passions (*pathē*) properly belong to them. Although Scripture sometimes ascribes these to them (as when they are said to love God, to hate evil, to rejoice at our repentance and salvation; and on the other hand to be sad at our sins and to weep over our calamities), such affections properly so called (to which we are liable in this mortal state) are not to be imagined as existing in angels, which have their seat in an irascible (*thymikō*) and concupiscible (*epithymētikō*) subject. Rather they are ascribed analogically only because (the perturbation of the passions being removed) they are placed in the simple act of right will, which belongs to their spiritual nature and by which they either love good (or are averse to evil) and concerning these either rejoice or are sad. In almost the same way, the same affections are attributed to God humanly speaking (*anthrōpopathōs*) which nevertheless must be understood in a manner becoming to him (*theoprepōs*).

Fifth Question

What is the power of the angels?

I. After having explained the directive and imperative principle of acting in the angels, there follows the executive principle which refers to power. The greatness of their power, not only Scripture testifies when it calls them "excelling in strength" (Ps. 103:20) and in contradistinction to "flesh and blood" (as denoting infirmity), "principalities and powers" (Eph. 6:12), nay, even *dynameis* and "mighty angels" (2 Thess. 1:7); but also the wonderful and stupendous effects produced by them sufficiently prove.

What is the power of the angels?

II. Now whatever that power (the greatest of all created power) may be, still it is finite and circumscribed by certain limits, so that although they can do many things, still they cannot do all things (since this power to do all things [*pantodynamis*] belongs to the omnipotent God alone), rather those things only which do not surpass the order and strength of a created nature. Therefore, the angels can act above the order of particular nature, but not above the order of universal nature. They can do what surpasses human power and seems wonderful to us, but not miracles properly so called, which surpass the power of entire created nature. God alone is the author of miracles (who alone does wonderful things, Ps. 71:19) because infinite virtue is required for them. And if at any time God is said to use the help of angels to perform them, they were only moral instruments (at whose presence God operated) not however causes properly so called (concurring with them by a real physical influx).

What they can do in bodies.

In souls.

III. As to bodies, there is no doubt that they have great power over every elementary and sublunary body to move them locally and affect them in different ways. Also, it is certain that they can act upon the external and internal senses to excite or bind them. As to the rational soul, they can do nothing immediately to it because to God alone (who knows and searches

and holds the heart in his hand) pertains also the bending and moving it whithersoever he wills; rather they can act mediately only by phantasms or by the irascible (*to thymikon*) and the concupiscible part (*to epithymētikon*); not effectively and physically by infusing something into or by efficaciously operating upon it, but objectively and morally by preventing phantasms and exciting and influencing the affections, by which the will is impelled to do this or that (if not by infallible persuasion, still by powerful suasion) which to a great extent obtains its effect in men on account of their corruption.

IV. If the Devil is said to "work (*energein*) in the children of disobedience" (Eph. 2:2), this is not so to be understood as if he operated immediately upon the rational soul itself, but because in diverse ways he acts upon the external and internal senses by evil suggestions and temptations; on the fantasy by the proposition of objects, on the concupiscible part by the excitation and irritation of the affections. And if the same word is used with respect to the operation of the Holy Spirit acting immediately upon the heart (while he is said to "work" [*energein*] to will and to do, Phil. 2:13), it does not follow that it has the same meaning precisely with respect to the Devil as to principle and mode (since the operation of God differs far from that of the Devil), but only as to event which arises not so much from the power of Satan, which cannot act further than by suasion and would be inefficacious if man willed to resist it, as from the depraved disposition of the subject rushing of its own accord into evil at the instigation of Satan. Nor if Satan is said to "have filled the heart of Ananias" (Acts 5:3), ought he to have acted immediately upon it. He could do this by the proposition of objects and the irritation of concupiscence, which so kindled up his heart that in order to fulfil it he did not hesitate to lie wickedly to the Holy Ghost. So he is said to have "entered into the heart of Judas" (Jn. 13:2*; cf. v. 27), not by entering the rational soul, but by insinuating himself into the sensitive soul and the affections (whence he could lay siege to and take by storm the heart itself).

Whether they can produce substances.

V. As to the production of substances, although they may be able occasionally and dispositively to concur to it by an excitation of causes (by

applying active things to passive), yet they cannot properly and physically produce anything. There are two modes of production (by creation and generation) and neither belongs to them. Not the former because infinite power is required for it; not the latter because since they are incorporeal, they are not capable of generation. They who here hold the angels to differ in sex, by whom the giants and others were begotten (the opinion of many of the Jews, as of Josephus, AJ 1.3* [Loeb, 4:35] and of Philo, *On the Giants* [Loeb, 2:443–79] and adopted by very many Christians from them) can be sufficiently refuted even from the authority of Christ alone when he says that the saints in the resurrection will be like the angels (*isangelous*), who neither marry nor are given in marriage (Mt. 22:30). What is drawn from Gen. 6:2, however, to confirm this error concerning "the sons of God," who are said "to have taken wives from the daughters of men," whatever may have been the opinion of the ancients (which Pererius, on this passage, rightly judges to be false and immodest, cf. *Commentariorum et disputationum in Genesim* [1601], 2:378 on Gen. 6:2) cannot be used here. "The sons of God" referred to are no other than the posterity of Seth, who on account of still retaining the purer worship of God, are distinguished from the profane posterity of Cain or "the sons of men."

Whether they can raise the dead.

VI. Since there is naturally no return from a total privation to a habit, the raising of the dead is a work surpassing angelic power and peculiar to God alone. And if the examples brought forward by Philostratus and others in Delrio (*Disquisitionum magicarum* 2, Q. 29, Sec. II [1608], p. 157) of persons said to have been raised by demons are not feigned, they were either diabolical specters in the shape of dead men or dead bodies for the time carried and moved by the Devil; or men not really dead, but overcome by a deep syncope (as apoplexy, hysterical passion and similar affections) were considered to be dead; or were so lulled to sleep by the Devil (their motion and sense being restrained and hindered) that they seemed to be dead to the bystanders. As to what is said of "Samuel raised by the witch" (1 S. 28:12), it is certain this was not the true Samuel or his soul (whatever the son of Sirach [Eccl. 46:20] may say about Samuel prophesying after his death). Rather it was a specter of Satan because it is said to have been

raised out of the earth (1 S. 28:13), while the souls of the saints are in heaven in the hand of God and not in the power of Satan.

Sixth Question: The Apparitions of Angels

What were the apparitions of angels, and what bodies did they assume?

I. The question is not whether angels have appeared to men (for Scripture so often mentions such appearances, presented either to the patriarchs before the law or to the fathers under it or to the saints of the New Testament, that this is established beyond the shadow of a doubt); rather the question is What were these apparitions, and what bodies did they assume when they appeared?

II. We read of a threefold angelic appearance (*angelophaneias*). Some occur in a dream, such as happened to Jacob in the vision of the mystical ladder "on which he saw angels ascending and descending" (Gen. 28:12); to Joseph, to whom "an angel of the Lord appeared in sleep" (Mt. 1:20); and to Paul, "by whom an angel of God stood at night, saying, Fear not, Paul" (Acts 27:23, 24*). Others occur in merely ecstatic vision such as happened often to the prophets and to John in the Apocalypse. Or in sensible vision and in a form striking the senses, which happened to seeing and wakeful men (such as were most of the apparitions exhibited to the patriarchs). In the first apparitions, there was no need of the assumption of bodies because by simple intimation (*chrēmatismon*) without the determination of any form, the revelation could be made; nor also in the ecstatic vision. In the others, however, bodies must have been assumed by them to appear under a sensible species to men. The question is principally of these—whether true bodies were assumed by them, and how?

III. Now the bodies in which they appeared were neither empty specters and phantasms (with which they might deceive men), nor proper bodies hypostatically united to them, but economical and borrowed (according to the prescription of God). By free will, they were assumed for a time in order to perform the ministry demanded of them.

IV. However, what they were and whence assumed (whether created from nothing or from some preexisting but incapable matter, or adopted and combined from condensed air, or indeed from some other compressed

material), it is curious to inquire and rash to define (Scripture being silent). It is better to be ignorant without crime than to search with peril.

V. It cannot be denied that angels often assumed true bodies (whether these were created new immediately by God or were the already existing bodies of living men), gliding into which they performed certain economical actions (the fancy of those to whom they belonged being for a little while averted) so that they themselves did not know what was done in and by them. The operations of the angels in such bodies and the conversations they held with men and the hospitality they received, sufficiently testify of this. Also all the holy men's senses (well disposed and not deceived by any vain imagination) acknowledged it, so that they were often regarded as true men.

VI. They were, however, so united to these bodies that they could not on this account be called truly men because the union was not personal and internal (such as that of the soul and body), but external and accidental (after the manner of assisting forms) that they might manifest themselves (as the movers are united with the thing movable) by putting on and laying aside those bodies as garments (as Augustine says "Second Discourse on Psalm 25," 3 [ACW 29:241; PL 36.189]), using them as helps, not as coequals, but as instruments to perform their work. If, therefore, they are called "men" (*'shym*), this is as to opinion (*kata doxan*) and on account of the external form in which they appeared, not from the reality of the thing. And yet they cannot on that account be said to have imposed upon the fathers who so judged concerning them. For they did not assume them with the intention of pretending to be men or professing themselves to be such, but only that they might hold familiar intercourse with men and so perform the work assigned to them. Although, therefore, the fathers were deceived concerning them, still they cannot be said to have deceived them.

VII. The operations performed by the angels in those bodies (such as talking, walking, eating) cannot properly and strictly be called vital. For these must be done in a living subject, animated by a soul hypostatically united with a body and intimately moving it (as belong to men alone) because a second act supposes a first necessarily. But nothing prevents their being called vital broadly and improperly because they are efficiently from a living principle. As to eating, if it is taken simply for the mastication of food, they can be said to have eaten; but if used for the taking of food

convertible into substance and its digestion in the stomach, it cannot belong to them.

VIII. What became of the bodies assumed, after the work for which they were sent had been performed, is a superfluous question. Scripture tells us only that they disappeared from the time that the angels departed—whether those bodies were resolved into their own principles (whence they were composed), or reduced to nothing, or, if they had been the bodies of living men, restored to their pristine state.

IX. As God at "sundry times and in divers manners" (*polytropōs kai polymerōs*) willed to communicate himself to the fathers under the Old Testament (especially before the law, in the time of the patriarchs, when the word of God had not yet been committed to writing, and when a still obscure night shrouded the heaven of the church), so it is no wonder that he willed to use then more frequently these appearances of angels for the consolation of believers and the confirmation of faith. But now, since the clear light of the gospel has arisen, the Son of God, the Lord of angels in whom God addresses us, having been manifested in the flesh; since the Holy Spirit was poured out most copiously upon the church and the canon of Scripture was closed and sealed—that dispensation has become less necessary because the church does not need such helps any more. Hence, although under the beginning of the gospel there were still some angelic appearances (*angelophaneiai*) to serve as ministers to Christ and conciliate belief in his doctrine, yet they afterwards left the confirmed church. Although he always uses their invisible ministry, whether in the church or in the world, yet he no more (or most rarely) makes them conspicuous to men.

Seventh Question: The Orders of Angels

Is there any order among the angels and are there distinct hierarchies among them? The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the Jews and Romanists

I. The question concerning the order of angels can be understood in two ways: either concerning order simply (which exists among equals by nature —whether there is any order among the angels); or concerning an order of

excellence or power or jurisdiction (whether there is such an order by which one angel differs from another, not only in species, but has power and authority over him, whence arise certain hierarchies). We must answer the question under each form.

There is an order among angels, but what it is we do not know. What are the hierarchies of Dionysius?

II. As to the first, we do not deny that there is an order among the good angels, since there is no disorder (*ataxia*) in heaven. The names "heavenly hosts" as also "thrones," "dominions and powers," "archangels," "angels," seem with sufficient clearness to indicate some such thing, whether they depend on the diversity of offices assigned to them or on the mere will of God. With respect however to evil angels, the thing is also undoubted because there is often mention of the prince of demons in Scripture (to whom angels are attributed) when "eternal fire" is said "to be prepared for the devil and his angels" (Mt. 25:41). But what and of what kind that order is (Scripture being silent) no one ought too curiously to inquire, much less rashly to define. This is the opinion of Augustine: "I most firmly believe that there are seats, dominions, principalities, powers in the heavenly arrangements, and I hold with firm faith that there is a difference between them. But although you may despise me whom you think to be a great teacher, I know not what they are, and what is the difference between them" (*Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas* 11 [PL 42.678]). Condemning the disquisition of these persons, he says, "Rash presumption seems to be more blamable in these than cautious ignorance" (ibid.). Elsewhere speaking of the various names given to them by Paul, he says, "How these words differ let them say who can, if however they can prove what they say; I confess that I do not know" (*Enchiridion* 15 [58] [FC 2:418; PL 40.259–60]).

III. But this is not the opinion of the Romanists and especially of the Scholastics. The more easily to obtrude their figment of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, they have feigned another hierarchy of angels in heaven, whose orders, duties and properties they describe as if they had lived there for many years and had learned accurately that whole polity. They put forward as the author of this opinion Dionysius the Areopagite (falsely so called)

who divides all angels into three classes or hierarchies, which he calls *treis, triadikas, diakosmēseis* ("highest, middle and lowest"). These again embrace three classes each under them, so that there are altogether nine classes and again many thousand angels in the single spheres. The highest class comprehends cherubim, seraphim and thrones; the second, dominions, principalities and powers; and the third or lowest, virtues, archangels and angels. Now he holds that these denominations were imposed upon them according to the properties in which they excel or according to the offices entrusted to them. They are called "cherubim" who excel in the light of knowledge and illuminate others with wisdom; "seraphim" who burn most ardently with the divine love and enkindle others; "thrones" who contemplate his judicial glory and equity and rule over others in judgment. In the second class, "dominations" regulate the duties of angels; "principalities" preside over peoples and provinces; "powers" restrain the power of devils. In the third, "virtues" have delegated to them the working of miracles; "archangels" embassages in the more important affairs; "angels" in lesser. Thus again he thinks angels should be distinguished by reason of knowledge. The angels of the first class behold God and from their contemplation of him perceive the reasons of things. The second rank know universal causes according to God. The third rank ascertain the causes of things as they are gathered from the consideration of proximate causes (which are particular). All these the aforesaid Dionysius has in his book "Celestial Hierarchy," 6.2 in *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works* [trans. C. Luibheid, 1987], p. 160). John of Damascus, the Master of Sentences (Peter Lombard), Thomas Aquinas and all Scholastics have drawn the same.

IV. The Jews, however, had trifled before them. They also distribute the angels into various classes, constituting ten hierarchies, mutually distinguished by wisdom, dignity and power. The highest are below the throne of majesty; the lowest living with men and sometimes conversing with them. Among the superior, whom they hold to be denoted by "chief princes" (Dan. 10:13) and by those "standing by" (Is. 6:2; Dan. 7:16) (the similitude being taken from the chief servants or ministers of a king who are said to "stand before him" and to "see his face"), they maintain are meant seven principal and more eminent, as among royal ministers there are some of nearer admission. This seems to be gathered from Tobit 12:15

where Raphael says, “He is one of the seven holy angels, who present the prayers of the saints, and who go in and out before the glory of the Holy One.” But these are all figments of men, abusing their time and talents, “intruding into those things which they have not seen, vainly puffed up by their fleshly minds” (Col. 2:18).

Who is not the Areopagite?

V. No one will find any difficulty in acknowledging this who examines the matter a little more closely. For to say something in passing concerning that Dionysius (who is mentioned as the author of this *Hierarchy of Heaven*) many arguments prove that the name “Areopagite” is falsely given to him and is anything else than him whom Luke (Acts 17:34) says clave unto Paul preaching (whatever Baronius, Possevinus, Bellarmine and other Romanists assert to the contrary). To the latter, we can oppose: (1) domestic witnesses who not only doubted concerning the truth of this comment, but also openly confessed that this Dionysius was different from the Areopagite; and the far more modern, such as Cardinal Cajetan on Acts 17 (“In Acta Apostolorum … Commentarii,” in *Quotquot in Sacrae Scripturae* [1639], 4:467); Godell, Bishop of Venice, *Hist. Eccles. Galli*., lib. 1. an. c. 99+. Godell’s words we think proper to quote because they embrace many things in a few words: “Concerning the books which are circulated under the name of Dionysius, the judgments of men differ very much. Almost all the learned seem to me to doubt whether they are truly the production of Dionysius. It cannot indeed be denied that the style of the writer is very different from the simplicity of the apostolic age itself, redolent of the Platonism of the following times, but neither does it seem to have been easy for the church of the age, in which the author is said to have lived, to have already employed all those ceremonies which he narrates and wonderfully sets forth, because both the persecutions arising from the very beginning prohibited the observance of such a discipline, and it appears from other writers to have been really instituted later.” Of the same opinion are Sirmondus (“Iacobi Sirmondi … Dissertatio in qua Dionysii Parisiensis et Dionysii Areopagitae,” 8 in *Opera varia* [1728], 4:256–58), Petavius (*Opus de Theologiciis Dogmatibus* 2.1 [1700], 3:55–57), Launoyus, a teacher of the Sorbonne, in *J. Launoii ... varia de duobus Dionysiis* (1660), Morinus

(*Commentarii de sacris ecclesiae ordinationibus* [1686], Pt. II, 1, pp. 27–31) and others; not to mention here Erasmus, Valla, Rhodiginus, Nicholas Faber and many others who agree with them.

VI. Second, if any such book had been written by the Areopagite, undoubtedly among so many and so different Greek and Latin writers, there would have been some (nay, many) who would somewhere have mentioned the book, the name of the author and his genius even most deservedly celebrated (as also his other writings). However, for about five centuries, they were wholly unknown and unspoken of. Neither Eusebius in his history, nor Jerome, nor Gennadius (who most diligently collected the books of the ancients) make any mention of these books. And it could easily be shown from Irenaeus, Augustine, Cyril of Jerusalem, and others that all this *Heavenly Hierarchy* was unheard of. Third, the style of the books confirms this very thing. It is not simple and unaffected, suiting the style of the apostles or apostolic men, but bombastic, inflated and smart. In it, the author, catching at the appearance of sublimity, secured a certain faulty grandiloquence and, as Maximus truly observes, "by many heaped up words obscures the sense" (*dia polyplēthias lexeōn skotoi ton logon*). He studiously avoids the customary words and those received by the use of the church, as if little adapted to the loftiness (*onkon*) at which he aimed. Most especially he labors in coining words, polishing epithets, exaggerating the sense and composing the whole discourse for display (from which desire apostolic men were evidently in the highest degree removed). Fourth, he writes much about temples, altars, sacred places, the choir, catechumens to be placed outside the door of the temple ("Ecclesiastical Hierarchy,"* in *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works* [trans. C. Luibheid, 1987], pp. 195–259). These could not have had a place in the age of the true Dionysius, since Christians were compelled to assemble in secret places on account of persecutions, and there had prayers and meetings (as Hospinian shows "De Templis," 5.6 in *De Origine Templorum* [1681], pp. 19–24). The same is evident from the fact that he speaks of monks and of their consecration ("Ecclesiastical Hierarchy," ibid., p. 239) who did not then exist among Christians. Our opponents cannot deny this for they write that Paul and Anthony were the first fathers of the monks. These certainly lived some ages after Areopagite. We omit many other pertinent arguments which can be seen in Rivet (cf. "Critici sacri," 1.9–11 in *Opera* [1651], 2:1079–

84) and Casaubon (*De rebus sacris et ... exercitationes ... Baronii* 1, Apparat, Num. 99 [1614], pp. 150–56). John Daille in a special treatise has most solidly pursued this argument and most clearly demonstrated that the books of which we speak were not written before the fifth century; and to gain greater authority for them the author published and sold them under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite (*De scriptis, quae sub Dionysii Areopagitae* [1666]).

Comment of the heavenly hierarchy refuted.

VII. But the vanity of that heavenly hierarchy (excogitated by the Pseudo-Dionysius) is to be more clearly exposed. First, Paul preserves a deep silence concerning it, from whom nevertheless Dionysius boasts of having received it. He frequently uses many different names of angels. Yet there are nine orders of them in three classes so distributed that three are contained under each class, and those comprised in the first are either thrones or seraphim or cherubim. Paul nowhere and not even most slightly, even by a single word, decrees that they should be so defined. Nor must we have recourse to unwritten (*agraphon*) tradition as if he taught these mysteries orally, not in writing, but to his disciples. It is gratuitous to suppose that any such tradition can be granted. That it is also false is ascertained from this, that neither Timothy nor Titus nor the other disciples of Paul (to whom undoubtedly he would have delivered these, no less than to Dionysius) have left anything in their writings about them. (2) If from the different appellations, various hierarchies are to be instituted, a threefold ternary would not be sufficient; for angels are also called "watchmen," "the army of God," and "sons of God." (3) The apostle disarranges all these orders when he calls all "ministering spirits" (Heb. 1:14). If they are drawn down to a lower class, the force of the apostle's argument will be lost, for he labors to prove that the angels are not equal to Christ (which must be understood of all entirely). (4) No properties, which are not common to all the angels, are drawn out from the meaning of these words, for all see God, glow with love to him and are sent. (5) In the first hierarchy are placed those who always stand near God and are sent nowhere into the world; yet in Scripture we read of the seraphim and cherubim being sent and acting upon the earth (Is. 6:6; Gen. 3:24). (6) These things savor of Platonism and

not of Paulinism. For they distinguished their genii into supercelestial, celestial and subcelestial as may be seen in Iamblichus (*?Jamblichi De Mysteriis Liber* 1.19 [ed. G. Parthey, 1857], p. 58), and in Proclus on the Alcibiades of Plato (*?Proclus: Alcibiades* 1 [ed. W. O'Neill, 1971], p. 73).

VIII. The various appellations given to the angels by Paul (Col. 1:16) do not prove different classes of them because there we do not find the number which they speak of, no mention being made by him here of cherubim and seraphim, nor of archangels and angels. But he thus speaks either from the Platonic hypothesis of the Angelics (against whom he disputes) who adorned angels with such epithets to denote their multiplied classes; or they are the utterances of these blessed spirits which they make, both to celebrate the majesty of God (attended as it were by a royal suite, for these shine out among kings who have other kings and princes as attendants) and to commend the dignity of the angelic nature and denote the multiple variety and efficacy of the duties to which they are called (the names being drawn from those in use among men to designate a variety of offices and honors). For in governments are "thrones," belonging to monarchs and kings; there are "dominions" (*kyriotētes*), belonging to inferior kings; there are "rulers" (*archai*) appointed by kings and chiefs over provinces and cities; finally, there are "authorities" (*exousiai*) (viz., magistrates) constituted in the lowest place, who also receive the name *Podesta* among the Italians. Hence therefore it can indeed be gathered that there is an order among the angels, but what it is cannot thence be defined. Elsewhere Paul, neglecting the order which he here follows, mentions indeed "principalities, power and dominions," but not "thrones" (Eph. 1:21).

IX. In Rev. 12:7 mention is made of Michael and his angels who fought with the dragon, yet nothing can be collected from this to favor the heavenly hierarchy. (1) Michael can well be understood as Christ himself, the Lord of angels, who is truly as God (or equal to God), the leader and prince of the heavenly army (Jos. 5:13; Is. 55:4; Heb. 2:10). The antithesis from the passage of Paul (Rom. 16:20) demands this, and the first gospel oracle (Gen. 3:15) confirms it. Under this name he seems also to be designated in Dan. 12:1. Nor ought Dan. 10:5, 6, 21 to be otherwise explained where Michael is spoken of as compared with Rev. 1:13 (who is called "one of the chief princes" [Dan. 10:13] because he is the head and prince of angels). In the same sense, mention is made of "Michael the

archangel, who contended with the devil about the body of Moses" (Jd. 9). This is evidently said of Christ, since what is here ascribed to Michael ("the Lord rebuke thee") is attributed to Jehovah in Zech. 3:2. When, however, it is said that he durst not "pronounce a curse," this was not because of impotence, but of moderation; abstaining from curses not through fear of laws, but restraining himself, to afford an example of patience to us. Thus to "dare" is frequently put for to "bear" and to "will" something. (2) If a created angel is meant (as some think), the name denoted a temporary order and an office committed to him for a time, to carry out the judgments of God by a certain economy, which (the embassy being finished) is again laid down. Still from this cannot be inferred an order of perpetual power and jurisdiction.

X. The archangel (mentioned in 1 Thess. 4:16) is not the prince of all angels, but as it were a forerunner of the remarkable majesty of Christ among the angels and a promulgator of his will (after the similitude of earthly kings). Nor does the article *tou* seem to have been omitted without reason, in order that no one might hence maintain him to be the singular and only chief over all the angels.

XI. Although among fallen angels there is one eminent above the rest, who is called "the Devil," "Satan," "the dragon," "Beelzebub," the "God of this world," the "prince of the world," it does not follow that among the good also, one angel presides over the others. This prefectship is more rightly called the privilege of Christ (Col. 1:18).

Eighth Question: The Ministry of Angels

Why and for what does God use the ministry of angels? Is a particular angel assigned as a perpetual guardian to each believer? We deny

I. No one can doubt that God uses the ministry of angels, since they are called "ministering spirits" (*pneumata leitourgika*, Heb. 1:14), "ministers of God" (Ps. 104:4), who continually stand before him and minister unto him (Dan. 7:10) and do his will (Ps. 103:21). But it can be enquired why he willed to use their help.

Why God uses the ministry of angels.

II. A multiple reason can be given: not from necessity and indigence, as if he stood in need of them (for he is alone sufficient in himself, and as he created all things by his word alone, by it alone also could he govern all things), but from indulgence and love. (1) For the good of the angels themselves whom God has thought worthy of this honor, wishing them to be as it were co-workers (*synergous*) with him in the government of the world. (2) For the consolation of believers who thence know how much of a care they are to God, since he wills to use for the promotion of their salvation the ministry of creatures (not only corporeal, but also spiritual) far excelling themselves as to nature. (3) For the promotion of greater friendship among angels and men; for it is evident that friendships are entered into and increased by the bestowal of mutual kindnesses and offices. (4) For the good order (*eutaxian*) of the universe that thus all creatures (superior and inferior, visible and invisible) answering in turn to each other and woven together by certain sure bonds of offices might establish more firmly the harmony of the world. (5) Especially for the glory of God himself who is the ultimate and principal end of all his works; a glory which shines forth most illustriously from the ministry of such noble creatures.

And for what: (1) with respect to God, to praise him and to obey him.

III. Now a multiple office is assigned to them in Scripture: (1) with respect to God; (2) among themselves; (3) with respect to the world; (4) with respect to men. First, in respect of God, inasmuch as they are perpetually occupied in celebrating and adoring him. To this belongs the thrice holy of the seraphs (Is. 6:3) repeated in Rev. 4:8; 7:11, 12; also the anthem which they sung in unison at the birth of Christ "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will toward men" (Lk. 2:13, 14)—to which duty they are also invited in Ps. 97:7; 103:20; 148:2. In reference to this, Gregory Nazianzus calls them "chanters of the divine majesty" (*hymnōdous tēs theias megaleiotētos*, *Oratio* 28.31 [PG 36.72]) and Theodoret says the "service of angels is hymning" (*hē angelōn leitourgia estin hymnōdia, Serm. 3, de Angelis*+). (2) In holy obedience, prompt and full, rendered by

them (Ps. 103:20). Hence they are said "to stand before him" as attendants and ministers; "to behold his face," to receive and execute his commands; "Thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him" (Dan. 7:10). "I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left" (1 K. 22:19). Here belong "the wings" attributed to them in Is. 6:2; for as by the two with which "they covered their faces" is denoted their supreme reverence towards God (being unable to bear the blaze of so great majesty); and by the two with which "they covered their feet," the "desire" of immaculate holiness is intimated (concealing those parts which modesty requires to be covered in men and which designate their weakness relatively to God, Job 4:18); so the two with which they flew adumbrate their alacrity and zeal in performing God's commands. Here is referred the ministry exhibited by them to Christ as their head and Lord, both in adoring him (which they engaged in from the beginning according to the divine command, "Let all the angels adore him" [Heb. 1:6] and which they daily perform [Rev. 5:11, 12]) and in the actual ministry rendered to him in his: conception (Lk. 1:26–38); birth (Lk. 2:9–15); temptation (Mt. 4:11); agony (Lk. 22:43); resurrection (Mt. 28:2–7); and ascension (Acts 1:10, 11); and what they will render at the last day when they will attend him in his coming: "He shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels" (2 Thess. 1:7).

(2) In respect of themselves.

IV. In respect of themselves; for as they are a well-ordered heavenly society, they undoubtedly perform various mutual duties to each other, by a mutual communication of things to be either known or done (although we cannot tell what and of what nature is the mode of that communication). Hence they are said "to cry one unto another" (Is. 6:3) as if stirring each other up to celebrate the praises of God. Elsewhere they are introduced speaking to each other (in Zechariah and in the Apocalypse).

V. From Dan. 10:13, a conflict and disagreement between good angels cannot be gathered. For "the prince of the kingdom of Persia" (who is said to have withstood the angel Gabriel and to use all efforts to retain the Jews perpetually under the Persians) is not a good angel set over the kingdom of

Persia by God because he could attempt nothing without the command of God (who willed to free them from captivity). Rather this is best referred to Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, who (while his father crossed the sea) was fighting in Asia against the Scythians, was hostile to the restoration of the Jews and issued a cruel edict to prevent them from going on with the building of the temple. Hence it was necessary for the angel Gabriel to tarry there for some time to restrain the fury of Cambyses (to wit, lest he should rage increasingly against the people of God). Verse 20 confirms this, where the same angel says, "Now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia: and when I am gone forth, lo, the prince of Grecia shall come." Undoubtedly this intimates that he was about to labor still according to the plan of God in restraining the cruelty of the king of Persia against the people of God, until the prince of Javan (i.e., of the Greeks—Alexander the Great) would come who was to overthrow the Persian kingdom.

(3) In respect of the world.

VI. Third, the office of angels in respect of the world does not consist in their moving the heavenly orbs (as Aristotle thought), but in defending and conserving created things and their order (by ministering to divine providence). Here pertain "the angels descending and ascending" (seen on the ladder of Jacob), and when God is said "to make his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire" (Ps. 104:4). Hence Athenagoras says, "We say there is a multitude of angels and ministers, whom God the maker and *dēmiourgos* of the world distributed by his word, and set over the elements, and the heavens, and the earth, and whatever is in them, and the good order of these" (*plēthos angelōn kai leitourgōn phamen ous ho poiētēs kai dēmiourgos kosmou theos, dia tou par' aitou logou dieneime, kai dietaxe peri ta te stoicheia einai, kai tous ouranous, kai ton kosmon, kai ta en autō, kai tēn toutōn eutaxian*, *Embassy for the Christians* 10 [ACW 23:41; PG 6.909]). Hence Rev. 14:18 treats of angels who had "power over fire" and of "the angel of the waters" (Rev. 16:5). Yea, God frequently uses them for the protection of kingdoms and empires (as appears from Dan. 10 and 11).

(4) In respect of men.

VII. Fourth, in respect of men (the good as well as the bad). As to the wicked indeed, in inflicting the judgments of God (as is evident in the case of the Sodomites [Gen. 19:11]; the Egyptians [Ex. 12:29]; the army of Sennacherib [2 K. 19:35; Is. 37:36]; Nebuchadnezzar [Dan. 4:13, 14, 23, 31; Herod [Acts 12:23] and the reprobate whom at the last day they will hurl into eternal punishment [Mt. 13:41, 42]).

VIII. As to the elect and believers—whether in chastising them (exemplified in David and his people, 2 S. 24:16) or in dispensing the blessings of God to promote their salvation (Heb. 1:14). Now they benefit the pious in three ways: (1) by teaching; (2) by consoling; (3) by guarding them. First, by teaching, when God uses them to put believers in mind of their duty or of future things (which was the object of the various angelic appearances [*angelophaneiai*] in the Old Testament, Gen. 16; 18; 19; 28; 32; Dan. 6; 9; 10; 11; Zech. 1; 2; Ezk. 1). In the New, they perform the office of evangelists announcing the birth of Christ (Lk. 1:11; 2:10) and foretelling his resurrection (Mt. 28:2–7) and ascension (Acts 1:10, 11). In the Revelation of John, they give warning concerning future things. Second, by consoling them, as well against present as against impending dangers. Obvious examples occur in Hagar (Gen. 16:7–12); Jacob (Gen. 32:1); Daniel (Dan. 10:10–21); Elijah (1 K. 19:5–7); Mary (Lk. 1:26–38); the apostles (Mt. 28:7–8). Third, by guarding them, because they encamp round about them that fear the Lord (Ps. 34:7; Gen. 32:1, 2); protect them (Ps. 91:11); fight for them (Dan. 10:13); guard infants (Mt. 18:10); deliver believers from the hand of enemies, from prison, death and imminent peril (as is evident in Lot [Gen. 19:15–17], Elisha [2 K. 6:17], the inhabitants of Jerusalem [2 K. 19:35], the three companions of Daniel [Dan. 3:25, 28], Daniel himself [Dan. 6:22], the apostles [Acts 5:19] and Peter [Acts 12:7]). Here belongs also the ministry exercised towards believers in death—carrying their souls into the bosom of Christ (as they bore the soul of Lazarus into Abraham's bosom, Lk. 16:22), and what will be exhibited by them at the end of the world in gathering believers that they may be glorified by Christ.

Whether each believer has a guardian angel from his birth.

IX. Here belongs the question concerning guardian angels—whether to individual believers a certain particular angel is assigned by God from the very birth to be their perpetual companion and guardian even until death. This opinion is held by the Romanists. On it, they rest the religious worship of angels and the daily veneration of the companion angel by name. However we, although acknowledging angels to be given to believers for a guard and defense (as was proved before), nor doubting that certain angels can now and then be appointed and sent to believers (either to reveal mysteries of God or to console and protect them, as was seen often among the patriarchs, in the case of Daniel, Joseph, Mary and others), still we deny that it can rightly be gathered from this that a guardian and tutelary angel is assigned to each believer; or that this opinion, although held by many of the fathers, can be received as if inwritten (*engraphon*).

The negative is proved.

X. The reasons are: (1) Scripture (which speaks so often of the ministry of angels towards believers) nowhere mentions a guardian angel (which nevertheless it would not have passed over in silence if to each believer had certainly been assigned a particular angel from his birth, to perpetually attend and take care of him). Yea, while the Spirit testifies that they are sent by God freely in all directions to minister unto them who shall be heirs of salvation (Heb. 1:14), he sufficiently intimates that they are not bound and responsible to particular individuals.

XI. (2) One angel is often sent to guard many believers and many are appointed over one. One angel relieves the siege of Jerusalem (Is. 37:36); one angel encamps around them that fear the Lord (Ps. 34:7). Many also are often assigned to one: “He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways” (Ps. 91:11); “The mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha” (2 K. 6:17); “The angels of God met Jacob, and when he saw them, he said, This is God’s host” (Gen. 32:1, 2).

XII. (3) This opinion has a pagan origin; for it is known that the Gentiles thought there was given to each man a peculiar genius or demon. The words of Arrian in Epictetus refer to this: “God has placed over each one a peculiar demon as a prefect, and delivered him to his guardianship, and watchfulness, and he cannot be deceived” (*Theos epitropon hekastō*

proestēse ton hekastou daimona, kai paredōke phylattein auton autō, kai touton akoimēton, kai aparalogiston, *The Discourses of Epictetus as Reported by Arrian* 1.14.12 [Loeb, 1:104–5]). The verses of Menander confirm it: "A demon is the leader of the whole life of each man as soon as he is born" (*Hapanti daimōn andri tō genomenō hapantos esti mystagōgos tou biou*, *Ammianus Marcellinus* 21.4* [Loeb, 2:166–69]). Nor was this opinion foreign to the Jews from whom it passed over to the Christians. It ought therefore to be deservedly suspected by us, on this account even the more because it greatly helps the papal superstition about the worship (*thrēskeia*) of angels.

XIII. The two passages of Scripture usually adduced for its confirmation cannot prove it. In Mt. 18:10, they are called "the angels of the little ones." This shows that angels are given as a guard to children no less than to adults; but it cannot be gathered from this that a certain particular and peculiar angel is granted to individual infants for a perpetual guard. It is not said definitely that an angel of each of these little ones beholds the face of God, but indefinitely only ("their angels"), whether many are assigned to one or one to many (to wit, intimating that they are kept under the guardian care of angels in general).

XIV. No better proof is derived from Acts 12:15, where mention is made of Peter's angel. (1) It is not the voice of Scripture, but of some who speak as Jews; converted indeed, but not yet sufficiently instructed in the Christian doctrine. And if this is related by Luke, it is not forthwith approved by him, since many things are recounted in Scripture narratively, not approvingly. (2) If the words be referred to an angel, it can be collected from it that a certain angel was then present with Peter, but not that a particular and perpetual guardian was given to him. For he is said "to have come upon him" (v. 7); as when "the physician and servant of the king" is alluded to, not a particular one is understood, but indefinitely he who performs that office (which many can perform successively). (3) The thing in controversy is taken for granted—that it treats of an angel properly so called. Nothing prevents us from taking the word *angelou* here for "messenger" (a frequent use of the word, Mt. 11:10; Lk. 7:24, 27; 9:52), for "it is a messenger sent by him" to announce something concerning him (as they who are in chains are accustomed to use messengers to report their condition). Nor is it an objection that the maid Rhoda is said to have

recognized the "voice of Peter" because she was disbelieved. It might be that mention of Peter, having been made by his messenger, they who talked with her might have supposed that she received the thing otherwise.

XV. What is said in 1 Cor. 11:10 ("For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head, because of the angels") shows indeed that the angels are present in sacred assemblies and are witnesses of the piety or impiety, of the humility or pride of the men present (whom on that account the woman ought to revere). But nothing can be carved out of this in favor of a guardian angel, as if a particular angel was assigned to individuals. Some things should here be said concerning the confirmation of the good angels and the sin of the fallen angels; but we have already treated of the former in Topic IV, Question 8, and of the latter we will hereafter treat in the Topic on Sin.

Ninth Question: The Intercession and Worship of Angels

Are angels our intercessors with God, and is any religious worship due to them? We deny against the Romanists

I. From the angelic ministry, of which we have already treated, a twofold question still arises: first (concerning their intercession)—whether their office is so extended as to embrace intercession and mediation (*mesitai*) for us with God, who either pray for us or present our prayers to God, and render them acceptable by their own prayers and merits. The other concerns the worshipping of them—whether any religious worship is due to them. We will briefly discuss both.

II. As to the first, the question is whether mediation and intercession pertain to their angelic ministry, by which they not only pray for us, but also carry our prayers up to God, and by their patronage and petitions render us acceptable and commendable to him. The Romanists affirm; we deny this.

Angels are not our intercessors.

III. First, he alone can intercede for us who died for us. He alone can be our Paraclete (*paraklētos*) and advocate who is our only sacrifice (*hilasmos*)

and propitiation. These are joined together by the apostle by an indissoluble bond, as parts of one and the same sacerdotal office, mutually subordinated to each other and mutually dependent. For as propitiation is the cause and foundation of intercession (which it draws after itself necessarily), so intercession necessarily supposes a propitiation, that it may be rightly performed (as under the Old Testament the priest could not perform the act of declaration [*emphanismou*] who had before fulfilled the act of sacrificing [*hilasmou*] and to him alone it belonged to offer incense, Ex. 30:34–38). Now Christ alone satisfied for us and therefore he alone can intercede for us (cf. Rom. 8:34, 35; 1 Jn. 2:1, 2 where these two functions are ascribed to Christ alone to the exclusion of others).

IV. Second, to present the prayers of others to God is a part of the mediatorial and priestly office, which Scripture claims for the Son of God alone (who is the sole Mediator between God and men, 1 Tim. 2:5). Nor can the distinction into secondary, mediate and ministerial mediators, and primary, immediate and principal be admitted, since Scripture recognizes no mediator save one only who (alone as God-man [*theanthrōpos*]) can perform the office of mediator. Hessel (Estius), Professor of Louvain, on this passage, sees this denying that angels and saints can be our mediators with God because they cannot of themselves appease him (*In Omnes Pauli Epistolas* [1891], 2:536 on 1 Tim. 2:5).

V. Third, he alone can carry up our prayers to God who can wash off their corruption and expiate their impurity and imperfection and sanctify them (which belongs to no created angel). For since God can approve nothing except what is good, our prayers (which are not free from blemishes) could never be acceptable to him, unless covered by the merit of the most perfect righteousness of Christ, and purged, as the high priest of the Old Testament had to bear and take away the iniquity of the holy offerings of the children of Israel (Ex. 28:38).

VI. Fourth, the angels ought either to offer all or only some. If all, then they ought to offer those also which are only mental (which they could not do because they are not "searchers of the heart" [*kardiognōstai*]). If only some, they ought therefore to be determined by them and not to be offered indefinitely. But no reason can be given why some should be carried up rather than others. Finally, although they might know prayers as to the

material (viz., the external words), they cannot know them as to the formal (viz., their sincerity), which belongs to God alone.

VII. Fifth, the opinion concerning the intercession of angels is drawn from the heathen, among whom demons were constituted mediators (who performed the office of interpreters and ferrymen [*portitorum*] to transmit divine things to men and human things to the gods). See the Banquet of Plato where Diotimas instructs Socrates. "For the whole demon-kind," says he, "is between a god and mortal. It interprets for, and transmits to, the gods what is sent from men; and for and to men what is sent from the gods; from men, their petitions and sacrifices; from the gods, their commands and returns for sacrifices" (Plato, *Symposium* 202E [Loeb, 3:178–79]).

Sources of explanation.

VIII. Although we need the guardian care of angels in all our ways, they ought not on that account to present our prayers to God because this does not make any (much less the principal) part of angelic guardianship.

IX. The angel who prays for the people (Zech. 1:12) is not a created, but an uncreated angel (the Son of God who interposes his own intercession both here and elsewhere with the Father on behalf of the church; who is now called "angel" by reason of office, then "man" by reason of the nature to be assumed; who is introduced praying for the restoration of the church and standing ready to fight for it indeed "among the myrtle trees" [i.e., in the church, well adumbrated by this plant, weak in appearance, but useful and always fragrant and green]). He has connected with him various angels as ministers who are bound to report to him (Zech. 1:11), described under the emblem of various horses, to designate the manifold dispensation of God towards men. For as "red" horses denote instruments of severity; "white" of grace; so are the symbols of "correction" tempered with kindness and severity, "variegated."

X. Job 33:23 does not favor the intercession of angels because it does not treat of an angel according to nature, but only according to office; nor of the oblation of prayers made to God on the part of man, but of annunciation of God's will made to man on the part of God. (2) *Ml'k mlyts* is not well referred to an angel because "one among a thousand" is added to designate the variety of these monitors—that scarcely one among a thousand can be

found; and to the making a choice of them, since all angels are such dispensers (prudent and faithful), who can zealously perform this. (3) It is fitly understood concerning any minister of God who is rightly called *ml'k* (i.e., a "messenger" or ambassador sent from God—as often elsewhere, Mal. 2:7; Rev. 1:20); and *mlyts* (i.e., "interpreters of the divine will") who is here introduced to a man cast down by a sense of his sins and of divine punishments and chastisements (announcing "his uprightness" [*yshrv*], i.e., the duty God demands of him, that he may obtain pardon—to wit, faith and repentance—which the compassion of God follows); also "he will be gracious unto him" (viz., if he repents) pardoning his sins and restoring to him his original soundness, as the words following declare.

XI. The angel who is said "to stand at the altar, having a golden censer; and to whom was given much incense, that he might offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which is before the throne" (Rev. 8:3) cannot be a created angel, but the uncreated (to wit, Christ who performs this office). (1) This angel is distinguished from the seven other angels spoken of in v. 2, and he is said to be "another," not so much in number as in species (especially if, as Lyranus thinks, the universality of angels is meant by the number seven; cf. *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria* [1617], 6:1459 on Rev. 1:4). (2) This angel is set before us as a priest who offers incense. Now this office is elsewhere claimed for Christ alone (Heb. 9:24), as the one who alone is our Mediator and advocate with God (1 Tim. 2:5; 1 Jn. 2:1). (3) It treats of the prayers of "all saints," which cannot be offered by a created angel. (4) He is said to have received a censer and to have filled it with the fire of the altar and to have cast it into the earth; whence "there were voices, and thunderings, lightnings, and an earthquake" (Rev. 8:5), which belong to Christ alone who says, "I am come to send fire on the earth" (Lk. 12:49*), on account of the discords and contentions which sprung up on account of the gospel from the malice of men; so that the same fire which cherishes and purges the elect burns up and consumes his enemies; the same death of Christ ministers to some salvation, to others condemnation. Therefore, Christ, the great angel of the covenant, is introduced here as the high priest of the New Testament; with his incense (i.e., the sweet-smelling savor [*euōdia*] of his own merit), he offers our prayers to God and renders them acceptable to him (an allusion to the typical priest of the Old Testament, who, when about to intercede for the

people, placed incense upon the golden censer—which was said to exhale an odor pleasing to God). Nor can it be objected to this exposition: (1) that Christ is never so called absolutely; for the contrary is evident from Gen. 48:16; (2) that this angel is distinguished from the golden altar (which is Christ) because it is certain that many types refer at the same time to Christ; so that he is shadowed forth according to his various relations (*scheseis*), by the priest burning incense, the altar, the candlestick and the shewbread: "priest" in respect of person, "altar" of whole burnt offering on the cross, "incense" in intercession, "candlestick" in the gospel, "table of shewbread" in the blessings he bestows on us; (3) that "incense is given to him" because the customary style of the Old Testament is employed in which odors were usually given to him who offered incense. Thus as the mediatorial office and all things are given to Christ by the Father and the Spirit without measure (Mt. 11:27; Jn. 3:34), there is no repugnancy in incense being given to him also by God and acceptableness to his merits by which the prayers of the saints become pleasing to God. Again, this incense is not said to be given to him because he was without it, but that he might offer it according to his office to his Father. Finally, it must be observed that this whole vision is allegorical. It shows nothing else than that the only protection of believers in the tremendous calamities which the angels were preparing themselves to send, would be the prayers of believers offered by Christ and acceptable on account of him (which God will most certainly answer for their salvation).

XII. The passage in Tobit 12:15, where the personated angel treated of ascribes to himself an office proper to the Son of God alone (professing himself "to be one of the seven angels, who present the prayers of the saints") since drawn from an apocryphal book (filled with falsehoods and superstition) is deservedly rejected. He wanders no less from the truth here than when he professes himself to be Azariah, the son of the great Ananias of the children of Israel; and in Tobit 7:3 to be of the tribe of Naphtali, from the Ninevite captivity.

The worship of angels.

Statement of the question.

XIII. Now as angels are not our intercessors with God, so neither are they to be considered objects of religious worship (as the Romanists wish) after the ancient Angelics (whom Augustine numbers among heretics as inclined to the worship of angels, *De Haeresibus* 39 [PL 42.32]). Hence a second question arises about the worship of them. Concerning this take notice that the question is not whether any honor and veneration is due to them (for we do not deny that honor is to be paid to them by reason of their dignity, that we may acknowledge and celebrate their excellence, revere their presence, obey their admonitions, imitate their example and repay their intense love for us by reciprocal affection—which is the sentiment of Augustine: "We honor them not by divine worship but with love," *Of True Religion* 55 [110] [LCC 6:281; PL 34.170]). But we treat properly concerning the religious worship of them. For whatever the dignity of the angelic creature, we maintain that they cannot be considered the objects of religious worship.

Proof that angels ought not to be worshipped: (1) from Col. 2:18.

XIV. The reasons are: (1) *Thrēskeia* or "the worship" of angels is expressly condemned by Paul: "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind" (Col. 2:18). Here are various latent arguments: (a) The apostle says they who cherished that error "beguiled believers of their reward" (*katabrabeuein*) or kept them from the proposed reward (to wit, by leading them aside from the right way or by turning them from their legitimate goal and scope because they withdrew them from Christ [who is the goal of our course] and from the true worship of him). (b) They do it voluntarily, to intimate this worship is voluntary, not commanded; paid from man's own will and caprice, not however from a command of God. (c) They affect humility (which is also the pretext of the Romanists in our day) and are nonetheless "puffed up by fleshly mind" because the comment of that false worship is a mark of pride, by which they wish to appear wiser than God. (d) They do not hold the head because they fall off from Christ himself, who connect another ally with him in worship. Finally, "they intrude into those things which they have not seen" assuming

the right to speak of unknown things and to utter their own fictions as oracles.

XV. To no purpose is it here excepted: (1) by Perronius that *thrēskeian* or "the worship of angels" is to be understood originally, not objectively; not the worship paid to angels, but the worship given by angels (to wit, the law or Jewish religion which was delivered by the ministry of angels, from which Paul wishes to recall Christians). We answer: (a) Paul speaks of voluntary worship which cannot be referred to the Mosaic law (whose author is God); (b) that use of the word in Scripture is unheard of, for as often as it employs the word *thrēskeias* (as in Acts 26:5; Jam. 1:26; Wis. Sol. 14:27), it signifies worship given either by someone or to someone. Now it cannot be taken here in the former sense; therefore the worship paid to angels must be understood. Nor is it excepted: (2) that the veneration of angels is not condemned, but only that which is proper to God (or which is given to angels, Christ being omitted) because they are said "not to hold the head" or that which may be referred to the tricks of magicians and superstitious worship. We answer that Paul condemns all worship (*thrēskeian*) of angels absolutely, not what is rendered to them as to the supreme God (for the Angelics profess their acknowledgment of God), but as mediators, inferior to him, who are said not to hold the head. (Not that they entirely ignore Christ, but because professing him, they deny him by their deeds—setting up another object of adoration besides him: as the false apostles, who urged circumcision, are said to have fallen from Christ [Gal. 5:4] although they still professed Christ).

(2) From Rev. 19:10; 22:9.

XVI. Second, an angel repudiated such worship (Rev. 19:10). When John wished to prostrate himself at his feet, the angel immediately said to him, "See thou do it not; worship God; I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren." Nor can it be said that the angel refused the worship from modesty and in a courtly manner (as Lorinus and Estius think; cf. *Biblia Magna Commentariorum literalium* [1643], 5:1206 on Rev. 19:10) either on account of reverence for the mystery of the incarnation or on account of the prophetic light and priesthood which he beheld in John. The twofold reason given by the angel from the object of lawful adoration and from his own

ministry sufficiently proves the vanity of others. It teaches that the angel did not refuse only the relative worship otherwise due to him, but as absolutely undue and to be given to God alone. Now who can endure Bellarmine and Estius, who hold that they who do what John did, cannot be reproached because as he was filled with a divine Spirit, it is not lawful to suspect that he was either forgetful or ignorant; nay, that his act is deserving of imitation by all. For if John acted properly in adoring the angel, the angel sinned in refusing that worship as unlawful. Nor is it an objection that John (being filled with the divine Spirit) could not have been ignorant of its unlawfulness because the Spirit gave infallibility in doctrine and words, but not in life and practice. Although he knew theoretically that angels were not to be adored, yet he could (from the perturbation of mind caused by the sight of the angel) stray from that theory in his practice and go beyond measure in the honor which he wished to render him. Thus he did not sufficiently understand what he was doing; as we read of something similar happening to Cornelius with respect to Peter (Acts 10:26), who for the same reason refused the worship offered to him by Cornelius. Not unsuitably, some hold that John erred more in fact and person, than in right, supposing that angel to be not a created, but the uncreated angel (to whom such worship was due). Hence the angel instructs him as to his nature and condition, lest while he was a servant, he should be mistaken for the common Lord of both.

(3) From Mt. 4:10.

XVII. Third, Scripture claims religious worship for God alone: “Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve” (Mt. 4:10) which is quoted from Dt. 6:13 and 10:20 (where although the word “alone” is not expressly given, yet it is necessarily implied, as Servator remarks). To no purpose do our opponents meet us with this: that *latreian* (supreme religious worship) alone is here appropriated by God, not *douleian* (inferior worship) which may properly be given to the heavenly beings themselves. Satan did not seek *latreian*, but only *proskynēsin* (bowing down before); nor is any mention made here of *douleias*. Again, it is a fictitious and empty distinction, since among both sacred and profane writers the signification of *latreias* and *douleias* is interchangeable (as can easily be shown and has

been fully proved by us, cf. Disputatio 2, “De Necessaria secessione nostra ab Ecclesia Romana” in *Opera* [1848], 4:31–50).

(4) From reason.

XVIII. Fourth, no one can be an object of religious worship and invocation who is not omniscient and omnipotent. The necessities and prayers of all everywhere no one can know except the omniscient and knower of hearts (*kardiognōstēs*); nor help them, except the omnipotent. Therefore to no purpose is worship and invocation directed to one who is not such. But omniscience and omnipotence are properties peculiar to God alone and incommunicable to any creature.

XIX. Fifth, if the worship (*thrēskeia*) of angels was lawful, some command or promise or approved example of it would be given in Scripture. Since, however, our opponents can adduce no such thing, it is evident that it is mere will-worship (*ethelothrēskeian*). The examples which are brought forward by them do not belong here, as we will soon show.

XX. Sixth, this worship is frequently condemned by the fathers in the ancient church. We give a few from the many testimonies. Tertullian says, “The school of Simonian magic serving angels is placed among idolatries and is condemned by the apostle Peter in Simon himself” (*Prescription Against Heretics* 33 [ANF 3:259; PL 2.46]). Augustine asserts that the Angelics were so called because they inclined to the worship of angels (*De Haeresibus* 39 [PL 42.32]). These he refutes: “We believe that the best angels and most excellent ministers of God themselves wished this, that we together with them should worship God, in whose contemplation they are happy.… Wherefore we honor them with love, not with servitude; nor do we build temples to them, for they do not desire to be so honored by us, because they know that when we are good, we are ourselves temples of the supreme God” (*Of True Religion* 55 [110] [LCC 6:281; PL 34.170]). Origen defends at length the Jews and Christians from the charge of worshipping creatures (*Contra Celsum* 1.5, 6 [trans. H. Chadwick, 1965], pp. 9–10; ibid., 5.1–13, pp. 264–74), and at the end teaches that “they refuse to worship anything besides God, the Lord of all, and his Word, the first born of every creature” (ibid., 7.70, p. 453). Lactantius: “Religion and veneration must be paid to God alone” (*Divine Institutes* 1.20 [FC 49:78; PL 6.223]). The

Council of Laodicea, which met in the year 364, Canon 35, expressly condemns the worship of angels and decrees "to call angels by name and to make societies, is to leave the church of God, to be employed in secret idolatries, and to forsake Christ" (Mansi, 2:580). Charlemagne says, "It is not a moderate error, when any other is adored with religious worship besides him who said, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God" (*Capitulare de Imaginibus* 1.2* [PL 98.1012]).

Sources of explanation.

XXI. One kind of worship is that of religious adoration due to him alone whom we apprehend as the principle of our creation and redemption; another of civil subjection, exhibited to anyone by reason of the peculiar preeminence (*hyperochēs*) and dominion held over another (with which we reverence parents, magistrates, and others constituted in authority); another of moral reverence, exhibited to persons on account of the excellence of these considered of themselves, without the dominion of the honored or the servitude of the one honoring. Angels can be reverenced with this last kind of worship, but not with the first (which belongs to God alone).

XXII. Either the examples drawn from the Old Testament for the adoration of angels are to be referred to the civil adoration of those who appeared to them in human form (according to eastern manners) and who were supposed to be men (as Bellarmine, "De Sanctorum Beatitudine," 13 in *Opera* [1856], 1:442–45 does not deny); or they pertain to the uncreated angel (viz., the Son of God, who before his incarnation often appeared to the fathers under such a form). This is easily gathered from the circumstances of the passages where: (1) Abraham prostrated himself before one of the angels who addressed him, from which he knew that he was God, and so he calls him "Jehovah" (Gen. 18:3); (2) he prays to him for the safety of Sodom; (3) he calls him "the Judge of the whole earth" (v. 25). The angel who wrestles with Jacob (cf. Gen. 32:24–30) was God according to Hos. 12:3*, 4, where Jacob is said "to have had power with God" (which the name "Israel" confirms, and the blessing he demands from him, and the name given to the place, "Peniel" [*pny'l*] because he is said "to have seen God face to face," Gen. 32:30). Jacob speaks of the angel Goel (Gen. 48:16) who delivered him from all evil and of whom he sought a saving

benediction for the sons of Joseph (who could be no other than the uncreated angel). Joshua adores the uncreated angel because he is called "the captain of the host of God" (Jos. 5:14) (which suits Christ alone, the head of angels and of men, cf. Rev. 19:11, 12). He commands Joshua to take off his shoes on account of the presence of the deity, which Moses was commanded to do in the sight of God (Ex. 3:5, 6).

XXIII. The "seven spirits" mentioned in Rev. 1:4 are not created, but the Holy Spirit, who (on account of a multiple variety of gifts and relatively to the seven Asiatic churches, to whom he was to be communicated) is so called. This is evident: (1) because they are placed in the rank with the Father and the Son in invocation, by which "grace" and "peace" are sought for the churches (i.e., blessing of all kinds, which belongs to God alone). (2) They are put before the Son himself, not on account of priority of nature or anteriority in order of existence, but both on account of the economy of office undertaken by Christ (who is considered as the first-begotten from the dead, who washes their sins in his own blood, Rev. 1:5, 6) and on account of the series of the following words, which treat of Christ. And if these spirits are said to be "before the throne," it does not follow that they are inferior to God. The Son himself also (who is consubstantial [*homoousios*] with the Father) is said "to stand before the throne" according to a certain relation (Rev. 5:6), who according to another does not cease to sit upon the throne itself (Rev. 4:2). Rather only a personal distinction from the Father is intimated. In addition, it is one thing to be before the throne essentially (*kat' ousian*); another apparently (*kata phanerōsin*) in prophetic vision.

XXIV. Diversity of excellence in subjects demands indeed diversity of worship, but not a diversity of religious worship. As the latter has for its object only an infinite and uncreated excellence, it cannot be multiple but must be one alone.

XXV. Civil worship means either strictly that which (as much causally, as formally, i.e., as much by reason of cause, as by reason of mode) is such, given on account of merely civil causes; broadly that which is only civil in the latter sense (as distinguished from the religious). In this sense, it is attributed to the angels.

EIGHTH TOPIC

The State of Man Before the Fall and the Covenant of Nature

First Question

What was the liberty of Adam in his state of innocence?

I. Since man can be viewed in a fourfold state—the instituted (*instituto*) of nature, the destitute (*destituto*) of sin, the restored (*restituto*) of grace and the appointed (*praestituto*) of glory—his liberty ought also to be considered in different ways in reference to them. We treat here of the first only.

II. By the state of innocence, we mean the first condition of man created after the image of God in internal goodness and external happiness. As it abounded in all goods (of the body as well as of the soul) necessary for obtaining true happiness in that state, so it experienced the most holy and agreeable government of God. Hence it consists principally of two parts: the happy condition of man and the federal government of God around him. His happiness arose from the image of God in which he was created. It consisted especially in original righteousness and the immortality and dominion consequent upon it (of which we have spoken before in the Topic on Creation). To it also belonged his liberty, the subject of this question.

III. However, that we may be able to reason more correctly about the liberty of upright Adam, various species of liberty should (before all things) be distinguished, in order that it may be evident what kind could belong to him and what not.

Fourfold liberty: (1) of independence; (2) from coaction; (3) from physical necessity; (4) from

slavery.

IV. Liberty is fourfold: (1) the liberty of independence which belongs to God as the first being; this is opposed to the necessity of dependence which belongs to all creatures. (2) Liberty from coaction by which man acts spontaneously and with freedom; this is opposed to the necessity of coaction seen in those who act through force. (3) Rational liberty from brute and physical necessity by which man acts from choice (*ek proaireseōs*) and not by a brute instinct and blind impulse; this is opposed to the physical necessity of inanimates and brutes. (4) Liberty from slavery by which man is subject to the yoke of no slavery, either of sin or of misery; this is opposed to the necessity of slavery in sinners.

Which necessity agrees with liberty; which is incompatible with it?

V. Not every necessity contends with liberty, nor agrees with it. A certain extrinsic necessity destroys liberty; another agrees with it. A certain intrinsic crushes it and another perfects it. The necessity of coaction, which is extrinsic, is incompatible (*asystatos*) with liberty; but a hypothetical necessity, arising either from a decree of God or from the existence of the thing, conspires with it. Intrinsic necessity (arising from a physical and brute determination to one thing) takes away liberty; an intrinsic necessity (flowing from the rational determination of the will by the intellect) not only does not destroy liberty, but preserves and fosters it.

The liberty of Adam was: (1) from coaction; (2) from physical necessity; (3) from slavery.

VI. The liberty of Adam was not the liberty of independence (as if he was irresponsible [*anypeuthynos*] and absolutely his own master) because he ought always to be in subjection (as a creature to his Creator, as a second cause to the first and to depend upon his will). It was not the liberty of a will undetermined by the practical intellect; for this would have changed the will into an irrational appetite, so that he would have sought evil as evil.

This would not have been so much liberty as an unbridled license, incompatible (*asystatos*) with the image of God. But there was in him another threefold liberty: (1) from coaction; (2) from physical necessity; (3) from slavery (both of sin and of misery). The former two constituted his essential liberty. It belongs to man in whatever state constituted and has two characteristics: preference (*to proairetikon*) and will (*to hekousion*), so that what is done may be done by a previous judgment of the reason and spontaneously. But the latter was accidental because it comes in upon the essential liberty and can be separated from it (since true liberty exists where such freedom from slavery does not exist, as in the state of sin).

VII. However, although he was free from the slavery of sin (because created just and upright) still he was not free from mutability (because whatever his holiness and righteousness, he was mutable, from which in consequence he could fall). Adam was placed in such a state in which he could stand and fall, sin and not sin. Although this argues less perfection than the state of grace (which is immutable), still it denotes no fault or imperfection (since immutability is by no means a gift of nature, but of grace). Still that mutability cannot belong to the liberty of Adam (although sometimes it is so termed) because that condition did not fear to be adorned with so illustrious a description which placed a limit to both the liberty and happiness of man; rather it was only an appendage of the Adamic liberty, so proper to it that it neither has been nor can be in any other man.

VIII. However, from this mutability indifference arises. This is commonly attributed to Adam and with regard to it, it is enquired whether his liberty consisted in it. To this we answer negatively. (1) Such an equilibrium (*isorropia*) or equal propensity to good and evil, contends with the nature of the will which necessarily follows a dictate of the intellect. (2) Such an equilibrium contends with the state of creation in which the created will was very good (being made after the image of God in righteousness and holiness). It would not have been very good, if it had been disposed to vice equally with virtue. (3) It contends with the law given to man, commanding him to love God with all his mind and strength. Assuredly he had already departed from this, if he had been constituted in such an equilibrium. If therefore a certain indifference (*adiaphoria*) must be attributed to it, it must not be understood in the second act and as to the power of simultaneity; as if it could at the same time and at once (remaining

in that state) be actually carried to good and to evil (which is absurd [*asystaton*] because then man must be supposed to have been at the same time upright and fallen). Rather this certain indifference must be understood in the first act, as to simultaneity of power, because the power or faculty of Adam was so disposed through the mutable condition in which he had been created that it could be determined to evil no less than to good (but successively and in the divided sense, not at the same time and in the compound sense) which sad experience taught too well.

IX. Although natural liberty agrees in essentials with the liberty of man constituted in other states, still it differs greatly in accidentals. For the liberty of glory in blessedness is not to be able to sin (*non posse peccare*). The liberty of sinners in the state of sin is not to be able not to sin (*non posse non peccare*). The liberty of believers, in grace, is to be able to sin, and not to sin (*posse peccare et non peccare*). But the liberty of Adam was to be able not to sin (*posse non peccare*). The first was an absolute incapability of sinning; the second an incapability of acting well; the third the power of sinning and of acting well. The fourth was the power of not sinning. Augustine explains this excellently: "We must diligently and attentively examine if these good things differ, to be able not to sin (*posse non peccare*), and not to be able to sin (*non posse peccare*), to be able not to die, and not to be able to die, to be able not to leave the good, and not to be able to leave the good. For the first man was able not to sin, not to die, not to leave the good" (*Admonition and Grace* 12* [33] [FC 2:285; PL 44.936]). And afterwards: "Therefore the first liberty of will was to be able not to sin (*posse non peccare*), the last will be much greater, not to be able to sin (*non posse peccare*). The first immortality was the power of not dying, the last will be much greater, the incapability of dying. The first was the power of perseverance, the power to not desert the good, the last will be the happiness of perseverance, the want of power to desert the good" (ibid., pp. 285–86).

Second Question

Did Adam have the power to believe in Christ?

I. This question lies between us and the Arminians who, to defend their hypothesis concerning the necessity of a certain universal sufficient grace, have introduced this opinion—that Adam never had the power of believing in Christ and so could not have lost it by sin. Nor, as a consequence, can God now in the gospel demand faith in Christ from us, unless he had previously bestowed sufficient grace for it because no one is bound to an impossibility. Hence they maintain that God either gives or at least is prepared to give to all the power of believing if he will. Thus they endeavor to prove two things at the same time: first, that we falsely assert that Adam lost the power of believing in Christ because he never had it; second, that the grace of faith ought to be universal from the justice and equity of the new covenant. Arminius says, "I say and affirm, asseverate, profess and teach that Adam before his fall had not power to believe in Christ because there was no need of faith in Christ; and therefore that God could not have demanded this faith from him after his fall (to wit, by this right) because Adam had criminally lost that power to believe" ("Apology or Defence … Against Certain Theological Articles," 19 in *The Writings of James Arminius* [1956], 1:333). Corvinus maintains and labors to prove the same thing against Tilenus and Molinaeus.

II. The question is not whether Adam had actual faith in Christ. It is certain that he did not actually believe in an unrevealed object. Rather the question is whether he could have it, if it had been revealed to him (i.e., whether he had a potential faith not only in what was revealed, but also in what was to be revealed). Whether just as he believed by actual faith every word of God actually revealed, so he could by potential faith believe not only the word already revealed, but also further to be revealed (if it so pleased God). The orthodox think that Adam (indeed before the fall) did not actually believe in Christ as the Redeemer because Christ had not been revealed to him; nor had he need then of redemption. Notwithstanding, in creation he received sufficient strength from God to believe every word revealed or to be revealed. Consequently even in Christ the future Redeemer, if this had been revealed to him by God (i.e., both that he was about to fall and that after the fall God would give his own Son as the price of redemption).

III. The reasons are: (1) Adam received the power to believe every word of God. Therefore he also received the power to believe the word of the

gospel, if it had been revealed to him. Faith in Christ is the part and species contained under the general notion of faith. Now that he had received the power of believing every word of God is evident from the perfection of the nature in which he was created. He who is perfectly holy is bound to render unto God faith and obedience of all kinds; otherwise there would be some defect in him because he would have proved himself unbelieving and on that account not upright by not believing the word of God. Again, if he could not believe, this would be either because the intellect was blinded by some error and the will impeded by some rebellion. But neither can be said concerning a holy man made after the image of God. To no purpose does Corvinus prate that Adam indeed had the power of believing every revealed word of God, but that pertained to the legal covenant and not to the gospel covenant, because this latter was not absolutely credible to upright man without a contradiction. We answer that although the word of the gospel was not credible as necessary and saving for that time (i.e., in the state of integrity), yet it could be credible with respect to the future time (which would follow his fall) if God had revealed it to him (even as to Peter was revealed his fall and his rising after the fall by Christ). Again, if the gospel was not credible in the state of integrity, this did not arise from a defect of power, but only of the revelation of the object.

IV. (2) Before the fall, he had the power to love God and obey him in all things; for love supposes faith, a part of obedience. For he who is commanded by law to love God and obey him is also commanded to believe him when he speaks. Nor is the exception of force that the power to believe God differs from the power to believe Christ because the word of the law and of the gospel are opposed in their total genus; and in the law he was indeed commanded to love and obey God, but only by reason of the state in which he was constituted by creation (that he should worship his Creator), not in which he was to be restored by redemption (that he should believe in him). Although as to the peculiar formula the law and gospel differ from each other, yet they agree in this: that they are equally the word of God and so the object of our faith and the rule of obedience. Hence he who is bound to believe God speaking in the law and has strength sufficient for it, also is able and ought to believe the gospel (if it is revealed to him). Nor can a greater love or obedience be conceived than that which is enjoined upon us in the law.

V. Third, from the revelation of God the upright angels knew the promised Redeemer to be manifested in his own time and rejoiced in him (1 Pet. 1:11, 12; Eph. 3:10). Therefore man in his state of integrity could know by a revelation of God the future Redeemer from the fall and believe in him; for there is the same reason for both.

VI. Fourth, the reason of mercy, repentance (and other virtues) in the state of integrity is the same for faith in the Redeemer also. The former, being actually received, are no less repugnant to the state of integrity than faith in the Redeemer. Yet no one can deny that man in innocence could have been affected with compassion and repentance, if the object of each had been presented to him. Therefore he could also have had faith in Christ, if he had been predicted to him.

Sources of solution.

VII. That power is not therefore to be called frustrated which is not occupied about some special object belonging to its sphere. It can have many other objects about which to be occupied and powers are not always in nature according to the exercise of act, but often on account of perfection of nature (as the power of mercy and love was not useless in upright Adam [while there were none miserable and needy] because it made Adam perfect). So the power of believing was not to no purpose in Adam (although it could not exercise itself about some certain object on account of the absence of the object) because it occupied itself about many things. Power is then called vain and idle (which does not act), when it ought to and can act. This is not granted here.

VIII. Although upright Adam could not believe in the remission of present sins (which were not), this did not hinder him from having the power of believing that there would be remission, if it pleased God to reveal to him both his future fall and recovery from it. It was absurd (*asystaton*) in respect to the same, to believe himself to be upright and a sinner, but in different respects (*kat' allo kai allo*). The same man who is now upright can believe that he is about to fall afterwards and therefore may need the grace of God and faith in Christ.

IX. Although faith in Christ is not prescribed specifically and expressly in the law (which does not know Christ), still it is contained in it generically

and implicitly (inasmuch as the law commands us to believe every word of God and all his promises). Thus no one could obey the law who was not prepared also to believe the word of the gospel (if it had been revealed by God).

X. He who received the power to rise from the fall had no need of new powers for rising, unless he lost that power by the fall. This was the case with Adam, who by sinning lost all that power with original righteousness. Therefore if after the fall, he could not rise by his own strength, it was not because he had not received it in creation, but because he lost it by the fall. Nor can it be said that he could not have lost it because there was a use for it after the fall. It ought to have exerted itself before the fall no less in preventing than in correcting it (if it had remained in man).

Third Question: The Covenant of Nature

Whether God made any covenant with Adam, and what kind it was

I. Since a covenant among men is commonly called "a mutual agreement between two or more persons concerning the mutual bestowal of certain goods and offices for the sake of common utility," it principally demands these conditions. (1) The persons must be equal, either simply or at least in a certain order. (2) They must have in their own power the goods or duties which they should mutually bestow, and that as to them they should be perfectly independent (*autexousioi*). (3) They should not be bound without that agreement to perform those duties. Hence it is certain that a covenant of God with man strictly speaking cannot exist. (a) There is no equality or proportion between God and man; not between the goods which God promises by his covenant or the duties which man is bound to perform (from which no utility approaches to God, who is in the highest degree self-sufficient [*autarkestatō*, cf. Ps. 16:2]). (b) Man is in no respect perfectly independent (*autexousios*) and is bound even without any agreement to render obedience to God. (c) Man can bring nothing to it from himself, but depends wholly upon God (as to both the promised good and the enjoined duty, to perform which God furnishes him with the power). Still God through his infinite condescension (*synkatabasin*) willed to enter into a covenant with his creatures.

II. By his own right, God could indeed have prescribed obedience to man (created by him) without any promise of reward. But in order to temper that supreme dominion with his goodness, he added a covenant consisting in the promise of a reward and the stipulation of obedience. As he wished to assert more strongly his own right over man, so he demonstrated the highest benignity in this—that he (himself in need of nothing) willed to invite to a nearer communion with him (and more powerfully allure by that bond of love and mutual obligation), the creature (already subject to him by right of creation and owing him all things from natural obligation) by entering into a covenant with him, so that man now excited by the promise of God can certainly expect happiness, not from his mere philanthropy (*philanthrōpia*) alone, but also from a covenant (on account of his truthfulness and fidelity).

III. Covenant is sometimes taken more broadly for a simple promise of God without the stipulation of any obedience on the part of the creature—such as is the covenant he made with men and living things of the earth, not to destroy them anymore by a flood (which was also sealed by the rainbow, Gen. 9:9–11); and that mentioned in Jer. 31:35 and 33:25 which disposes and preserves the changes of day and night and the ordinances of heaven and earth (called moreover one-sided [*monopleuron*] because it consists in the disposition of promise of one party only). Yet strictly and properly, covenant denotes the agreement of God with man by which God promises his goods (and especially eternal life to him), and by man, in turn, duty and worship are engaged (certain external signs being employed for the sake of confirmation). This is called two-sided (*dipleuron*) and mutual because it consists of a mutual obligation of the contracting parties: a promise on the part of God and stipulation of the condition on the part of man.

Twofold covenant: of nature and grace.

IV. This double covenant is proposed to us in Scripture: of nature and of grace; of works and of faith; legal and evangelical. The foundation of this distinction rests both on the different relation (*schesei*) of God contracting (who can be considered now as Creator and Lord, then as Redeemer and Father) and on the diverse condition of man (who may be viewed either as a perfect or as a fallen creature); also on the diverse mode of obtaining life

and happiness (either by proper obedience or by another's imputed); finally on the diverse duties prescribed to man (to wit, works or faith). For in the former, God as Creator demands perfect obedience from innocent man with the promise of life and eternal happiness; but in the latter, God as Father promises salvation in Christ to the fallen man under the condition of faith. The former rests upon the work of man; the latter upon the grace of God alone. The former upon a just Creator; the latter upon a merciful Redeemer. The former was made with innocent man without a mediator; the latter was made with fallen man by the intervention of a mediator.

Why called the "covenant of nature."

V. The covenant of nature is that which God the Creator made with innocent man as his creature, concerning the giving of eternal happiness and life under the condition of perfect and personal obedience. It is called "natural," not from natural obligation (which God does not have towards man), but because it is founded on the nature of man (as it was at first created by God) and on his integrity or powers. It is also called "legal" because the condition on man's part was the observation of the law of nature engraved within him; and of "works" because it depended upon works or his proper obedience.

The existence of a covenant of nature proved.

VI. Episcopius, and with him the Remonstrants, deny that a covenant of nature was made with Adam ("Institutiones theologica," 2.1 in *Opera theologica* [1678], p. 23); but it can be proved. (1) There are granted the essential parties of a covenant, God and man. God, who as the Creator of man, must also be his governor and from this, his legislator, and because good in his own nature, the rewarder also of those who seek him (Heb. 11:6), so that he would not only give him a law for his direction, but also hold forth a reward to him for keeping it (although bound by no right to that). Man who, because a creature, must also wholly depend upon God and, because upright, could keep the inscribed law, and because rational, ought not otherwise than in a rational manner (i.e., by the intellect and will) be governed, both by the prescription of a law, the promise of rewards and the threatening of punishment. Also since he was created after the image of

divine holiness, he ought to have been led to a communion of that happiness also which is the inseparable attendant of holiness.

VII. Second, a law was imposed upon Adam, which necessarily implies a federal agreement and contract. For he who receives it, binds himself officially to obedience under the punishment denounced through the same; he who gives it (for the very reason that he exacts obedience) is bound to furnish indemnity and security to the one obeying. Although Moses sets forth only one part of that federal sanction (referring to punishment, Gen. 2:17), still he proves that the former concerning the promise should not be excluded, both from the sacrament of the tree of life (by which it was sealed) and from the threatening of death (which by reason of contraries had the implied promise of life and from the various passages of Scripture which express more clearly the nature and sanction of the law, as Lev. 18:5—"If a man do these, he shall live in them," cf. Dt. 27:26; Ezk. 20:11; Mt. 19:17; Gal. 3:12).

VIII. Third, the passage in Hos. 6:7 seems not obscurely to intimate this: the Israelites are said to have "transgressed the covenant like Adam" (*hmh k'dhm 'bhrv bhryth*). For although these words may also be explained of the inconstancy of men (that they may be said to have transgressed the covenant as men are wont to do, who are naturally false and fickle, and often deceive expectation), still nothing prevents their being referred also to Adam (that they may be said to have violated the covenant like Adam, their first parent, who miserably broke the covenant contracted with him by God). A similar locution occurs in Job 31:33: "If I covered," says he, "my transgressions as Adam [*k'dhm*]." Here is a manifest reference to the fact of Adam's endeavoring to excuse and hide his sin (Gen. 3:12).

IX. Fourth, such a covenant was demanded not only by the goodness and philanthropy (*philanthrōpia*) of God (which could not exert itself more fitly than by receiving nearer to himself and making happy with his communion the man seeking him), but also by the state of man and the desire of happiness impressed upon his heart by God. Since it cannot be doubted that it was right and lawful, it could not be empty and frustrated, but ought to be fulfilled on the ground of man's obedience (unless we hold that God wished to feed man with a vain desire and thus deceive him—which even to think is blasphemous).

The contracting parties: God and man. God as Creator and Lawgiver.

X. In this covenant we consider: (1) the subject or contracting parties; (2) the pact itself. The latter includes the things agreed on both sides. On the part of God, in the promise of a blessing, as well as on the part of man in the stipulation of duty. The contracting parties are God and man. God contracts as Creator and Lord. Under this relation (*schesei*), two things are included: legislatory power and goodness in remunerating. The former because as Creator he cannot but govern the creature, nor can he govern except suitably to his nature (i.e., rationally [*logikōs*] by the imposition of fit laws). The latter because he could not help loving and rewarding the creature doing his duty.

Man as just and as the first.

XI. Man must be viewed under a double relation (*schesei*)—either as just or as the first. In the former respect, he had the power to perform the prescribed duty. Thus there arose the obligation of fulfilling it (which otherwise could not have had place since no one is bound to an absolute impossibility). In the latter, Adam in a certain manner included the whole human race, which was to spring from him, both as the root and the seminal principle from whom the whole human race was to descend (Acts 17:26); and as a public person and representative head, because he represented all men who were to spring naturally from him. Hence that covenant pertained not only to Adam, but to all his posterity in him. The illustrious Amyrald acknowledges "as he was the first man, he, as it were, represented the whole human race, which was to be born from him" ("Theses Theologicae de Tribus Foederibus Divinis," 8 in *Syntagma Thesium Theologicarum* [1664], p. 213). Now the foundation of this union arises from the twofold bond connecting men with Adam: the one natural, according to which he was the common father of all and they his sons; the other forensic, by which from the most wise providence of God he was constituted the chief and head of the human race, who should contract for himself and his, and hold

or lose the goods bestowed upon him, as goods common to the whole of nature.

2. The pact consisting: (a) in the exaction of duty or of the obedience due to the law.

XII. The pact consists of two parts: on the one side, the exaction of duty on the part of God and a restipulation on the part of man; on the other side, the promise of blessing on the part of God and the acceptation on the part of man. The duty was partly general, partly special (according to the twofold law given to him: the moral or natural and the symbolic). The general was the knowledge and worship of God, justice towards his neighbor and every kind of holiness; the special was abstinence from the forbidden fruit (in which obedience to the whole law was contained as in a compendium and specimen). The former was founded on the law of nature not written in a book, but engraven and stamped upon the heart (of which Paul says, "All do by nature the things contained in the law, and show the work of the law written in their hearts," Rom. 2:14, 15). Thus they who are without the written law are not without the engraven law since they (through the dictates of conscience) are a law unto themselves. The latter was founded upon the symbolic and positive law. The former was principal and primary; the latter, however, only secondary. For although he was bound to obey each special precept or that symbolic law given to him, still most especially was obedience to the natural law required of him (for exploring of which this symbolic precept only served, as will be shown hereafter).

What it ought to be.

XIII. The obedience which the law demanded ought to have these marks; (1) with regard to principle—sincerity, to be true and sincere from the whole heart, not hypocritical and external of the body only; (2) with regard to the object—universality, to extend not to certain things only, but to all the precepts of the law without exception; (3) with regard to degrees—intension, to be perfect and absolute; (4) with regard to duration—

perseverance, to be constant and perpetual even unto the end without interruption.

XIV. Although man was already bound to this obedience by a natural obligation as a rational creature, necessarily subject to the dominion of God and his law, yet he was more strongly bound by a federal obligation which God so stipulated that man—by the powers received in creation—could perform it, although in order that he might actually perform it, he still needed the help of God both to actuate these faculties and powers and to preserve them from change. This help did not tend to the infusion of any new power, but only to exercising the efficacy of that power which he had received. Now this did not belong properly to the covenant of nature, but always depended on the most free good pleasure (*eudokia*) of God; otherwise the covenant of nature had been immutable, and man had never sinned.

(b) The sanction of the covenant.

XV. The sanction of the covenant attended the exaction of duty. It consisted both in the promise of reward and gain and in the threatening of punishment. The promise was of the highest happiness (of eternal life) to be passed not on earth but in heaven. The threatening was of death and whatever in Scripture comes under the name of death to express punishment of all kinds (into which man by his own sin deservedly fell).

XVI. However, from this pact arises the mutual obligation of the parties, differing according to their condition. With respect to man, not only was it from the pact, but absolute and simple from the nature of the thing (and on the account of God, to whom man as a creature to the Creator, the beneficiary to the Benefactor, owed himself wholly and whatever he had to God and was bound to love him with his whole heart). But with respect to God, it was gratuitous, as depending upon a pact or gratuitous promise (by which God was bound not to man, but to himself and to his own goodness, fidelity and truth, Rom. 3:3; 2 Tim. 2:13). Therefore there was no debt (properly so called) from which man could derive a right, but only a debt of fidelity, arising out of the promise by which God demonstrated his infallible and immutable constancy and truth. If the apostle seems to acknowledge this right or debt (Rom. 4:4), it must be understood in no other than a

respective sense; not as to the proportion and condignity of the duty rendered to God by man (Rom. 8:18; Lk. 17:10), but to the pact of God and justice (i.e., the fidelity of him making it).

XVII. If therefore upright man in that state had obtained this merit, it must not be understood properly and rigorously. Since man has all things from and owes all to God, he can seek from him nothing as his own by right, nor can God be a debtor to him—not by condignity of work and from its intrinsic value (because whatever that may be, it can bear no proportion to the infinite reward of life), but from the pact and the liberal promise of God (according to which man had the right of demanding the reward to which God had of his own accord bound himself) and in comparison with the covenant of grace (which rests upon the sole merit of Christ, by which he acquired for us the right to life). However, this demanded antecedently a proper and personal obedience by which he obtained both his own justification before God and life, as the stipulated reward of his labors.

Fourth Question: The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil

Why is it called the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and why did God give Adam a law about not tasting it?

I. The question has two parts. (1) With respect to the name, i.e., How did the tree of knowledge of good and evil obtain this name? (2) With respect to its use, i.e., Why God used it for a symbolic law to test man?

II. To no purpose is the question raised What sort of a tree was it? Was it a fig tree (as some think because after the fall man made an apron of its leaves); or was it an apple tree (as appears to others from Cant. 8:5 because the spouse is said to have been raised up and brought forth under the apple tree)? Since Scripture tells us nothing about it, nothing certain can be ascertained. It would be a rash no less than a useless curiosity to inquire into those things which God has willed to conceal from us.

Whence called the "tree of the knowledge of good and evil"?

III. It would be better to see why it obtained this name. Now we think it was so called not formally (as if it was in itself rational [*logikē*] knowing good and evil); not effectively (as if of itself it was scientific which, when eaten, was either the producer or assistant of knowledge, as was held by some of the Jews and by the Socinians after them); not putatively, from the false nomenclature and promise of the serpent (the opinion of Rupert, Tostatus and others) because there is no reason why Adam or Moses should wish to impose a name upon the tree derived from a most barefaced lie (the fraud of the imposter being fully known). Rather it is so called both sacramentally (because it was an exploratory sign and a warning to avoid the experimental knowledge of evil equally with good) and eventually *a posteriori* by anticipation (inasmuch as from eating of it, he was really about to experience the difference between the good of obedience and the evil of disobedience, so that he who was unwilling to discern by precept, might discern by experiment; and he was to be taught by his own evil how much good he had lost, how much evil on the other hand he had drawn upon himself, from what a height of happiness, into what a profound abyss of misery, he had precipitated himself by sin).

IV. God selected this tree then, to explore (*explorandam*) the obedience of Adam. Thus arose the special law given to him concerning not tasting its fruit: "of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shall not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die" (Gen. 2:16, 17). This is called "a positive law" because it did not bind man from the nature of the thing (which was in itself indifferent), but from the mere will of God. It is also called "symbolic" because it was given for a symbol and trial of the obedience of man. For in it, as a matrix, the whole natural law was included. As Tertullian says, "that primordial law given to Adam in paradise, was, as it were, the matrix of all God's precepts" (*An Answer to the Jews* 2 [ANF 3:152; PL 2.599]). By fulfilling it, he would have testified his uncorrupted love and obedience towards God; by violating it, he professed that he threw off the dominion of God and preferred his own will (yea even the voice of the Devil) to the divine will and voice.

Why a symbolical law was given.

V. Therefore that exploratory law was necessary in addition to the natural law impressed upon the conscience of men. (1) In order that God, who had granted the dominion of all things to man, might declare himself to be the Lord of man and man might understand himself to be a servant bound to obey and adhere to him. Although the natural law had already clearly declared that, yet because someone might think the natural law to be a property of nature and not a law, he wished therefore (by a peculiar law about a thing absolutely indifferent) to declare this more clearly. Thus on the one hand, the dominion of God might appear (who by his own pure free will forbids that of which no other reason can be found beside his will); on the other, the duty of man (searching into no reason for the command or interdict, but composing himself to render obedience on account of the will of the enjoiner alone). (2) That sin might be made more conspicuous by that external symbol and the evil of the concealed ulcer be dragged to the light (or the virtue of obedience be far more clearly exhibited). For the virtue of obedience would have been the more illustrious as the evil was because forbidden of God. "For," says Augustine, "how great an evil is disobedience could not be better and more carefully impressed upon us, since therefore man became guilty of iniquity, because he touched that thing contrary to the prohibition; which, not prohibited, if he had touched, assuredly he had not sinned" (*The Literal Meaning of Genesis* 8.13 [ACW 42:52; PL 34.383–84]). (3) To declare that man was created by him with free will; for if he had been without it, he would not have imposed such a law upon him. (4) That by interdicting the fruit of a beautiful tree, he might teach that his happiness does not consist in the enjoyment of earthly things; otherwise God would not have wished to prevent his using it. (5) To teach that God alone and his service must be sought before all things as the highest good and that we should acquiesce in it alone.

VI. To make this trial of man, God might indeed have enjoined upon him or prohibited something great and difficult (as he tried the faith of Abraham by a severe and difficult command). However, he wished to give a law concerning a thing neither great nor difficult in order that obedience might be easy, and man be deprived of every excuse if he should transgress. Hence Augustine says, "Whoever thinks the condemnation of Adam either too great, or unjust, assuredly knows not how to measure the great iniquity of sinning where there was so great a facility of not sinning; as therefore the

obedience of Abraham is deservedly celebrated as great, because the slaying of his son, a most difficult thing, was commanded; so also in paradise by so much the greater was the disobedience as that which was commanded was not of difficulty" (CG 14.15 [FC 14:385; PL 41.423]).

VII. God gave this precept to man for his trial. It was not that he was ignorant of his mutability or of the event. Rather it was partly to make known to man himself his own weakness (in order that he might find out by the event itself the great difference between the Creator and the creature); partly also that God might have an occasion of more distinctly declaring his glory about man, which without this would have remained hidden in its principal part (viz., as to the exercise of mercy and justice, to which the way was opened by sin).

Fifth Question: The Tree of Life

Why was it called the tree of life?

I. Another tree (by which, as a sacrament, God wished to seal the promise given) was the tree of life. Regarding this name opinions differ.

Why called "the tree of life"? Not effectively.

II. Some maintain that it was so called effectively because it had an innate power of vivifying man (i.e., of keeping off not only diseases and weaknesses, but also death itself) and of conferring upon him absolute immortality (the opinion of Bellarmine and other papists, but deservedly rejected by Scotus, Thomas Aquinas and others). A finite power could not have an infinite efficacy of extending life to an infinite time. Besides, since its fruit no less than its sap was liable to corruption, it could not absolutely free man from destruction, unless another cause intervened. It can indeed be determined probably that its fruit was the best and most efficacious aliment for preserving life (having the power of strengthening the nutritive faculty, repairing the weak radical and preserving an equable state of health and vigor) until it should be carried to the heavenly life. Yet on this account, it ought not to be distinguished by this peculiar name because other trees also had the same power, if not equal strength.

But sacramentally.

III. Far better therefore is the opinion of others that the tree obtained this name principally by reason of signification. It was a sacrament and symbol of the immortality which would have been bestowed upon Adam if he had persevered in his first state. Augustine says, "He had nourishment in other trees; in this, however, a sacrament" (*The Literal Meaning of Genesis* 8.4 [ACW 42:38; PL 34.375]). Now this signification can have a threefold relation (*schesin*). (1) With respect to past life, it was a symbol putting him in mind (*mnēmoneutikon*) of the life received from God. As often as he tasted its fruit, he was bound to recollect that he had life not from himself, but from God. (2) With respect to future life, it was a declarative (*sēmantikon*) and sealing (*sphragistikon*) sign of the happy life to be passed in paradise and to be changed afterwards into a heavenly life, if he had continued upright. (3) With respect to the state of grace, it was an illustrious type of the eternal happiness prepared for us in heaven; also a type of Christ himself who acquired and confers it upon us and who is therefore called "the tree of life in the midst of the paradise of God" (Rev. 2:7); "the tree of life yielding her fruit twelve times every month, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations" (Rev. 22:2).

IV. Therefore the life which this tree signified and sealed was not properly either the longevity or the immortality of the body alone; rather it was the eternal happiness to be obtained at length in heaven (which comes under the name of eternal life in Scripture and which no food can impart, but with which the use of food and drink rather contends). Hence it is said that God will abolish both the stomach and food, so that man may see God not in this animal body, but in a spiritual. This will be proved hereafter in a separate question.

V. When God expelled man from paradise "lest man put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever" (Gen. 3:22), it cannot thence be rightly inferred that there was a physical power in this tree of so great efficacy that it could (its fruit having been once tasted) rescue even sinful man from mortality. These words denote only the cause of his ejection from paradise on account of sin (by which, as by his own fault, he had cut himself off from that life, which was the thing signified). Thus he ought no longer to have any right to its sacrament. God speaks not with

reference to the thing itself or its event (as if that tree would actually preserve his life even after sin), but in relation to the preposterous opinion of Adam who could think this, not understanding the true reason of the name. That he might not, therefore, endeavor (though vainly) to render void the threatening of God, he is expelled from paradise. Not that God envied the immortality or the longer life of man, but because it was not right that he should longer enjoy the sign of the immortality which he had lost. For this purpose he also willed to station the cherubim with a flaming sword at the gate of paradise in order that our first parents might be kept away as much from the garden as from the tree.

How did the tree of life signify Christ?

VI. What was interdicted to them in that pristine state is now not only made lawful to us, but also commanded and promised in the state of grace (in which easy access is given to us to the heavenly paradise and to Christ, the true tree of life). This is the truth and mystery shadowed in this ancient type: the tree of life—not earthly, but heavenly; not material and irrational (*alogos*), but mystical and rational; not only significative and sealing of life, but truly the bestower of it. "In him was life" (Jn. 1:4, i.e., the fountain and cause of all life). This life is as much natural in the world (because in him we live and move and have our being, Acts 17:28), as spiritual in the church through grace (because as Mediator, he is the prince of life giving life to the world and eternal life in heaven by glory; for he is "the resurrection and the life" who will most certainly bestow upon his own eternal life). Truly he is the only tree because no one except Christ is the author of eternal life (nor is there salvation in any other, Acts 4:12). No one except Christ is in the midst of paradise (Rev. 2:7) and of the street of the city (Rev. 22:2). Christ is in the midst of the church (as a more honorable and suitable place) to be near all and diffuse his vivifying power among all; to be seen by all, as the center in which all the lines of faith and love ought to meet, that they may acquiesce in him. The fruit-bearing tree (Rev. 2:7), which bears the sweetest and most exquisite fruit for the support of believers (Cant. 2:3), bears twelve kinds of them (Rev. 22:2), i.e., the most abundant and richest, sufficing for the twelve tribes of Israel (i.e., for all the members of the church, which from his fullness draw all gifts necessary for them). It bears

them every month (i.e., perpetually) because the power and efficacy of the righteousness and spirit of Christ are perpetual and unceasing for the consolation and sanctification of believers. Its leaves (never falling and perpetually green) are appointed for the healing of the nations because it has the virtue not only of aliment (to feed our souls), but also of medicine (most healthful to cure all our diseases, Is. 53:5; Mt. 11:28).

VII. Hence it is evident that these two trees of paradise are not free from mystery. For as the first was a sacrament of trial (which prescribed to man his duty) and the second a symbol of the reward (by which God wished to remunerate his obedience), so each shadowed forth to us in the best manner, the mode of God's acting in the church by commands and promises. The former prescribed to man his duty and explored his obedience (well signified by the tree of the knowledge of good and evil). The latter exhibited the blessing and most ample reward of God by which he wishes to crown our obedience (fitly expressed by the tree of life). Second, the law and the gospel can also be contained under this double symbol. For the law (as the tree of the knowledge of good and evil) is given to us as a trial of obedience and by sin (no less than that) is made the occasion of death and the minister of condemnation. The gospel, however, is the saving and quickening tree of life because it is "the word of life" (Jn. 6:68). Third, the former exhibits the image of Adam from whom sin and death flowed; however the latter exhibits Christ from whom righteousness and life arise (1 Cor. 15:22).

Sixth Question

Whether Adam had the promise of eternal and heavenly life so that (his course of obedience being finished) he would have been carried to heaven. We affirm

Statement of the question.

I. This question is moved against us by various persons. First, by the Socinians who, in order to establish the mortality of the first man and prove that death is not the punishment of sin (but a consequence of nature) maintain that the covenant of God with Adam was not spiritual; rather it

concerned the goods of the animal and earthly life alone, and that no other happiness was to be expected by him than an earthly and animal (which he enjoyed in paradise, depending upon eating and drinking and other necessities of life) which could also be interrupted by death. Hence they refer the promise of eternal life to the blessings of the New Testament. They contend that no hope of it was given to the first man or that only a certain very obscure signification was to be gathered from the enigma of the tree of life (cf. Socinus, *Praelectionis theologicae* 1 [1627], pp. 1–2 and Volkelius, *De vera Religione* 3.11 [1630], pp. 56–72).

II. Second, those who constitute a threefold covenant (natural, legal and evangelical) so explain the promise annexed to each that the evangelical alone was of eternal life to be passed in heaven. The legal consisted in the most perfect happiness both of soul and body to be enjoyed in the land of Canaan. However, the promise annexed to the natural covenant had no other reference than to "the life, perpetual and abounding in all kinds of good, which can belong both to the soul and the body of man constituted in the state of upright nature, and that to be enjoyed in the earthly paradise" (as the illustrious Amyrald expresses it, "Theses Theologicae de Tribus Foederibus Divinis," 11 in *Syntagma Thesium Theologicarum* [1664], p. 214).

III. However, the received opinion among the orthodox is that the promise given to Adam was not only of a happy life to be continued in paradise, but of a heavenly and eternal life (to which he was to be carried after the course of perfect obedience and perseverance had been run and which God had prescribed to him as a trial of his faith). Hence it is evident that the question is not whether Adam had the privilege of immortality in his upright state (which we have proved before against Socinus). The question is not whether the promise was given to him of happiness and life perpetually to endure, if he had persisted in integrity (which the learned men, with whom we here dispute, do not deny). Rather the question is whether that happiness and life were to be passed in heaven or only upon the earth and in paradise. The latter, they affirm; we the former.

IV. The reasons are: (1) The law of works had the promise of heavenly and eternal life; therefore also the law prescribed to Adam. In each instance, it is the same law as to substance. The former is evident from "who doeth these things, shall live by them" (Lev. 18:5); "if thou wilt enter into life"

(namely, the heavenly) "keep the commandments" (Mt. 19:16, 17); and "the commandment was ordained to life" (Rom. 7:10) assuredly, not earthly, but heavenly. Since however, after the fall, the law can justify no one, this promise must necessarily have had place in upright Adam.

V. Second, it is confirmed by this—Christ acquired the eternal and celestial life which he bestows upon us in no other way than that (being made under the law) he fulfilled the righteousness (*dikaiōma*) of the law for us (Rom. 8:4; Gal. 4:5). This could not have been done unless the law had promised heavenly life to the obedient. For as he rendered to God the Father no other obedience than what the law demanded, so by fulfilling the law, he acquired no other life than what was promised by the law. Besides, since Christ died that through him we might recover what we lost in Adam and merited for us eternal life, it is necessary that it should have been lost for us in Adam and that Adam would have attained it, if he had persevered in obedience. Nor would Christ be called the tree of life, if he had not restored that life to us whose promise this tree sealed to our first parents.

VI. Third, the threatening of death denounced against the transgressor embraces both temporal and eternal death to be suffered in hell; for that death is understood, the empire of which the Devil obtained on account of sin (Heb. 2:14). Now he has the empire of eternal death to be suffered in hell. Thus also the promise of life (opposed to it) includes heavenly and eternal life. The reason of the consequence depends on the goodness of God, which is no less than his justice. If legislators are wont to inflict milder punishments upon transgressors and so reward the obedient more fully, how much more ought this to be said of God (the best and most munificent lawgiver) who is slow to wrath and plenteous in mercy? Would God take delight in aggravating punishments and lessening rewards; threatening spiritual, eternal and infernal punishments, and bestowing only earthly promises?

VII. Fourth, the state of the highest good of God communicative of itself demands this. For it cannot but communicate itself to the rational creature created for it (and capacious among all God's creatures). It ought also to exhibit itself to be enjoyed fittingly to his nature (i.e., in a spiritual manner). To profess corporeal and terrestrial goods is not to enjoy him as God (i.e., as the solid and immutable good); especially since the covenant into which he receives him promises not any kind, but the most excellent goods in

intimate communion with God (which can be no other than eternal and heavenly).

VIII. Fifth, the dignity of man himself demands the same thing. Since his noblest part is spirit (even of heavenly origin) touched with a vehement desire of heavenly goods (by which alone its infinite appetite for the highest good can be satisfied), he could not obtain on earth his full felicity, but must be gifted with it at length in heaven where he can enjoy the fullest and most perfect communion with God, in whom his highest good resides. For although on earth he could in some measure give himself to be enjoyed, it is certain that the immediate and absolute fruition of God is not to be sought apart from the beatific vision which can be looked for only in heaven.

IX. Sixth, because the state of the way (*status viae*) ought to differ from the state of native country (*status patriae*): the place of contest and trial, and the place of reward and wages. Now the earthly paradise was the place of trial and the life enjoyed in it, the state of the way. Thus another place ought to be assigned to the state of residence, in which the reward was promised (which could be one other than heaven). Otherwise it would follow that no good was promised to him (of which he had not been made partaker before perfect obedience rendered to the law) for already in paradise he enjoyed a happy life overflowing with all kinds of good. I pass over the argument that if Adam had persevered in obedience, it would have been impossible for him and all his posterity to remain perpetually upon the earth. For they, increasing in number by generation and no one being translated to heaven, within two thousand years the earth would have been too small to contain the whole human race. How much less could one garden of Eden hold and support them all? From all this it appears that the promise given to Adam was not only of a happy life to be passed on earth, but a heavenly and eternal life. Calvin observes: “The earthly life indeed would have been temporal; into heaven, however he would have migrated without destruction and uninjured” (*Commentary on Genesis* [1947], 1:127 on Gen. 2:17).

Sources of solutions.

X. The natural covenant is not so called because it conferred nothing above nature and condition (which man had from creation), but because it

depended on the powers of nature and the obedience (which according to them) he ought to render. Nor, if a proportion is not granted between the prescribed duty and the blessing of heavenly life, does it follow that such a promise cannot have a place. It is gratuitously and falsely supposed that the promises of God are regulated according to the proportion of our merit. On the contrary, they depend upon God's will and goodness. For there was no proportion between the constancy of angels keeping their original estate and the infinite reward of a confirmed heavenly life. For as God punishes this side of condignity, so he rewards far beyond desert.

XI. Although the Scripture does not make express mention of a heavenly life to be conferred on Adam, it is with sufficient clearness gathered by legitimate consequence from the opposed threatening of eternal death and from the sacramental seal of this promise by the tree of life (the signification of which was surely known to man). For although Moses describes it obscurely (as most of the things pertaining to that covenant, upon which, as the shadow of a fleeing image, he throws only scattered rays of light to represent its evanescence [*aphanismon*]), yet there can be no doubt that these things were more distinctly revealed to the first man.

XII. Christ alone gives us promises of eternal life in the state of sin. Yet in the state of nature, Adam might have had them by his own obedience, according to God's pact.

XIII. The promises of the new covenant are said to be "better" than those of the old (Heb. 8:6), not as to substance (because the same heavenly and eternal life is promised in both), but as to mode (because, as they were acquired in a far nobler manner through Christ, so they are set forth far more clearly and efficaciously and are applied more certainly and firmly in the hand of a Mediator) inasmuch as there is granted to us not only the help without which we could not persevere (as to Adam), but the help with which we can certainly persevere. Again, they can be called "better" as to the condition of the objects. The covenant of works promises life only to the man perfectly just and deserving; but the covenant of grace promises not only life, but also salvation to man altogether undeserving and unworthy (namely to the sinner).

XIV. Although this covenant of nature was without a mediator, still no less could it promise and confer upon Adam (persevering) heavenly life (even as the angels could, without a mediator, be confirmed in good).

XV. The happiness and perfection of the way must differ from that of the residence. Although nothing was wanting to Adam in paradise for the happiness and perfection suitable to the state of the way, still many things could be wanting which are required for the happiness of the residence.

XVI. When Paul says the first Adam was made a "living soul," but the second a "quickening spirit" (1 Cor. 15:45, 46) (the one animal and earthly, the other spiritual and heavenly), he does not wish to indicate what was or was not promised to Adam. He only indicates what was the condition of each Adam, and what they ought to communicate to their posterity (viz., Adam only an animal life, but Christ a heavenly and eternal life through his quickening spirit). But as the second Adam was not so from heaven with respect to his divinity (but that he also could have something of the earthy [*tou choikou*] in our flesh which he assumed), so neither was the first Adam so animal (*psychikos*) and earthy with respect to his body formed from the earth (and with respect to the animal functions, necessary for the propagation of the species and the preservation of the individual) but that he might also be moral and spiritual, endowed with wisdom, righteousness and holiness; and thus adorned with those gifts by which he was capable of eternal and heavenly life.

XVII. Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 15:50), not inasmuch as they are considered simply physically and substantively (otherwise the resurrection of the flesh could not be believed), but only morally and qualitatively (as liable to corruption through sin, which did not belong to Adam in the state of nature). Although Adam in that state could not have received heavenly life without some change, in order that he might pass from a state of animality (depending upon food, sleep and rest, and other necessities of life) to a state of glory (in which he would be deprived of them), it was not necessary forthwith that the mode and reason of that change should be revealed to him. It was sufficient for Adam to know the fact (*to hoti*), although ignorant of the how (*to pōs*).

Seventh Question: Paradise

Does the earthly paradise still exist? We deny

Statement of the question.

I. The question here is not what or of what nature was the garden of Eden; or what place on earth did it occupy (concerning which the opinions of the learned are various and discrepant, which Bellarmine laboriously brings together and examines in his book "De Gratia Primi Hominis," 12 in *Opera* [1858], 4:39–41). It is easy to gather, from the narrative of Moses and the topography of paradise given by him, that it should be sought nowhere else than in Mesopotamia about Babylon. But we speak here only of its present existence: whether that garden still exists at this time, in whatever part of the earth it may be.

II. This question lies between us and various papists who assert that the garden still exists "in a place indeed unknown to us, yet defined in a new earth and remote from the visits of sinners, where Enoch and Elijah live until coming forth thence against Antichrist they may contend with him." Their design in this is not obscure: it is undoubtedly to persuade the common people that their pope is not the Antichrist (as he is wont to be called by us) since he is to come forth only at the end of the ages (Enoch and Elijah returning, who have not yet appeared). This is the opinion of Bellarmine ("De Gratia Primi Hominis," 14 in *Opera* [1858], 4:42) and of Sixtus Senensis (*Bibliotheca Sancta* 5, anno 36 [1575], 2:30).

III. However not a few of the papists differ from them on this point (as Pererius, Jansen, Suarez, Viegas, Cornelius a Lapide and others). They agree in asserting that that garden was submerged by the waters of the flood and, on that account, so changed and destroyed that it no longer exists. We do not deny that the place indeed remains about the Euphrates in Mesopotamia, but maintain that the garden was long ago ruined and laid waste by the universal deluge (or even by some singular judgment of God unknown to us) that men might not desire a return to it and might know that another far more excellent should be sought (viz., the heavenly) which can be destroyed by no deluge, but will eternally endure for the happiness of the pious.

Proof that paradise does not exist.

IV. The reasons are: (1) The waters of the flood are said to have so prevailed over the whole world, as to cover even the highest mountains fifteen cubits (Gen. 7:19, 20). Therefore they must also have destroyed that garden. However what Bellarmine says (that it is to be believed that the waters of the flood did not penetrate into paradise, and what is narrated of the mountains which the waters covered must be understood of those mountains which were dwelt upon by sinners in the inhabited earth) is rejected with the same facility with which it is gratuitously and without foundation proposed. Yea, Scripture openly impugns it, speaking not only of certain mountains, but of all: "And all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven were covered" (v. 19). Now a universal proposition ought not to be restricted unless the exception is made in Scripture itself or necessary reason demands it (neither of which is granted here). As to the safety of Enoch, it will hereafter be refuted. Yea, Bellarmine himself (destroying his own argument) afterwards confesses that the water penetrated into paradise and, if it did not entirely destroy, still it received some damage (but not total "because it did not change the situation of the place, nor the temperature of the air, nor root up or wither all trees").

V. Second, no trace any longer exists of paradise, nor can it be ascertained. Not in Mesopotamia where, as we said, it most probably was because it is a most pleasant region, where the rivers of paradise (the Euphrates and the Tigris) are found, where the land of Eden is which gave its name to paradise (Gen. 2:8), near Haran (2 K. 19:12; Ezk. 27:23); not anywhere else.

VI. Third, if paradise had been preserved of God by a special privilege and had been unharmed by the waters of the deluge, to no purpose would Noah have spent so much time and labor upon the ark for his reception (since he might easily have gone into paradise with his family and other animals, where he would have been safe from the flood).

VII. Fourth, if paradise had been preserved, it must undoubtedly have been preserved for some reason and end. But no reason can be given for it. For what the opponents invent (viz., that Enoch and Elijah might be transferred thither to have a place suitable to their state, until the time comes for their attack upon Antichrist, when they will exchange life with death) is a fictitious and absurd fable resting upon no foundation. There is indeed no doubt that Enoch and Elijah were translated to paradise where

they ought to live forever; but it was the heavenly, not the earthly paradise —that paradise in which Paul heard "unutterable (*arrēta*) words" (as Irenaeus has it, *Against Heresies* 5.5* [ANF 1:531; PG 7.1135]). It is evident that Elijah was carried up by a whirlwind into heaven (2 K. 2:11) and that Enoch was translated (viz., to heaven) that he should not see death (Heb. 11:5). However, he would not have been exempted from death, if still kept in Eden for martyrdom.

VIII. The Son of Sirach indeed asserts that "Enoch pleased the Lord and was translated" (viz., from the world to heaven, 44:16). The addition (translated "into Paradise") does not exist in the Greek manuscript, but was inserted by an ancient interpreter and falsely approved by the Council of Trent. Besides, it is one thing to be translated into paradise, another to be translated into the earthly paradise. The former is asserted by the Son of Sirach (according to the old version, but not the latter).

IX. To no purpose, Bellarmine (to prove that Antichrist has not yet come, so that he may not be forced to recognize him in his pope) feigns that Enoch and Elijah are kept in paradise and will come forth at the end of the world, to fight with and to be slain by him ("De Romano Ponitifice," 3.6 in *Opera* [1856], 1:434–35). Not the slightest trace of such a comment occurs in Scripture. What is said of the coming of Elijah (Mal. 4:5) was evidently fulfilled in John the Baptist (Lk. 1:17). Christ himself testifies to it: "If ye will receive it, this is Elijah, which was for to come" (Mt. 11:14); "I say unto you, That Elijah is indeed come, and they have done unto him whatsoever they listed" (Mk. 9:13). The Jews believed that Elijah was to be sent before the Messiah began his reign. Christ himself confesses that to be true, but testifies that he had already come. Therefore to say that Elijah (who according to the prophecy of Malachi was to be sent before the first advent of the Messiah) has not yet come is necessarily to confess that the Messiah has not yet come. Nor can it be replied that Malachi speaks of the final advent. He calls it "the great and terrible" day of the Lord, and the Hebrew word (*hnvr'*) signifies not only "terrible," but also to "be revered." Again, the first advent of Christ is so called because "it is great to the saints, terrible to sinners," as Jerome* says; "for if Christ had not come to the Jews, they had not had sin" (Jn. 15:22). But since they rejected Christ coming, he had smitten their land with a curse according to the prophecy of Malachi (4:6). And moreover with respect to this judgment and destruction

which was to follow the advent of Christ, the coming of Christ itself is described as terrible (Mal. 3:2), as also by John the Baptist (Mt. 3:10). Nor if Elijah is said to "be about to come" (Mt. 17:11) is this so to be understood as if he was still to come, but because (according to Malachi) formerly he was about to come and to restore all things. Abulensis (Tostatus) thus explains who is "about to come" (i.e., "who was about to come, for he had now come, but it is said, who is to come because he is promised as about to come in Scripture," "Quatrapars Abulensis super Mattheum," in *Opera* [1507–31], p. 168 on Mt. 11). In the same manner, John the Baptist interrogates Christ through his disciples, "Art thou he that should come?" (Mt. 11:3). Christ had come for some time and yet is said to be about to come; not because then he was about to come, but because according to the prophecies of the sacred Scripture he was about to come (as the Scripture frequently is wont to retain the old name, the state being changed).

X. The two witnesses mentioned in Rev. 11:3 cannot be referred to Enoch and Elijah. Being once gifted with immortality, they are not any more liable to death (so that they can neither be slain by Antichrist), nor have they need of a resurrection. But they refer, either to the Old and New Testament (bearing testimony to Christ and which the beast impiously prohibited and defiled); or to the preachers of the word who preceded the Reformation and opened the way for it (who are more fitly said "to oppose themselves to the beast, to be slain, to have dead bodies, not to be buried, to be made alive" in their successors). These are called two, whether on account of their fewness (a certain number being put for an uncertain) or because, as generally, God in inaugurating his church sent two together—as Moses and Aaron, Elijah and Elisha, Zerubbabel and Joshua (in the Old Testament) and in the New, two disciples together were sent to preach (Mk. 6:7). In the Reformation, he raised up John Hus and Jerome of Prague in Bohemia, Zwingli and Oecolampadius in Switzerland, Luther and Melanchthon in Germany, Calvin and Farel in France.

XI. Although not a few of the ancients adopted the comment about the duration of paradise and the residence of Enoch and Elijah in it, it does not follow forthwith that it must be received. It is not supported by the word of God; yea is plainly repugnant to it. The source of error seems to have been opened partly in a Greek translation (corrupted in two places at Mal. 4:5).

According to the true Hebrew text, this is read: “I will send you Elijah the prophet.” The Greek version has “Elijah, the Tishbite” (*Elian ton Thisbitēn*) as if to be understood of the person of Elijah, the Tishbite. Also 2 K. 2:1, 11, where in the Hebrew we read that Elijah was “to be taken up” or was “taken up into heaven,” but in the Greek “as if into heaven” (*hōs eis ton ouranon*). This comes partly from a certain tradition of very doubtful faith, which seems to have taken its origin from Papias of Hierapolis. He recommended it to posterity delivered by the elders of Asia (disciples of the apostles) with many other fables and follies. He was a man of little judgment and the inventor of many fables, as what he relates concerning the five-fold age of Christ on earth and his millenary kingdom (cf. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 3*.39 [FC 19:202–6]).

XII. The olive branch, which the dove broke off and carried to Noah in the ark, may not necessarily have been obtained in paradise. Already the waters had lessened and for many days the ark had stood on Mount Ararat unmoved. Thus the olive (which always flourishes) could have leaves which the dove plucked; “for the olive is perpetually green, never sheds its leaves,” according to Pliny (*?Natural History* 15.40.134 [Loeb, 4:378–79]).

XIII. But not without mystery does God seem to have wished this paradise to be destroyed, to intimate that another far more pleasant is now to be sought by us. It is prepared for believers by God through Christ, not on earth but in heaven (Lk. 23:43; Rev. 2:7); filled with innumerable mystical and divine trees bearing the most healthful fruits (Rev. 22:2); watered by the perennial stream of living water and rivers of pleasure (Ps. 36:8), whence sin and death are forever banished; from which Satan, once driven out, can never return; into which the believer having once been received can never be cast out; approach to which angels do not prohibit, but thither bear our souls, so that they may enjoy in the vision of God all happiness and spend an eternal Sabbath.

NINTH TOPIC

Sin in General and in Particular

First Question

Whether the formal reason of sin may rightly be said to consist in illegality (anomia). *We affirm*

I. From the state of integrity, we proceed to the state of sin into which man (by his voluntary defection from the highest good) precipitated himself and became, at the same time, wicked and miserable. For an easier understanding of it, we must treat two things: (1) of sin in general; (2) of the same in particular, i.e., of the fall of angels and Adam, original and actual sin.

Etymology of peccatum.

II. *Peccatum* is commonly called in Hebrew *cht'h*, which properly means "deflection" from a design. It is applied to slingers and archers who do not hit the mark. This best explains the nature of sin—a true deflection and wandering from the end proposed to us both in creation and in the law of God. *Hamartia* in Greek answers to it—as if *hamarptia* ("a not reaching") as *hamartanein* means "to miss a mark" (*tou skopou apotynchanein*). Hence it is called by Suidas *hē tou agathou apotychia* (*Suidae Lexicon: Graeca et Latine* [repr. 1986], 1:262). Cicero, referring to this etymology, says "peccare" is "tanquam lineas transire" ("to cross over the lines," *Paradoxa Stoicorum* 3 [Loeb, 4:270–71]). Others derive it from *mrdh* which means "to rebel." In Latin, *peccatum* (cf. *pecuatum*, "from cattle") as *peccare* is to act irrationally (*alogōs*) like beasts. Hence Scripture compares sinners to dogs, swine, vipers, lions and animals of like kind. Isidore maintains the

sinner to be (as it were) “a rake” (*pellicatorem*) and *peccare* to mean “to indulge in lust” (*pellicari, Etymologiarum* 10 [PL 82.391]).

What is sin in the concrete; what in the abstract?

III. However, sin may be viewed in two aspects: either in the concrete and materially (with the subject in which it inheres); or in the abstract and formally for vitiosity itself (whether actual or habitual). In the former sense, Augustine defines sin as a “desire, word, deed contrary to the law of God” (*Reply to Faustus the Manichaean* 22.27 [NPNF1, 4:283; PL 42.418]); but this is not sufficiently accurate because it pertains only to actual sin (and indeed sins of commission). More correctly therefore, it is called an inclination, action or omission at variance with the law of God; or lacking the legal rectitude which ought to be in it. In the latter, it is nothing other than *anomia* or “discrepancy from the law.” John defines it: *hē de hamartia estin anomia* (“sin is the transgression of the law,” 1 Jn. 3:4) because “where no law is, there is no transgression” (Rom. 4:15).

IV. By law here is meant the law of God alone by way of eminence (*kat’ exochēn*) (who is the “only lawgiver, who can save and destroy,” Jam. 4:12), whether natural and implanted (*emphytos*) (impressed upon the consciences of men) or revealed and inwritten (*engraphos*) (committed to writing in the Word of God). Human laws do not bind the conscience primarily, directly, immediately and of themselves; but secondarily only, indirectly and mediately by the law of God according to which we are bound to obey our superiors.

The formal reason of sin is anomia.

V. Hence it follows that the formal reason of sin consists in *anomia* and privation, denoting the want of the rectitude or goodness which ought to be in the rational creature according to the prescription of the law (whether it belongs to the nature or qualities or actions themselves, for it deprives all these of conformity with the law and so constitutes them guilty of sin). But this privation is not pure or simple, but corrupting; not idle, but energetic; not of pure negation, but of depraved disposition, by which not only is the due rectitude taken away, but also an undue unrectitude and a depraved

quality laid down, infecting all the faculties. Just as a physical disease is not only a removal of the temper of the humors, but also a corrupt disposition and disorder (*dyskrasia*) of them, so sin (which holds the relation of a moral disease of the soul) is not only the negation of a good, but the position of a corrupt disposition. Therefore inasmuch as it is the want of righteousness that ought to be in, it is well called privation; even so, inasmuch as it taints and corrupts the soul, it is called a corrupt quality and is usually described as a stain and disease. Hence Thomas Aquinas: "As bodily sickness has something of privation, inasmuch as the equality of health is taken away, and has something positive (viz., the humors themselves inordinately disposed), so original sin … is not a pure privation, but a certain corrupt habit" (ST, I–II, Q. 82*, Art. 1, p. 956).

VI. In this respect, some attribute a certain positive being to sin, not absolutely and physically (as if it was a subsistence having a physical entity and created by God), but both logically (because it is truly affirmed of the subject) and ethically (inasmuch as it is a corrupt habit infecting the moral faculties and the acts flowing from them). It is opposed to a mere nothing because it is one thing to do nothing, another to do badly; or to a simple privation, which deprives the subject indeed of the due rectitude without positing any contrary quality.

VII. Not everything which includes something positive is altered by good or being. But what properly and in every way is positive (especially substantial) and which in its own conception does not imply privation or defect, such also alone is from God and is desirable. Yet there is not the same relation of that which is called positive only relatively or logically or ethically, as is the case with sin.

VIII. Although sin in its conception involves privation, yet there does not cease to be a distinction between sins of omission and commission. The former assail the affirming precepts; the latter the denying. In the former, privation takes away the whole substance of the act and its objective goodness; in the latter the substance of the act is not taken away, but only its actual goodness. The privation of omission immediately exists in the power by which man was bound to have acted, but the other is immediately in the action which is destitute of the due morality.

IX. Although infants are not susceptible of law as to act, still they are as to habit (being rational creatures to whom the law prescribes every kind of

holiness—habitual as much as actual). Hence original sin is rightly said to be against the law because it is a privation of the original rectitude which the law demands in man.

X. The virtues of the heathen can be according to the law with regard to the substance of work; although against the law with regard to mode of operating (which in many ways wanders from it).

Second Question

Whether the hekousion or voluntary (inasmuch as it is of him who knowingly and willingly does anything) is of the essence of sin. We deny against the papists and Socinians

I. The papists and Socinians agitate this controversy with us, the more easily to obscure the true nature of original sin and to deny the first motions of nature (however foul and base, which are not in our power [*eph' hēmin*] and lack the full assent of the mind) to be sins. And thus they wish nothing to have the relation of sin except what is equally voluntary (to wit, what is done knowingly and from choice [*ek proaireseōs*]); cf. Bellarmine, "De amissione gratiae," 1.1 *Opera* (1858), 4:52–53; Smaltzius*, *Refutatio Thesium D. Wolfgangi Frantzii*, Disp. II (1614), pp. 41–62.

Statement of the question.

II. We clear the question by a twofold distinction. First, voluntary may be taken either strictly or broadly. In the former sense, it means that which is done by an actual movement of the will; in the latter, that which in any manner either affects the will and inheres in it or depends upon it. Here, however, we do not treat of voluntary broadly so called. For we do not deny that sin is in the will and thus far it can be called voluntary, at least subjectively. Rather we treat of voluntary strictly so called, which involves an act of choice (*proaireseōs*) and will. In this sense, we deny that every sin is voluntary (*hekousion*).

III. Second, involuntary may be taken in two ways: either positively or negatively. The former is the same as unwilling which is such by a positive nolition. In this sense, we grant that no sin can be involuntary. The latter is

what is done (the act of will ceasing) when the will ought to have acted (which is said to be such by a negative nolition). In this sense, every sin is not necessarily voluntary.

IV. The reason is that this requisite does not belong to every sin—not to it alone, nor always. Not to all because it cannot be said of original sin (which precedes all use of the will and liberty). Although it is in the will subjectively, still it is not from it originally. Not to "sins of ignorance and imprudence" (*hamartiai akousioi* in the Septuagint, Num. 15:27), called as much from induced ignorance (like that of Noah and Lot who sinned when intoxicated) as from simple ignorance (like that of Abimelech seizing the wife of Abraham, and of Paul in 1 Tim. 1:13). Not to it alone because the voluntary (*to hekousion*) is a common affection of all actions (which are done from choice [*ek proaireseōs*]). Not always because sometimes there is a wrestling in sinful actions—as when Paul did the sin which he would not and hated it (Rom 7:15*).

V. The very first motions of concupiscence do not cease to be sins, although they are neither wholly voluntary nor in our power. "I had not known sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet" (Rom. 7:7). Those very unbridled motions of concupiscence he not only calls "sin," but "sin exceeding sinful" (*kath' hyperbolēn hamartōlon*, Rom. 7:13). Although indeed these motions may not be in our power (*eph' hēmin*), yet because they were such in the beginning and ought to be in accordance with the duty of man, they do not cease to be sins.

VI. Desire is contradistinguished from sin; not simply, but from a certain species of it (viz., sin "finished") which is carried out by the external members (Jam. 1:14, 15).

VII. Ignorance can indeed excuse from so much, but not from the whole; and ignorance not of the law, but of action; not vincible, affected and drawn upon one's self (*epispastos*), but invincible and involuntary; not of depraved disposition (which is also called a culpable error), but of pure negation (which is called nescience [*nescientia*]).

VIII. When Augustine says, "Sin is even so voluntary that it is not even sin, unless it be voluntary" (*Of True Religion* 14 [LCC 6:238; PL 34.133]), this is not to be understood of any sin whatsoever, but only of actual (*actuali*) sin. He explains, "In vain do you suppose that on this account

there is no fault in little children because it cannot be without will, which they have not. For this is properly said on account of each one's proper sin, not on account of the original contagion of the first sin" (*Against Julian* 3.5 [FC 35:116; PL 44.707]).

IX. The voluntary is twofold: either radically in the signified act (*actu signato*), or actually in the exercised act (*actu exercito*). Sin is not always voluntary actually and in the exercised act because original sin is granted; but it can be called voluntary radically because the proper seat of sin is the will in every sin.

X. What is necessary by a physical necessity (or of coaction) cannot have the relation of sin; but what is necessary by a hypothetical and rational necessity does not forthwith take away sin.

Third Question

Whether guilt is the formal of sin, or its inseparable adjunct, or only its effect. And whether it may well be distinguished into guilt of culpability and of punishment

Two effects of sin: pollution. and guilt.

I. The effects of sin are commonly said to be two: pollution and guilt. The former is the spiritual and moral pollution with which the soul of man is tainted. Guilt is obligation to punishment from previous sin. The former inheres in man; the latter however adheres to him in the sight of God. The former makes man wicked; the latter makes him miserable. According to the first relation (*schesin*) sins are called "impurities," "diseases," "wounds;" according to the latter, they are called "crimes," "offenses," "debts." The former can remain, the latter being removed. The latter answers to the blessing of justification by which Christ takes away our guilt by the imputation of his own righteousness. However, the former answers to the grace of sanctification by which pollution is washed away through the efficacy of the Holy Spirit.

What is guilt and of how many kinds? Potential and actual.

II. Politically, guilt is nothing else than the state and condition in which the accused are until they are either acquitted or condemned. Theologically, however, it is called "the obligation to punishment arising from sin." That obligation can be considered either in the first act for obnoxiousness (*obnoxietate*) or the desert of punishment; or in the second act for the obligation itself or actual ordination of punishment from the judgment of God. Hence a twofold guilt arises: one called potential, denoting the intrinsic desert of punishment inseparable from sin; the other actual, separable from it by the mercy of God (viz., by remission), which is properly the actual removal of guilt. The former belongs to the demerit of sin and its condemnability (*to katakritikon*) (which always adheres to sin); the latter, however, to the judgment of demerit or the condemnation (*to katakrima*) which is taken away from those whose sins are pardoned.

Guilt is not the formal of sin.

III. Hence it is evident that guilt is not with sufficient accuracy called by the Scholastics the formal (*formale*) of sin; it is only its consequent, arising from its illegality (*anomia*). For as the law can be viewed in respect of the command or of the sanction or of the added threatening, sin has a twofold relation (*schesin*) to it. With regard to the former (inasmuch as it is referred to the sentence of the law commanding or prohibiting something), it is called *anomia* ("illegality"); inasmuch as it is referred to the threatening, it is called guilt. Hence it follows that guilt (at least actual guilt concerning which we especially treat) can be separated from sin. In the renewed, there is illegality (*anomia*) and not guilt (Rom. 8:1). In Christ, on the contrary, there is guilt (Is. 53:5; 2 Cor. 5:21) because he is our surety, but yet no illegality (*anomia*) (1 Pet. 2:22; 1 Jn. 3:5; Jn. 8:46). Therefore illegality (*anomia*) is one thing, but the condemnation (*krima*) attending it is another. The former constitutes the nature of sin; the latter, however, follows it and necessarily depends upon it.

IV. However, guilt follows sin, partly from the natural and indispensable right of God (founded on his justice and the intrinsic demerit of sin because it is a thing in its own nature evil and base, which God cannot help hating, Rom. 1:32; Hab. 1:13), partly from the sanction of the divine law threatening sin with punishment (which must be fulfilled).

V. Although the sanction of the law ought necessarily to be fulfilled (and in this sense guilt can never be separated from sin), yet because a surety can be substituted in the place of the sinner (who takes his guilt upon himself), it happens that it can be separated from the person sinning (not indeed through nature or from the law [which ignores such substitution], but through grace from the gospel).

VI. Falsely, however, is guilt distinguished by the papists into guilt of culpability and of punishment. The guilt of culpability (*reatus culpae*) according to them is that by which the sinner is of himself unworthy of the grace of God and worthy of his wrath and condemnation; but the guilt of punishment (*reatus poenae*) is that by which he is subject to condemnation and obliged to it. The former guilt, they say, is taken away by Christ. The latter, however, can remain (at least as to the guilt of temporal punishment). But the emptiness of the distinction appears from the nature of both. Since culpability and punishment are related and guilt is nothing else than the obligation to punishment arising from culpability, they mutually posit and remove each other so that culpability and its guilt being removed, the punishment itself ought to be taken away necessarily (as it can be inflicted only on account of culpability). Otherwise culpability cannot be said to be remitted or its guilt taken away, if there still remains something to be purged from the sinner because of it.

VII. Some punishments are still visited by God upon believers after the remission of culpability (as upon David and others) because they are only improperly so called (i.e., they are medicinal and castigatory—for their correction); not indeed properly so called and satisfactory—for their punishment. Yet it does not follow that, the culpability being remitted or its guilt removed, there still remains any guilt of punishment.

Fourth Question: Venial and Mortal Sin

Whether all sins are of themselves and in their own nature mortal. Or whether any venial sin can be granted. The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the papists

Opinion of papists concerning mortal and venial sin.

I. It is well known that among the various divisions of sin, the papists press this beyond others, distributing sin into mortal and venial. Their design in this is not obscure (viz., to curry favor for the perfection of righteousness, supererogatory works, the merit of works and purgatory), although indeed it displeases various persons among them (as Gerson, Almayno, Roffensius and others). Bellarmine does not conceal this ("De amissione gratiae," 1.4 in *Opera* [1858], 4:54–57). Still it is received by most of them and is confirmed by the Council of Trent (Session 6*, Schroeder, pp. 37, 45).

II. According to them, mortal sins are those which turn man entirely away from God and to which eternal punishment is due (like deadly wounds which immediately extinguish life). Venial sins, however, are those which do not indeed wholly turn away from God, yet hinder progress to him and are easily expiated. Or they are those which of themselves and in their own nature are so light and minute as not to be sufficient to deprive anyone of divine grace or make him an enemy of God or render him worthy of eternal death. The former they hold to be such either from their own kind or from the imperfection of the work; the latter those which have for their object an evil and inordinate thing, yet a thing not repugnant to the love either of God or of our neighbor (such as an idle word or joke, excessive laughter, an officious lie). Those which are judged to be venial on account of imperfection of work are again twofold: (1) from subreption, which are not perfectly voluntary (such as the sudden motions of desire, anger, vengeance, etc. arising in the mind before the reason can fully deliberate whether they are to be entertained or not); (2) from the smallness of the matter, which are committed in a small thing (for instance, the theft of a farthing, which neither sensibly injures one's neighbor, nor is of such a kind as to take away friendship among generous men).

Statement of the question.

III. Hence it appears that the question does not concern the equality of sins or gradual inequality, but their essential demerit. The question is not whether all sins are equal to each other (the paradox of the ancient Stoics and falsely charged upon us by our opponents). If all sins agree in being mortal, it does not follow that they are equal in all things because they can differ from each other as to degree of demerit, so as to deserve a greater or lesser punishment. Rather the question is only whether they are equally mortal.

IV. (2) The question is not whether sins can be called mortal or venial from the event. We confess that as to the event (through God's grace) many sins are venial (viz., are pardoned by God). In this sense, we think all the sins of believers can be called venial because there is not one which is not eventually pardoned through God's mercy. Also we think that all the sins of reprobates are mortal because not one of them obtains pardon. But the question is whether they are such per se and in their own nature, so that some are mortal (i.e., deserving death), others venial (of themselves deserving pardon).

V. (3) The question is not whether a distinction relative to the administration of divine providence in the covenant of grace in punishing the sins of believers can be admitted; whether certain sins in believers can be called mortal because they are grievous and atrocious, which more deeply wound and injure conscience, hinder the act of justifying faith and take away present fitness for the kingdom of heaven (upon which therefore he denounces wrath and indignation; yea, threatens exclusion from the kingdom of heaven and eternal death, like those treated of in 1 Cor. 6:10 and Col. 3:5); whether others, however, may be called venial, which are lighter and of daily commission, not hindering the rule and operation of grace, nor taking away the sense of God's favor or the confidence of the pardon of sin (such as the rebellious motions of concupiscence, of which Paul complains in Rom. 7—defects and blemishes adhering even to the best works of the renewed). There are some of our party who think the distinction of mortal and venial sin can be retained in this sense, as Robert Baron, following the theologians of Great Britain, in his *Judicio de Perseverantia* (*?Disputatio theologica de vero discrime peccati mortalis et*

venialis [1633]), although it does not seem sufficiently appropriate on account of our opponents; the distinction of heavy and light sins is better. The question simply concerns the nature of sins in themselves according to the strictness of the law. We think all are mortal, none truly venial.

VI. The question therefore comes back to this—whether all sins per se and in their own nature are mortal (not that they are always actually punished with death, but are worthy of it and can justly be so punished); whether some are mortal and some venial (not from the event and through grace, but in their own nature and according to the law). The latter our opponents hold; we maintain the former.

Proof that no sin is venial: (1) from Rom. 6:23.

VII. The reasons are: (1) "The wages of sin is death" (Rom. 6:23) and "the soul that sinneth, it shall die" (Ezk. 18:20). These deal not with any sin in particular, but with sin in general. Mention is made of sin indefinitely to mark sin of any kind. Thus either venial sin is not sin or it deserves death and so is not venial. It is however gratuitously supposed that Paul treats only of heavier sin contending with grace and righteousness because he discourses about any sin, even concerning the remains of sin in the renewed (as he proves by his own example exclaiming at the end: "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death?" Rom. 7:24). His design proves this, which is to warn Christians from sins; not from some only, but from all because they have no other wages than death.

(2) From Dt. 27:26.

VIII. Second, the terrible formula of the law proves this very thing: "Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them" (Dt. 27:26; Gal. 3:10). If every deviation from the law deserves a curse and every sin is illegality (*anomia*), no sin can be granted (even the smallest) which does not bring upon it the curse. Nor can it be said that Moses treats only of certain more heinous sins referred to in the preceding verses—idolatry, incest, homicide. We answer that the universal particle embraces all. As Paul explains it (Gal. 3:10), attending to the sense more than to the sound, he adds from the Septuagint the universal syncategorematic words

"everyone" and "in all things," and makes mention of "the law" simply, not of "this law," that the curse may apply to the whole law. Nor does it follow that if actually and in fact all sinners are not cursed, all sin does not deserve to be cursed; but only that they obtain the pardon of it from grace.

(3) From Jam. 2:10.

IX. Third, "whosoever offends in one precept, he is guilty of all" (Jam. 2:10). The apostle treats here not only of crimes, but of any sins indefinitely, as is proved both by his general words "whosoever shall offend in one" and the example of "respect of persons" (*prosōpolēpsias*) adduced by him. A multiple reason can be given why man by violating one precept becomes guilty of all. (a) From the author, because there is the same author of all the precepts, so that in the violation of one the majesty of the lawgiver is offended against. (b) From the connection of sins, because all the precepts are summed up in the one of love; this being violated the whole law is violated. (c) From the end of the law which demands an obedience, not partial, but universal; so that he who violates one precept is guilty of the violation of the whole law and can no more obtain life from the law.

(4) From Mt. 12:36.

X. Fourth, in the day of judgment account must be given even of an idle word (Mt. 12:36), as of that which of itself can be a cause of condemnation. Hence to show that those idle words mentioned in v. 36 (venial sins on the hypothesis of our opponents) are a sufficient cause of condemnation, he adds, "by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned" (Mt. 12:37). The design of Christ (to show that the sin against the Holy Ghost can never be pardoned) confirms the same thing as an argument from the lesser. For if an idle word deserves condemnation, how much more such dreadful blasphemy?

(5) Because it is opposed to the glory of God.

XI. Fifth, every sin is opposed to the glory of God and is injurious to his infinite majesty. Thus it has in its measure infinite culpability, if not

intensive and intrinsic, at least objectively (inasmuch as it is committed against infinite good) and extensive (by reason of duration) because its stain or pollution continues forever (as far as the sinner is concerned; for he of himself or by his own powers can never wipe it out). Hence, apart from the mercy of God condemning, it would exclude the sinner forever from the heavenly kingdom (because nothing unholy can be admitted there) and subject him to infernal punishments. If, therefore, the culpability is infinite, the punishment also due to it must be infinite; if not intensively (which is repugnant to a finite creature), yet objectively (because it separates from the infinite good [to wit, God]) and extensively (by reason of duration).

XII. Sixth, the very lightest sins cannot be remitted. Since indeed the pardon of the elect is wholly gratuitous (from which God could therefore abstain without injustice), therefore they can be eternally punished justly (which could not be said if they were not worthy of eternal punishment). Seventh, Christ died for all sins, even the most trivial: therefore all are mortal.

Sources of solution.

XIII. Mortal sin differs from sin producing death. The former denotes what sin deserves; the latter whither sin leads us if we suffer ourselves to be lead away and deceived by it. Every sin is mortal in its own nature. Yet not every sin really and actually leads to death, on account of the intervention of grace.

XIV. Sin when it is finished is said “to bring forth death” (Jam. 1:15), not to the exclusion of conceived or inborn sin, but as the proximate cause. Yet it is ascribed to lust as the remote cause. As therefore what is the cause of the cause is also the cause of the thing caused, because lust is the cause of actual sin bringing forth death, it is deservedly held to be the cause also of the death itself. James does not distinguish the various species of sins, but the different degrees of the same sin and the process of temptation in which an advance is made from the first to the second act (from the internal to the external) and so to death itself. The first stage is placed in the temptation of lust or its first motion; the second in the conceiving of lust by its imperfect consent; the third in the bringing forth by a full and perfect

consent; the fourth in the consummation of sin by external work, which brings forth death.

XV. The "hay" and "stubble" discussed in 1 Cor. 3:12, do not denote venial sins, but new, vain and curious doctrines. Although they do not overthrow the foundation, they are not homogeneous with it. Thus they cannot bear the examination of the divine judgment or the light of the word and the efficacy of the Spirit (represented by "the fire trying every man's work," v. 13). (2) Although those who build such things upon a solid foundation will not be condemned, it does not therefore follow that their sins are not worthy of death; but that the grace of God pardons them.

XVI. The sin against the Holy Ghost is said to be unto death (1 Jn. 5:16) by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*), not only because it deserves death, but since it is wholly unpardonable, death necessarily and infallibly follows it. Others are not unto death; not because they are not mortal per se and worthy of death, but because from God's grace they are pardonable and often obtain remission.

XVII. Christ says nothing to favor venial sins, although seeming to consign some only to hell fire (Mt. 5:22, 23). His design is indeed to show that there is an inequality of punishments from the inequality of sins and in particular that homicide does not consist only in the external act (as the Pharisees maintained, according to Josephus, ?AJ 13*.294 [Loeb, 7:374–75]). Rather sin also consists in internal passion and irritating insults (but not that any sins are venial, since even the smallest degree of punishment is capital, as the smallest degree of sin is illegality [*anomos*]). He wishes to teach that even the first degree of passion is, in the sight of God, worthy of death because he who is bound by it, is said to be "in danger of the judgment" (*enochos tē krisei*) (viz., in the same sense in which the Pharisees wished the homicide to be in danger of the judgment [*enochon tē krisei*], as it is said in the preceding verse—to wit, as to the punishment of death). (2) The words of Christ are not to be pressed to the letter, as if he were treating properly in the first two degrees of punishment (viz., of "the judgment" and of "the council"—concerning human judgments), in the third, however, of "hell fire" (concerning the divine judgment only or eternal death). It would follow that anger conceived within and not breaking forth into act was liable to human judgment and that a sin could be granted which did not render the sinner liable to the judgment of God (which is

absurd). Rather they are to be understood figuratively, to describe the diversity of degree of punishments in the judgment of God by analogy and allusion to the diverse grades of judgments and capital punishments common among the Jews. Besides the lowest judgment, which was triumviral (which took cognizance of fines or pecuniary punishments), there were still three degrees of capital punishment among them. The first was of the judgment (viz., of twenty-three men constituted in particular cities to which belonged the judgments of souls [*dhyny nphshvth*], i.e., capital causes). The second was that of the great council or Sanhedrin, consisting of seventy men (in imitation of the seventy assessors of Moses mentioned in Num. 11:16), which met only in Jerusalem and took cognizance of the most heinous crimes. The third was that of hell fire, which was the greatest torment of all, exceeding both the sword and the stoning inflicted by the judgment and the council (whether this is referred to the burning alive [*srphh*] or to the abominable sacrifices made in the valley of the sons of Hinnom where, from a bad imitation [*kakozēlia*] of Abraham's sacrifice, human blood and [indeed by parents] children were offered to Moloch, the idol of the Ammonites: infants were either drawn between two fires, that they might perish by a slow death, or bound to the glowing hot arms of the statue of Moloch and were there consumed with dreadful sufferings). Hence that place was considered infamous, where a continual fire was kept up for the purpose of consuming the bodies of the condemned (2 K. 23:10; Jer. 7:31). For that reason, it is often symbolically taken for hell in the Scriptures. The meaning therefore of the words of Christ is this. By this law ("Thou shalt not kill"), you think that only external homicide is condemned. However I, declaring the sense of this law to you, say that any act as much internal as external strikes against that law. Even the affection of anger rising up against a brother, although internal, is a certain species of homicide and deserves the heavy punishment of death (such as was inflicted by the judgment of the twenty-three men). However, if it breaks out into injury and insult, it is a more serious sin, to be punished also with a severer punishment, like that inflicted by the council. And if it proceeds to savage abuse, so that the brother is called a fool, it is worthy of the severest punishment, analogous to that seen in the valley of the sons of Hinnom. So Gehenna here is not used simply for hell (as if to this degree alone of anger the punishment of hell or eternal death is due), but allusively it denotes the

severest punishment. (3) Not a few of the papists agree here with us. Maldonatus (on this passage) acknowledges that the degree, not the kind of punishments is distinguished and that they are capital in each case (*Commentary on the Holy Gospels: Matthew* [1888], 1:158–63 on Mt. 5:22). Salmeron ingeniously teaches that the phrase "to be in danger of the judgment" must be understood not only of the judgment of temporal death, but also of damnation and eternal destruction in the divine judgment. Barradas says that these three grades of punishment signify the infernal punishment appointed for every deadly crime.

XVIII. When sins are compared with a "mote" and a "beam" (Lk. 6:41) and to a "camel" and a "gnat" (Mt. 23:24), indeed, it is proved that some are heavier or lighter than others (which we do not deny). But it cannot thence be elicited that some are venial. (2) The Pharisees are said to "strain out a gnat" and to "swallow a camel" by a proverbial way of speaking because they were falsely superstitious in the least (viz., in ceremonials), while they neglected the greatest commands (i.e., the moral).

XIX. In Eph. 5:4, 5, Paul does not distinguish certain vices from others as mortal from venial, but rather joins all together as homogeneous by the copulative; they also all depend upon the same verb in construction. Hence to the whole belongs what is said in v. 6: "Because of these things the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience." Also in Gal. 5:19, all are reckoned as works of the flesh. When he says that "lust," "avarice" and "uncleanness" exclude from the kingdom of heaven, it is not because these only are mortal, but because they are heavier than the rest.

XX. Although a formal and expressed aversion from God does not occur in every sin, yet there is a virtual and implied aversion even in the lightest. For the creature is preferred to the Creator and is loved more than God, while man is turned to it as to his highest good and ultimate end.

XXI. They who extenuate sin honestly estimate neither the majesty of God, nor the justice of the law, nor the hideousness of sin, nor their own most humble condition in God's sight. As no small thing is rebellion, no small crime is treason; so sin which is committed against the best and greatest God (and therefore infinite) cannot be considered an insignificant thing. For although often it is a small thing about which sin occurs, yet the guilt does not cease to be heavy. The latter is estimated not from the smallness of the object, but from the majesty of the lawgiver. Since this is

violated, on this very account it incurs his wrath and curse; if not in fact, at least of right and demeritoriously. This is the balance of the sanctuary in which sins are to be weighed that their true heaviness and guilt may be ascertained; not the false and deceitful balances of men which relax piety and induce lethargy and carnal security.

Fifth Question: The Fall of the Angels

What was the sin of the angels by which they are said to have rebelled against God?

I. Sin in particular is distinguished with regard to the subjects in which it inheres: the sin of the angels, who became devils by it; and the sin of men. These alone, as rational creatures, are capable of sin. We must first speak of the sin of the angels; but briefly because Scripture tells us very little about it.

Statement of the question.

II. To no purpose is it inquired how angels could sin. It is evident from Scripture that they did sin and reason persuades us that they could fall into sin since they were created capable of falling. To no purpose also is it inquired concerning the time of their fall: whether they stood for a long time in integrity; or whether they fell at the beginning of creation (as some of the Scholastics think). Scripture is silent on that point. In general, only this is evident—their fall preceded the fall of man. That some interval occurred between the creation of angels, the work of God and their defection (the action of demons) is asserted with reason. If their first operation is maintained to be vicious, it does not seem that the cause of the vice should be charged against God, the Creator, as the nearest efficient. Nor is it very likely that they fell before the work of creation was finished because then all that God had created was still very good (Gen. 1:31). If the Devil is said to have sinned "from the beginning" (1 Jn. 3:8), it does not follow that he sinned from the very beginning of creation; for some movement of time does not hinder us from saying a thing was done from the beginning.

III. The question does not concern the manner and order of this sin—whether they all sinned at the same time; or whether one was the leader and the author of the rebellion. For although the latter pleases many (nor does it seem improbable that the others sinned through the exhortation and persuasion of one [called "the prince of devils"] and they his angels), yet it can be gathered from no solid reason or clear proof of Scripture. And Scripture being silent, it is better to leave it undecided than to inquire too curiously without necessity and benefit. But the question here concerns the species of this sin.

IV. There are various opinions about it among theologians, especially among the Scholastics. For to say nothing of licentiousness which is absurdly said to have been their sin, not only by Josephus and Philo with the Jews, but by many of the fathers (Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Lactantius and others) from Gen. 6:2 (falsely understood); there are two principal opinions among the learned. The first of those who think it was envy and hatred of man arising from the decree revealed to them concerning the advancement of the human nature in Christ above the angelic (who was to take upon him by incarnation not angels, but the seed of Abraham). The other (more common among the Scholastics) is that of those who maintain that it was pride; cf. Anselm, "The Fall of the Devil," 4 in *Anselm of Canterbury* (ed. J. Hopkins and H. Richardson), 2:139–41 and after him Lombard, *Sententiarum* 2, Dist. 5.1 (PL 192/2.661).

V. However, since Scripture was unwilling to define expressly the species of this sin and only sets forth its genus when it asserts that they sinned, nothing certain can be determined about it. Nor should we indulge in too great curiosity. It is sufficient for us to hold that their desertion was spontaneous by which "they abode not in the truth" (Jn. 8:44). This was not gospel truth, as if they were unwilling to acquiesce in the gospel truth concerning Christ proposed to them from the beginning (which seems to some little likely, since this decree was not revealed before the fall), but the truth of the fidelity which they owed to God (as subjects to their king) and of the integrity in which they were created (and so in the communion with God himself, the highest truth). Here belongs Jd. 6, where they are said to have "kept not their first estate, and to have left their own habitation." By "estate" is meant God, their Creator, or the original holiness and rectitude in which they were created. Falling from this by their own voluntary apostasy,

they lost the happy mansions of heaven in which they had been placed as in their own proper habitation with the other angels. Thus being hurled from it, they can never to all eternity return there (Lk. 10:18).

VI. We cannot doubt indeed that pride stood out above other things in that sin. They wished not only to shake off the yoke of God, contemptuously rising against him and his law impressed upon them, but also in affectation of equality with God. Paul seems not obscurely to intimate this in 1 Tim. 3:6. He does not want the novice (*neophyton*) to push forward, "lest being lifted up with pride (*mē typhōtheis*) he fall into the condemnation (*eis krima*) of the devil," i.e., into the punishment of diabolical sin. Besides, since this has always been the special desire of the Devil (who bears himself as God and prince in the world and wished to be regarded and worshipped as such from the beginning, 2 Cor. 4:4; Jn. 12:31), it is not without reason that he may be said to have fallen into this sin. Third, to this kind of sin he tempted Adam in the beginning and drives men to it every day.

VII. Still we think that pride so exercised itself here that a thoughtlessness and decreased attention about the contemplation of God must have preceded it. The angel, becoming somewhat remiss in the contemplation of God, began to turn the sharpness of his intellect from God to himself and to admire himself; to be carried on from the admiration and overweening love of self to pride. This was followed by rebellion. Thus a certain error must necessarily be admitted here—not indeed speculative (as if he was ignorant of what he was bound to know), but practical, through which (blinded by self-love) he preferred the pleasurable good to virtue. Nor should it seem a wonder that into the angelic intellect (which was not pure act and immutable) such thoughtlessness and error (producing rebellion and pride) could creep.

VIII. That this sin was most heinous, the very severest punishment following it sufficiently proves. They were excluded from communion with God, so that no hope forever either of pardon or of restoration to integrity remains; but being thrown into the horrid and pitch-dark prison of hell and bound with chains under darkness, they will be kept unto the judgment of the great day (Jd. 6). Hence some (but less solidly) wish to gather that theirs was the sin against the Holy Ghost, since the object of such a sin is (according to Scripture usage) no other than the grace of the gospel.

However Thomas Aquinas, Cajetan and others are deceived, who think that they could not (if it so pleased God) be restored to their former state because they are inflexible in their own nature. For what is in its own nature inflexible (if it seems proper to God) can be bent by the powerful efficacy of divine grace (as was done in the case of men's sins). Therefore the true cause of that severity is to be sought nowhere else than in the most free good pleasure of God who, as he willed to demonstrate his mercy in fallen men, so in the apostate angels he willed to demonstrate his justice and severity (*apotomian*). See above Topic IV, Question 8, section 18.

IX. Although that fall did not happen without the intervention of divine providence, still its true cause must be sought in the angels alone and by no means in God. It must not be sought in him either with regard to prescience (which only foresees a thing as future, but does not make it so); or to his decree (which was permissive, not efficient); or to his actual permission (which is not moral, but physical, by a not hindering to which he was not bound); or to a deficiency of sustentation (because this grace is entirely undeserved, which he owes to no one officially, but bestows upon whomsoever he pleases from his good pleasure alone). The sole cause, therefore, was the proper will of each devil by which individuals of their own accord turned from good to evil. They fell because they willed to fall; they could fall because they were created mutable and capable of falling. As to their punishment, see above Topic IV, Question 8, section 20.

Sixth Question: The Fall of Adam

What was the first sin of man—unbelief or pride?

I. The first sin of man (from which the others flow as from a fountain) is the voluntary apostasy of the first man from God, his Creator. In eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, he transgressed not only this special interdict, but also in it the whole law of nature engraved upon his heart. This is called by Scripture in general and eminently (*kat' exochēn*), *parakoē, parabasis* and *paraptōma*.

II. In assigning its species, theologians exceedingly disagree. Two opinions are more common than the others: the first of most (of the papists)

referring it to pride; the latter (held by our men) placing it in unbelief and incredulity.

The first sin was not simple, but an aggregate of many sins.

III. It is certain that we must not regard that fall as any particular sin, such as theft or adultery, but as a general apostasy and defection from God. It was a violation not only of the special positive law about not eating the forbidden fruit, but of the whole moral law included in it, and thus also of the obedience which man owed to God, his Creator (especially by reason of the covenant entered into with him). Thus here is, as it were, a complicated disease and a total aggregate of various acts, both internal and external, impinging against both tables of the law. For as by unbelief and contempt of the divine word, ingratitude, pride and profanation of the divine name, he transgressed the first table, so he transgressed the second by want of affection (*astorgia*) towards his children, by homicide (precipitating himself and his children into death), by intemperance and gluttony, theft and appropriation of another's property (without his consent), unlawful love and depraved concupiscence.

Hence its heinousness is gathered.

IV. Hence the heinousness of this sin is easily gathered against those who assert that it was venial and quite insignificant: on the part of the person sinning (endowed with so many gifts, the receiver of so many blessings, free from all vice and a partaker of all good necessary to him). On the part of the object about which he sinned (from which he might easily have abstained amid the great abundance of other fruits); thus there was a great iniquity in sinning where it was so easy not to sin (as Augustine says, *Contra Juliani imperfectum opus* 2.189 [PL 45.1223]). On the part of the law violated (not special, but universal, by violating which he grievously sinned against God and his posterity and himself). On the part of the act, the wickedness of which was the highest (i.e., a total apostasy from God, the symbol of the covenant being trodden under foot and a departure of

thought, word and deed from duty). On the part of the place and time (because scarcely having issued from the hands of the Creator and placed in a most delightful paradise, he immediately fell at the onset of temptation). And on the part of the most direful effects and punishments following it (under whose weight even now at this day, nature universally groans).

V. If it is further inquired what was the beginning or the first step of this sin, theologians do not agree. Some place it in sensuality, others in the will and others again in the intellect. Although we do not think it should be zealously disputed about the order of the acts themselves or the first step of this sin (consisting of a complication of many acts, as we have already said, and among which an interval of nature rather than of long time intervened), yet we can safely assert that the first stage of this sin is not to be sought in external acts of inducement (which pertain to execution only) or in the internal acts (either of the appetite or the will) because in that state they were still subject to the intellect, the governing faculty (*to hēgemonein*). Rather we must rise to the acts of the directive faculty (to wit, of the intellect) to which belongs the judgment of the truth and falsity of things and on which the error and unbelief (holding the first place in that sin) properly fall. Now although man (not unwilling, but freely of his own accord) made that judgment, it does not follow that it was an act of the will and not of the intellect.

Unbelief the first stage of sin.

VI. Hence it is evident that the beginning of sin is better referred to unbelief than to pride, although in it both are joined. (1) There ought to be the same order in the sin that was in the temptation. Now in the temptation man was first solicited to unbelief before pride. For by his interrogation, the tempter first urges him to doubt the word of God (Gen. 3:1), then to deny it ("Ye shall not surely die," v. 4) before he incites to pride by the promise of divinity ("the knowledge of good and evil," v. 5).

VII. (2) Pride could not have place in man except on the positing of unbelief. As long as man remained constant in belief of the divine word, he never could be impelled to pride, nor shake off God's yoke, nor dare to affect a superior degree (partly of knowledge, partly of excellence) unless

he did not believe the threatening of death annexed to the prohibition to be true (or at least have doubts of it).

VIII. (3) Scripture expresses the sin of man by seduction (2 Cor. 11:3; 1 Tim. 2:14) and mentions the "cunning" of the serpent (Gen. 3:1), which wholly pertains to deceiving. Fourth, the first man (without signal error) could not believe it to be a virtuous and good thing for him not to depend upon God, since this is the basest thing of all. Fifth, if the Devil first tempted man to pride, he either believed his words or he did not. If he did, he erred by that very fact; if he did not, he could not aim at that which was proposed by the Devil.

IX. But unbelief could not have place in man, unless first by thoughtlessness he had ceased from a consideration of God's prohibition and of his truth and goodness. If he had always seriously directed his mind to it (especially in the moment of temptation), he could never have been moved from his faith and listened to the tempter. Hence, therefore, unbelief or distrust flowed first. By this man did not have the faith in the word of God which he was bound to have, but shook it off at first by doubting and presently by denying; not seriously believing that the fruit was forbidden him or that he should die. Again, note the credulity by which he began to listen to the words of the Devil (engendering a false faith from his lies), believing that God envied him the fruit and that he would be like God and omniscient. Thus he made an erroneous judgment by which he determined that the object presented by the Devil was good for him. Hence presently his appetite and the inclination of concupiscence and its motions influenced the will to the eating of the fruit. At length, the external action followed. This inconsideration may well be called the beginning or first stage of sin. As it could fall on man mutable, so it could not be exercised in act by man standing (rather already beginning to recede from God and to corrupt himself through his own mutability and the seduction of the Devil).

Sources of solution.

X. Although in the fall of Adam (which the apostle calls "disobedience," Rom. 5:19), pride is included (as was said before), it does not follow that this was the first stage. As the first act of pride was the unwillingness to obey God, so the first fount of pride was the unwillingness to believe God's

words. For pride never could have entered the heart of man if his faith in the words of God had not before been weakened and overthrown.

XI. As in every motion, the point of commencement is prior to that of termination, so the turning away from the uncreated good (unbelief) ought to precede the turning towards the created good (pride). For as long as he adhered to the uncreated good (viz., to God), he never would have turned himself through pride to creatures and to himself.

XII. Although in a choice well disposed and by direct ratiocination, the end must first be presented to the mind before we can think of the means, this does not always have place in oblique ratiocination such as seduction (in which this order is often inverted). It is evident that Satan used the latter in the temptation of man. (2) Although the act of pride was occupied with the end, it does not follow that unbelief had the relation of means, but rather of cause (from which pride arose). For unless man had fluctuated in belief, the desire for deity (an act of pride) could not have entered his heart; nor could that end have been presented to the first man without great error and unbelief.

XIII. The passage of the Son of Sirach, "The beginning of pride is departure from God" (10:12), besides being apocryphal, is not repugnant to our opinion. If apostasy is the beginning of pride, unbelief (in which it is placed) must necessarily have preceded pride. Nor does what is added ("Pride is the beginning of all sin," v. 13) prove the contrary because it must not be understood simply and absolutely of every sin (even the first and that which he had said was the beginning of pride), but relatively concerning other beginnings which draw their origin for the most part from pride.

Seventh Question

How could a holy man fall, and what was the true cause of his fall?

I. Two questions are involved here: the first concerns the possibility of the fall; the other concerns its true cause. Each is difficult to explain, and in the explaining of each, there are a variety of sins.

The first question concerns the possibility of the fall.

II. As to the first, the difficulty is not great in assigning the origin of all the sins which have sprung from the fall of Adam. Since men are corrupt, nothing is easier to conceive than why they sin daily. A depraved concupiscence can put forth no other than depraved and inordinate motions. But in innocent man, while no error had place in his mind, nor did any disorder (*ataxia*) in his will (in whom was original righteousness) hinder a fall (and incompatible [*asystatos*] with it), it is most difficult to imagine in what way at length man in a state of integrity could fall.

It cannot be explained by the opinion of Pelagians concerning the inclination to sin.

III. In order to free themselves from this difficulty, the ancient and more modern Pelagians, papists, Socinians and Remonstrants attribute to innocent man (as created by God) a headlong inclination to vice, from which arose the first sin (although not so vehement and inordinate as it is now). But this opinion is manifestly injurious to God and can easily be shown to be false. (1) If an inclination to sin was in man by nature, God must be considered its author; thus the sin will be cast upon God himself (as was proved before, Topic V, Question 11, Section 9). (2) The inclination to love and worship God (such as Adam possessed by original righteousness) is incompatible (*asystatos*) with an inclination to sin. (3) All things were very good in man before the fall, since he was made in the image of God. Yet the inclination to sin cannot be good because it is repugnant to the law. Hence it is evident that the mutability which was in Adam without any stain is not to be confounded with such an inclination to sin (which could not but be defective).

But by his mutability.

IV. Another method of removing the difficulty must therefore be sought. No other more suitable can be granted than by returning to the mutability and

liberty of the first man, as one who was created indeed just and holy, but mutably. Thus he could indeed stand if he wished, but could also if he wished become evil. This the event itself sufficiently proves (if nothing else could teach it).

V. Although that mutability indicates the possibility of the fall and is the cause *sine qua non* (or the antecedent of the fall), still it cannot be considered its cause proper and of itself. This is so not only because it was a condition created together with innocent man by God (which was also in the elect angels before their confirmation without any defect), but also because it is indeed the negation of some good. It is not the privation of a good due to the creature, but undeserved and so did not take away any perfection required in a state of nature. So we must accurately distinguish here between the mutability itself (which is a condition suitable to the creature) and the act of that mutability (by which man inclined to a change). The former denotes a power which could be inclined to evil, but was not yet inclined; the latter, however, designates the actual inclination to evil itself (condemned by the law of God) and the fountain of all sin.

The free will of man the true cause of sin.

VI. The proximate and proper cause of sin therefore is to be sought nowhere else than in the free will of man (who suffered himself to be deceived by the Devil and, Satan persuading though not compelling, freely departed from God). So neither as whole properly did he fall, nor as corrupt; but as imbued with a false idea, he corrupted himself and (the habitual knowledge implanted by God being neglected) received the error suggested by Satan. Nor ought it to seem strange that man (created capable of falling and mutable) changed and fell, no more than that a beginning of motion takes place in one perfectly at rest. For where there is a power to change, the transition from power to act is easy.

VII. Although man fell, still he had the ability to stand if he wished. Otherwise God would have placed him in an impossible condition. Hence a twofold help or assistance is commonly distinguished: help without which (*auxilium sine qua non*) or the power of not sinning (by which he had strength sufficient to stand if he wished); and the help by which (*auxilium quo*) or efficacious grace (which gave not only the ability if he wished, but

to will what he could). The former was after the manner of a habit and faculty in man; the latter, however, after the manner of an action or efficacious motion to good. The former was necessary to his ability to persevere, but the latter to his actual perseverance. The former help was never absent from Adam, not even in the very moment in which he sinned; but the latter, God withheld from him freely as he was not bound to give it. Notwithstanding, neither can man be excused (because he sinned voluntarily and was impelled by no force) nor God be accused (because as a most free dispenser of his own goods, he was bound to the bestowal of that grace by no law, as will hereafter be more fully shown).

VIII. Therefore man alone was the cause of his evil. He willingly sinned and freely and of his own accord without any compulsion or external force transgressed the command of God, though he was furnished with such strength and helps that he might easily have avoided sin, if he had wished. This spontaneity, neither providence removes (which brings on the infallibility of the event, but does not change the condition of nature), nor the temptation of Satan (which, however vigorously plied, could have effected nothing had it not been willingly admitted by man himself; and which he could with ease have resisted, if he had wished).

Satan, the external cause of sin.

IX. Besides that internal moving cause, there was also another external assisting cause. This again is twofold: the one, principal; the other, instrumental. The principal cause is Satan who, envying the glory of God and the happiness of man, instigated the first creatures to apostasy. The instrumental cause is the serpent, used by him for this work. In it, he wished to attack man not by force, but by cunning. In proportion to his cunning, the serpent was the more suitable for this service and more pleasing to Satan from similarity (although the special reason is to be sought in the providence of God who so directed the affair that Satan should select such an animal in whom a perpetual monument would exist of Satan's insidious craftiness, and the supreme hatred directed against the human race, and of the curse into which he fell by that temptation and of the victory to be gained at one time over Satan by the seed of the woman; this could not have been done with an animal necessary to human use). Hence Augustine says,

"He chose as a vehicle of expression a slippery animal and moving with tortuous windings suitable to his work" (CG 14.11 [FC 14:377; PL 41.419]).

X. That Satan was the author of the temptation, Scripture does not allow us to doubt. It calls him that "old serpent," "the dragon" (Rev. 12:9; 20:2); "a murderer, and a liar from the beginning" (Jn. 8:44); "the tempter" by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*) (1 Thess. 3:5; 2 Cor. 11:3), who holds the empire of death (Heb. 2:14), to destroy whose works Christ came (1 Jn. 3:8). Although Moses (writing a history and adhering to visible and sensible things) thought it sufficient to relate what the woman tempted saw and heard (and so brings forward not the tempting Satan, but only the serpent in whom he lay concealed), yet it can sufficiently be gathered from the history of the temptation. Since speech was not in the serpent by nature (much less skill to argue), it necessarily ought to have proceeded from some intelligent creature (which could then have been no other than Satan). Besides, an effect morally evil (such as the temptation and seduction of the first creatures) ought to have had a cause morally evil (which is not to be sought out of Satan). Finally, the punishment inflicted on the tempter, so bears upon the external serpent that far more truly and fully it agrees with the Devil who was trodden under foot by Christ (Heb. 2:14; Col. 2:15; Rom. 16:20).

XI. Now that the Devil was not only present here, but concealed and speaking under the serpent, many things prove: the simple and unadorned relation of Moses (which is not rashly to be turned into an allegory); the description of the serpent as the most cunning of all the beasts of the field; and finally, the punishment inflicted upon it as the instrument of seduction, no less than upon Satan (just as the judge condemns the forger together with his pen; the cutthroat with his weapon; and the horn pushing ox God wished to be slain together with his master, if through his negligence he killed anyone, Ex. 21:29). Hence it is evident that their opinion is not to be entertained who (following Cyril and Eugubinus) hold that the serpent here was not real, but that Satan deceived our first parents under the flesh of that animal; or those who (following Cajetan) admit here not even the external form of the serpent, but hold that the whole thing was carried through by Satan alone, the name "serpent" being here applied to him. The whole history of the temptation exclaims against it. To no purpose is thrown in the

mention of the serpent and of all the things done and said by him to arrest the sight and hearing of our first parents, if Satan alone, by an internal temptation, had executed this.

XII. Nor did this altogether escape the Gentiles themselves. They seem not obscurely to refer to this. See what is related by Pherecydes of Syros concerning Ophion, whom he calls the leader of the demons (whom Jupiter hurled from heaven); and what is said by others concerning the serpent Python killed by Apollo; and concerning him to whom the Cumaean Sibyl in Virgil (*Eclogue* 4.4–6 [Loeb, 1:28–29]) threatens destruction (the virgin returning and the illustrious offspring of god; the great increase of Jove bringing back the Saturnian kingdom); also what is related concerning the dragon, the watchful guardian of the golden apples in the garden of the Hesperides (*Aeneid* 4. 484 [Loeb, 1:428–29]). Nor for any other reason did Satan seem to have had so much zeal for the introduction of religious worship to serpents by the Egyptians and others, unless he had successfully employed the serpent in the seduction of man. Hence the ancient Ophites, of whom Augustine (*De Haeresibus* 17 [PL 42.28]) and Epiphanius (*The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis* 37 [trans. F. Williams, 1987], 1:241–48) speak, held the serpent in the highest veneration because he had opened the eyes of our first parents and introduced them to wisdom.

XIII. However because neither man nor Satan could have done anything without the providence of God, it remains to be seen how it was most holily occupied still without any causality of sin. Neither can an event of such moment, almost revolutionizing the whole world, be said to have happened —he being either an ignorant or an unwilling or only an idle spectator (a thing, too, tending to wrest from God the government of the universe). In different ways, however, the fall can come under the providence of God: either as to prescience because he infallibly foreknew it; or as to decree because he immutably decreed its futurition; or as to actual permission in time because he permitted it to take place most freely and directed it most wisely. But in whatever way occupied, he always exerted himself most holily about it. On this account, not even the slightest taint of sin can be ascribed to him, neither because he foreknew (because prescience is not the cause of things, nor do things take place because they are foreknown; rather they are foreknown because they are to be); nor because he decreed (because he decreed indeed to permit, but not to effect); nor because he

permitted the temptation (because he neither breathed into Satan the will to tempt, nor impelled him to it). He only permitted physically by not hindering (as bound by no law to furnish it), not morally by approval and consent.

XIV. I confess that with permission here is involved the negation of the efficacious grace and help by which man might actually stand. If such help had been given, Adam would not have fallen. But neither can he be said to have come into fellowship with sin because he took away from him no internal grace given before, nor impelled nor forced him to admit or consent to the temptation. Rather he only did not give the new grace of confirmation or the efficacy by which the grace in him might be actuated (which he was neither bound to give, nor in his most wise counsel did he will to give) in order to test the obedience of the creature. If without such help, Adam could not avoid falling, it does not follow that he was free from culpability. That necessity did not destroy his liberty, nor hinder him from sinning freely and with the greatest spontaneity, for he was being impelled to it by no necessity or compulsion of nature.

XV. Some are wont to express this negation of grace by desertion; not privative (as if internal and habitual grace already given were taken away), but negative (by which that not yet given is suspended). But since desertion seems properly to suppose some antecedent culpability of the one deserted, it is better to use the word negation or "not-giving," so that God may be said not to have given to man actual grace efficaciously determining Adam to stand (from which negation sin would indeed follow necessarily by a necessity of consequence and hypothetical on the part of God, but still freely on the part of man who was conscious that he was impelled to sin by his will alone through no internal necessity).

XVI. It is not to be denied that here we truly meet the depth (*bathos*) of the wisdom of God—rather to be wondered at than to be pried into, far surpassing the reach of reason (viz., how God willed to deny that grace to man yet undeserving, without which he foresaw he could not avoid that fall). Hence there are those who (in order that God may not seem to have deserted man, before man deserted him) maintain that God was ready to bestow upon Adam the grace of confirmation, if man had wished to betake himself to it and use it; but since he neglected to apply for the help at hand (and whose use God had permitted at his will), it should not seem strange

that God withheld it. The difficulty occurring here cannot be disposed of in this way. That neglected use of divine help or application to God for it was a sin or it was not. If it was not sin, the help of God ought not on that account to have been suspended. If it was sin, there is granted some sin before the first. Again, since for every act man needs God's grace, the question returns concerning the use of that help—whether for its exercise the efficacious grace of God was given by God or not. For if it was given, man could not help using it. If, however, it was denied, the negation already preceded the neglect of man. It is better therefore to acquiesce here in the sole most free good pleasure of God, either giving or withholding his own grace at pleasure without injury to anyone. On this account, it is safer because he had not only already from eternity determined not to give his grace (even before man could neglect or reject it), but also because unless such a denial of grace is posited antecedently to the neglect of man, the certainty of the futurition of his fall could not be saved. Consider also the truth of the divine prescience. If it had been put within the power of man to use that grace or not (since man was indifferent in his own nature), he could not be determined certainly to such an event except by some superior cause. Moreover the causality of sin cannot be charged upon God; no more than from his eternal decree or temporal permission (upon which sin necessarily and infallibly follows) can it be ascribed to him.

XVII. Hence it is evident that he can well be said to have been able not to sin and yet not to be able not to sin. The former with respect to the habitual and internal grace of Adam and the powers bestowed upon him by creation (which were such that he had the power to obey the law given to him provided only he had wished to make a good use of them); the latter by reason of the decree and the suspension of actual external grace (or of the divine concurrence without which no action could be performed by him). It was therefore possible for Adam not to sin in the divided sense and with regard to himself, but it was impossible in the compound sense, when viewed in relation to God's decree and the permission of sin and the denial of grace. This the celebrated Twisse well explains: "We say that Adam had sufficient grace to enable him to obey the law given to him; we deny that he had efficacious grace which would cause him actually to obey the law. That he had the power to obey the law and that it could not happen that the law should be obeyed, are not contradictory; just as the soldiers were not

deficient in the power to break the bones of the Savior, yet the decree of God in opposition being posited, they could not be broken. By parity of reasoning, although Adam had the power to obey the law of God, yet God's decree to deny efficacious grace being posited, it could not happen that he should obey the law. God did not remove the grace which he had granted (to wit, sufficient), he only did not bestow grace effectual to the avoiding of sin. God, however, not giving efficacious grace, it was necessary that Adam should sin" (*Guilielmi Twissi ... ad Jacobi Arminii Collationem cum Francisco Junio* [1649], p. 68).

XVIII. If anything further still meets us in this dispensation of God (which cannot easily be seen through by us), let us remember that the ways of God are not our ways and that we must here be wise with sobriety, lest searching into his majesty, we be overpowered by his glory. Let it be sufficient to hold together these two things: that this most dreadful fall did not happen without the providence of God (but to its causality, it contributed nothing); and that man alone, moved by the temptation of Satan, was its true and proper cause.

EIGHTH QUESTION

Whether Adam by his fall lost the image of God. We affirm

I. As the sin of Adam was most heinous, so it could not but draw after itself the most dire effects, both in himself and in his posterity. As regards the faculties of man, these can be distinguished into moral or physical. The moral are guilt and pollution. By the former, he incurred the curse and wrath of God with his descendants; by the latter, he contracted universal corruption and impurity for himself and his. The physical effects are the miseries of all kinds (which pressed upon him in battle array) and death itself (both temporal and eternal) to which he became exposed.

II. Among the moral effects is usually placed the loss of the divine image (or original righteousness). Concerning this, the Remonstrants (following the Socinians) raise a controversy with us; therefore the orthodox truth must be briefly established against them.

Statement of the question.

III. By the divine image, we do not understand generally whatever gifts upright man received from God (spoken of in Gen. 1:26, 27) or specially certain remains of it existing in the mind and heart of man after the fall (in which sense we understand Gen. 9:6 and Jam. 3:9). Rather we understand it strictly of the principal part of that image which consisted of holiness and wisdom (usually termed original righteousness). In this sense, we treat of it in the present question.

IV. The Socinians indeed deny that image was lost in any way by the fall of Adam, maintaining that it still remains complete (Socinus, *Praelectionis theologicae* 3 [1627], pp. 7–10 and Smaltzius, *Refutatio Thesium D. Wolfgangi Frantzii*, Disp. VII [1614], pp. 211–71). However the Remonstrants confess that by his fall Adam deserved that God should take original righteousness away from him. But they deny that he lost it by the act itself. They assert this in order that they may not be compelled to acknowledge that man lost all original righteousness and that free will no longer remains in him.

V. On the other hand, we maintain that the loss of the divine image (or of original righteousness) followed the fall of Adam doubly—both meritoriously and morally (on account of the divine ordination) and efficiently and really (on account of the heaviness of that sin).

VI. The reasons are: (1) It was a total aversion and apostasy from God as the highest good and ultimate end. Now the ultimate end being changed which in morals holds the relation of the most universal principle (on which the rest depend), all moral things must necessarily be changed. Thus man, now wholly turned away from God and drawn into himself, was absolutely driven from his happy condition; nor could he be restored to his integrity except by the singular mercy of God.

VII. Second, that sin was not particular, but universal, drawing after itself a violation of the whole law. Hence it could not but shake off every habit of rectitude and devastate the conscience, so that no residuum was left except certain planks and rubbish of the unhappy shipwreck, allowed by God still to remain (both in order that from these the excellence of the former entire image might be recognized and to be a bond of external discipline in political society, to prevent the world from becoming a den of robbers; and that from these ruins he might erect a new work and form a

new man after the same image in which we were at first created, Col. 3:10).

VIII. Third, the nakedness of fallen men denoted the loss or privation of goods in which they before rejoiced. And the sense of that nakedness and shame proved that there was something in man to be ashamed of, such as could not be thought of in a work of God without casting disgrace upon the Creator. This was not so much a nakedness of body (which was indifferent of itself, yea which might have been glorious) as a nakedness of soul (from a privation of illustrious gifts with which it had been, as it were, clothed and adorned and on account of which he ought deservedly to be covered with shame).

IX. Fourth, God threatened him with this privation. The death denounced against him (sinning) embraced no less a spiritual (in the privation of original righteousness and in the state of sin) than a temporal and eternal (as will be seen in its own place).

X. Fifth, as man is now born, so was Adam after the fall; for whatever he has by nature takes its origin from Adam himself. Now he is born with universal corruption, not only privative of good before received, but also positive of superinduced evil (whether as to blindness of mind or disorder [*ataxian*] of will); hence he is called not only blind, but blindness and darkness itself; he is said to be not only corrupt and sick, but "dead" (i.e., in a state of total impotence to good).

XI. The proposition "one act cannot destroy an entire habit" cannot be universally admitted, not even according to the philosophers themselves (according to whom there are granted some acts so enormous as to take away the whole antecedent habit: for example, an incestuous act takes away the whole habit of chastity; a patricidal act, paternal love; and the like). (2) This is the desert of even the least sin—to remove man from communion with God and break up their mutual peace and friendship. Now man excluded from communion with God, and altogether unenlightened by the Spirit, is by this very thing most corrupt and can perform nothing good. (3) Although the axiom may be granted as to other sins, yet there is a peculiar relation of that by which the covenant was broken and forthwith all the blessings of the covenant lost. (4) It is confirmed by the parity in angels who by their sin so shook off the habit of holiness and righteousness (by not standing in the truth, Jn. 8:44) as to draw upon themselves an incurable

(*aniaton*) evil. (5) The opponents themselves confess that the Holy Spirit can be lost by any very heinous sin.

XII. If in the renewed, the habit of holiness (although imperfect) is not shaken off by their sins (which was shaken off by the fall of Adam although it was perfect), this does not depend upon the nature of sin, but upon the grace of perseverance. For believers have the promise of perseverance, which Adam did not have.

Ninth Question

Whether the actual disobedience of Adam is imputed by an immediate and antecedent imputation to all his posterity springing from him by natural generation. We affirm

I. Although all Christians agree in acknowledging the sin of Adam, yet they differ not a little among themselves as to its effects; especially as to imputation, which by various persons is either called in doubt or openly denied.

Who deny the imputation of sin?

II. This was the opinion of the old Pelagians who held that Adam's sin injured himself alone and not other men (his posterity). Hence they restricted the passage of the apostle in Rom. 5:12 to an example of imitation. Their footsteps in this particular (as in almost all others) the Socinians press, who expressly deny that the whole human race sinned and fell in Adam; or that God willed that on account of that one fall the whole human race should be guilty of sin. Socinus says: "Although all men descending from Adam are exposed to perpetual death, it is not because the sin of Adam is imputed to them, but because they are begotten by him, who was devoted to eternal death by a divine decree. And so that happens to them not on account of the imputation of sin, but on account of the propagation of the race" ("De statu primi hominis … Responsio … Francisci Puccii," chap. 10 in *Opera Omnia* [1656], 2:347–69 and *De Jesus Christo Servatore*, Pt. III.8 [1594], p. 291).

III. The Anabaptists do not differ from them. They deny that the posterity are guilty on account of the fall of their first parents. The opinion of the Remonstrants is the same. Although from the beginning they speak ambiguously (so as to leave it uncertain what they did hold), yet afterwards they plainly testify their agreement with the Socinians, retaining indeed the name of imputation, but ignoring the thing itself. They write that "the sin of Adam is imputed by God to his posterity not as if he really thinks them guilty of the same sin and fault with Adam, but inasmuch as he willed them to be born liable to the same evil to which Adam by sin had made himself liable" ("Apologia pro confessione sive declaratione … Remonstrantes," 7 in Episcopius, *Operum theologicorum* [1665], Pt. II, p. 151). This, Curcellaeus confirms more clearly still when he rejects all imputation of sin ("De Jure Dei," in *Stephani Curcellaei Opera Theologica* [1675], pp. 735–38).

IV. Nor do those only of the opposite party (*hoi ex enantias*) impugn this imputation. Among our own men, the celebrated Joshua Placaeus, professor at Saumur, adopted this comment of the adversaries. While constituting the whole relation of original pollution in habitual, subjective and inherent corruption, propagated to individuals by ordinary generation, he rejects that imputation and with great labor endeavors to overthrow it in "De statu homis lapsi ante gratiam" (in *Syntagma Thesium Theologicarum in Academia Salmuriensi* [1665], pp. 205–11) and in the various treatises on this argument.

V. This was opposed by the decree of the National Synod which met at Charenton in 1644, which sanctioned and confirmed the doctrine received in our churches concerning the imputation of Adam's first sin and the hereditary corruption flowing upon all. The words of the decree are as follows: "Whereas a report has been made to the Synod of certain writings, printed and manuscript, by which the nature of original sin is made to consist solely in the hereditary corruption, originally residing in all men, but the imputation of the first sin of Adam is denied; the Synod condemns the aforesaid doctrine so far as it restricts the nature of original sin to the mere hereditary corruption of Adam's posterity, excluding the imputation of the first sin by which he fell; and, under the penalty of censures of all kinds, forbids all pastors, professors and others who may treat this subject, to depart from the common opinion of all Protestant churches, which, besides

corruption, have always acknowledged the aforesaid imputation to the whole posterity of Adam. And commands all synods and classes, in taking steps …" ("Third Synod of Charenton," 14 in Quick, *Synodicon* [1692], 2:473–74).

VI. In order to escape the force of this Synodical decree, Placaeus afterwards distinguished imputation into immediate and antecedent and mediate and consequent. The former was that by which the action of Adam is imputed to all his posterity (Christ excepted) proximately (immediately) for the very reason that they are the sons of Adam, as much in reference to the privation of original righteousness as to eternal death, antecedently to inherent corruption. The latter was that which follows the beholding of the hereditary corruption derived to us from Adam and is made through it mediating. By the participation of the latter corruption, he maintained that we share in the sin of Adam and habitually consent to it and moreover are worthy to be reckoned with Adam, the sinner. He wishes the Synod to assert the latter (his view), but not the former. But if we look at the matter more closely, it will plainly appear that this distinction was devised to raise a smoke; retaining the name of imputation, in fact it takes away the thing itself. For if on this account only the sin of Adam is said to be imputed to us mediately (because we are constituted guilty with God and become liable to punishment on account of the hereditary corruption which we draw from Adam), there will be properly no imputation of Adam's sin, but only of inherent corruption. This the Synod wished to proscribe because it constituted two parts of original sin: inherent corruption and imputation. This could not be said if imputation could be made in no other way than by the intervention of corruption. For it is one thing to lie under exposure to the wrath and condemnation of God on account of inherent and native corruption, propagated by generation; another, on account of the sin of Adam imputed to us.

Statement of the question.

VII. On the state of the question, it must be observed: (1) that we do not treat here of any sin of Adam, but of the first; nor of the first habitual inhering in himself, but the first actual by which he violated the primordial law and broke the covenant entered into with him by God.

VIII. (2) The question does not concern all his posterity who in any way were to spring from him, but only those who descend from him in the ordinary way of generation (so that Christ may be excluded, who not in the ordinary way, but in an extraordinary and supernatural way, was conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, not in virtue of the blessing given before the fall, but in virtue of the special promise following the fall concerning the seed of the woman which should bruise the head of the serpent; not according to personality, but according to humanity only and evident extraordinarily).

IX. (3) It is not inquired whether the sin of Adam may be said to be imputed to us because (on account of original sin inherent in us) we deserve to be viewed as in the same place with him, as if we had actually committed his sin (just as "uncircumcision" is said by the apostle "to be counted for circumcision," Rom. 2:26, i.e., to be viewed as in the same place as if he had been circumcised; for thus it would be treated of the comparison of different persons or of the parity between different sins with relation to punishment or guilt). But it is inquired whether the actual sin of Adam is so in fact imputed to all that on account of it all are reckoned guilty and either suffer punishment or at least are considered worthy of punishment.

X. Imputation is either of something foreign to us or properly ours. Sometimes that is imputed to us which is personally ours (in which sense God imputes to sinners their transgressions whom he punishes for crimes properly their own; in reference to what is good, the zeal of Phineas is said to be "imputed to him for righteousness," Ps. 106:31). Sometimes that is imputed which is without us and not performed by ourselves. Thus the righteousness of Christ is said to be imputed to us, and our sins are imputed to him, although neither has he sin in himself, nor we righteousness. Here we speak of the latter kind of imputation, not of the former because we are treating of a sin committed by Adam, not by us.

XI. However when we say that the sin of another is imputed to anyone, we are not to understand the sin which is simply and in every way another's, but that which in some way belongs to him to whom it is said to be imputed (if not properly, singularly and personally, yet commonly, on account of the union existing between him and its proper author). No imputation of another's sin can be granted, except on the supposition of some peculiar connection of the one with the other. Now this union may be

threefold: (1) natural, as between a father and his children; (2) moral and political, as between a king and his subjects; (3) voluntary, as among friends, and between the guilty and his substitute. Hence appears the foundation of the twofold imputation between Christ and us by which our sins are imputed to him and his righteousness in turn imputed to us (2 Cor. 5:21). We do not here refer to the last union (in which we confess previous consent to be necessary), but only to the former two (in which it is not necessary, in order to a just imputation, that he who bears the punishment of another's sin should either actually consent to it or sometime have consented to it). For the bond between Adam and his posterity is twofold: (1) natural, as he is the father, and we are his children; (2) political and forensic, as he was the prince and representative head of the whole human race. Therefore the foundation of imputation is not only the natural connection which exists between us and Adam (since, in that case, all his sins might be imputed to us), but mainly the moral and federal (in virtue of which God entered into covenant with him as our head). Hence Adam stood in that sin not as a private person, but as a public and representative person—representing all his posterity in that action and whose demerit equally pertains to all.

XII. For Adam to be a public and representative person, it was not necessary that that office should be committed to him by us, so that he might act as much in our name as in his own. It is sufficient that there intervened the most just ordination of God according to which he willed Adam to be the root and head of the whole human race, who therefore not only for himself only but also for his (posterity) should receive or lose the goods. Hence all are said to have been one man. "How many soever," says Augustine, "were to spring from that one, were one man in that one" (Letter 186, "To Paulinus" [FC 30:206; PL 33.824]) by a unity not specific or numerical, but partly by a unity of origin (because all are of one blood), partly by a unity of representation (because one represented the person of all, according to God's arrangement).

XIII. Many arguments prove this to have been the ordination of God. (1) The covenant made with Adam (discussed before) was not particular with Adam alone, but general and public—entered into with the whole human race (which, accordingly, having been broken by that first parent, involved his whole offspring in the same calamity). Otherwise God ought to have

covenanted with the individuals. (2) The relation of the divine image and of original righteousness (which Adam received for himself and his, not as a personal good and peculiar to himself, but as a common good to be transmitted to his posterity, if he had stood in his integrity; but of which his posterity was also to be deprived as soon as he fell); so that Adam here was like a beneficiary who, receiving a gift from his master, receives it both for himself and his posterity on this condition—that if he rebels against his master, he loses the benefit not only for himself but also for his posterity. Article 10 of the French Confession clearly states: "The things which God gave unto Adam were not given to him alone, but also to all his posterity; and therefore we in his person being deprived of all those good gifts, are fallen into all this misery and curse" (Cochrane, p. 148). (3) The communion of punishments (general as well as special) spreading abroad among his posterity no less than in Adam (which could not justly be inflicted, except on the supposition of a common law and a common guilt). For if the punishment of the broken covenant is extended to all, the covenant also and the law ought to be extended to all. (4) The comparison between Adam and Christ instituted by Paul (Rom. 5; 1 Cor. 15). This cannot be sufficiently carried out, except on the supposition of the imputation of sin answering to the imputation of righteousness, as will hereafter be proved.

XIV. The punishment brought upon us by the sin of Adam is either privative or positive. The former is the want and privation of original righteousness; the latter is death both temporal and eternal and in general all the evils visited upon sinners. Although the second necessarily follows the first from the nature of the thing (unless the mercy of God intervenes), still it ought not to be confounded with it. As to the first, we say that the sin of Adam is imputed to us immediately for privative punishment because it is the cause of the privation of original righteousness and so ought to precede corruption (at least in the order of nature); but as to the latter, it can be said to be imputed mediately as a positive punishment because we are liable to that punishment only after we are born and are corrupt.

XV. The question returns to these limits—whether the sin of Adam (not any, but the first; not habitual, but actual) is imputed to all his posterity naturally springing from him, by an imputation, not mediate and consequent, but immediate and antecedent. They with whom we treat here

either absolutely deny imputation or admit only a mediate imputation. However, we (with the orthodox) affirm both that imputation is granted, and that it is immediate and antecedent.

The imputation of sin is proved: (1) from Rom. 5:12.

XVI. The reasons are: (1) Paul clearly builds up this imputation—"As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned" (Rom. 5:12ff.). From these words various arguments are drawn. (a) From the scope of the apostle, which is to prove by an illustrious type the doctrine of justification by the imputation of Christ's righteousness (of which he had spoken in chapters 3 and 4). It might seem strange and unusual for one to be justified by another's righteousness. Thus the apostle (by a comparison between Adam and Christ) proves the foundation of that mystery from its opposite—the condemnation which God willed to be derived upon all on account of the imputation of one sin. Therefore just as Adam was constituted by God the head and root of the human race (together with the guilt of his sin), and from his sin death was spread through all; even so Christ, the second Adam, was made the head of all the elect, so that by his obedience justification might come upon all the elect. (b) He speaks of the sin which "entered into the world" and "by which death passed upon all men." This cannot be referred to the original, inherent sin (which the actual already supposed), but to the first actual sin by which death in fact pervaded both Adam and his posterity. This is evident from v. 18 where the answering clause of the similitude is given and mention is made of "that one sin." (c) That sin ought to be understood concerning which it can be said that all have sinned, since sin entered by one man into the world (and by sin death, which is the force of Paul's reasoning): "As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men" *eph' hō pantes hēmarton*, "in whom" or "because all have sinned." Now the word *hēmarton* cannot properly be drawn to a habit of sin or to habitual and inherent corruption, but properly denotes some actual sin and that, also, past (which can be no other than the sin of Adam itself). For it is one thing to be or to be born a

sinner; another, however, actually to sin. Therefore since they did not yet exist in the nature of things, they are said to have sinned in another and must undoubtedly be considered (he committing sin) to have also themselves committed it. Now Paul says of all (while not yet in existence) that they sinned in Adam. Therefore, he sinning, they are considered also themselves to have sinned (which could not be said without the imputation of sin). (d) Paul not only speaks of sin, but of "the one sin" and "the offense of one" whose guilt has spread over all (vv. 17, 18); "As by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one grace came upon all men unto justification of life" (v. 18); "As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous" (v. 19). Why should the apostle so often mention the one man sinning (and the offense and disobedience of one in the singular) whose guilt passed upon all men unto condemnation, not once, but five times in a few verses, unless this one disobedience (which can be no other than the actual transgression of Adam) was imputed to his posterity? For if we are guilty not by the imputation of Adam's sin but only by the propagation of corruption, not now from one sin can guilt and condemnation be said to have passed upon all, but from innumerable inherent sins. (e) This is more strongly confirmed by the comparison between Adam and Christ, instituted here by the apostle with respect to justification, of which he treats, for the sake of which he calls "Adam the figure of him that was to come" (*typon tou mellontos*, v. 14). We are constituted sinners in Adam in the same way in which we are constituted righteous in Christ. But in Christ we are constituted righteous by the imputation of righteousness; therefore we are made sinners in Adam by the imputation of his sin; otherwise the comparison is destroyed. (f) The death which reigned by sin holds in its embrace spiritual death from God's threatening. This is nothing else than a privation of original righteousness together with hereditary corruption. Hence besides this, some previous sin ought to be acknowledged as its cause (which can be no other than the actual sin of Adam).

XVII. It is no objection here (1) that *eph' hō* is not to be translated "in whom" relatively, but causally for "in that"; or "because" as Calvin, Martyr, the French version and others give it. We answer that for in whatever way *eph' hō* is translated, whether relatively, "in whom" (which the ancients

with great unanimity, Greek as well as Latin, retain and Augustine urges against the Pelagians, *Against Julian* 6.12 [FC 35:344; PL 44.843]—for it is not unusual for the preposition *epi* to be taken for *en* as appears from Mk. 2:4; Acts 2:38; Heb. 9:10, 17; Mt. 13:14, in which sense also we are said to die in Adam, 1 Cor. 15:22), or causally, it amounts to the same thing. The reason is given by the apostle why death passed upon each and every one (to wit, because all have sinned); not as if actually and personally in themselves because they were not yet in existence, but in Adam sinning (viz., by that first sin which by him entered into the world). Thus the opinion of the apostle must necessarily be supplied, and we must thus translate "on this account that" (viz., in that one man "all sinned," which the French version puts in the margin when it adds); or "in whom" (viz., "inasmuch as they are comprehended in the person of Adam in whom each one was"). (2) The similitude between Adam and Christ is in the thing, but not in the mode of the thing (i.e., that the apostle indeed teaches that Adam brought over to his posterity guilt and condemnation; Christ, however, brought justification). But it does not teach that it was done by both by imputation. Otherwise hands would be joined with the papists, and we must acknowledge with them that our justification depends upon the imputation of Christ's righteousness and the infusion of inherent righteousness, so that our condemnation springs as much from propagated sin as from imputed (which Bellarmine urges in "De Justificatione," 2.3 in *Opera* [1858], 4:507–11). We reply that this objection ought to be not a little suspect from the fact of its having Socinus as its author ("De Iesu Christo Servator," 4.16 in *Opera Omnia* [1656], 2:221–27). It is advanced to escape the force of the argument which we draw from it—to confirm the doctrine of the imputation of Christ's righteousness. Second, it is here gratuitously supposed that the similitude of the apostle is only in the thing, not in the mode of the thing, since that too enters into the nature of the thing about which inquiry is being made. As was observed before, the scope of the apostle is to treat of the matter of justification (i.e., not only of the communication of guilt or of righteousness in general, but of the mode of that communication, inasmuch as it is made by the offense or obedience of one, i.e., by the imputation of it). Moreover no approach is made to the papists because the words of Paul are not to be extended beyond his scope (which is not to treat of the communication of inherent righteousness [made by sanctification,

concerning which he treats professedly in Rom. 6], but only of imputed righteousness). (3) That sin is meant by the apostle which can be said to have entered into the world and to have passed upon all men (which cannot fitly be said of the actual sin of Adam, but only of inherent corruption). We answer that actual sin is said to have entered into the world and to have passed upon men, no less than corruption; if not with relation to the act which passes over, still with relation to the guilt which remains, inasmuch as on account of that action, another is reckoned guilty and lies under punishment. Nor ought it to seem strange if the apostle meant this actual sin rather than habitual sin because he proposed to treat here of justification, not of sanctification. (4) All are said to have sinned in the same way in which sin is said to have been in the world from Adam until the law (v. 13) because he proves the former from the latter. Yet this sin which was in the world cannot be said to be the imputed actual (since the apostle adds that sin is not imputed when there is no law), but only inherent. We answer that the apostle is so far from wishing to deny that that sin was imputed that he rather strives to prove the contrary which he gathers from the dominion of death which "reigned even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression" (to wit, infants who cannot be said to have sinned actually like Adam; cf. v. 14). However because the imputation of sin for punishment cannot be made when a law does not exist (since indeed sin is illegality [*anomia*], and where there is no law, there is no transgression, Rom. 4:15), Paul thence elicits that some law was given before the written law of Moses, according to which sin can be said to have been imputed. This can be no other than the primordial law given to Adam and in him to all his posterity. (5) "Many" not all are said to "have been made sinners" (Rom. 5:19). We answer that the "many" are equivalent to all, as is taught by the comparison of vv. 15 and 19 with vv. 12, 18 and 1 Cor. 15:22. They are called "many" not to restrict the subject and contract the power of the sin as if opposed to others (who, springing from the same parent, remained innocent), but to Adam himself who was only one and to whom the many as well as the all are properly opposed (in order to better institute the antithesis between the multitude of believers who are made righteous by the obedience of Christ and the multitude of sinners who draw guilt from Adam).

(2) From 1 Cor. 15:22.

XVIII. (2) “In Adam all die” (1 Cor. 15:22), that is, incur the guilt of death and condemnation. Therefore in the same one they also sinned and are held in a common blameworthiness with him. No one can in anyone deserve the punishment of death unless he had with him and in him a common sin, the cause of death. Nor does it suffice to be said that all die in Adam efficiently because we draw from Adam original sin (which is the cause of death). In the same way, we can be said to die in our parents and ancestors, from whom we draw sin immediately (which nevertheless Scripture nowhere says, but concerning Adam only because we were in him in a peculiar way, not only as the seminal principle, but also as the representative head). Thus we are said to have sinned in him not only by reason of efficiency (because he is the cause by which sin is propagated to us), but also by reason of demerit (because his criminality drew guilt upon us). In the same manner, “all” are said in the same place “to be made alive” in Christ, not only efficiently by the vivifying Spirit, but also meritoriously by the imputation of his righteousness.

(3) From the imputation of the sins of others.

XIX. (3) By the just judgment of God, the sins of parents frequently pass over upon children and are imputed to them. Therefore much more can be said of the first sin, which was both more serious than all which sprang from it and not particular to the person of Adam, but universal of the whole nature. Now that such an imputation is granted is not only proved by the threatening of the law (by which God proclaimed himself as “a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation,” Ex. 20:5), but also various examples give evidence: Achan (Jos. 7:24, 25); the Amalekites (1 S. 15:2, 3); the sons of Saul (2 S. 21:6–9); Jeroboam (1 K. 14:9, 10); Ahab (1 K. 21:21, 22) and others. Hence the church acknowledges that she bears the punishment of the crimes committed by the fathers (Lam. 5:7). And Christ threatens the Jews that there will come upon them the punishments of those crimes which had been committed by their forefathers long before, “that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel

unto the blood of Zacharias" (Mt. 23:35). From this it evidently appears that the imputation of another's sin is not to be traduced either as unusual or unheard of (since it can be proved by so many examples) or as absurd, unjust and cruel (since God himself professes to be the visitor of the crimes of parents upon their children). Nor was this unknown to the Gentiles themselves, many of whom confess that this right belongs to the deity—to demand the punishment of one man's sin from others. Plutarch proves it by various arguments (*On the Delays of the Divine Vengeance* [Loeb, 7:180–299]). Proclus says this is the work of Jove—to bring a common punishment upon cities on account of the unjust punishment of magistrates; he brings forward many examples to the point (*Scholia Vetera in Hesiodi Opera et Dies* [1955], 260–62:89–90). Thus Hesiod introduces Justice (*Dikēn*), the goddess, asking Jove: "until the people pay for the mad folly of their princes" (*Works and Days* 260–61 [Loeb, 22–23]). In the same place, he says, "Often even a whole city suffers for a bad man" (ibid., 239–40 [Loeb, 20–21]). And Horace says, "Whatever folly the kings commit the Achaeans pay the penalty" (*Epistles* 1.2.14 [Loeb, 262–63]). Hence undoubtedly it is that we often read that the imputation of crimes took place among the heathen themselves. Cicero remarks that in the Grecian states the children of tyrants were punished in the same way as their oppressors (*Epistulae ad Brutum* 25*.6 [Loeb, 28:724–25]). Curtius says a law was observed by the Macedonians that they who plotted against the king should be visited with death together with their relatives near and distant (*History of Alexander* 6.11.20 [Loeb, 2:104–5]). Among almost all people, it was the custom in crimes of treason to devote to punishment the children with the guilty parents. Here belongs the sanction of the law of Arcadius and Honorius in reference to treason. "His sons, to whom we, with imperatorial lenity, grant life (for they ought to perish with the father's punishment, in whom the examples of paternal, that is, hereditary, crimes are remarked) are to be esteemed aliens from the maternal and ancestral inheritance and succession. They can receive nothing from the wills of strangers, let them be in want and poor; let their father's disgrace always attend them; let them come to no honors at all, to no oaths; finally let them be such that to them, groveling in perpetual, extreme poverty, both death may be a consolation and life a punishment" (cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* 32 [Modern Library, 1932], 2:201). Hence it is evident that neither with

God nor with men is it simply unjust for one to be punished for the sin of another. The renowned Amyrald proves this by various reasons and examples (*Treatise Concerning Religion* 3.7 [1660], pp. 437–59).

XX. It is no objection here: (1) that there are various differences between the imputation of Adam's sin and that of other sins. We answer that although they do not agree in all respects, still it clearly appears that the imputation of another's sin is neither unusual nor contrary to divine justice (which alone is sought in these examples). (2) It is no objection that the sons who are punished on account of the sins of their parents are not better than their parents; so it ought not to seem surprising, if from the occasion of the sins of fathers, they should be punished for their own sins. We answer that it is one thing to be punished on occasion of another's sin; another however to bear his punishment. Although no one (except he be guilty and corrupt in himself) is smitten on account of another's sin, yet while he endures the punishment of another's sin, he is not regarded as guilty in himself, but in another person; nor is he said to bear the punishment of his own but of another's sin. (3) It is no objection that not the sons properly, but the parents are punished in the sons, who are a part of them. We answer that although the fathers are punished in the children, this does not hinder us from saying that the sons themselves also are punished, while punishments by order of divine justice are inflicted upon them on account of the sins of their parents. He who bears the punishment of another's sin must necessarily have had that sin imputed to him.

(4) From the propagation of sin.

XXI. Fourth, the immediate imputation of the first sin being denied, the principal foundation of the justice of the propagation of sin is removed. Nor can a sufficient reason be given why God willed that hereditary and inherent stain to be transmitted from the parents to their posterity. Since it holds the relation not only of base evil (*mali turpis*), or pollution, but also of sad evil (*mali tristis*) or punishment, it ought necessarily to suppose some antecedent sin on account of whose guilt it is inflicted by the justice of God. There is no punishment except from sin; for both sin alone is punished and that only which is punished is sin. Now it cannot be our proper and personal sin because we were not then actually in existence. Therefore it is the sin of

Adam which is imputed to us. Hence it is evident that the law of nature alone is not sufficient to preserve the truth and justice of propagation, according to which as man generates man and a leper, a leper, so a corrupt one, a corrupt. For not only the order of nature, but the exercise of justice must be attended to as well as the most holy, although secret and wonderful, judgment of God. For why did God (who could have hindered that propagation if he pleased) either by creating men independent of each other (like the angels) or in some other way, notwithstanding will all to be born corrupt from one corrupt man and so the whole human race to be separated from him by sin and to incur an eternal curse (i.e., to be subjected to the severest punishment), unless he had already willed to exercise an act of justice on man on account of some sin committed before? Thus how does it happen that the souls of men (which are not propagated by generation, but are immediately created by God) are not created with original righteousness (as the souls of the first parents), but destitute of this ornament? No reason can be assigned for this difference unless we rise to the secret judgment of God by which he wills to smite the children of Adam on account of the sin of the parent. Calvin most excellently unfolds this: “Nor did it happen merely in a natural way, that all should fall by the sin of one parent” (ICR 3.23.7, p. 955). And afterwards: “The Scriptures openly declare that all men were bound over to eternal death in the person of this one man. Since this cannot be ascribed to nature, everyone plainly sees that it proceeded from the wonderful counsel of God” (ibid.). In the same place: “Again I ask, how did it happen that the fall of Adam involved so many nations together with their infant children in eternal death without remedy, unless it so pleased God? It becomes tongues otherwise so eloquent to be still here. I confess indeed the decree to be dreadful, yet no one can deny that God foreknew what exit man would have before he created him and he therefore foreknew it because he had so ordained it by his decree” (ibid.).

XXII. Now that the privation of original righteousness and hereditary taint is not only sin, but also holds the relation of punishment, is readily inferred from the following arguments. (1) The infliction of the greatest evil (both of loss and of sense) cannot be the infliction of punishment. By that propagation, the greatest evil is inflicted upon the creature, both of loss (by the privation of righteousness and good due in him and separation from God) and of sense (by a deprivation of the whole nature and dreadful

disorder [*ataxian*] of the faculties of man). (2) Both these evils hold the same relation in us as in Adam, since indeed from him they are spread over us as his heirs. It held the relation of punishment in Adam, since indeed it was spiritual death which flowed from his actual sin according to God's threatening. Nor does it hinder that this privation of righteousness with respect to man holds the relation of sin because it deprives him of the rectitude due in him because it does not cease to hold the relation of punishment on the part of God ordaining it to the loss of the creature on account of sin (if not his own and personal, still public and common—as hardening which on the part of man's hardening himself is sin; on the part of God's hardening man is the severest punishment). That both however can subsist at the same time will be proved below.

XXIII. (5) Adam was the germ, root and head of the human race, not only in a physical sense and seminally, but morally and in a representative sense. He entered into covenant for himself and his posterity (as was seen before) who just as he received the gifts which he possessed for himself and his, so he lost them for himself and his. It is evident that the things principiated are contained in the principles and announce their condition. And just as Adam had received the condition and promise of life not only for himself but also for his prosterity (if he had stood), so he ought to have contracted the guilt of death by his fall, not only for himself, but also for all his. For to whom the benefits pertain, to them also it is most just the burdens and disadvantages should also pertain.

XXIV. (6) The denial of the imputation of Adam's sin would not a little weaken the imputation of Christ's righteousness (which answer to each other and upon which is founded the principal part of the antithesis instituted by Paul between the first and second Adam). For the descent from the negation of the former to the denial of the latter is most easy. Hence there is no one of the heretics who have denied the imputation of sin who have not for the same reason opposed the imputation of Christ's righteousness (as is seen in the Pelagians, Socinians and Arminians). Hence the reasons by which the imputation of Adam's sin is opposed can no less be turned back against the imputation of Christ's righteousness; those upon which the imputation of Christ is built also serve to establish the imputation of Adam's sin. Nor is it a hindrance that the imputation of Christ's righteousness is of grace, while the imputation of sin is from justice. Grace

can give to another what is not due to him, justice cannot. For grace bestows favor upon the undeserving, justice inflicts punishment upon none except the deserving. For in the imputation of Adam's sin, the justice of God does not inflict punishment upon the undeserving, but upon the deserving (if not by a desert proper and personal, still participated and common—founded upon the natural and federal union between us and Adam).

XXV. (7) As Levi was tithed by Melchizedek *dia Abraam* (Heb. 7:9), i.e., either "by" Abraham (as an intermediate person) or "in the person of Abraham" (inasmuch as he was as yet potentially in his loins, so that he was considered as rightly tithed in him and with him who then bore the person of all his offspring); so much more can the posterity of Adam be considered to have sinned in him, since they were in him as branches in the root and the members in the head. Not that the foundation of imputation is to be sought in that fact (differing from it in many things), but only that it may be illustrated through analogy by a similar thing. Nor do the words adduced by the apostle ("as I may so say," *hōs epos eipein*) imply a tropical and figurative thing, as if Levi figuratively only (not properly) may be said to have paid tithes in Abraham. This is contrary to the design of the apostle, who wishes from that tithing to gather the inferiority of the Aaronic priesthood to that of Melchizedek (for he who pays tithes is inferior to him who receives them). They either soften the somewhat harsh phrase concerning the tithing of Levi, since goods properly are tithed not persons; or signify that the apostle wished to express the whole matter in one word, nor to spend his strength in explaining it further ("to speak in one word and briefly"). If the faith of Abraham and his sins were not imputed to Levi (although he was tithed in him), it does not follow that the imputation of sin cannot well be gathered. Abraham sustained the person of Levi or of the Aaronic sacerdotal order to arise from him in that solemn action by which he payed tithes to Melchizedek; but not in his particular actions which were purely personal either as regards faith or sin.

Sources of solutions.

XXVI. Purely personal sins differ from those which are common and public. The former should not be imputed to posterity. Of them, the law

must be understood: “The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin” (Dt. 24:16). However nothing prevents the latter from being imputed, and such was the sin of Adam. (2) The law imposed upon men differs from the law to which God binds himself. Barriers are placed to human vengeance because it might be abused, but not to divine justice. In this passage, God undoubtedly shows what he wishes to be done ordinarily by men, but not immediately what he wishes to do or what he can do from the order of justice. Otherwise he could not have said in the law that he would visit the iniquities of parents upon their children, nor would he have confirmed this by many examples.

XXVII. The passage where God declares, “The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, but the soul that sinneth, it shall die” (Ezk. 18:20) is not to be absolutely and simply understood as it sounds. Otherwise there would be a contradiction to the law and a denial of the substitution of Christ in our place. Rather it ought to be explained: (1) of adult sons who depart from the iniquity of parents and do not imitate them (as appears from v. 19—“Why? doth not the son bear the iniquity of the father? When the son hath done that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live.” Now such are not the sons of Adam, who are transgressors from the womb). (2) Of personal and particular sins, not of common and general, which can involve many, such as the sin of Adam. (3) There is not established here a general rule of providence and justice in accordance with which God either before always acted or will hereafter conform all his judgments. For he ordained in the law otherwise and proceeded in examples. Rather it treats of a business peculiar to the Jews on whom God bestowed this by a special concession; not to act with them in that strictness of justice which he could observe (as to impute others’ sins to them), but to punish their own sins in themselves, that in this way their mouth might be entirely closed. On this pretext, the Jews carped at the divine judgments that the undeserving were punished for the sins of their parents, as is evident from the proverb they used: “The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children’s teeth are set on edge.” God answers that he would not deal with them thus in the least, but would punish each one for his own sins, as we read in v. 30. Therefore he wishes in the present affair to draw and to bring them to this confession—to acknowledge God to be just in his judgments and that there was no need for

him to seek sins in the fathers in order to punish the sons; that there was sufficient criminality in themselves (even apart from the imputation of the sins of others) to justify the infliction of the punishment they had already suffered and even greater still. So there is not here any definition of right, but only the declaration of a special agreement. He does not say what he can rightly do, but against the complaints of the people, what he wills to do. The scope of the prophet and the connection of the words lead us to this. Finally, the highest right differs from the forbearing (*epieikeia*) right. In accordance with the former, God can visit the sins of parents upon their children, but in accordance with the latter he extends the punishment no further than to sinners themselves. Thus the prophet, speaking of the New Testament times, says among other things: "In those days they shall say no more, the fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge. But every one shall die for his own iniquity" (Jer. 31:29, 30*). He says this to teach that God would deal with them more gently than before.

XXVIII. The act of one cannot be and be called that of the whole if it is a merely personal act. Of this kind are the sins committed every day by individuals. Yet it cannot be understood of a common or universal act pertaining to the whole human race, such as was the act of sinning Adam. Adam was indeed one individually, a singular person; but in this act, he is not viewed as a singular person but rather as the principle and head of the whole race (with whom, in him, God made the covenant). Therefore the will of Adam can be called singular by pecularity of act; universal by right of representation; singular because proceeding from one among individual men; universal because that individual represented the whole human race. Thus the righteousness of Christ is the act of one and yet may well be called that of all believers by divine imputation; as what one has done, all may be considered to have done—"If one died for all, then are all dead" (2 Cor. 5:14).

XXIX. Adam in sinning bore the person of all (not equally in obtaining remission) on account of our being equally in his loins. The state from which he fell was natural, therefore his fall involved all. But his restitution ought not to pertain to all as it was supernatural and gratuitous and accordingly personal also.

XXX. He who was in Adam in no way, neither in power nor in act, cannot be said to have sinned in him. But although we were not in act and

personally in him, yet we were in power, both seminally (inasmuch as we were contained in him as the root of the whole species, Acts 17:26) and representatively (inasmuch as from the order of God he bore our person and God made the covenant with the whole human race in him). Thus although we were not actually in Christ when he died for us, still his death is properly imputed to us on account of the union existing between us and him.

XXXI. It is repugnant to divine justice to punish anyone for another's sin (which is simply and in every way another's); but not which (although it be another's with regard to person) is yet common in virtue of representation or some bond of union, by which its guilt may involve many. That this may justly happen, the threatenings of the law and the judgments by which they are executed, and the example of Christ to whom our sins were truly imputed, demonstrate.

XXXII. Although the disobedience of Adam was imputed to us, it does not equally follow that his death also should be imputed to us. By his death (which was his personal punishment), he holds no charge for us, as by his disobedience. Thus it could not be communicated to us morally and by imputation as the latter, but only by a real and physical transmission.

XXXIII. Although the first sin was not really voluntary with respect to us (because we did not sin by our own will), still it can be called voluntary morally because the will of Adam is considered in a measure ours on account of our union with him.

XXXIV. As the righteousness (*dikaiōma*) of Christ (which is unique) can still be communicated by imputation to innumerable others; and as the guilt of the sins of parents (imputed to their posterity) is one and equal (which passes upon all); so nothing hinders us from saying that the guilt of Adam's sin is unique and equal, passing upon all by imputation. It does not pass to them by division, but by union inasmuch as it renders them all worthy of that punishment.

XXXV. God is the author of the covenant made with Adam, in accordance with which the sharing and imputation of Adam's sin follows. On that account, he can or ought not to be regarded as the author of sin. Sin did not arise of itself from that covenant, but only accidentally on account of man's transgression (*anomian*). Nor can he be considered the author of that sin more than its cause, on this account—that sin took place or is

propagated to us because he willed to permit it and that it should be propagated to us.

XXXVI. The other sins committed by Adam differ from the first which is imputed to us. The others were personal sins simply (as much with respect to beginning as to end) after the covenant God made with him had been violated and the public person (which he sustained) had been laid aside. For although after his first sin, Adam did not cease to be the head by way of origin, yet he did cease to be the representative head by way of covenant. Although the first was personal as to its beginning (because proceding from a single person), still it was not such as to its end (because it was common to more).

XXXVII. The want of original righteousness can be viewed either passively (inasmuch as it is subjectively in man) or actively (inasmuch as it is judicially sent by God): either with respect to base evil (which it includes) or with respect to sad evil (which it draws after itself by reason of the deformation of the creature and its separation from God). In the former sense, it is rightly called sin because it is a privation of due rectitude, repugnant to the law; but in the latter sense, it holds a relation to punishment.

XXXVIII. Since imputation to punishment is only a moral act, it ought not to seem strange if, as the first act of sinning is imputed to us, so the first act of generating (which is purely natural) should not in like manner be imputed.

XXXIX. Although the act of Adam's disobedience could be imputed to us for condemnation, it does not immediately follow that the act of his obedience ought to be imputed to us for justification because guilt arises from the one act of disobedience, but righteousness requires a full complement and perseverance of obedience. Again, the righteousness of Adam as finite and due from him could not be communicated to others for their justification; especially since the condition of his posterity ought not to differ from that of Adam (who was always mutable) and to whose perseverance alone justification and life were promised.

XL. But that this doctrine concerning the imputation of Adam's sin was received in our churches has been shown fully by those very celebrated men (deserving the highest regard of the church): Andrew Rivet, in a remarkable treatise on the subject (published by him) where he proves that all

Protestants agree upon this point ("Decretum Synodi Nationalis Ecclesiarum Reformatorum Galliae … De imputatione primi peccati omnibus Adami posteris," in *Opera* [1651], 3:798–826); and Professor Antony Garissolius, in an excellent book written in defense of the Synodical decree (*Decreti synodici Carentoniensis de imputatione primi peccati Adae* [1648]). Therefore here there is no need of laboriously gathering testimonies from all quarters. Still because the learned men with whom we here treat frequently allege the authority of the greatest theologians (and especially of Calvin, Martyr and Chamier, as if they secretly disapproved of this imputation by their silence or even openly disapproved it in express words), it will not be without use to show briefly how much they are mistaken.

XLI. Many things prove that this was the opinion of Calvin. He does not mention imputation whenever he speaks of original sin, either because it had not yet been called into controversy or because he disputed against Albert Pighius and Ambrose Catharinus (who made the entire nature of original sin to consist solely in the imputation of the first sin, recognizing no inherent corruption) where he was not to labor in proving imputation (which alone the adversaries acknowledged), but only in asserting inherent corruption. Still it is easy to show that this doctrine was not unknown to, but approved by, this distinguished man. We cite a few of the many passages which might be adduced. In the formula of the Confession of Faith written by him and by which all of the Genevan school held themselves bound: "I confess that all our corruption and the vices under which we labor thence flowed, because Adam, the common father of all, by his rebellion, alienated himself from God; and the fountain of life and all good being forsaken, he rendered himself liable to all miseries. Hence it comes to pass that everyone of us is born infected with original sin and from the very womb of our mother we are under the curse of God and condemned not only on account of the crime of another, but on account of the depravity which is then within us, though it does not yet appear" (*Formula confessionis fidei … tenentur omnes studiosi publicae scholae* CR 37.724). And *tr. adversus Franciscanum*+: "By nature we are heirs of eternal condemnation, since the whole human race was cursed in Adam." And afterwards: "We say that God by a just judgment cursed us in Adam and willed us to be born corrupt on account of his sin, in order that we might be

renewed in Christ." In his reply to a bitter calumniator concerning the secret providence of God: "But if it is proposed by you to subject God to the laws of nature, will you condemn him for justice because for the sin of one man we are all held implicated in the guilt of eternal death? One sinned; all are led to punishment; nor is that all, but from the sin of this one, all have contracted contagion; so that they are born corrupt and infected with a death-bringing pollution" (*Calumniae nebulonis ... adversus doctrinam Iohannis Calvini de occulta Dei providentia* CR 37.289). And a little further on: "although Adam lost himself and his, still it is necessary to ascribe corruption and guilt to the secret judgment of God because the guilt of one man would be nothing to us if the heavenly Judge had not devoted us to eternal destruction … hence this condition, that we are liable not only to temporal miseries but to eternal death, also [unless because] on account of the guilt of one man, God cast us together into a common guilt" (ibid., pp. 289–90). "If the cause of the curse is inquired, resting upon all the posterity of Adam, it is said to be another's sin and the sin of each one; another's because when Adam fell from God in his person, the whole human race was despoiled of rectitude and intelligence; again all parts of the soul are corrupted, so that each one in himself is lost" (*Commentaries on the Prophet Ezekiel* [1948], 2:241 on 18:20). There are more expressions of this kind in the ICR 2.1.1, 5, pp. 242, 246–48; 3.23.7, pp. 955–56; on Gen. 9:25 (*Commentary on Genesis* [1948], 1:305–7; "Sermon 53," *Sermons ... on Job* [1584], pp. 247–51 on Job 14); on Rom. 5:12, 17 (*Epistles of Paul to the Romans and Thessalonians* [trans. R. Mackenzie, 1961], pp. 111–12, 116–17) and elsewhere. They prove our point, but we omit them for the sake of brevity.

XLII. Beza followed and frequently confirmed this opinion of Calvin. "There are three things which make a man guilty in the sight of God: (1) guilt flowing from this, that all sinned in the first creature (Rom. 5:12); (2) the corruption which is the punishment of that guilt, imposed upon Adam as well as upon his posterity; (3) the sins which adults commit" (*Apologia pro Justificatione* [1592], p. 127). The same thing he more strongly asserts on Rom. 5:12ff.: "Two things should be considered in original sin, namely, guilt and corruption; which, although they cannot be separated, yet ought to be distinguished accurately" (*Annotationes maiores in novum ... testamentum, Pars altera* [1594], p. 60 on Rom. 5:12). Nor did those who

followed him and taught in this church think differently. This is abundantly evident even from the vote of those celebrated theologians deputed to the Synod of Dort (John Diodati and Theodore Tronchin on Article 1, thesis 1, when they say that "God from eternity, according to the mere good pleasure of his own will, decreed in Christ to call a certain number of men from the seed and posterity of Adam, in and with him fallen, guilty and corrupt, by and on account of Christ according to the same good pleasure (*eudokia*) particularly designated by the Father to this end" (*Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti* [1619–20], 2:58–59). This opinion and belief (as they profess) belongs to the Genevan Church.

XLIII. Nor did Peter Martyr hold a different opinion. For although while disputing against Pighius he is wholly occupied in establishing the corruption, denied by him, and states nothing about imputation, still with sufficient clearness he establishes it elsewhere when he teaches that our original corruption is the punishment of Adam's sin (*Common Places*, Pt. II [1583], p. 216). "Indeed no one doubts," says he, "that original sin is inflicted upon us as the punishment of the first fall" (*In epistolam S. Pauli apostoli ad Romanos* [1559], p. 63 on Rom. 1:26). And: "Adam sinning it was just as if all had been present and sinned together with him" (*Most learned ... commentaries ... upon ... Romaines* [1568], p. 115 on Rom. 5:14; cf. *In selectissimam D. Pauli priorem ad Corinthos* [1551], pp. 408–12 on 1 Cor. 15:21, 22).

XLIV. Chamier more clearly establishes this very thing: "We deny that we could be made inherently unrighteous by one man, unless the unrighteousness of this one man were imputed to us" (*Corpus theologicum* 21.2.9 [1653], 3:850). And: "We grant that the disobedience of Adam and the obedience of Christ do efficiently and meritoriously constitute us unrighteous and righteous; for this we never denied; for we deny that they could render us righteous or unrighteous, unless they were first imputed" (ibid., 21.17.11, 3:902). And soon after: "Therefore the very sin of Adam, I say his own personal disobedience, must be imputed to his posterity. And so also in regard to the obedience of Christ: because the whole human race was considered as in Adam by nature; and because the whole multitude of believers were in Chrst, by grace. Hence it comes to pass that we are not only made sinners by Adam, but are declared to have sinned in him, which is a very different thing" (ibid.).

XLV. Nor does this celebrated man alone agree here with the other orthodox, but also other learned men (who do not differ in other things from the hypotheses of the renowned Placaeus) do not recede from the common opinion; cf. the very distinguished Amyrald who lengthily proves that another's sin can justly be imputed to those connected by some bond with the author, although they have not participated in the criminality (*Treatise Concerning Religions* 3.7 [1660], pp. 437–59). "As in crimes of treason, the perpetrators are so punished that the misery of their punishment passes over even to their posterity, for example, the demolishing of houses, deprivaton of office, loss of reputation, and other things of the same kind; so the punishment of the first man on account of his own sin ought to be extended even to his posterity in their suffering the numerous miseries following it" (*Brief Traitte de la Predestination* 5 [1634], pp. 57–58). "Wherefore," says he, "it is clear, how the apostle understands the doctrine of justification, viz., that as the condemnation by which we are condemned in Adam, does not signify an inherent quality, but either the obligation to punishment, or the declaration of that obligation by a superior power; so the righteousness by which we are justified in Christ, is not an inherent quality, but either the right of obtaining absolution in the divine judgment, or the absolution itself from the Judge" (*De la Justification contre les Opinions de Monsieur de la Milletiere* 3 [1638], pp. 34–35). He proves this more clearly still in what follows. Thus the very celebrated Mestrezat: "The justice of God could not impute to us the sin of Adam unless we were in Adam, and as it were in his loins, viz., by considering Adam as the head of his posterity" (*De la Communion a Iesus Christ* 2 [1625], p. 5). "The corruption of Adam has descended to us really and inheres in us, but I say that the imputation of his disobedience precedes, and corruption is derived to us by generation because we sinned in Adam as in our head" (Mestrezat, *Discours de la Grace ... addresse a ... Milletiere* [1638], p. 43). So the renowned Testard: "The first man was the root of the human race, both naturally with respect to species, and economically with respect to the covenant: to wit, he owed not only human nature, but either happiness, or misery, the latter by sinning, the former by persevering in divine rectitude, because God entered into covenant with him, not as with a private man, but as the head and surety of the whole race" (*Eirenikon seu Synopsis Doctrinae de Natura et Gratia*, Th. 12 [1633], p. 9).

Tenth Question: Original Sin

Whether any original sin or inherent stain and depravity may be granted, propagated to us by generation. We affirm against the Pelagians and Socinians

I. Although nothing is better known than original sin for discussion, nothing is more difficult to understand as Augustine says (cf. *The Way of Life of the Catholic Church* 22 [40] [FC 56:34; PL 32.1328). Yet it is a doctrine of the highest importance to the surer perception of the misery of man and the necessity and efficacy of saving grace. Thus it is deservedly placed among the primary doctrines of the Christian religion.

II. Original sin is sometimes used more broadly to embrace imputed and inherent sin, into which as two parts it is said to be resolvable (thus it is taken by Ursinus, Zanchius and others). Sometimes it is used more strictly to denote inherent alone; the imputed, as the cause and foundation, not being excluded but supposed (in which way Bucer, Calvin and Bullinger frequently speak of it). In this sense, it is now used here by us.

III. There are three questions in reference to it: (1) as to its existence or whether it is; (2) as to its nature or what it is; (3) as to its propagation or how it passes over us. The first we now discuss; the others we will take up afterwards.

IV. The term "original sin" was first brought into the church by Augustine (called into a controversy concerning sin by the Pelagians) in order that he might have a certain term to use in his disputes with them. The schools retained it as suitable to express exactly the nature of that sin. It is however so called not by reason of first origin (which man created by God had), but by reason of second origin (which it had from the first parent, both by reason of its principle [because it is from originating sin] and by reason of the mode of propagation [because it inheres in us from our origin] and by reason of its effects [because it is the origin of actual sins]).

Whether original sin may be granted.

V. As to the question of its existence, various heretics err here who follow the negative. (1) The ancient Pelagians, following their master, the British

Pelagius, denied original sin as to all its parts, maintaining that Adam's sin hurt no one but himself; or if it may be said to have hurt others, it does so only as to example and imitation, not as to propagation (cf. Augustine, *De Haeresibus* 88 [PL 42.47–50]). (2) The Socinians, who although recognizing the possibility of sinning in all (because God gave a will free both to good and to evil), yet deny expressly that any original sin can be granted. Socinus says, "In man when born, neither criminality nor punishment on account of Adam's sin can have place" ("Praelectionis theologicae," 4 in *Opera Omnia* [1656], 1:540). And afterwards: "We conclude therefore that there is no original sin, even improperly speaking" (ibid., p. 541). Volkelius asserts the same thing (*De vera Religione* 5.18 [1630], pp. 544–49). But the Racovian Catechism more clearly states their opinion where to the proposed question, whether free will is vitiated by original sin, the answer is: "There is no such thing as original sin; the Scripture teaches no such doctrine; and the will of man could not be vitiated by a cause which had no existence. The sin of Adam being a single act could not corrupt his own nature, much less had it power to deprave the nature of all his posterity" (*Catechesis ecclesiarum quae in Regno Poloniae* 10* [1609], pp. 249–50; cf. *Racovian Catechism* 10* [1818], pp. 325–26). (3) Nor do the Remonstrants differ from them holding (as certain in their *Apology*, whatever Augustine and others may have judged to the contrary) that God willed to devote to eternal torments no infants of whatever condition or birth, dying without actual and proper sins; or could justly devote them on account of the sin called original; that this opinion is opposed to the divine goodness and right reason; yea, that it is uncertain whether in it greater absurdity or cruelty preponderates. Curcellaeus openly denies the same ("Secunda dissertatio theologica: De Peccato originis," in *Stephani Curcaelli Opera Theologica* [1675], 1:892–918). (4) Among the papists, Pighius and Catharinus restrict original sin to imputation alone, denying propagation. The Anabaptists, treading in the footsteps of their predecessors, call original sin "the figment of Augustine" (Frankenthal Colloquy, Act. 2, Art. 4+).Now to all these the orthodox church has always opposed herself and constantly retained the affirmative.

Statement of the question.

VI. Therefore, the question between us and our opponents is not whether any first sin originating in Adam can be granted, from which that Iliad of evils, resting upon the human race, flowed to us, either by example and imitation or by propagation. Rather the question is whether there is any inherent depravity (called original sin) propagated from Adam to all his posterity springing from him by natural generation. They deny; we affirm.

Original sin is proved from Gen. 6:5.

VII. The reasons are: (1) "Every imagination of the thoughts of man's heart is said to be only evil, continually" (Gen. 6:5) even "from his youth" (Gen. 8:21). Here occurs the judgment of God himself concerning his own work (corrupted and polluted, by which is denoted not only the corruption of men, but universal corruption as much habitual of the heart, as actual of the thoughts; indeed from the very beginning of life born with us and continual). Nor if these things are said of the inhabitants of the first world are they to be understood exclusively of other men and their natural constitution. Yea, that hypothesis must be transferred to the thesis, and the same must be inferred of others because all in a state of sin have the same nature in them (without restraining or converting grace). This is evident most clearly from Gen. 8:21 where the same things are said no more of that ancient world (which he had destroyed by the avenging waters on account of its crimes), but of the new world which he was about to produce from the surviving offspring of Noah. Nor are actual sins so referred to as to prevent habitual sins from being joined with them because the things principiated cannot be corrupt without the principles themselves being also corrupt. Hence it is not only treated of evil actions and thoughts, but also of the evil figment of the heart (called by the Jews *ytsr hr'*, their usual term for original sin). On this account the more, it is not called evil only from some but for all time and even from infancy itself; for this *n'vrym* also signifies (cf. Lam. 3:27; Jer. 22:21; Ezk. 4:14; 16:22; Hos. 2:15), not only youth, as the Socinians wish. Reason favors it because it treats of the cause of the deluge in which infants also perished (to whom actual wickedness does not belong, yet who are punished without cause or unjustly). Therefore original depravity ought to be connoted with actual. To pretend that the Holy Spirit here by way of hyperbole exaggerates the crimes of the old world (not as if

all were flagitious, but because the majority were corrupt) is to take for granted what must be proved. For hyperbole is admissible in the Scriptures only where the words taken literally are repugnant either to reason or sense or experience or to other parallel passages. But here all things are just the contrary.

(2) From Gen. 5:3.

VIII. Second, the same thing is proved from Gen. 5:3 where Adam is said to have begotten Seth "after his image" (i.e., a corrupt one begat the same). Now he could not be corrupted in generation in any other way than by contracting original corruption. Here we must notice the antithesis between the image of God (after which Adam was formed, spoken of in Gen. 5:1) and the image of Adam (after which Seth was formed). As therefore the former morally designated both wisdom of mind and holiness of will, so from the opposition the image of Adam ought to denote the inherent and hereditary corruption of his mind as well as of his will. The apostle expresses this in 1 Cor. 15:49 where he contrasts the image of the first and second Adam: the former, indeed, earthy and corruptible; the latter, however, celestial and incorruptible. To no purpose is this referred either to the physical and specific image of Adam or to a likeness in form, figure and external lineaments. In no other way ought the image (after which Adam begat his children) to be understood than in that in which it is taken when man is said to have been made after the image of God, not physically, but morally. However what need was there to relate distinctly (*diakritikōs*) with so emphatic an expression and a repeated word, what was certain of itself and common to man with the brutes? But there was a peculiar reason why he should state this concerning Seth rather than of Abel who was childless (*ateknos*); and of Cain to whom on account of his abominably wicked life this might seem to have been peculiar (viz., in order that the Holy Spirit might designate that the prerogative of the holy seed, whose head he ought to be, did not hinder his being corrupt by nature, as begotten in the likeness of corrupt Adam).

(3) From Job 14:4.

IX. Third, from Job 14:4—"Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one." Here purity is removed from all men (not even one being excepted), and uncleanness is ascribed to them (not simply external of the body, which can easily be taken away, but internal of the soul). The latter is inevitable, cannot be purged by nature and renders one liable to the judgment of God (Job 14:3); not actual only and transient, but permanent and hereditary, derived from the parent to the offspring (which can be no other than original sin, whatever is meant by the word *tm*', whether "seed" or "man"). Nor is it an objection here that this uncleanness is not universal because Job elsewhere shows sufficiently that he was not such (Job 31). We answer that although he was not such through the grace by which he was born again, yet he was such by the nature from which he was begotten (or the uncleanness is comparative [like that attributed to the angels] not absolute). We answer that the discourse concerns such impurity as cannot bear the judgment of God, as is evident from the words immediately preceding. Now that impurity is simply sinful, not the comparative imperfection of one creature or essence with another. For God does not bring the latter into judgment, unless he would condemn his own work.

(4) From Ps. 51:5.

X. Fourth, from Ps. 51:5—"Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." David, by ascending from the consideration of actual sin committed by him to the first taint of evil, confesses before God that he was corrupt even from the womb and inclined to sin. Hence an invincible argument flows for original sin. One conceived in iniquity and nourished in sin cannot be without original sin. Nor does what Volkelius urges here with his associates (to escape the force of this passage) avail: either that David does not speak here of men in general, but only of himself; nor simply, but in reference to his fall. We answer that although he speaks of himself, why can it not be extended to others in the same condition who are in a similar manner conceived and born (as his birth was common to him with others, so also his native corruption)? Yea (from the greater) if David, a man after God's heart, was conceived in sin, how much more others? Or he speaks not of his own original sin, but of the actual sin, either of his parents in common or principally of his mother in particular. We

answer that it is certain that David makes confession of his own sin (whose pardon he seeks for himself, not of another's sin) as the whole connection clearly demonstrates (which would be entirely destroyed, if a leap was made to another's sin). Besides that, it is falsely supposed that his parents sinned in his generation (as if he was born in unlawful wedlock). Nor can the words be so distorted. The verb *chvllthy* ("I was conceived") cannot be referred to the parents' act of begetting, but to the formation of the begotten body in the womb. *Ychmthny* does not signify "to beget" or "to conceive" (which belongs to both parents), but "to be made warm" and "to be cherished" (which refers to the fetus already formed and warmed in sin).

(5) From Jn. 3:5.

XI. Fifth, all are by nature "flesh and born of the flesh" (Jn. 3:5, 6). For "except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh." Here is pointed out: (1) the necessity of a supernatural regeneration, which supposes natural generation to be corrupt; (2) the universality of corruption infecting all because all are flesh; (3) the universality of traduction (*traductionis*), while flesh is born of flesh. Nor can it be said that "flesh" here must be understood "physically" for frailty of nature. For although it is sometimes used in Scripture in that sense, yet it cannot be so taken here. Rather it is understood morally because he is speaking of flesh as opposed to spirit; also inasmuch as it has need of regeneration (i.e., of our unregenerate nature opposed to that as renewed) in which sense it is frequently taken. Again, physical frailty necessarily supposes moral corruption as its cause; hence it cannot be separated from it.

(6) From Eph. 2:3.

XII. Sixth, all (Jews as well as Gentiles) are "the children of wrath" (Eph. 2:3). "And we were by nature the children of wrath, even as others." Here are pointed out not only the actual sins by which they are said to "have fulfilled the desires of the flesh," but also original sin because they are called "children of wrath" (i.e., exposed to divine wrath not by imitation and custom, but by nature [*physei*] [not upright, but corrupt] to intimate that

the evil is inherent from the womb and not only comes upon us after actual sins). Nor ought it to be said that we are called children of wrath because we are begotten of Adam, since he had already become a child of wrath on account of sin. He is not speaking of Adam but of his posterity—that they are the children of wrath by nature (which could not be said except they were already by nature sinners).

(7) From Rom. 5:12.

XIII. Seventh, "wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin" (Rom. 5:12). Here the apostle rises to the first taint of evil and unfolds the origin of sin and of death (to wit, the first sin of man which entered into the world [to wit, into men] both by imputation and by propagation). This the apostle proves from death (the necessary effect of sin) because it reigns over all: both external and temporal, internal and spiritual, and eternal—not only actual death, but also exposure and obligation to death. Nor can it be said to have passed by imitation (as Pelagius held) because it could not be said to have passed upon infants (for they are not capable of imitating). (2) Thus it ought to be known to all, while yet innumerable persons have heard nothing about Adam. (3) It could no more be said to have passed by one man, than by the Devil (who is the father of sinners).

(8) From the necessity of death; of redemption; of regeneration; of circumcision; and baptism.

XIV. Eighth, various reasons prove the same thing. (1) The universal necessity of death imposed upon all, even upon infants. For if death reigns over all, sin ought necessarily to reign over them because that is its wages; nor can death be where sin is not. To recur here to a consequence of nature (as the Socinians wish, as if death was natural, not penal) is their radical error (*prōton pseudos*), confuted before by us in Topic V. (2) The necessity of redemption for all to be saved; there would be no need of redemption except upon the supposition of sin. (3) The necessity of regeneration without which no one can see the kingdom of God (Jn. 3:3). For why ought

man to be renewed by regeneration unless he is naturally corrupt by generation? (4) The necessity of the sacrament to be administered to infants recently born, of circumcision in the old and of baptism in the new covenant (of which they would have no need at all unless, on account of the demerit and inherence of sin, they are both guilty and evil). Here belongs also the necessity of the purification prescribed to women in labor in the Old Testament (which could not have had place if there was no corruption and uncleanness connected with the generation of man). (5) The common law that everything begotten is like the begetter; as much as to species as with regard to the accidents belonging to the species. Generation is the communication not only of essence, but also of the qualities and accidents belonging to the species (as therefore a man generates a man, so a sinner can generate no other than a sinner). (6) Experience which teaches that depravity to be latent in infants themselves, even before the use of reason. Hence the proneness to lying, desire of revenge, love of excess, their little gloryings, amusing vanity and the like are so apparent in many that the parents can recognize in their children the image of their own native corruption and perverseness.

Sources of solution.

XV. What is involuntary by a positive volition cannot be sin; but what is not voluntary by a positive volition does not cease to be sin, provided it is contrary to the law (as was proved before). Although original sin is not voluntary in act, still it is in origin; in his will from whom it is, although not properly in his will in whom it is; inherently and subjectively because it adheres to the will and impairs it, although not elicitly because it is not drawn out by any act of the will; radically with regard to its principle, although not formally with regard to its exercise.

XVI. If innocence is at any time attributed to infants in Scripture (as Ps. 106:38; Jon. 4:11), this is not to be understood absolutely and in itself, as if they were destitute of all sin; otherwise neither would they be liable to death. Rather it is to be understood relatively as compared with adults who actually sin. The twins of whom Paul speaks in Rom. 9:11 had as yet done no good or evil, to form a distinction between them; but still they were both conceived in sin in the mass of corruption.

XVII. Although the law prohibits no one to be born with original sin because it supposes man to be holy, yet it condemns as illegality (*anomian*) the hereditary and inherent corruption of man (because it is opposed to that righteousness and holiness which the law demands from all).

XVIII. When Christ says that the man born blind had not sinned (Jn. 9:3), he does not absolutely assert that he was free from all sin (whose punishment this calamity of his was), but only comparatively denies that he sinned more than others that he was so afflicted; that his native blindness was the punishment of some special sin, either of the blind man himself (according to the false hypothesis of the Jews who supposed that infants in the womb could sin) or believed the Pythagorean metempsychosis (*metempsychōsin* or transmigration of souls) or of his parents (according to the doctrine taught in the Jewish schools that children were often born lame and deformed on account of the sins of their parents). Therefore Christ, in order that no singular and personal sin might be imputed either to the blind man himself or to his parents, says that this happened in order that the works of God might be manifested (i.e., that God willed by this example to make known his works of justice and power in punishing and his works of mercy and omnipotence in healing).

XIX. Although sin is pardoned in the parents, still nonetheless it can be transmitted to their posterity because the guilt being remitted, the taint always remains; if not wholly, at least in part. Hence as a circumcised person begets an uncircumcised, so a believer and renewed man begets a corrupt and unrenewed. He does not generate by grace, but by nature (as from a grain cleared of chaff is produced a grain with the chaff).

XX. The children of believers are holy (1 Cor. 7:14), not as to immunity from all sin (in which sense no mortal lives without sin, 1 Jn. 1:8), but as to communion with the church, from which those considered unholy and unclean are excluded. This holiness therefore is rather relative and federal than inherent. And although they may be called holy inherently, the truth of original sin is not on that account overthrown because that holiness would be a blessing of grace, not a privilege of nature. They do not have it from themselves or from their parents, but from the Spirit of Christ renewing believers.

XXI. Although the blessed virgin was truly "highly favored" (*kecharitōmenē*), loved and chosen by God above other women that she

might conceive and bring forth the Son of God and may truly be called "mother of God" (*theotokos*), still that distinguished and evidently singular privilege by which she was raised to the highest degree of happiness did not hinder her from being conceived and born after the common manner of other mortals—in and with original sin. (1) That taint is in Scripture predicated of all men universally, no one but Christ excepted. He was not begotten in the ordinary way, but extraordinarily conceived by the Holy Spirit and sprang from Adam as the material principle only, not as the active principle. (2) She herself had need of a Savior, whom she celebrates as hers (Lk. 1:47). (3) She was bound to offer the sacrifices of the old law, which could not be done without the confession of sin. (4) The effects of that sin are found in her, as are actual sins. On account of this, we read that she was rebuked even by Christ (Jn. 2:4; Lk. 2:49; 8:19–21), calamity and trials (which are the fruits of sin) piercing through her soul (Lk. 2:35). How great were the contentions about this argument in the Romish church among the Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits. The latter asserted the immaculate conception of the blessed virgin; the former denyed it. This is known to everyone. The error seems to have arisen first from the Council of Lyons about the year 1136, from the excessive worship of the virgin (refuted by Bernard, "Letter 174" [PL 182.332–36] and the Scholastics of that age). However, the controversy was more sharply renewed afterwards about the year 1300 and onward even until the year 1439 when the Council of Basil pronounced in favor of the Franciscans (Session 36, Mansi, 29:182–83). Sixtus IV afterwards confirmed this in the year 1476. It was approved by the Council of Trent and was at length sanctioned by a new bull from Alexander VII in the year 1661, so that it might after that be held as a doctrine of the church. He who desires more should consult the celebrated Heidegger ("Dissertatio 8*, De Conceptione B. Virginis Mariae," in *Dissertationum selectarum* [1675], 1:177–241), who has entered fully into the history of this controversy.

XXII. In the propagation of sin, an accident does not pass over from subject to subject. The immediate subject of sin is not the person, but human nature vitiated by the actual transgression of the person which, being communicated to posterity, this inherent corruption in it is also communicated. Therefore as in Adam, the person corrupted the nature; so in his posterity, the nature corrupts the person.

XXIII. Although the mode of the propagation of sin is obscure and difficult to explain, the propagation itself (which Scripture so clearly asserts and experience confirms) is not on that account to be denied. However what is to be thought of the mode of propagation will be discussed in a special question.

Eleventh Question

Whether original sin has corrupted the very essence of the soul. Also whether it is a mere privation or a certain positive quality too

I. There are two extremes to be equally avoided about the nature of original sin: (1) in excess, of those who think original sin is placed in the corruption of the very substance of the soul; (2) in defect, of those who wish it to consist in the mere want and privation of righteousness.

Error of Flacius Illyricus.

II. Flacius Illyricus defended the first error in a former age, the more strongly to oppose Victor Strigelius (his colleague) who extolled the free will of man in conversion and diminished corruption. Illyricus maintained that sin corrupted the very essence of man. Cyriacus Spangenberg followed him, with whom this monstrous opinion seems to have vanished. Hence not without calumny does Bellarmine attribute this error to those who have fought against it ("De Amissione Gratiae," 5.1 in *Opera* [1858], 4:182–83).

III. The orthodox constantly maintain that sin is to be distinguished from the substance itself, as an accident and vicious quality from its subject. (1) Every substance was created by God and in this sense is good (Gen. 1:31; 1 Tim. 4:4). (2) Scripture makes a distinction between nature and the sin adhering to it when it calls the latter "that which easily besets us" (*euperistaton*), "present with us" (*parakeimenon*), dwelling in us and a garment to be put off. (3) Thus it would follow that Christ in assuming our nature assumed also sin and corruption itself; and that man after his sanctification and resurrection is different from what he was before. (4) Sin cannot be predicated of man in the question What is it? (because it would be either a genus or species); but only in the question What is its quality?

IV. Whatever is *anomon* (“lawless” in the abstract) or *anomia* (“lawlessness”) is really sin, but not forthwith what is called “lawless” (*anomon*) in the concrete because it has sin in itself. In this sense, human nature is called “lawless” (*anomos*); not that it is sin itself, but because having sin in itself it is well called “sinful.”

V. A “new heart” is said to be made in us by regeneration not physically, but morally. The same substance which was corrupted by sin must be restored by grace. If it is said that “the old man” must be put off and “the new put on,” nothing else is meant than that the corruption of sin (which is morally called “the old man” because he descends from old Adam) must be thrown aside by man in order that the work of regeneration (signified by “the new man”) may be begun and carried forward. The same must be said of the other phrases connoting sin or grace, drawn from the substance itself of man. These are taken morally, not physically; nor so much in the abstract as in the concrete to express more powerfully the magnitude of our corruption.

VI. Original righteousness and sin are mutually opposed to each other, but the image of God is sometimes used more broadly (inasmuch as it is extended to the spiritual and immortal substance of the soul itself).

The opinion of papists concerning the nature of original sin. Opinion of the orthodox.

VII. The papists sin in defect who restrict the whole nature of original sin to the mere want or privation of original righteousness. They define corruption of nature by the loss alone of the supernatural gift without the access of any evil quality. Anselm and after him most of the Scholastics maintain this, and it is the more common opinion among the papists (“The Virginal Conception and Original Sin,” 26* in *Anselm of Canterbury* [ed. J. Hopkins and H. Richardson, 1976], 3:176). Their design is to prove that man after the fall differs from man before the fall no more than a weak or sick from a strong and healthy man, a bound from a free man. They do this in order to establish the will free to good; that there is not so much impotency in it as a difficulty of acting rightly, especially as they make original righteousness supernatural. However we think two things are here necessarily included:

first, the privation of original righteousness; second, the positing of the contrary habit of unrighteousness.

VIII. The reasons are: (1) Scripture describes that sin not only privatively (*sterētikōs*) and by way of negation (Rom. 3:23; 7:18; 1 Cor. 2:14; Eph. 4:18), but also positively (*thetikōs*) and by way of affirmation, when it calls it "flesh," "concupiscence," "the law of the members," "indwelling sin," "body of death," "old man," etc. (Jn. 3:6; Rom. 7:18, 20, 23, 24; Eph. 4:22).

IX. (2) In act and subjectively, it inheres in man and continually excites evil desires in him. In fact, it passes over to posterity by generation, which cannot be said of mere want or privation.

X. (3) Men are not only destitute of righteousness, but also full of unrighteousness; incapable of good, but also inclined to evil; turned away from God, as the immutable and eternal good, but also turned toward the creature and inclined to every vice. Disease and a bad disposition of body (producing pain) do not bespeak a mere privation of health, but also a disorder (*dyskrasian*) of the temperament and humors. As leprosy is not only the privation of pure blood, but also a corruption of it, so sin (which is compared to a disease) is not only the privation of rectitude, but also positive corruption. It introduces a universal disorder (*ataxian*) into nature and all its faculties and is usually described by folly, blindness and ignorance in the mind; wickedness and contumacy or rebellion in the will; and disorder or hardness (*pōrōsin*) in the affections, by which man is not only averse from good, but also prone to every evil.

XI. (4) It is not only privatively opposed to original righteousness, but also contrarily as original unrighteousness (as among philosophers vices are opposed to virtues, not only as privations, but also as contrary habits).

XII. (5) The effects of original sin are not only privative, but also positive; not only sins of omission, but also of commission, which on that account demand a cause of the same kind. Hence sinners (before grace) are called "foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts" (Tit. 3:3). "Evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, false witness" (Mt. 15:19) are said to proceed out of the heart and the flesh is said "to lust against the Spirit" (Gal. 5:17).

XIII. (6) Not a few papists hold this opinion. Thomas Aquinas calls it "a corrupt habit in which there is something privative (viz., the privation of original righteousness) and something positive (viz., a disordered

disposition of the parts of the soul)" (ST, I–II, Q. 82, Art. 1, p. 956). Cajetan on this place: "privation bespeaks negation in the aptly born subject; corruption, however, adds a positive contrary, founding that negation" (*Commentaria in Summam Theologicam Divi Thomae*, I–II, QQ. LXXI–CXIV[1948], p. 61 on I–II, Q. 82, Art. 1). Bellarmine attributes this opinion to Lombard, Henry (of Ghent), Gregory of Ariminum, whom moreover he charges with error and endeavors to refute ("De amissione gratiae," 5.15 in *Opera* [1858], 4:222–23).

XIV. A positive physically (in which sense being and good are convertible, and there is nothing positive which is not from God) differs from a positive morally and logically (which is affirmed of the subject in which it inheres, whether it is good or evil). Sin is called positive, not in the former, but in the latter sense. Thus it can have a positive cause not physically (because thus it is only a deficient cause), but logically and morally (because it introduces a positive quality).

XV. Original sin (not on this account) is not a vicious (*vitiosus*) habit because it is neither infused nor acquired. There are various innate habits, as appears from the example of conscience, original righteousness, the common notions about God and the difference between right and wrong.

XVI. Nothing prevents original sin from being a privation and at the same time a positive quality. Privation is not bare and simple (or of pure negation), but highly active and efficacious and of wicked disposition (which does not take away the subject itself, but by depriving it of the due rectitude, badly disposes and corrupts it; nor extinguishes the internal principles of action, but depraves them—as disease in the body and rottenness in an apple).

XVII. Further that hereditary taint corrupts not only the inferior part of the soul (or the sensitive, *to aisthētikon*), as the papists wish (for the purpose of favoring free will), but also the superior part (or the logical [*to logikon*], to wit, the intellect and the will). Hence blindness and ignorance of mind, rebellion and contumacy are attributed to the will, and the whole man is said to be altogether corrupt, so that he can neither know any truth nor do any good and so needs regeneration and sanctification, as to both parts of himself.

XVIII. The word "flesh" is sometimes taken strictly for the corruption of sensuality or of the body (as 2 Cor. 7:1); other times, it is taken broadly for

the universal corruption of the soul extending to the mind itself. Hence mind (*phronēma*) is attributed to the flesh (Rom. 8:6). Heresies are called "works of the flesh" (which however are in the intellect) and heretics are said to be puffed up by their fleshly mind (Col. 2:18). In this sense, original sin is called "flesh."

XIX. Concupiscence is used either philosophically and means the same as concupiscible appetite; or theologically and popularly, in which sense evil propensities of the will belong to it. In this sense, the flesh is said "to lust against the Spirit" (Gal. 5:17). Original sin is defined by Augustine as "concupiscence" from which (as a bad and corrupt root and tree) corrupt branches and the worst fruit are produced.

XX. Now this concupiscence is sin not only in the unbelieving and unrenewed, but also in believers and the renewed (whatever the papists may assert, who hold that it can be called a weakness and disease of nature and a depravation, the effect of sin and the cause of sins, but deny that it has the relation of sin properly so called). This was sanctioned by the Council of Trent, Session 5, Canon 5: "If anyone denies that the guilt of original sin can be remitted through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, bestowed in baptism, or even asserts that all that which has the true and proper relation of sin is not taken away, but says that it is only nipped off and not imputed, let him be anathema" (Schroeder, p. 23). And a little further on: "This concupiscence, which the apostle sometimes calls sin, the holy Synod declares that the Catholic Church has never understood to be sin, which is truly and properly sin in the renewed, but because it is from sin and inclines to sin. If anyone, however, thinks the contrary, let him be anathema" (ibid.).

XXI. Now although by regeneration we hold that the guilt and pollution of original sin is taken away as to dominion (because it is neither imputed to them anymore for condemnation, nor does it reign in them), yet we deny that it is absolutely taken away as to existence and whatever holds the relation of sin in it. Paul repeatedly gives to it the name of "sin" (Rom. 6; 7), as it cannot be referred to anything else than sin properly so called. He treats of the sin for which Christ was delivered, sin to which we are dead in baptism (Rom. 6:3) and crucified with Christ (Rom. 6:6), sin whose wages is death (Rom. 6:2, 6, 12, 23), sin which is repugnant to the law (Rom. 7:7), which works all manner of concupiscence (Rom. 7:8), and which becomes

exceeding sinful and renders man carnal and sold under sin (Rom. 7:14); whose mind (*phronēma*) is enmity against God and is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be (Rom. 8:7), the cause and origin of all sins (Jam. 1:15). All this belongs to sin properly so called. Hence Augustine maintains concupiscence "to be both sin, because disobedience is in it against the domination of the mind, and the punishment of sin, because it is rendered to the merits of the disobedient, and the cause of sin, by the defection of the one consenting as also by the contagion of the guilty" (*Against Julian* 5.3* [FC 35:249; PL 44.787]).

XXII. Although concupiscence is said to "bring forth sin" (Jam. 1:15, i.e., actual, finished and external), it does not cease to be sin. On the contrary, it ought to be sin because the offspring is of the same nature with the parent; an evil effect necessarily argues an evil cause, as a tree is known by its fruits.

XXIII. It is one thing that there should be no condemnation in the renewed; another that they are worthy of condemnation and of hatred. The former Paul states in Rom. 8:1 because actual guilt is removed by the grace of justification, but not the latter. As long as sin remains in us (as it does until our death), so long does potential guilt remain (or the intrinsic merit of sin, by which he is really worthy of hatred and of condemnation in his own nature, although by the accident of grace he is not actually condemned).

Twelfth Question: The Propagation of Sin

How is original sin propagated from parents to their children?

The question concerning the mode of propagation difficult.

I. The wickedness of heretics and the eager curiosity of searching into all things started this question. The Pelagians have urged it the more strongly in order that from the difficulty of the propagation of sin they might the more easily deny its truth. So hard and difficult to explain did it seem to Augustine, that in unravelling it he never could satisfy himself. Hence, two modes of propagation being proposed, either that both are faulty when

derived from man or that the one is corrupted in the other (as in an impure vase), he adds "which of these, however, is true I am more willing to learn than to say, and do not dare to teach what I am ignorant of" (*Against Julian* 5.4*.17 [FC 35:261; PL 44.794]). Therefore writing elsewhere, he goes so far as to say, we should the rather earnestly enquire how we may be freed from that evil by Christ than dispute how we may have drawn it from Adam; as the man who has fallen into a well ought not to be so anxious to know how he fell into it, as to ascertain the method of getting out of it (Letter 167, "To Jerome" [FC 30:33]).

To this it is answered: (1) generally that it is impure generation.

II. Now although in a question of the highest difficulty all difficulties cannot be removed, still such things can be brought forward from the word of God as can satisfy the humble mind so that we may firmly and indubitably hold the thing, although we cannot fully and clearly understand the mode. A twofold answer can be given to the proposed question, either general or special. First, generally, the mode of this propagation is the impure generation by which we are born corrupt and sinners from those who are corrupt and sinners. For as a man begets a man and a leper a leper, it ought not to seem strange for a sinner to beget a sinner also like himself. This both the nature and condition of all those generating demands (who beget a species similar to themselves, as to the substance and accidents of the species and the law of generation established by God, no less after the fall [Gen. 9:1] than before it) requires. As therefore before the fall God willed an upright nature to be propagated, so after the fall he willed a corrupt nature as the punishment of sin.

III. Thus sin is properly propagated neither in the soul nor in the body taken separately, but in the man because neither the soul nor the body apart, but man in Adam sinned so far as there was power in him (in the body with regard to substance, in the soul with regard to subsistence).

IV. Nor is it an objection that natural generation does not seem to be able to propagate what is moral. For that hereditary taint is so moral objectively that it does not cease to be natural originally because it is an inseparable

attendant of the corrupt nature; just as original righteousness, which was moral, yet would have been propagated by natural generation, if man had persisted in integrity.

V. However although this mode of general propagation is evident and is sufficient for establishing the truth of the traduction of sin; whence since Julian sought through what chinks sin could have entered, since he does not sin who is born; he does not sin who begat; he does not sin who made—Augustine answers, "Why does he seek a concealed crack, when he has a wide open gate? By one man.… What does he seek further; what clearer; what more impressive?" (*On Marriage and Concupiscence* 2.28 [NPNF1, 5:302; PL 44.464]). Still because the importunity of our opponents is wont to attack this mode violently as impossible (because sin can neither pass by the soul, which is created by God and is not drawn from the body, nor by the body which is brute and incapable of sin), let us see what can be said here more particularly to untie the knot which they think cannot be loosed.

VI. Some have thought that the difficulty can be gotten rid of in no better way than by the traduction of the soul (which not a few of the ancients believed and Augustine himself seems occasionally to incline toward). Undoubtedly in this way, all difficulty would seem to be removed; but because (as we said before) this opinion is consonant neither with Scripture nor with sound reason and is pressed by great difficulties, we do not think recourse should be had to it.

VII. Others (as Lombard and most of the Scholastics) hold that the soul is vitiated by the body (*Sententiarum*, Bk. II, Dist. 31 [PL 192/2.724–26]). It is indeed created pure by God, but tainted by the body into which it is put (as when pure liquor poured into an unclean vessel is corrupted). But Bellarmine impugns this opinion on this ground especially, that it cannot be understood how flesh (which is a body) can corrupt the soul (which is a spirit) ("De amissione gratiae et statu peccati," 4.12 in *Opera* [1858], 4:168). And we must confess that so far, it is not satisfactory, if nothing further is added.

(2) Or specially, by three degrees of propagation of sin. (a) In conception from an unclean seed.

VIII. In order therefore to explain this mode in the best way possible, we hold three degrees of that propagation: (1) in the conception of the body from an unclean seed; (2) in the creation of the rational soul with the want of original righteousness; (3) in the constitution of the whole compound by the union of the soul with the body. The first is in the conception of the body from an unclean seed, for as is the material, such ought to be the product: "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?" (Job 14:4). "What is born of the flesh is flesh" (Jn. 3:6). Now although the body of itself is not the receptive (*dektikon*) subject of sin (so that it may be said to be in it consummately, formally and perfectly), yet there is nothing to prevent its being said to be in us inchoatively, dispositively and radically (as in the proper residence of the soul, soon to coalesce in the same person with the soul). The tinder of that sin is derived in the conception itself and is impressed upon the fetus through the vital and animal spirits (as children are want to draw from parents not only diseases themselves in act, as the gout and gravel, but their seeds and certain impressions which are the principals of those diseases).

(b) In the creation of the soul destitute of original righteousness.

IX. The second degree is in the creation of the soul. Although created without any stain by God, still it is not created with original righteousness like the soul of Adam, in the image of God, but with a want of it as a punishment of the first sin. So that we must here distinguish between a soul pure, impure and not pure. That is called "pure" which is furnished with the habit of holiness; "impure" which has the contrary habit of unrighteousness; "not pure" which, although having no good habit, still has no bad habit, but is simply created with natural faculties (such as it is supposed to be created by God after the fall because the image of God, once lost by sin, cannot anymore be restored except by the blessing of regeneration through the Holy Spirit).

X. Now although souls are created by God destitute of original righteousness, God cannot on that account be considered the author of sin. It is one thing to infuse impurity; another not to give the purity of which

man has rendered himself unworthy in Adam. Nor is God bound to create pure souls; yea, he can most justly deprive them of such a gift as a punishment of the sin of Adam. This privation (although on the part of man culpable because it is a privation of due rectitude) still is not so with respect to God (because it is an act of vindicatory justice by which he avenges the first sin).

XI. Although souls were not in Adam as to origin of essence (because they are created by God), still they can rightly be said to have been in him as to origin of subsistence (inasmuch as they were to be joined with bodies as the constituent parts of those men who are the children of Adam and which in this respect are well considered guilty in Adam).

XII. Nor ought it to be considered unworthy of the divine goodness that the soul should be placed in a corrupt body. From the beginning, he sanctioned (by a certain and immovable law) that he would place a soul in every organized human body. This law ought not to have been abolished on account of the sin of man.

(c) In the union of the soul with the body.

XIII. The third degree of propagation is in the union of the soul with the body. For then what had been sin only initiatively and radically becomes such formally and consummately. As man by that union is constituted in his being, so also sin is filled up; not only privatively (by a want of righteousness), but also positively (by the position of the contrary habit of unrighteousness).

XIV. Now it ought not to seem surprising if the soul is corrupted by the body, since Scripture and experience testify that the sympathy (*sympatheian*) between the soul and body is so great that as the body is affected by the soul, so also in turn the soul is affected by the body. Hence the morals of the soul are said to follow the temperament of the body. And Scripture asserts that the soul is weighed down by the corrupt body: “Take heed to youselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this life” (Lk. 21:34). “For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things” (Wisd. 9:15).

XV. If, however, it is enquired how the soul (which is spiritual) can be corrupted by the body (which is a brute and material thing), the knot cannot be untied (as is done by some) saying that the soul needs an organized body and cannot operate except through bodily organs. Thus if the organs are well disposed, the action of the soul becomes right, but if on the contrary they are corrupt and badly disposed, the operation of the soul is also corrupted. However this might avail to demonstrate the actual corruption of the operations of the soul, still not its habitual corruption (about which it is enquired). Thus original sin would not exist in the soul of infants, but would arise only when the soul began to operate through the body.

XVI. Far more fitly and truly do they speak who maintain that this is not brought about by any action of the body upon the soul (as if the body in acting and the soul in suffering were gradually depraved because original sin is of nature, not of action). Nor can the body rise beyond the sphere of its own activity so as to act upon a spirit immediately and physically; nor even by physical contact (as of liquor in a vessel), which cannot apply to an immaterial soul. Rather by the very strict connection of soul and body in one person, the intimate sympathy (*sympatheian*) of both, the mutual appetite for each other and the nice balancing (*rhopēn*) by which they embrace most closely and affect each other, and as the body tends towards the soul as its perfection and good, so the soul tends towards the body as its own proper domicile and organ of its actions; and as the soul communicates its affections to the body, so the body communicates its dispositions to the soul, whence also results the diversity of inclinations in different men.

XVII. This can be done the more easily because (since the soul is deprived of original righteousness) it can no longer govern the body and hold it in subjection (which it could easily do in the state of integrity); but the image of God having been lost (which principally bestowed preeminence [*hyperochēn*] upon it), the natural order is disturbed so that the flesh (which ought to obey) now commands, while the soul (which was made to govern) has now passed in some measure into the power of the other (subjected to the flesh and drawn downwards). Here not so much the order of nature as the law of divine justice, and its most just sanction is to be recognized, avenging by this evil of punishment that evil of criminality, by which our first parent willingly subverted the power of the spirit over the flesh.

XVIII. Now in this way God cannot be considered the author, but the avenger of sin. He is the author of the union as his own work; but not of the sin (another's fault). He unites the soul to the body to preserve the species; he joins the soul deprived of righteousness to a corrupt body for a punishment of sin. Nor is God the cause of the corruption, if in joining the soul to the body he carries out an established law of nature (from which man proceeds properly, but the sinner only accidentally).

XIX. However although all difficulty occuring in the explanation of this mode of propagation may not seem to be removed, still its truth (so clearly delivered in Scripture and confirmed by experience) must be retained with no less certainty. Nor if we cannot understand the how (*to pōs*), must we on that account deny the fact (*to hoti*) or call it in question. It is better here with Augustine to acknowledge this mode to be just (whatever it may be) and to confess that it is secret.

THIRTEENTH QUESTION

Actual sin and its various divisions

What is actual sin?

I. Actual sin is the aberration from the law of God (in internal and external acts) proceeding from original sin as the effect from its cause, a river from the fountain and the second act from the first. Or according to others, a desire, word, deed or omission contrary to the law because it is performed as much by an omission of things to be done, as by a commission of things prohibited: either by the heart through the thoughts and unlawful desires; or by the mouth through impure words; or by work through wicked action. It is called "actual" not so much because it exists in act (because this belongs no less to original sin) as because it is in actions and not in habit.

Of how many kinds? (1) With respect to its object, against God and our neighbor.

II. As actual sins are manifold, so their divisions are various. In passing, we mark here the principal in which there seems to be any difficulty. (1) With respect to the object, against God and against our neighbors (under whom the man himself who sins is contained because he cannot sin against either God or his neighbor without sinning against himself). The former is committed against the first table of the law; the latter against the second. This, however, must be understood of the object taken materially and not formally because thus God alone is the proper object of sin (Ps. 51:4).

(2) With respect to form: into sins of commission and omission.

III. (2) With respect to form, first into sins of commission and sins of omission. By the latter, the good commanded is omitted; by the former, a forbidden evil is committed. Now although each is placed in privation, yet they do not cease to be mutually distinguished because the sin of commission is against negative precepts and that of omission against affirmative precepts. In the former, the substance of the act is not taken away, but only its actual goodness; in the latter, the very substance of the act is taken away. The former is immediately in the action (which is without the due virtue); the latter, however, in the faculty itself (by which man ought to have operated). Now although the omission of a prescribed act is not an act (and so neither seems to be actual sin), still it is properly so called. (a) Directly and univocally, while it is connected with an internal act of the mind and will by which the sinner meditates and wills the omission of an external act (Jam. 2:15, 16). (b) Analogically and remotely, inasmuch as it is conducted back to some antecedent act which may be either the cause or the occasion or the impediment of the omitted act (as excessive drinking is the cause of neglect of divine worship) which therefore is referred to it. (c) If a sin of omission is not an actual sin naturally, still it is such morally inasmuch as on account of that omission man opposes the law and contracts guilt.

Sin of itself and accidental.

IV. Second, one sin is of itself, another accidental: the former as to substance or such as to act (which of itself is prohibited by the law, when either the prohibited act is done or the commanded act is omitted); the latter as to the mode (when an act otherwise good is performed badly). The former is found in acts of themselves evil and forbidden by the law; the latter however in acts good in themselves, but not well done. Thus the works of piety and justice of believers are of themselves good, but accidentally become sins when they are not performed in the way which God commands. It is faulty either with regard to principle (if they do not spring from a heart purified by faith) or with regard to the end (when they are not referred to the glory of God) or with regard to the mode (when they are not exercised sincerely and honestly). Here belong the virtues of the Gentiles which, although they may have been good as to substance of act, yet were vicious as to manner and nothing else than "splendid sins."

(3) With respect to principle: into sins of ignorance and knowledge.

V. (3) With respect to principle, into sins of ignorance or of knowledge. Now this ignorance is not to be understood broadly for every sin arises from ignorance since the will cannot seek evil as evil, but under the idea of good (rather false and apparent), it cannot but suppose error in the mind. Hence Scripture calls all sinners fools and senseless (*anoētous*) and designates sins errors (*agnoēmata*, Heb. 9:7). Rather it is to be understood strictly to denote the special ignorance which prevails in the one sinning, such as was the sin of Paul who is said to have sinned ignorantly (1 Tim. 1:13) and of the Jews who are said to have crucified Christ "through ignorance" (*di' agnoian*).

VI. Again, the ignorance called sin is not of mere negation (which is rather nescience [*nescientia*] than ignorance), nor is it usually considered criminal (when anyone is ignorant of what he is not bound to know); rather it is of depraved disposition or privative and culpable (which puts away the thought which ought to be in man). Not ignorance altogether invincible and involuntary (when anyone is ignorant of what he cannot know, however he may wish, because the object is not revealed to him), but conquerable and induced (when anyone is ignorant of what he can know if he wishes); not so

much of deed and person (as he who kills a man thinking him to be a wild beast) as of right (when anyone is ignorant of what he is in duty bound to know).

VII. Sin against knowledge is committed by those knowing, as the sin of the wicked servant who knows the will of his master (Lk. 12:47). This again is twofold: either against knowledge judging evidently and distinctly and more from a contempt of God and the divine law than from any passion or perturbation of mind (belonging to the unrenewed and to those who are said to "sin willfully [*hekousiōs*] after they have received the knowledge of the truth," Heb. 10:26); or against knowledge judging from passion and perturbation; or from fear and weakness and not from a resolute contempt of the law or of God (such as belongs even to the renewed).

VIII. A sin of ignorance denies all knowledge, both theoretical and practical. But a sin against knowledge does not deny indeed theoretical knowledge, but has not practical knowledge. A sin against conscience has theoretical and practical knowledge, but absolute not comparative.

Sins of weakness and of depravity.

IX. Sin is either of weakness or of depravity; either wholly voluntary or relatively involuntary. In the Old Testament, sins committed through "error and weakness" (*bshggh*, Num. 15:25) are distinguished from those committed "presumptuously" (*bydh rmh*, Num. 15:30), when the sinner adds to the evil he perpetrates, contumacy and pride, by which he sins with full consent and deliberate wickedness and glories in his sin. So errors and secret sins (Ps. 19:13) are distinguished from "presumptuous," i.e., sins of obstinacy and open rebellion. Paul (speaking of himself) says "the evil which I would not, that I do" (Rom. 7:19); but elsewhere he speaks of those "who sin wilfully" (*hekousiōs*, Heb. 10:26).

Sins of weakness.

X. Thus a "sin of weakness" and voluntary is one which arises from ignorance, subreption or any great passion suddenly distorting the judgment (such as the fear of death) even with a struggle or resistance, but ineffectual on account of passion or temptation. Or it is one which is done without any

certain purpose of committing it (which appears in the daily sins of the renewed).

Sins of depravity.

XI. However a "sin of depravity" is that which is committed not from ignorance or weakness or fear, but from wickedness and contumacy and with a purpose of commiting it. Either it is only actual, arising from some more vehement passion, oppressing as it were the judgment of the reason and driving the man astray (which happens even in the renewed); or it is habitual and actual at the same time, since it is committed not with resistance and struggling but with a deliberate and full consent of the mind against the knowledge of the truth (such as the sin of those who are said by the apostle to sin wilfully [*hekousiōs*, Heb. 10:26], not broadly, but strictly and most properly—it is observed in most apostates and especially in those who sin against the Holy Spirit, of which afterwards).

(4) With respect to the adjuncts: indwelling and reigning sin.

XII. (4) With respect to the adjuncts, one is indwelling only; another reigning. The former the sinner resists both in the act itself and beyond it (although he yields to it on account of weakness which does not take place without some struggling, either antecedent or concomitant or subsequent, as is the case with the people of God). The latter, however, occurs without struggling, and the sinner in every way serves, both antecedently (by a propension or purpose actual and habitual) and consequently; partly through delight, partly through a continuation of the sinful act (such as is found in those whom Christ calls the servants of sin [Jn. 8:34] and who are said to "commit sin" [1 Jn. 3:8]—who, namely, practice the art of sinning, and of whom this is, as it were, a continuous work [*ergon*]).

XIII. The kingdom of sin is either absolute and total (as to state) or partial and comparative (as to act). The former belongs to the unregenerate alone; but the latter sometimes belongs to believers themselves when they

fall into grievious sins and for some time continue in them (as was the case with David, Solomon and others).

Pardonable and unpardonable.

XIV. Second, one is pardonable; another unpardonable. The former can be remitted by the grace of God, but the latter neither obtains nor can obtain pardon by justice (as is final impenitency common to all reprobates, and especially the sin against the Holy Spirit, which is described as unpardonable above all others, to which pardon is never granted, nor indeed can be granted). Of this the following question treats. The distinction of venial and mortal sins has been thoroughly discussed before.

Fourteenth Question

In what consists the formal reason of the sin against the Holy Spirit? Also why is it unpardonable?

Statement of the question.

I. The question is not whether there is any sin said to be particularly against the Holy Spirit. This is so clear from Scripture that we can have no doubt of it. Christ expressly mentions the "sin and blasphemy against the Holy Ghost" (Mt. 12:31; Mk. 3:29, 30). John speaks of a "sin unto death" (1 Jn. 5:16) for which we are not to pray, which can be no other than a sin against the Holy Spirit. But what is its nature, the opinions of theologians vary. Augustine says, "No greater and more difficult question is found in Scripture" (Sermon 71, "De Verbis Domini [11]," PL 38.449).

Why called "the sin against the Holy Spirit"?

II. When the Holy Spirit is said to be the object of this sin, he is not taken so much hypostatically (*hypostatikōs*, with regard to person), as energetically (*energētikōs*, with regard to office and operation). For as there is a common essence to the three divine persons, so there is an "undivided dignity" (*ameristos axia*), as Athanasius expresses it (*De Communi Essentia*

Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, PG 28.39–40); so that one separated from the others can be neither offended nor glorified. It is true that in the economy of salvation there are peculiar operations belonging to the individual persons by appropriation: as to the Son, redemption; to the Holy Spirit, illumination. Hence the sins more specially committed against the operation of the Son or of the Holy Spirit are said to be committed against the Son or the Holy Spirit (to wit, by reason of their operation).

In what it does not consist.

III. This sin cannot be said to consist simply in final impenitency (as Augustine held) because all reprobates die in it, who nevertheless cannot be said to sin against the Holy Spirit. Much less can it be made to consist of six species (as many papists maintain): presumption, desperation, resistance to recognized truth, hatred of fraternal grace, obstinacy and impenitency. Scripture makes this sin of one species, nor ought either the parts of any sin or the degrees and dispositions to it to be changed into species of it.

In what it does consist.

IV. We say it is a universal apostasy from true Christianity or of the truth of the gospel (of which one is convicted in his conscience); a total and persevering denial, hatred and resistance (whether sophistical or tyrannical) proceeding not from a common human weakness, but from special and deliberate wickedness and direct, diabolical hatred of it, joined with a contempt for all the means of salvation and final impenitency.

The first mark: opposition to gospel verity.

V. Hence it is evident that there are various characteristics of this sin. First, that it be committed against the knowledge of the truth not only legal, but especially gospel; not only theoretical and historical (for whoever sins against knowledge would sin against the Holy Spirit), but practical and convictive (although not persuasive). Conviction is when anyone not only knows the truth of the gospel, but is also convinced in his own mind of its goodness, so that he cannot even mutter against it (although he may wish

to). Persuasion is when anyone is so persuaded that not only is he not able to contradict, but he does not even wish to do so. Therefore, they who sin from ignorance (as Paul, when he blasphemed Christ and persecuted the church, and the Jews who crucified Christ) did not sin against the Holy Spirit because they acted through ignorance (*di' agnoian*) and without conviction.

VI. That it may more clearly appear what knowledge is here required and how it differs from the saving knowledge of believers, we must distinguish the threefold judgment of the practical intellect: (1) absolute and simple; (2) first comparative; (3) last comparative called the last practical. For as objects under various respects are represented to the intellect and with various circumstances (which are wont to vary the thing exceedingly), so it is accustomed to form diverse judgments, now absolute (if the thing is considered simply and in itself or *in thesi*), now comparative (if compared with others *in hypothesi*). However, a comparison can be made in various ways. Hence the comparative judgment can be manifold: one prior, another posterior. Since, therefore, the will in execution of the thing usually follows the last practical judgment of the intellect, hence the known and apprehended truth can be rejected not only by the absolute but also by the comparative practical judgment (provided it be not the last). Therefore they who sin against the Holy Spirit differ from believers in this—that they have indeed some comparative practical knowledge, but not the last (which necessarily draws the will after it to sanctification, such as is in the regenerated whom the Holy Spirit so enlightens that although there is often a severe struggle in the intellect, still at last the practical saving knowledge, being produced by invincible and irresistible grace, gains the victory).

VII. Again, the light of the Holy Spirit can be conceived as fourfold: (1) merely theoretical and instructing, consisting in illumination; (2) restraining; (3) convincing; (4) converting and sanctifying. The theoretical light enlightens the minds of hypocrites; the restraining affects the mind of the temporary (*proskairōn*) to abstain from more gross sins and retain some moral honesty (at least external); the convincing penetrates the hearts of those sinning against the Holy Spirit and convinces them of the truth and goodness of the gospel proposed to them (various motives being added by which they should be impelled to embrace it). But the persuading and converting light is given to believers alone and extends so far as not only to

pour into their minds some theoretical knowledge, not only to restrain the affections raging within and to repress them within certain limits of external morality, not only to convince of that saving truth, but also to persuade them intimately and by leading to true holiness to fill them with solid consolation.

VIII. If it is inquired whence arises the diversity of this knowledge which is convictive, not persuasive, the reason can be drawn from the different relation (*schesei*) under which the gospel is presented to the minds of men: under the idea either of virtuous or useful or pleasant good. In believers, the idea of the virtuous good prevails (to wit, an intimate sense of the mercy of God in the pardon of sins and in the grace of sanctification). But in others, the idea of useful or pleasant good prevails. They apprehend the gospel and follow it for a time, either as a pleasant and delightful good, alluring the minds of men to itself either by novelty or by sweetness and liberty or as a certain admirableness of the doctrines themselves and that which diffuses an unaccustomed pleasure (whence they are said to receive the word with joy [*meta charas*, Mt. 13:20]); or they regard it as a good useful and suitable to themselves which can bring to them some remarkable good in this life. But they do not rise to the relation of the true and saving good, consisting in communion with God through holiness and eternal happiness. For so great is its efficacy towards guilty and miserable man that he who once rightly apprehends it under this relation (*schesei*) cannot help immediately embracing and constantly retaining it.

The second mark: total defection from the truth.

IX. Second, to constitute this sin is required a total defection from the truth and its wicked rejection and denial; not from fear simply and the weakness of the flesh, as he who denies Christ through fear of death or some terrible impending evil or burns incense to idols (as Peter denied Christ and many in the ancient church departed from the faith [and even now in our day depart] through fear of losing their lives or the power and dignities they enjoy); not from desire of gain and the hope of increasing their fortunes (like Demas who loved the present world and those temporary ones [*proskairoi*] in whom the deceitfulness of riches and the cares of the world choke the good seed). For these sin altogether more grieviously and are far

more inexcusable than others (who deny through fear) and come nearer the sin which we treat. Hence as their repentance is usually rarer, so they with more difficulty obtain the pardon of their sin. Still it is not absolutely impossible (*ek tōn adynatōn*). For although this sin partakes of not so great a degree of involuntariness (*akousiou*), as is observed in that arising from fear, still it always has some degree of it. Indeed, that desire by which man is enticed and which is not without some perturbation, seems to bring a certain violence to the reason and to extinguish its light. Hence that sin does not seem to be committed voluntarily (*hekousiōs*) altogether. It remains therefore that that denial of the truth should proceed from pure wickedness and petulance (arising from deadly hatred and obstinate contempt of it).

X. I say that hatred and contempt of the truth has place here because what we are most averse to and hold in contempt, we are accustomed to reject and put away from as much as we can. And concerning contempt indeed there seems to be no obscurity: for if they would properly value the gospel in proportion to its worth, they never could be induced to reject it. Therefore their rejection and denial proceed from their despising and considering it of no worth. Here belongs what Paul says of "trampling under foot the Son of God, and counting his blood an unholy thing" (Heb. 10:29), which could not be done without intolerable contempt. The example of Esau proves the same thing. He is usually set forth as a type of those sins whose criminality is placed in this—that he sold the right of primogeniture for a mess of pottage (to wit, considering it of no value). The gospel seems to them not only as a thing of no value and most vile, but also as a most troublesome and infamous thing; thus opposed to their affections and worthy of hatred. Hence it happens that hatred is joined with contempt from which opposition and persecution of the gospel arises (which is also contained in this sin). We are accustomed to persecute and contend against no other things than those we are averse to. Here belongs the example of the Pharisees whom Christ charged with the sin against the Holy Ghost because from bitter hatred of him they boldly rejected his doctrine and miracles and persecuted his person. The very word "blasphemy" (by which it is usually designated) necessarily implies this; also the word "despite" (*hybreōs*) by which the apostle expresses insult offered to the Holy Spirit (Heb. 10:29) and which draws after it the bitterest hatred and detestation.

Third mark: a pertinacious assault upon it.

XI. The third mark is not only the denial of the recognized truth, but also a pertinacious opposition to it. For as they persecute it with the deepest hatred, it is no wonder that they endeavor with all their might to overturn it (whether artfully by sophistical pursuit or martially by tyrannical persecution). This is evident in the Pharisees, the philosopher Porphyry, Julian the Apostate and others guilty of this sin. Here belongs what is related of Julian by Theodoret, namely, that he, wounded by a cavalry spear in the midst of his own men, threw a handful of blood towards heaven with these blasphemous words against Christ: "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean" (*Ecclesiastical History* 3.20 [NPNF2, 3:106; PG 82.1119]).

Fourth: final impenitency.

XII. Finally, the fourth mark is stubbornness of mind and perseverance in wickedness even unto the end. These words of Athanasius pertain to this: "God has not said, pardon is not granted to the blasphemer repenting, but to the blasphemer (viz., persevering in blasphemy)" (*Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, Q. 72* [PG 28.643]). This reason impelled Augustine to make the essence of this sin to consist in final impenitency, which although it cannot be admitted to the full extent (because this is common to it with all the sins of reprobates), still there is no doubt that it is included in this sin.

Whence arises the unpardonableness?

XIII. And hence the unpardonableness of that sin, which is its inseparable adjunct. This is intimated by Matthew when he asserts that blasphemy against the Holy Ghost "shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come" (Mt. 12:31, 32), i.e., "never forever" (as Mark interprets, 3:29). And for this reason peculiarly it is called a "sin unto death" (1 Jn. 5:16, 17), not only because it deserves death in its own nature (for so all sins are unto death), not only because it is unpardoned and at last is actually punished with death (which is the case with all the sins of reprobates), but because it is such as to be absolutely unpardonable in itself.

XIV. This unpardonableness, however, is not only comparative and relative because it is pardoned with great difficulty (as Bellarmine maintains, "De Sacramento Poenitentiae," 2.16 in *Opera* [1858], 3:662–66 and Gregory of Valencia, *Commentariorum theologicorum*, Disp. I, Q. 14 [1603–09], 3:427–32 following Thomas Aquinas, [ST, II*–II, Q. 14, pp. 1233–37] who although holding it to be unpardonable on its own part, yet thinks that God can pardon it), but absolute and simple, not only what is never actually pardoned, but what absolutely cannot be pardoned by God.

XV. Now this unpardonableness does not arise from a defect in either the mercy of God or the merit of Christ (as if the former were not immeasurable or the latter of infinite worth and value). Rather it rises from the very nature of the sin, which is such that it excludes the very condition requisite to pardon (viz., repentance—"for it is impossible for those to be renewed again unto repentance," Heb. 6:6). For as no one is excluded from pardon who repents, so he who cannot be renewed again unto repentance, cannot obtain pardon. If indeed you ask, Why is repentance of such a sin impossible? the answer is easy. It depends both upon the greatness of the sin itself (which rejects the only principle of repentance, i.e., the Spirit of grace) and upon the will of God itself who, according to the order established in the dispensation of salvation, cannot bestow the grace necessary to it. For since the one only sacrifice of Christ has been appointed by God for the expiation of sins and regeneration is solely one through the Holy Spirit, he (who once rejects both benefits, as is done by those sinning against the Holy Spirit) can have no other means by which he can either obtain remission or be renewed again unto repentance. And the apostle intimates this when he charges this double crime upon apostates (that "they tread under foot the Son of God and do despite unto the Spirit of grace," Heb. 10:29); hence he teaches that they reject both the power of Christ's sacrifice and the efficacy of the Spirit. On this account, he asserts that there remaineth no more sacrifice for them and no hope of pardon (which is founded only on the oblation of sacrifice), just as his disease is desperate who rejects all the remedies by which he can be cured and attacks the physician himself. Here belongs what the apostle says in the same epistle: "It is impossible to renew them again unto repentance, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God, and put him to an open shame" (Heb. 6:6). Exceeding their furlough and boldly rejecting the sacrifice of Christ, they

must seek some other propitiatory (*hilastikon*) sacrifice by which to be saved. Since there is none apart from Christ, there would be a necessity for Christ to be crucified again and exposed to ignominy. As this is impossible, it is equally impossible for them to be renewed unto repentance.

XVI. This will be made still clearer from the diversity of operations belonging to the particular persons in the economy of salvation. For as the Father supports the majesty of offended deity and is the guardian and vindicator of the enacted laws; the Son holds the place of Mediator and Surety (who made satisfaction for our sins); and the Holy Spirit sustains the part of sanctifier (who puts the finishing stroke to the work of salvation by bringing us to Christ, and by Christ to the Father). Thus he who has violated the laws of the Father can have a remedy in the satisfaction of the Son; he who has injured the person of the Son and the dignity of his satisfaction by unbelief and ignorance, some hope remains for him in the grace of the Spirit (who can cure his ignorance and correct his unbelief). But he who despises the Holy Spirit and rejects his operation, for him there remains no more any source of hope because there is no other divine person who can help him (and the operation of the Spirit is the last in the business of salvation, after which no other help of grace can be expected).

XVII. Where sin abounds, grace much more abounds (if man has recourse to it in faith and repentance); but if the sinner obstinately rejects that grace, it cannot exert its power over him. Christ heals every disease in the people, but on the basis of all the conditions being complied with (to wit, in those who do not impudently reject the physician).

XVIII. This sin belongs to no one of God's elect, whose salvation is sure, both on account of the immutability of election and the eternity of God's love (Mt. 24:24; 2 Tim. 2:19); and because through the intercession of Christ (Jn. 17:20) and the perpetual protection of God (1 Pet. 1:5) and the Spirit's blessing of regeneration, they are kept free from reigning sin so that they neither commit nor can commit the sin which is unto death (1 Jn. 3:9). Nor if the apostates (of whom Paul speaks in Heb. 6:4, 5) are said to "have been sanctified," "to have tasted the good word of God" and "the powers of the world to come," does it follow that they had been true believers. They are called "sanctified" rather sacramentally and externally, than internally and spiritually. Having been received into the church through the sacrament of baptism (called by way of metonymy "the blood of the covenant," as its

seal), they were considered no longer heathen and unclean—as they were called "sanctified" who were sprinkled with the blood of bulls (Heb. 9:13). So they are said to "have tasted the good word of God" with the lip and superficially, not intimately and radically; and "the powers of the world to come," i.e., not the sweets of paradise, the firstfruits of eternal life, but the powers of miracles and extraordinary gifts which were then conferred upon the church (which is called "the world to come," Heb. 2:5).

XIX. However although this sin belongs to reprobates alone, still not to all. Rather it belongs to those only who, from hatred and determined wickedness, reject and oppose the truth of God offered to them, of which they are sufficiently convinced with themselves—either tyrannically, as Julian, or sophistically, as Porphyry. Now although it is certain that it is principally committed under the gospel (because a far more full light shines upon men), still it could also occur under the law and in those who have not yet professed the truth. Thus three degrees of it may be constituted. The first, in those who trampled under foot the doctrine of Moses as deadly and with determined mind rejected it: as those who are said to have sinned with "uplifted hand" and "through pride" and grieved the Spirit of holiness (Is. 63:10). The second, in the Scribes and Pharisees, who although they would not receive the gospel, still with settled malice persecuted Christ and his doctrine and miracles as diabolical (Mt. 12:24). Although indeed they are said not to have known Christ ("for if they had known, they would not have crucified him," 1 Cor. 2:8), this must be understood of a practical and saving knowledge, not of a theoretical and historical because what they did know, they maliciously denied and detested. The third is in those who once having professed the gospel, afterwards against the light of the Spirit by which they were convinced of its excellence and sweetness, from hatred and obstinacy despise and designedly proclaim war against it, trampling under foot the Son of God and his blood; and thus reject the whole covenant of God (which exactly fits the notorious apostates mentioned by Paul, Heb. 6 and 10).

XX. This wickedness is not to be rashly charged upon anyone and can more easily be defined in the abstract than explained in the concrete—both on account of our ignorance of internal principles and acts and on account of the different seasons of calling grace. We cannot indeed deny that it is cognizable because it is described in Scripture with all its circumstances

and because if this were not the case Scripture would not have prohibited us from praying for such persons. However that knowledge is either divine (made by a revelation from God) and extraordinary by the gifts of the trying of spirits (which obtained in the apostolic church); or it is human, arising from effects and circumstances. The former has now ceased; the other still remains. And as it is ascertained only from external signs (from which a knowledge of it cannot be infallibly obtained), therefore we must proceed very cautiously and be more prone to cherish a good hope in charity than to condemn rigorously.

Fifteenth Question

Whether sin can be the punishment of sin. We affirm

I. The ancient Pelagians stirred up the question, strenuously denying sin to be the punishment of sin, both to establish the bare and idle permission of God in reference to sin and to prove that original sin is not properly a sin, but only a punishment of an antecedent sin, a defect and weakness of nature (cf. Augustine, *Against Julian* 3.3 [FC 35:112–14]). The Jesuits, Socinians and Remonstrants of our day follow them. With them, some of our men agree, denying the imputation of the first sin. They do this the more easily to deduce thence that inherent original sin is not the punishment of that first sin, as is commonly asserted by the orthodox.

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not whether sin formally and reduplicatively as sin and in relation to the law which it opposes, is punishment. For thus it is a base evil contrary to the law. Rather the question is whether sin considered materially and specifically (i.e., that which is sin by reason of the act lying under and in relation to the subject which it corrupts) can be punishment. This our opponents deny; the orthodox affirm.

III. Sin, however, can be called punishment in three ways: either with respect to itself; or with respect to the antecedent sin in him who is punished; or with respect to another's sin. (1) It is the punishment of itself; as virtue is its own best reward, so sin is the punishment of itself. Hence

Augustine: “Thou, O Lord, hast commanded, and so it is, that every disordered mind should be its own punishment” (*Confessions* 1.12 [FC 21:20; PL 32.670]). It is an accident disagreeing with the subject and hurtful, bringing the greatest loss to the creature by separating it from God our highest good and depriving it of holiness (the best part of our happiness) and most foully branding man’s conscience (by which he is rendered not only wicked, but also miserable). (2) It is the punishment of preceding sin, as the idolatry of the heathen is punished by the abominable lusts to which they are delivered (Rom. 1:24–27). (3) On account of another’s sin, as the sin of David is punished by the incest of Absalom.

Proof that sin is the punishment of sin: (1) from 2 S. 12:11, 12.

IV. That sin is rightly called the punishment of sin is proved: (1) Scripture expressly establishes this—the incest of Absalom is put forward as a punishment of David sent by God: “Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and I will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbor, and he shall lie with thy wives in the sight of this sun. For thou didst it secretly: but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun” (2 S. 12:11, 12). Nor can it be objected that “there was nothing penal here, only a bare permission and that the incest itself was not punishment formally.” We answer that the punishment of David ought to be a public disgrace and loss inflicted upon him before the sun and all Israel, and it was a pollution of David’s bed. Now the divine permission was neither formally a detriment to David, nor made publicly before the sun, but secretly in the impure heart of Absalom. Again God does not threaten David with that permission as a punishment, but with a permitted thing, namely, the injury and disgrace of a polluted bed. For these words contain a just proportion from the law of retaliation (*lex talionis*) between sin and punishment: Thou hast violated the only wife of an innocent man; I will deliver up your many wives to be violated. Thou secretly and unknown to Israel and with this married woman hast committed adultery; I will punish you openly before the sun and Israel (as witnesses). Thou hast injured thy neighbor by adultery; I wish to inflict

upon you the punishment of incest. Now there would have been no punishment here if that punishment had consisted in a bare permission.

(2) From Rom. 1:24–26.

V. Second, from Rom. 1:24–27 where God, as a punishment of the idolatry of the Gentiles, is said to have given them up to foul lusts and to a reprobate mind (*dia touto paredōken autous ho Theos*): "for this cause" (viz., on account of idolatry spoken of in v. 25) "God gave them up unto vile affections … receiving in themselves that recompense (*antimisthian*) of their error which was meet." Thus I infer: this change of the natural use of their bodies into vile lust against nature is a just recompense (*antimisthia*) for the idolatrous change of the glory of God into the glory of the creature and of the truth of God into a lie; this is sin and at the same time the punishment of their sin. Now this "impurity" (*akatharsia*) and "shamelessness" (*aschēmosynē*) (foul sin) is called the "recompense" (*antimisthia*) of the preceding wickedness. Similar to this is the other passage where God is said "to have sent them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness" (2 Thess. 2:11, 12*). For what God inflicts upon men because they have not received the love of the truth (that not believing the truth they might be condemned) must be penal. Nor can it be said that such sins are called punishment by a metonymy of the cause because they are deserving of greater punishment (as Arminius wishes). It is one thing to deserve a new punishment; quite another to be itself punishment and the just recompense of crime (which is here said of the crimes of the Gentiles).

(3) From 1 K. 22:20.

VI. Third, from the lying spirit in the mouths of the false prophets and the lie which Ahab believed for undertaking an unjust war, was a most grievous sin. Still it was a punishment sent by God to destroy him: "And the Lord said, who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead?" (1 K. 22:20). "Now therefore, behold, the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets, and the Lord hath spoken evil

concerning thee" (v. 23). These words are so clear as to have extorted even from Vorstius unwillingly the confession of truth. "This discourse is of a judicial, or if you prefer, of a certain penal action of God punishing, and that too rare and extraordinary, which always argues the consequent will of God, by which he permitted the impious king to be deceived and suffer merited and severe punishment; yea in some measure cursed him" (*Amica duplicatio ad Iohannis Piscatoris ... Apologeticam* 3 [1617], p. 179).

(4) From the passages which join sin and punishment together.

VII. Fourth, from the other passages of Scripture which have the relation of sin and punishment. The defection of the ten tribes was undoubtedly a heavy sin, but at the same time a punishment of Solomon's idolatry (1 K. 11:31, 33). The oppression of the nation by the Assyrians and Chaldeans was a grevious sin on the part of the enemies of the people of God (Is. 10:7; 14:3; Jer. 50:6–8); yet the same on the part of God was a punishment of the defection and idolatry of the people (Is. 7:17, 18; 39:6–8; Jer. 1:12–14). The suicide (*autocheiria*) of Judas was a dreadful crime and at the same time a just punishment of the betrayal of the Savior. The same can be said of the hardening of Pharaoh (Ex. 4:21), the numbering of the people (2 S. 24:1) and the blinding of the Jews (Is. 6:10; Jn. 12:40; 9:39). Augustine collects many passages of this kind in which sins are enumerated which are also punishments. "Is not sin the punishment of sin when we read 'The Lord sent upon them a spirit of error'?… Is not sin also the punishment of sin when God says by the prophet, 'O Lord, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways?' (Is. 63:17) … Is not sin also the punishment of sin, when we read of the nations whom Joshua destroyed 'because it was of the Lord to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel in battle, that he might destroy them utterly' (Jos. 11:20)? Many others we might enumerate in which it plainly appears that by a secret judgment, perversity of heart took place, so that he should not hear the truth spoken, and thence sin, and sin itself be the punishment of preceding sin" (*Against Julian* 5.3 [FC 35:253–54; PL 44.790]).

VIII. Fifth, because God (as a punishment for transgression of the law) does not denounce only calamities and troubles which are simple punishments, but also various sins (viz., blindness of mind, hardening and the like, Dt. 28:28, 29; Lev. 26:14–33), which are mixed punishments.

IX. Sixth, because justice and holiness can bear a relation of moral and physical good. Therefore nothing hinders these two relations (*scheseis*) of guilt and punishment from being joined together in sin. As the highest good of the creature is to be united with God by holiness; so his highest evil is to be separated from God by sin.

Sources of solution.

X. It is not absurd that of one and the same thing there should be contrary differences, if they are contrary and diverse relations according to which both can be predicated of it in different relations (*kat' allo kai allo*) (as man can be called mortal and immortal in different respects). The same action can be called both praiseworthy and just on the part of God decreeing it for punishment and so be blamed and unjust on the part of man committing it as sin. The horrible lusts of the Gentiles were just with respect to God inasmuch as he gave over the nations to them as a just recompence (*antimisthian*) of preceding sins. Hence it is added that it "behooved them" to suffer it. Yet they were unjust with respect to the Gentiles. Hence they are said to have done "those things which are not convenient" (*ta mē kathēkonta*). Augustine mentions and refutes this argument of the Pelagians, saying that God in the punishment of men uses the wickedness of Satan and men, which however no one would say is praiseworthy (to wit, that the wonderful wisdom of God brings light out of darkness and makes the sins of creatures the material for his own judgments; cf. *Against Julian* 5.3 [FC 35:247–56]). Thus sin can be regarded with reference either to the internal producing cause or to the external ordination or divine judgment. It is unjust and culpable with respect to the former inasmuch as it belongs to disobedient man. But in the latter respect it can have praiseworthiness inasmuch as it pertains to God's ordaining and judging. Hence Biel: "The same privation, which is sin, ordains and disarranges, is culpable and praiseworthy; it disorders, inasmuch as the sinner by it recedes from the rectitude of the law and from the order of rewarding justice; ordains,

inasmuch as the sinner is punished under the order of punishing justice; it is culpable as to the sinner voluntarily deserting; praiseworthy as far as God justly permitting him to fall."

XI. An honest and moral good answering to the law and opposed to base evil differs from a useful good consistent with justice. The approving complacency of the revealed will differs from the permissive and directive complacency of the will of good purpose. Sin cannot please God as an honest and moral good by approving complacency. But this does not hinder him from being pleased by a permissive complacency with it (as a good conducive to the manifestation of his justice).

XII. Action and suffering are one and the same really. They differ only in manner. Hence sin can in a different respect be both action and suffering: action as committed; suffering as inflicted and a sad evil (just as beating is an action as proceeding from the agent and suffering is an action as received by the patient).

XIII. It is of the nature of punishment to be evil in the one punished: either in itself and in the first act; or in the punished so thinking and in the second act. Although punishment is not always felt by the man as a hurtful and injurious thing, but is apprehended by him as something pleasant and agreeable (through a false judgment of the intellect), still not on that account ought it to be considered the less punishment in itself. It ought rather to be esteemed the more heavy that he does not feel it to be punishment at all; yea, considers it as a useful and pleasant good. Thus that God did not punish the whoredoms of the daughters of Israel is threatened as a punishment of their whoredoms (Hos. 4:14), but the not being punished by God was to them in the highest degree pleasant.

XIV. It is not essential to punishment that it be always voluntary, as it is not of the nature of sin to be always voluntary. It suffices that it be such as the will ought to oppose, if rightly estimated. Hence Becanus: "It is not necessary that punishment be such as that the will is actually repugnant to it; it is sufficient to be such as the will would oppose if it rightly estimated and weighed it" (*Summa Theologicae Scholasticae* 2.2.8 [1651], p. 284). Gregory of Valencia says, "It is sufficient that punishment be in its own nature opposed to man's inclination and so be involuntary in the first act" (*Commentariorum theologicorum*, Disp. VI, Q. 17, Punct. 2 [1603–09], 2:686 on I–II, Q. 87*).

XV. What is illegal (*anomia*) cannot be legal (*ennomia*) in the same respect, but in a different respect. Sin is illegal (*anomia*) in reference to the command of the law. In this respect, it is true that it never can be legal (*ennomian*) for then it would be both forbidden and commanded (which is contradictory). But still it can be called legal (*ennomia*) in relation to the sanction of the law, as what is against the commanding law still may be in accordance with the sanctioning law. Thus it is termed punishment inasmuch as it bespeaks an evil hurtful to the creature according to the sanction of the law (which wishes the creature to be afflicted on account of guilt).

XVI. No just judge avenges the transgression and injury done to himself by another transgression or injury which he himself does or permits to be done because he is bound to put a stop to all injury. Yet there is nothing to prevent God's avenging the injury done towards him by another injury, which he by a most wise and just judgment permits to be done to the injury of the creature. He is bound by no law to hinder that; yea, he has most weighty reasons for permitting it to the greater manifestation of his own justice.

XVII. Although the civil magistrate does not punish sins by sins, it does not follow that God cannot do so justly. The human court differs far from the divine both with respect to the justice of God (which is stricter) and with respect to his power (which is far greater, extending to the soul itself and so even to spiritual punishments). Nor can this mode of punishing be termed repugnant to the glory of God because in this way sins are heaped up to a great height which cannot be expiated by eternal punishments; yea, there would seem to be a progress into infinity and the glory of God would seem injured rather than promoted. If sins are heaped up, this is not through the fault of God punishing, but the crime of the subject suffering. Nor can sins be expiated because the reprobate never cease sinning. And so the glory of God will be promoted not by a correction of wickedness in the subject, but by the continuance and duration of punishment in him. It is not surprising therefore that while they continue forever in sins, they should be forever punished.

XVIII. It is absurd for the debt to be increased by its payment and for guilt to be increased and diminished by the same thing. It is false that there is any full payment of debt when sins are punished by sins or that guilt is

diminished or taken away. This is done only by simple punishment and where there is a perfect satisfaction (which does not occur here).

XIX. Every simple punishment is from God effectively, but it suffices for mixed punishment to be from him directively. However there are three distinct things in sin: (1) the physical act, which holds a material relation; (2) the illegality (*anomia*) itself, which holds a formal relation; (3) the judgment of God (or punishableness), which attaches to both. The first proceeds from God, the mover; the second departs only from the Devil and the sinner; the latter however depends upon God, the Judge.

XX. Although Christ was bound to bear in our place all the punishment in general due to us, it does not follow that he was bound to bear all species of punishments. He was indeed made a curse for us (Gal. 3:13), but he ought not on that account to bear all the species of curse enumerated in Dt. 27 and 28. So he is said to have borne our diseases (Is. 53:4; Mt. 8:17); still he cannot be said to have either borne or healed all kinds of diseases. Hence penal defects are usually distinguished into criminal (*diablētous*) and culpable (to which Christ could not be liable), unblameable (*adiablētous*) and innocent (which Christ could assume); but not all innocent whatsoever (as personal which from particular causes belong to certain persons), but only natural and common (pressing upon the whole race). So he is rightly said to have borne all simple punishment, but not necessarily mixed punishment. Yea, he neither could, nor was he bound to bear this. He could not because this applied only to a corrupt and depraved subject. He was not bound because by suffering he was bound to take away sin, not to heap it up. It suffices therefore that by bearing the simple punishment, he took away also the mixed.

XXI. Although sin is the punishment of sin, it cannot be inferred that the justice of God demands that it should be violated and that God should be offended for his satisfaction; but only that God can, in accordance with his wisdom and justice, from a violation of that directive justice revealed in the law, elicit against the intention of the sinner and the nature of sin itself, a manifestation of vindicatory justice. The same argument can be used against the permission of sin. If God permits sin for his glory, therefore the glory of God requires that sin should be done, and so by it the glory of God be manifested (by which it was obscured). Yet it is evident that this is a false conclusion because sin not per se but accidentally contributes to the

glory of God (which properly and per se it obscures). The other questions which can be agitated in reference to the punishment of sin will be discussed in their proper place when we treat of death.

TENTH TOPIC

THE FREE WILL OF MAN IN A STATE OF SIN

FIRST QUESTION

Whether the term "free will" or self-determining (autexousiou) *power should be retained in the Christian schools. And to what faculty of the soul does it properly belong—the intellect or will?*

I. The greatness of the corruption brought upon the human race by sin we have already shown. We have seen the source of evil in original sin and the muddy streams thence flowing into actual sins. Now more properly the miserable state of man and the most degrading servitude of free will under sin must be considered. I confess it is a sad spectacle, but still most useful and highly necessary, in order that we may fully know the greatness of our misery and the more certainly understand and the more earnestly seek the necessity of medicinal grace. For this reason, the argument is the more diligently to be pursued because the weightiest controversies have been set on foot about it by various adversaries almost from the very beginning and are even now in our day urged (in the discussion of which great talents have been and are now employed). And not to mention here the most futile errors of heathen philosophers who (ignorant of the corruption of nature) contended that man could be the builder and architect of his own fortune and by making men free made them sacrilegious. Who is ignorant of the gigantic attempts of the Pelagians and semi-Pelagians on this subject! They deny either wholly the impurity of nature or extenuate it most astonishingly to extol the strength of free will. Neither the authority of various councils, nor the labor and industry of the brightest lights of the church (Jerome, Augustine, Prosper, Hilary, Fulgentius and others) broke so much as to prevent their renewing and causing to sprout again the very same things in

succeeding ages; so that you would say these enemies had been triumphed over rather than entirely conquered by the fathers. Nor do the Jesuits, the Socinians and Remonstrants of our day labor for anything else than on this subject (as also in various others) to bring back (either openly or secretly and by burrowing) Pelagianism and semi-Pelagianism and to place the idol of free will in the citadel. This is the Helen whom they so ardently love and for whom they do not hesitate to fight as for their altars and firesides. It is of great importance, therefore, that the disciples of true and genuine grace should oppose themselves strenuously to these deadly errors and so build up the misery of man and the necessity of grace that the entire cause of destruction should be ascribed to man and the whole glory of salvation to God alone. Here belongs the doctrine of free will, concerning which we now dispute.

The term "free will"—whence derived.

II. However, because a controversy is usually plied with us here by the papists (as if we could not bear the term "free will" any more than the thing itself), a few remarks must be premised concerning the term. The word "free will" (as also "self-determining power" [*autexousiou*] used by the Greek fathers) does not occur in Scripture. It was received by the Christian schools as more suited to designate that faculty of the rational soul by which it spontaneously does what it pleases, a judgment of the reason going before. For they are mistaken who think they have found it in what Paul calls "the power of his own will" (*exousian peri tou idiou thelēmatos*, 1 Cor. 7:37). With him, *exousia* does not mean freedom of will, but facility of executing; nor does *to thelēma* signify an act of the will, but an object (as often elsewhere). Therefore the origin of this word seems rather to be drawn from the Platonic school, the followers of which many of the fathers were before they turned to Christ. What the Peripatetics called *eleutheran proairesin* and the Stoics *to eph' hēmin*, the Platonists called *autexousion*.

III. However although this name seems too proud, if considered precisely in itself (as if man was in his own power who belongs properly to God alone, who moreover is truly perfectly independent [*autexousios*] and irresponsible [*anypeuthynos*], so of his own right that he does not depend nor can depend absolutely upon anyone). However man is always

responsible (*hypeuthynos*) and under authority (*hypexousios*). For this reason, some have desired it to be removed from the use of the church to take away the abuse of the Pelagians who have spread their poison under it. Still because it has now been received in the church by a long usage, we do not think it should be dismissed to the philosophers from whom it seems to have been derived, but should be usefully retained, if its right sense is taught and its abuse avoided. Hence it cannot without calumny be charged upon us that we can bear neither the name nor the thing (free will). For we are about to demonstrate (afterwards in reference to the thing) that we establish free will far more truly than our opponents; so the writings of our men abundantly teach that we by no means repudiate this term when properly understood.

IV. The subject of free will is neither the intellect, nor the will separately, but both faculties conjointly. As it belongs to the intellect with regard to the decision of choice (*proaireseōs*); so it belongs to the will with regard to freedom. Hence you may rightly call it a mixed faculty or a wedlock and meeting (*synkyrian*) of both—the intellect as well as the will. Nevertheless you would not properly say it consists rather in each faculty; for as the decision of the intellect is terminated in the will, so the liberty of the will has its roots in the intellect. Hence the philosopher, leaving this undetermined, says that it is either the "appetitive intellect" (*noun orektikon*) or the "intelligent appetite" (*orexin dianoētikēn*) (Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics* 1*.13.18, 20 [Loeb, 66–67]).

V. Nor ought this to seem unusual since the intellect and will are mutually connected by so strict a necessity that they can never be separated from each other. Nor does there seem to be a real and intrinsic distinction here, but only an extrinsic with regard to the objects (as one and the same faculty of the soul both judges by understanding and by willing embraces what it judges to be good; and it is called "intellect" when it is occupied in the knowledge and judgment of things, but "will" when it is carried to the love or hatred of the same). Thus what is in the intellect affirmation and negation, that in the will is desire and avoidance, as the philosopher says (*hoper en dianoia kataphasis kai apophasis tout' en orexei diōxis kai phygē*, ibid., 6.2.2 [Loeb, 328–29]).

VI. In the soul, besides the essence, there are only three things: faculty, habit, act. In the common opinion, the "decisions" denotes an act of the

mind; but here it signifies properly neither an act nor a habit because both singly can be separated from man and determine him to only one of contraries—a faculty, not vegetative and sensitive (common to us with brute things in which there is no place for virtue or vice), but rational, from which we are not indeed good or evil, but can be by its act and habit.

Second Question

Whether every necessity is repugnant to freedom of will. We deny against the papists and Remonstrants

I. Before speaking of the nature and formal relation of free will, we must first discuss the proposed question on account of our opponents (of whom this is the capital error [*prōton pseudos*] upon which they erect their erroneous doctrine about the essence of liberty being placed in indifference) —that undoubtedly "necessity of every kind is opposed to the freedom of the will and necessity and freedom are diametrically (*antidiērēmenōs*) opposed; nor can a free will be conceived or understood with a determination to one thing or with a necessity determining it antecedently." Their design is no other than to take away the will of man from the necessity of divine determination and government and to make it uncontrolled (*adespoton*) and the master of its own acts.

Not every necessity repugnant to liberty, only a certain.

II. To this assertion of Pelagians is opposed the orthodox truth which maintains that not every necessity is at variance with liberty, nor that every necessity agrees with it; but that one is incompatible (*asystaton*) with it, while another cordially unites with it (which has been noticed before in passing, Topic VIII, Question 1). It must now be explained a little more distinctly.

III. Liberty is variously distinguished. Some (as Bernard, *Tractatus de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio* 3.7 [PL 182.1005) and after him Lombard, *Sententiarum* 2, Dist. 25 [PL 192/2.708]) make liberty threefold: first from necessity; second from sin; third from misery. He calls the first of nature

(which he bestows upon us in the condition of nature); the second of grace (because we are restored to it in grace); the last of glory (because it is reserved for us in glory). By the first, we excel other animals; by the second, we subject the flesh; by the third, death. The first is so natural to man that it cannot in any way be wrested from him. The other two were lost by sin. This distinction we readily receive, provided that under the word necessity we understand a physical necessity as well as a coactive (which are incompatable [*asystatoi*] with the nature of liberty).

IV. But to make the whole subject clearer, we distribute liberty and necessity into six heads: that the will can certainly be considered either with respect to the external agent; or with respect to material and internal sense; or with respect to God, or the practical intellect, or the goodness or wickedness of the object proposed, or the event and existence. Hence a sixfold necessity arises. First, the necessity of coaction arising from an external agent (he who is compelled, contributing nothing). Second, physical and brute necessity occurring in inanimates and brutes who act from a blind impulse of nature or a brute instinct and innate appetite, without, however, any light of reason (as the necessity in fire to burn, a combustible object being supplied; the necessity in a horse to eat the straw or grass put before him) and without any choice (*proairesei*). The third is the necessity of the creature's dependence on God, as much as to right and the law established by him as in reference to fact (to wit, the government of providence: [1] in the antecedent decree; [2] in the subsequent execution). This necessity is called hypothetical both of infallibility (with respect to prescience) and of immutability (with respect to the decree and actual concourse). Fourth, rational necessity of the determination to one thing by a judgment of the practical intellect (which the will cannot resist). Fifth, moral necessity or of slavery arising from good or bad habits and the presentation of objects to their faculties. For such is the nature of moral habits that although the acquisition of them be in our power, still when our will is imbued with them, they can neither be unexercised nor be laid aside (as the philosopher rightly teaches, *Nichomachean Ethics* 3.5 [Loeb, 143–53]). Hence it happens that the will (free in itself) is so determined either to good or to evil that it cannot but act either well or badly. Hence flows the slavery of sin or of righteousness. Sixth, the necessity of the existence of

the thing or of the event, in virtue of which, when a thing is, it cannot but be.

Coactive and physical necessity repugnant to liberty.

V. There are two principal characteristics of free will in which its formal nature consists: (1) the choice (*hē proairesis*), so that what is done is done by a previous judgment of reason; (2) the willingness (*to hekousion*), so that what is done is done voluntarily and without compulsion. The former belongs to the intellect; the latter belongs to the will. Two species of necessity also contend with it. The first is physical and brute necessity; the other the necessity of coaction. The former takes away the choice (*proairesin*); the latter, however, the willingness (*hekousion*). For the things done from a physical necessity by natural agents determined to one thing by nature and without reason, cannot be done freely, i.e., with the previous light of reason. And the things done by force and compulsion cannot be done voluntarily. There is no controversy about these between us and our opponents. We will say only this in passing; Bellarmine and other papists slander our men when they charge them with holding that freedom from coaction is sufficient to constitute free will (because besides this they require also immunity from physical necessity) (cf. Bellarmine, "De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 3.4 in *Opera* [1858], 4:332–37). When they say that man is free from coaction and not from necessity, they do not mean physical necessity (about which there is no controversy and which is sufficiently excluded of itself, both by the condition of the subject [which is rational] and by the acts of judging and willing [which are incompatible with it]); but a dependent, slavish and rational necessity.

But the necessity of dependence upon God agrees with it.

VI. But if these two species of necessity mentioned by us contend against free will, it is not so with the others which can exist with it and by which it is not so much destroyed as preserved and perfected (which can be shown

singly as to the four kinds of necessity before indicated). First, as the necessity of dependence upon God, free will does not exclude, but supposes it (whether we understand the moral dependence of right in reference to the divine law from which the rational creature can never be exempted; or the physical dependence of deed as to the concourse of providence, by which things so depend upon God, as the highest ruler and first cause in being, becoming and operating that they can neither be, nor do anything except in dependence upon him; or a dependence of futurition as to foreknowledge and the decree, from which arises the necessity of infallibility and of immutability). For however great may be the liberty of the creature in its operations, still they are necessary in these respects, otherwise the foreknowledge of God could be deceived and his decree changed.

(2) Rational necessity.

VII. Second, as to rational necessity of determination to one thing by the practical intellect. For since the will is a rational appetite, such is its nature that it must follow the last judgment of the practical intellect; otherwise it could seek evil as evil and be turned away from good as good (which is absurd [*asystaton*]). For if the last judgment of the practical intellect is brought to the point of judging that this object, here and now (all the circumstances being weighed) is the best, and the will should be opposed to this judgment, then it would be turned away from good as good. Nor ought it to be objected that the will frequently seeks evil. It does not seek evil as evil, but as an apparent, useful or pleasant good.

(3) Moral necessity.

VIII. Third, as to moral necessity arising from habits. For as the will can be called “free” if it is devoid of habit, so it can rightly be called “slavish” if by habit it has been determined to a certain manner of acting. Still this servitude by no means overthrows the true and essential nature of liberty. Otherwise it would follow that habits destroy the will (which they rather perfect and facilitate to operation). Hence moral habits are twofold: good and evil. A twofold servitude also is thence born: the one of righteousness in good; the other of sin in evil and misery. This belongs to man in a state of

sin, of which John says, “Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin” (8:34); and “Ye were the servants of sin” (Rom. 6:17). That characterizes him in a state of grace, of which Rom. 6:18 treats: “Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness.” This servitude is true liberty, as there is no more real and miserable servitude than that of sin. For he who serves sin by no means does what he wills. He does it by a particular inclination which he least wills by a universal. For all, by a universal and natural appetite, always seek good and happiness for themselves.

IX. Hence it is evident that the adversaries (and especially Bellarmine, ibid., 4.6, pp. 363–64) falsely charge our men with saying the will is a slave in the state of sin, as if its liberty were destroyed by that very thing. Scripture beforehand so calls it and indeed with a twofold limitation: (1) that “servant” should be understood not absolutely and physically, but relatively, after the fall in a state of sin; (2) not simply about every natural, civil or externally moral object, but especially about a spiritual object good per se (in which manner inability [*adynamia*] to good is more strongly asserted, but the essence of liberty is not destroyed). Although the sinner is so enslaved by evil that he cannot but sin, still he does not cease to sin most freely and with the highest liberty. Hence Jansen acknowledges that Luther did not first introduce the term “free will” (“De statu naturae lapsae,” 3.5 in *Augustinus* [1640/1964], pp. 441–46), but followed Augustine who had so spoken of it long before (*Enchiridion* 9 [30] [FC 3:395] and *Against Two Letters of the Pelagians* 3.24 [8] [NPNF1, 5:414]). He is angry with those of his own party who maintained that the term “slavish will” was unknown before Luther. “Free will but not freed; free of righteousness, yet a slave of sin, by which some more, others less, but all evil, are involved by different hurtful desires” (Augustine, *Admonition and Grace* 13 [42] [FC 2:297; PL 44.942]). “Man using free will badly, lost both himself and it” (Augustine, *Enchiridion* 9 [30] [FC 3:395; PL 40.246]).

(4) Necessity of event.

X. Fourth, as to necessity of the event. For although whatever is, when it is, is necessarily (so that it can no more but be); still not the less freely or contingently is it said to be done as depending upon free or contingent

causes. The certainty and truth of the existence of a thing cannot change its essence.

Sources of solution.

XI. Although the will is free, this does not prevent its being determined by God and being always under subjection to him. This is so because liberty is not absolute, independent and uncontrolled (*adespotos*) (the characteristics of God alone), but limited and dependent. Otherwise if no faculty is free except it is in subjection to no one, either a free will does not exist in creatures or every second cause will be the first.

XII. The will is said to be the mistress of its own actions, not absolutely and simply (as if it depended upon it always to elicit or not elicit them—for in this way it cannot but be in subjection both to God and to the intellect); but relatively with regard to imperate acts which it governs with inferior powers; not with regard to elicit acts which cannot properly be said to be under the control of the will, since they are the very command of the will by which it governs the acts of other faculties subjected to itself.

XIII. The will can be viewed either in relation to the decree and concourse of God or in contradistinction to the intellect. In the former sense, it is rightly said to be so determined by God as also to determine itself (because, as was seen before, God so moves creatures as to leave their own motions to them). But in the latter sense, it cannot be said to determine itself (because it is determined by the intellect whose last judgment of practical intellect it must follow).

XIV. If the will is always determined by God, it can be called his instrument in a popular sense. In this way, the relation of instrument is attributed in Scripture to wicked men when they are called “the axe,” “the hammer,” “the rod of God.” But not in a philosophical and proper sense in which that is called an agent which has within itself no principal causality and has such a nature as to produce an effect more noble than itself (as the heat of the sun, which is inanimate, produces living animals). For the will does not produce an entity nobler than itself and does not cease to be the principal cause; if not absolutely, still in its own genus (to wit, of second cause).

XV. Although the will can oppose the theoretical judgment of the intellect or the absolute judgment and of simple practical intellect; whither pertain those words of Medea in the poet—"I see the right and approve it too, and still the worse pursue" (Ovid, *Metamorpheses* 7.20–21 [Loeb, 1:342–43])—yet it can never oppose the decided and last judgment.

XVI. In the first sin, the will of Adam did not follow the first and absolute judgment of the intellect (by which it judged that the fruit must not be eaten) because God had prohibited its use under penalty of death (Gen. 3:3). Rather it followed the decided and last judgment by which it is said that the woman saw the fruit of the tree to be good to her for food (v. 6) and judged it to be desirable to the eyes (viz., according to the deceitful promise of Satan that they would be like God).

XVII. In the sin against the Holy Spirit, the will indeed opposes the judgment of the practical intellect, even the first decided. Otherwise it could not be said to be committed against conscience and the knowledge of the truth. Still it is not repugnant to the last decided judgment in which the flesh (all things being considered) judges here and now that the gospel should be denied and Christ forsaken.

Third Question

Whether the formal reason of free will consists in indifference or in rational spontaneity. The former we deny; the latter we affirm against papists, Socinians and Remonstrants

Free will in the genus of being.

I. Free will can be viewed either in the genus of being and absolutely (as belonging to a rational being in every state); or in the genus of morals and in relation to various states (either of sin or of righteousness). In this question, we treat of it in the former sense; in the following, we will discuss it in the latter sense.

It is not placed in indifference, but in willingness.

II. Concerning the formal reason of free will, it can be disputed: (1) *kat' arsin* and negatively that we may see in what it does not consist; (2) *kata thesin* and positively that it may be evident in what it does properly consist. As to the former, we must oppose the error of the adversaries who place its formal reason in indifference. As to the latter, we must establish the orthodox truth which asserts that it is placed in rational willingness.

III. We contend here against the Jesuits, Socinians and Remonstrants who (following Pelagius) place the essence of free will in indifference (*adiaphoria*) and are wont to define it as "the faculty by which all things requisite for acting being posited, the will can act or not act." Now those are called requisites to action without which the action cannot be performed (such as the decree of God and his concourse; the judgment of the mind; and other circumstances which belong here).

Statement of the question.

IV. Hence it is evident that it is not inquired here concerning indifference in the first act or in a divided sense, as to simultaneity of power which is called passive and objective (to wit, whether the will considered absolutely from its natural constitution, the requisites to action being withdrawn, is determinable to various objects and holds itself indifferently towards them). We do not deny that the will of itself is so prepared that it can either elicit or suspend the act (which is the liberty of exercise and of contradiction) or be carried to both of opposite things (which is the liberty of contrariety and of specification). We also confess that the will is indifferent as long as the intellect remains doubtful and uncertain whither to turn itself. But concerning indifference in the second act and in a compound sense (as to simultaneity of power called active and subjective)—whether the will (all requisites to acting being posited; for example, the decree of God and his concourse; the judgment of the practical intellect, etc.) is always so indifferent and undetermined that it can act or not act. This our opponents pretend in order that its own liberty may be left to the will. We deny it.

Liberty does not consist in indifference.

V. First, such an indifference to opposites is found in no free agent, whether created or uncreated: neither in God, who is good most freely indeed, yet not indifferently (as if he could be evil), but necessarily and immutably; nor in Christ, who obeyed God most freely and yet most necessarily because he could not sin; nor in angels and the blessed, who worship God with the highest willingness and yet are necessarily determined to good; nor in devils and reprobates, who cannot help sinning, although they sin freely. So neither the constancy and immutability of the former in good destroys, but perfects their liberty; nor the inextricable obstinacy and firmness of the latter in evil prevents them from sinning most heinously and so deserving the heaviest punishment.

VI. What objection can be made here? (1) Is the divine liberty the same as ours? We answer that just in proportion to God's liberty being more perfect than ours, so ought it to be farther removed from indifference (which instead of being a virtue is a defect of liberty). (2) That Christ, although he never sinned, still was not absolutely unable to sin; and that it is not repugnant to his nature, will or office to be able to sin? This blasphemy Episcopius and other Remonstrants have not blushed to put forth. We answer that far be it from us either to think or say any such thing concerning the immaculate Son of God whom we know to have been holy (*akakon*), undefiled (*amianton*), separate from sinners; who not only had no intercourse with sin, but could not have both because he was the Son of God and because he was our Redeemer (who if he could have sinned, could not also have saved us). Nor if he could be miserable could he for the same reason be a sinner. Misery for a time is not opposed to his most holy nature and contributed to the execution of his office because he was bound to pay the punishment of our sin and so to bear it by suffering. But he could not deserve it. (3) That the liberty of the saints on earth and in heaven is different? We answer that since the formal reason of liberty ought to be the same as to essentials, if the latter have a most perfect liberty without indifference, it cannot be said to belong to its essence.

VII. Second, the will can never be without determination as well extrinsic from the providence of God, as intrinsic from the judgment of the intellect (as has been shown). Bellarmine himself proves this by various arguments ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 3.8 in *Opera* [1858], 4:338–40). Therefore when all the requisites for acting are posited, it cannot act or not

act. Otherwise it would neither be created (because it would not depend upon God); nor rational (because it would act against the judgment of reason and seek evil as evil). Nor is it an objection that it is said to be of the nature of free will to determine itself (because subordinates do not contend against each other). It is indeed of the nature of the will to be determined by itself, but not by itself alone. Thus the determination of the will does not exclude, but supposes the determination of God.

VIII. Third, the volition of the highest good and of the ultimate end cannot be without the highest willingness. And yet it is not without great and unavoidable necessity. From the consent of our opponents themselves and the decisions of philosophers, we cannot abstain from seeking the highest good because no one can bring himself to wish to be miserable. Nor can it be said that free will is not occupied about the highest good or ultimate end, but only about the election of means. In the seeking for the highest good (true or false), the relation of virtue or of vice is principally situated. It is necessary that liberty (without which there is no relation either of virtue or of vice) should be occupied about it no less than about the means. Again, since the means are granted (having a necessary connection with the end and about whose election the will is occupied), it will be occupied freely indeed in electing them, but yet necessarily.

IX. Fourth, the indifference of the will being assumed: (1) the use of prayers and exhortations is taken away because God is asked to convert and sanctify us in vain, exhortations are employed in vain, if (any action of God being posited) the will cannot be moved from a state of equilibrium, and it remains always in its power to convert itself or not; (2) the promises of God concerning the production of holiness, and the efficacy of grace would be vain because he could not perform what he promised; for whatever he would perform about the will, it would always remain in equilibrium and indifference (*adiaphoria*). Now how could he thus be said to give to will and to do and so make a new heart? (3) All our consolation is gone because in whatever manner God acts in us, we can never be certain of grace if it depends always upon the will to admit or reject it and thus to frustrate every operation of God. (4) The empire of God over the will is destroyed (which would be independent of its own right) if, all the requisites for acting being furnished, it can act or not act. So man will be the author and principal cause of his own conversion, not God, because all the operations of grace

being supplied, the will will always be in equilibrium, nor be determined by any other than itself.

Liberty is placed in willingness.

X. Since, therefore, the formal reason of liberty is not placed in indifference, it cannot be sought elsewhere than in rational willingness, by which man does what he pleases by a previous judgment of reason. Thus two things must here be joined together to its constitution: (1) the choice (*to proairetikon*) so that what is done is not done by a blind impulse and a certain brute instinct, but from choice (*ek proaireseōs*) and the previous light of reason and the judgment of the practical intellect; (2) the voluntariness (*to hekousion*) so that what is done may be done spontaneously and freely and without compulsion. Hence the philosopher calls it *hekousion probebouleumenon* (Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics* 3.2.17 [Loeb, 132–33]).

XI. That this is the formal reason of free will is plainly gathered from this that it agrees with all, alone and always. Thus there is no free agent (either created or uncreated) in which these two characteristics are not found; nor for a time only, but always, so that this rational willingness being posited, liberty is posited; removed it is taken away. Hence it follows that it is an inseparable adjunct of the rational agent, attending him in every state so that he cannot be rational without on that very account being free; nor can he be deprived of liberty without being despoiled also of reason. This also proves that free will absolutely considered and in the genus of being can never be taken away from man in whatever state he may be. If this is denied by some to man in a state of sin, it ought to be understood not so much physically and absolutely as morally and relatively (not so much with regard to essence, as with regard to strength, as will afterwards be shown).

Sources of solution.

XII. The principle of election can be in its own nature indifferent and undetermined in the divided sense—as to the first act and simultaneity of power; but not in the compound sense—as to the second act or the power of simultaneity. To be free, election ought to enjoy an immunity from coaction

and physical necessity; but not from the extrinsic necessity of dependence upon God and the intrinsic of determination by the intellect. And so far is the determination to one thing (made by the reason) from taking away free election, that it rather makes it perfect. It therefore elects this or that because determined to it by a judgment of the intellect.

XIII. The natural brute, not knowing itself, does not have a relation of vice or virtue; but only the natural rational. Sin is called natural not as nature is opposed to free will, but as nature is opposed to grace. A place is granted for obedience or disobedience even without indifference and with a determination to one (as in Christ immutably determined to obey the Father and in the devils necessarily determined to disobey him, yet still sinning most freely and worthy of the severest punishment). The nature of obedience is not placed in this—that man can obey or not obey; but in this —that man obeys freely and without compulsion from previous reason.

XIV. So far is the use of exhortations and commands from being taken away by our opinion, that it is the rather more strongly asserted. For if it is certain that the will is determined by the intellect, the intellect must first be persuaded before it can influence the will. And yet how can it be persuaded except by reasons and exhortations? Although a compliance with the exhortation is impossible by us without grace; still not the less properly can it be addressed to us because it is a duty owed by us.

XV. That a place may be granted for reward or punishment, it is not necessary that there should be indifference in the will to either of two opposites. It suffices that there be a spontaneity and willingness depending upon a judgment of the reason (such as there is in all men).

Fourth Question

Whether the free will in a state of sin is so a servant of and enslaved by sin that it can do nothing but sin; or whether it still has the power to incline itself to good, not only civil and externally moral, but internal and spiritual, answering accurately to the will of God prescribed in the law. The former we affirm; the latter we deny, against the papists, Socinians and Remonstrants

I. In the preceding question, we treated free will absolutely (as to nature, in the genus of being). Now we treat of the same relatively (as to the state of sin and its powers in the genus of morals). There we saw what it is; now we are to see what it can do in reference to good. This is the primary controversy on this head of doctrine between us and the Pelagians and semi-Pelagians.

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not about the essential freedom from coaction and physical necessity (called such with reference to the subject and principle because it is always the same everywhere in every state of man, as has been said before), but about the accidental freedom from the slavery of sin, with reference to the object (about which the will is occupied, whether it is only evil or also good).

III. The question is not about civil and externally moral good. We do not deny that some strength still remains in man after the fall as to those external and civil good works, so that he can exercise justice and temperance, put forth acts of mercy and charity, abstain from theft and homicide, and exhibit the operations of similar virtues, with the antecedent concourse and general help of God, to which the virtues of the heathen belong (of which hereafter); but the question is about spiritual and supernatural good, pleasing and acceptable to God: whether man in the state of sin is so corrupt that the powers of his free will as to the latter good, are not only weakened and diminished, but wholly lost, so that he can neither know any saving truth, nor do any good thing; or, whether his will is always wavering (*amphirrepes*) and indifferent to each of the opposites. The orthodox affirm the former; our opponents affirm the latter.

IV. The question does not concern the natural power or faculty of the will (from which proceeds the willing or nilling itself, which can be called the first power and the material principle of moral actions). This always remains in man and distinguishes him from the brutes. Rather the question concerns its moral disposition to willing well (which is called the second power or formal principle of those actions). As from natural power the willing flows, so from the moral disposition flows the willing well.

V. Therefore the question returns to this—whether unregenerate man still has such strength of free will as to be indifferent to good and evil and is able not to sin without the grace of regeneration. The adversaries affirm; we deny.

VI. Here we have as opponents the old and new Pelagians (who place the idol of free will in the citadel) and to make men free, make them sacrilegious. Although the more modern anxiously desire to remove the odious name and doctrine of Pelagius from themselves (nor dare to profess openly what he maintained, that man could by his own strength do something for the heavenly life), still they agree with him no less, while they are not ashamed to associate man and God in the business of salvation as partial causes. Thus they hold that the strength of free will even to good survives in fallen man. Concerning the Socinians, it is clear. "For if in the first man," says Socinus, "before the fall there was free will, there is no reason why he should be deprived of it on account of the fall, since neither the nature of the thing itself demands, nor the justice of God suffers it" (*Praelectionis theologicae* 5 [1627], p. 14 [13]). However, although he afterwards confesses that there is in man after sin a great proclivity to sinning and feeble strength to do what the law commands, still he holds that it is not so small "as that man, the help of God approaching" (i.e., external help, as he interprets it) "if he wishes, to do violence to himself, cannot obey the divine law." Volkelius maintains the same opinion and others with him (*De vera Religione* 5.18 [1630], pp. 544–49).

VII. As to the papists, although sometimes seeming to acknowledge the depravation of nature and to press the necessity of grace, still they do not cease to extol beyond measure the strength of free will. Thus Bellarmine asserts that "man in things pertaining to piety and salvation can do or will nothing without the special grace of God" ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 6.4 in *Opera* [1858], 4:438). Also "that man cannot by his own strength dispose himself to grace, or do anything on account of which divine grace is bestowed upon him" (ibid.). Elsewhere he takes off this mask when he maintains and endeavors to prove that "man can without special help do some moral good, if no temptation presses" (ibid., 5.9, p. 391). Nor does the Council of Trent have a different bearing when in Session 6 it denounces an anathema upon him who says that "the free will, moved and excited by God, cooperates nothing with him assenting and calling, by which it

disposes and prepares itself to the grace of justification, nor can dissent if it wishes" (Canon 4, Schroeder, p. 42). Also "if anyone says that after the sin of Adam the free will was lost and extinguished …" (Canon 5, ibid., p. 43). Not to refer here to the similitudes used by them to describe the sinner (such as that of a sick and wounded man whose strength is indeed weakened and broken, but not wholly lost; and of a fettered and chained man, who indeed has strength, but cannot exert it unless unbound). Nor can they think differently who pretend that its indifferency (*adiaphorian*) always remains to the will and hold that there are good dispositions and merits of congruity in man to grace. Still it is true that not a few papists (as many of the Thomists, Dominicans and especially the Jansenists) hold a different opinion, acknowledging the total inability (*adynamian*) of man and earnestly contending against the idol of free will.

VIII. As to the Remonstrants, so plausibly indeed do they establish the corruption of man and the necessity of grace that it would appear that nothing beyond could be said when they confess that "man in the state of defection and sin can of himself think, will, or do nothing good, which indeed is truly good, such as saving faith, but that it is necessary for him to be regenerated, renewed in mind, affections, or will, and all his faculties by God in Christ through his Holy Spirit, to be able to know, will and perform any good thing" (*Collato scripto habita Hagae Comitis*, Art. 3 [1615], p. 225). They said this because it was an odious thing to impugn openly the grace of God. But if we search more deeply into their mind, it will plainly appear that they (no less than the papists) contend for the idol of free will and again call back Pelagianism when they make freedom of will to consist in indifference (*adiaphoria*) and assert free will to be flexible in either direction even without grace, according to Arminius ("Iacobi Armini … Examen Modestium Libelli … Gulielmus Perkinsius … de Praedestinationis," in *Opera Theologica* [1631], p. 604). They always make grace resistible, so that it is always in the power of man's will to receive or reject it. They acknowledge that spiritual life in the animal man is not wholly separated from the mind, nor truly and properly from the will and that the will remains so free in itself that it can be excited to good before it is properly made alive or receives any new strength (*Collatio scripto habita Hagae Comitis* [1615], p. 298). They say with Grevinchovius (pages 209, 210+) that the grace of God and the free will are at the same time "partial

causes" or "co-causes"; so that the free will can indeed do nothing by itself (that is alone), but still can do something with grace. All these things sufficiently indicate that whatever they loudly proclaim about the corruption of nature is said for the purpose of raising a smoke, to deceive the incautious reader and that their genuine opinion is that the free will has still sufficient strength to work its own salvation with grace. Nor would they so laboriously endeavor to meet all the arguments by which we are in the habit of proving inability (*adynamian*), unless they felt themselves to be attacked; so that you can really perceive that they are pleading their own cause. On the other hand, the orthodox, although maintaining that the free will of man always remains as to essentials, still think that no power to good survives in it.

The impotency of free will is proved: (1) from the servitude of sin.

IX. The reasons are: (1) man is called the "servant" of sin (Jn. 8:43) and a servant so bound by the fetters of concupiscence as to yield his members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin (*eis anomian*); and to be under the dominion of sin (Rom. 6:12, 14) who, bound by Satan, is brought into bondage to him (2 Pet. 2:19); under whom, as the prince of this world, he fulfils evil desires and does what pleases him whom nothing but evil pleases (Jn. 8:44); and in whom he most efficaciously works (Eph. 2:2); who, finally, cannot be brought into liberty except by Christ, the deliverer (Jn. 8:36). Now who would say that this most miserable slavery in evil can consist with the golden liberty to good; that the sinner enslaved to the flesh can do anything to free himself from the yoke of tyranny to which he has voluntarily submitted? Especially since that servitude (although most burdensome) still is pleasing to him and so far from desiring or seeking liberty, he rather kisses his chains and refuses deliverance. However in order to express more strongly the severity of this servitude, the Scripture attributes to us all kinds of servitude (as well of those who are born in a servile condition at home who are called "family slaves" when it says that we are "by nature the children of wrath," Eph. 2:3) and therefore servants of punishment (as of those who were bought with a price and taken in war,

when it asserts that we are sold under sin and driven into captivity by corruption and by Satan, Rom. 7:14; 2 Pet. 2:19; 1 Tim. 3:7; Heb. 2:14, 15).

X. The objection is vain: (1) that the servitude of sin is not opposed to the liberty of the sinner because he serves not necessarily, but freely. We answer that although it is not opposed to the liberty of nature (by which he differs from brutes, because he always acts spontaneously whatever he pleases), yet it is opposed to liberty from sin (concerning which we dispute) because he is held so bound by conquering and enslaving desires that although he sins most freely, still he sins necessarily and cannot help sinning. (2) That believers are called the servants of righteousness who nevertheless are not free from all sin; so men can be the servants of sin although some liberty to good still survives in them. We answer that the nature of these two kinds of servitude is diverse. For the servitude of righteousness (which is true liberty) is not perfect in this world on account of the remains of sin adhering to us (from which we are not freed before death). Rather the servitude of sin is full and entire, so that man perfectly serves sin and lives wholly in it. Besides, when Paul thus speaks (Rom. 6:18), he refers not so much to the very life of believers as to their duty (to wit, that being freed from sin they should devote themselves wholly to God and indulge in not even the slightest sin, not otherwise than before they were entirely bound to sin and did not even dream of God). (3) That servitude does prevent man from being able to shake off the yoke of sin by his own strength, but does not hinder him from being able to be freed from sin by free will with the assistance of grace. We answer that man is able to be freed by free will with the help of God is said ambiguously. For either it is understood of passive liberation, that the free will itself may be delivered by grace (which we grant); or of active liberation, by which the free will applies itself to the assisting grace of God and by its own powers (although not alone) cooperates with it (which we deny).

(2) From spiritual death, Eph. 2:1.

XI. Second, man is “dead in sin” (Eph. 2:1), not only on account of afflictions (which in Scripture are called so many deaths, 2 Cor. 11:23); not only on account of the mortality of the body (which on account of sin is

said to be dead, Rom. 8:10); or on account of the guilt of eternal death (in which sense the Lord says that the unbelieving shall die in their sins, Jn. 8:21, 24); but especially on account of the dissolution of union with God and the privation of holiness (which is truly life, as the life passed in sin is not life), and they are dead who live in the pleasures of the world (1 Tim. 5:6). The same impotence therefore in the dead man to restore himself to life must be said to be in the sinner as to obtaining good or spiritual life.

XII. To escape and blunt the point of this dart (which troubles them sorely), the adversaries make various objections here. First, the similitude should not be pressed because there are various differences between a dead man and the sinner. We answer that as we do not deny that this simile is dissimilar in various points, so it is precise in the point which the Holy Spirit especially urges here (viz., as the dead man is deprived of the life of nature and so of all sense and motion, so the sinner is destitute of the life of grace and loses all spiritual sense and motion; so that he can neither know anything true nor do anything good, any more than a dead man can bring himself to life). (2) This death does not hinder what little remains of spiritual life from surviving in sinful man sufficient to know God and to worship him in some measure. We answer that such remains do not kindle spiritual life or hinder the death (properly so called) of the soul because they are not of the same order and species with the spiritual life bestowed on us by Christ. They can also exist in the hardened (yea even in Satan himself, who although of most acute sight, does not cease to be dead, in its proper sense, in sin). (3) They who are said to be dead are also termed "sleepers" and "sick" to intimate that strength survives in them (although bound and hindered). We answer that this ought not to seem a wonder since in Scripture the dead are said to sleep and their resurrection is (as it were) a rousing from sleep: "Awake thou that sleepest and arise from the dead" (Eph. 5:14). In this sense, the death of Christ is called a blow, a stripe and wound. Thus Scripture uses various similitudes to describe the same thing; not that one and another should be considered apart or one be weakened by the other, but rather that what is wanting in one the other may supply. Thus the same sinner compared in some to a sick man and a sleeper, in others is well represented by a dead man in order that we may know that there is here not only a binding of the senses or feebleness of life, but a total extinction of life and privation of strength. (4) Death in sin designates rather the state

of condemnation and the punishment of death with which they are to be visited, than the state of corruption in which they lie: “When the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, he shall die in his sin” (Ezk. 18:24); “Ye shall die in your sins” (Jn. 8:24). We answer that to be dead in sin in the past differs from to be about to die in the future. The former denotes a state of punishment to be brought on. The latter however denotes the state of present corruption. (5) Finally, believers are said to “be dead to sin” who nevertheless are not destitute of strength to sin; so they can be called dead in sins who still have some strength left for good. We answer that to “be dead to sin” differs from “being dead in sin.” That is said of believers who so crucify the old man as to abolish the body of sin and have no more intercourse with it, nor are any longer under its dominion, since laws have no power over the dead. But this is said of sinners who, being destitute of the life of God, walk in sins and lie entirely in them. Therefore, the phrases are diametrically opposed to each other; the one is not to be thoughtlessly explained by the other. Again “to die to sin” marks a total abolition of sin: (1) as well with reference to justification, so that its guilt is entirely taken away, and there is now no condemnation to believers (Rom. 8:1), as with reference to sanctification (if not as to fulfillment, still as to baptism—the symbol of entire regeneration); (2) as to duty, as believers are said to be perfect and holy because they ought to be so; thus they are called dead to sin because they are bound to extinguish and devote to death sin in themselves; (3) as to event because this will certainly and undoubtedly be the case; for thus the Scriptures speak of such, just as if they had already actually reached it.

(3) From the blindness and hardening of man.

XIII. Third, man has no strength for heavenly things either in his intellect or will from which faculties the free will arises. For as to the intellect (the eye of the mind), not only is he called “blind” and “darkened in mind” (Eph. 4:18), but also “darkness itself”: “Ye were sometime darkness” (Eph. 5:8). As to the will, not only is he said to have a “depraved” and “deceitful” heart to be corrected, “unclean” to be purged, “shut up” to be opened, “uncircumcised” to be circumcised, but “stony” (Ezk. 36:26), which ought to be broken and taken away, rather than what is able to be softened and

admit life. As therefore the blind man (especially from nature) has no power to see, and he who has a stony heart is devoid of sense and motion, so the sinner can know nothing true, nor do anything good, no more than a blind man can see or a stone think or move itself.

XIV. Nor in passing must we omit the figure of the stony heart (Ezk. 36:26). It is most emphatic (*emphatikōtaton*) whether drawn from natural things (as from the culture of fields and the seed which does not take root when thrown upon a stony place) or from the nature of spirit and life (of which a stone is not a receptive [*dektikon*] subject) or from the origin of waters (which cannot be pressed out of stones except by a miracle) or from artificial things, as from the sculptor's art (because a stone is not ductile or malleable, but hard—rather to be broken than softened). As a stone neither is a subject receptive (*dektikon*) of life nor can feel or be moved or turned or softened, but is inflexible, insensible and impenetrable; so the heart of the unregenerate hardened in sin neither possesses spiritual life nor can dispose itself to it, but is inflexible to the Spirit, insensible to the word and the judgments of God, impenetrable to grace. It not only does not receive grace, but resists and obstinately struggles against it. Moreover, God wished to give a plain symbol of this thing in the writing of the law upon stony tables to intimate that the law is borne in a stony heart and cannot turn it (because devoid of the Spirit); but the gospel is borne in the fleshy tables of the heart because, animated by a life-giving spirit, it renews hearts and turns them to obedience (2 Cor. 3:3).

XV. To weaken the force of this argument, it is vainly objected: (1) that they are also called "blind" who believe the gospel (as the Laodiceans, Rev. 3:17), not because they could not understand at all, but because they were too negligent in doing their duty. We answer that there is one blindness (comparative and relative) attributed to the angel of Laodicea, on account of the vain boasting in which he indulged, as if he was rich and could see, while he should have professed that he was by nature poor, naked and blind. There is another, however, absolute and total, ascribed to the unregenerate, depriving them of all saving knowledge. (2) That believers are called "light in the Lord" (Eph. 5:8) who nevertheless are beclouded with their own darkness. We answer that the consequence does not hold good from the pious to the impious. They are called "light" not in themselves, but "in the Lord" (to wit, inasmuch as they are new creatures made by him, although

not without darkness, because they are not as yet perfectly regenerated). But in the wicked there is not a double man, but only one nature—totally unregenerate and pure darkness.

XVI. No more solid is the argument brought against the similitude of the stony heart, that it is a figurative expression not to be pressed. We answer that figurative expressions have the force of common expressions when they are explained by Scripture itself, and when it is clear in what sense and for what purpose they are used. As in Ezekiel many simple words occur, explaining the figure itself, as that in the same place God promises to give "a new heart" and "a new spirit," in order that we may walk in his ways. In vain, however, does Arnoldus (Corvinus) anxiously bring together the differences between the heart and a stone. In the one thing (concerning which it is here treated), the comparison is most apt (to wit, that just as a stone cannot soften itself, nor of itself become flesh, so neither can the unregenerate heart turn or dispose itself to regeneration; rather that can be done by the sole efficacy of God's Spirit).

(4) From the passages which attribute impotence to man.

XVII. Fourth, Scripture everywhere attributes to sinners inability (*adynamian*) to good, when it is said that the imagination of the thoughts of man is evil continually from youth (Gen. 6:5), the force of which passage we have explained before. So Christ says "without me ye can do nothing" (Jn. 15:5). He does not say, without me ye can do little or can do something with difficulty, but without me ye can do nothing. He does not say, without me ye do nothing or will do nothing, but ye can do nothing (which excludes not only the act, but the power itself). Thus Paul: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned" (1 Cor. 2:14). "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything of ourselves" (2 Cor. 3:5). "The carnal mind is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be" (Rom. 8:7). "Neither can a corrupt tree" (such as men are by nature) "bring forth good fruit" (Mt. 7:18); not only does not, but cannot bring forth because the effect is like the cause. "How can ye, being evil, speak good things?" (Mt.

12:34). “No man can come to me, except the Father draw him” (Jn. 6:44). Now why should the Holy Spirit so often insist upon that impotence except to take away from man all power to good and ascribe to grace alone the entire work of regeneration and salvation?

XVIII. Falsely is it said here: (1) that “not to be able” does not always denote absolute inability (*adynamian*), but only its unusualness (i.e., that the thing is not accustomed to be done ordinarily or is not done easily). We answer that those passages prove that total impotence is meant and such that it is no more possible for man to overcome than for a dead man to raise himself, an Ethiopian to change his skin, a leopard to change his spots and a corrupt tree to bring forth good fruit. Otherwise if the Holy Spirit had intended to mark only the difficulty of the thing, why did he not think it sufficient to assert that the natural man receiveth not the things of God? Yet he immediately adds “neither can he”; not only that the flesh is not subject to the law, but “neither indeed can be” and the like (which clearly intimate that Paul takes away from man not only the act, but also the very power of doing good).

XIX. Nor do they make a better escape who pretend this impotence to be moral, not natural; and thus a thing not absolutely and simply impossible to man, but that man can do it if he wishes. We answer that whether this impotence be called natural or moral (of which hereafter), it is certainly inextricable to man. In vain is it said that man can do this or that if he will, since it is evident that he is not able to will; not because he is destitute of natural power to will (because thus he differs from brutes), but because he is without the disposition to will what is good (concerning which alone we are speaking in this question).

(5) From 1 Cor. 4:7.

XX. Fifth, man cannot separate himself from another and possesses nothing good which he has not received from another source. “Who maketh thee to differ?” says Paul (1 Cor. 4:7). “And what hast thou that thou didst not receive? now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?” And yet if after the fall the free will has still some strength by which it can dispose itself to good and admit the offered grace, man will make himself to differ from another and will have what he had not received

and of which he may boast because the admission of grace (his own act) distinguishes him from another who rejects it. Thus man will rightly be called the architect of his own fortune, and the principal cause of his conversion and difference from others. Nor does the objection avail that man cannot do this without the grace of the Holy Spirit operating through the word. We answer that whatever may be held as to the action of the Holy Spirit through the word (since the word is presented equally both to the elect and the reprobate, and common things do not make a difference), the reason of the difference between one and another (why this one believes, that one does not) cannot depend upon the word or the Spirit operating through the word alone, for it ought to have had the same effect upon both. Rather it depends upon the free will, which in the one determines him to receive grace; in the other, however, to reject it. And the more certainly is this proved that on the hypothesis of our adversaries (whatever may be the operation of grace posited), the will always remains in equilibrium, so that it can use it or not. When, therefore, it makes a good use of it, it owes this to itself, not to the grace which is common. Bellarmine does not conceal this while he reproves Molina and his followers (without mentioning his name). "Cannot the believer say that he is distinguished from the unbeliever by free will because he received the inspiration which the other rejects? Could he not glory against the unbeliever because he cooperated with the grace of God which he despised? But the apostle prohibits all this" ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 1.12 in *Opera* [1858], 4:291). No more successfully do they extricate themselves who wish the divine motion to be considered as twofold: either absolutely in itself (and so *in thesi* to be indifferent); or relatively with respect to the annexed congruity (as Bellarmine has it) or with respect to the due application (as others), and that hence arises the difference because the same alms do not affect equally the sated and the starving. For that congruous application of grace must either be referred to grace itself alone or to the free will alone or to both. If to the will, either in whole or in part—then Pelagius has conquered, not Paul. If to grace alone, then the idol of free will is demolished and grace will not be equal because a congruous application was wanting to one which the grace of another included. Nor ought it to be said that inequality of grace is granted in the genus of blessings, but not in the genus of motions; that the same motion of grace is applied to both on the part of God, but on account

of the diverse dispositions of the objects and the opportunity seized by the offerer it produces different effects. For if, on account of the diverse dispositions of those to be converted, a different effect of the same motion results, this difference (whatever it may be) does not flow from the grace, but from the promptitude of the recipient superadded. Therefore he makes himself to differ (contrary to Paul) and has what he did not receive, whence he may glory.

(6) Because the work of grace is a creation.

XXI. Sixth, the work of our conversion is a creation, resurrection, regeneration and the production of a new heart by which God not only gently persuades but powerfully effects in us to will and to do. As, however, man can contribute nothing to his creation, resurrection and regeneration, so neither can the sinner contribute anything to his conversion. He ought rather to ascribe it wholly to the grace of God. Nor is it an objection that the same action ascribed to God in conversion is often also enjoined upon man (as when we are commanded to rise and make for ourselves a new heart, Ezk. 18:31; Eph. 5:14). We answer that although conversion is enjoined upon us by God as a duty owed to him, it does not cease on that account to be promised as a gift by God in the covenant of grace; so that as it were a twofold conversion must be conceived (or rather two parts of one conversion)—one brought about by God, the other by man (of which the church speaks, "Turn thou us unto thee, and we shall be turned," Lam. 5:21). The former precedes, the latter follows; that is always ascribed to God (not to man), this always to man, never to God. In the former, the will is acted upon and does not act; in the latter, it is acted upon and acts (or itself reacts) when first acted upon by God. In the first, the grace of God is called "operating" because it alone operates; in the second, "cooperating" because now it operates not only in the will but with it. In the first, the will is a passive subject, but both capacious and conscious of grace; in the second, it is not only a capacious subject, but also a fit and living instrument of divine grace, being its "handmaid" (as Augustine frequently terms it) and an animated organ (*organon empsychon*). These words of Bernard apply here: "What does the free will do? I answer briefly, It is saved. This work cannot be accomplished without two: one by whom it is

done, the other in whom it is done; God the author of salvation; the free will only capacious of it" (*Tractatus de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio* [PL 182.1002]). And these of Hugo St. Victor: "Repairing grace breathes first into the free will that it may exist, then inspires it that it may be moved; first it works it, then through it" (*On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith* 1.6.17 [trans. R.J. Defarrari, 1951], p. 106; PL 176.274).

Sources of solution.

XXII. When God sets before the Israelites the choice between life and death (Dt. 30:15) and wishes their conversion (Dt. 32:29), he addresses those already instructed and enlightened that they may work in accordance with the liberty given. He does not address unbelievers and those lying in native depravity and darkness (of whom we now treat). Again, if any were still unregenerate in a state of sin (as undoubtedly many of them were according to 1 Cor. 10:5 and Heb. 4:6, 9), he does not at the same time give them in this way for choosing good, the power to chose it without grace. Rather he teaches their duty that they may know what it is better for them to choose, and what they ought to seek from God, that through the promised grace they may be able to choose it. Finally, if they are unwilling to choose the good, they would be rendered inexcusable.

XXIII. God's commands are not the measure of strength, but a rule of duty. They do not teach what we are now able, but what we are bound to do; what we could formerly do and from how great a height of righteousness we have been precipitated by Adam's fall. Nor is it always true that the precepts which cannot be fulfilled are unjust. The intemperate man who has rendered himself callous by habit and cannot restrain himself from lust or drunkenness (habit being turned into nature) is still bound by the laws of sobriety and temperance. So from the debtor (who has lost by gambling a large sum of money borrowed on interest) not in vain nor unjustly is the debt demanded nor has the creditor lost his right by the crime of the debtor. Since, then, man by his own fault has contracted an inability to obey God, not in vain nor unjustly does God demand from him the obedience which he owes. It is not just that sin should be an advantage to man and he be irresponsible because he has corrupted himself by his own crime.

XXIV. Although man cannot fulfill the commands enjoined upon him, still they cannot be called useless because they always obtain the end intended by God. For instance: (1) representation of God's right and man's duty; (2) a proposition of the rule of righteousness, that no one can offer ignorance as an excuse for his sins; (3) a conviction of our impotence, that it being recognized, we may the more earnestly seek the assistance of grace. Augustine urges, "O man, in precepts acknowledge what you ought to do; in correction know that you do not possess by your own fault; in prayer recognize whence you may receive what you desire to have" (*Admonition and Grace* 3 [5] [FC 2:249–50; PL 44.918–19]). In particular, the ends of uses of the commands are multiplied with regard both to the pious and the impious. As to the former, the precepts serve to prepare them for the reception of grace by a consciousness of their own impotence; (2) to begin and carry forward the work of regeneration itself because the gospel commands are not only imperative, but also operative (which, with the prescription of duty, have the power of the Spirit working within what it commands without). As to the impious, however, the commands tend first to a knowledge of duty and of their own impotence; (b) to the affording of external obedience which can in some measure be done by them (Rom. 2:14, 15); (c) to reveal their latent hypocrisy and wickedness—to their inexcusableness (*anapologēsin*) and just condemnation.

XXV. No one is bound to an impossibility: (1) such absolutely and simply and in every state, for which man does not now have and never had power; but it does not hold good of that which is such relatively and in a certain state only (such as is the impotence of the sinner). (2) It holds good of an altogether involuntary and purely physical impossibility, arising either from coaction (as he who is bound with chains cannot run) or from a defect of natural power (such as the inability in the blind to see, in the dead to rise). But it does not hold good of an induced (*epispastō*) voluntary impossibility, arising from a depravation of powers and joined with great willingness of mind (such as the inability [*adynamia*] of the sinner). Although, therefore, the blind man is in vain ordered to see and the dead to rise (and they cannot be blamed for not seeing or not rising), the sinner is not forthwith in vain ordered to convert himself. The blind man, being deprived of the faculty of sight, is not bound any more to see; nor is the

dead man (life being lost) bound to restore it to himself; but there is no impotence of man which absolves him from the debt of obedience to God.

XXVI. From the words of God to Cain (Gen. 4:7), nothing can be drawn to favor the strength of free will. Neither when he asks him, "Why art thou wroth?" For these words indeed show that he had no cause and reason for anger, but do not absolutely imply that Cain was able not to be angry. Again, although he might have been able not to be angry in the divided sense (because man is not necessarily determined to this or that sin), it does not follow that he was able to do any work truly good. Nor from what is added, "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door." For thus is indeed denoted the connection of antecedent with consequent, between a good work and the reward, sin and punishment; but it is not implied that man has the power to do well. Nor from those which the adversaries insist upon especially: "Under thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him." First because it is not said "under thee," but "unto thee" (*pros se*). (2) Although the relative should be referred to sin, it would point out only the duty of Cain (viz., to bring sin into subjection to himself and not his strength or the event). (3) It cannot be referred to sin, whether taken properly for the crime or improperly for its punishment (in which sense the words immediately preceding must be taken—"sin lieth at the door"). This is evident from various reasons: from the scope; for what would the liberty of will ruling over sin conduce to the hatred conceived by Cain against Abel, or the assigning the cause why Abel's sacrifice had been more pleasing to God? Again, although the desire of man can be said to be in some measure towards sin, still not without absurdity is the desire of sin or of punishment said to be "under man" or "unto man." Third, it is unheard of in Scripture that man (especially one unrenewed, as Cain) rules over sin, since on the contrary he is everywhere called the servant of sin. But this is best referred to Abel, both because this phrase is always used elsewhere of a person and not of a thing. Thus God addressing Eve: "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee" (Gen. 3:16, 17). Nor because the pronoun "his" manifestly denotes the subject of the desire, which is no other than Abel himself (whose name, indeed, in this conversation of God with Cain is not expressed, but whose case, however, is treated of); for neither was Cain angry with any other one than his brother; nor does the address of God have any other object than to

soothe his mind. This follows principally by three arguments: first, to teach him that the reason why he was not esteemed by God as his brother was not in his brother but in himself, who had not done well—"If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted?" Second, if he continues to do badly, he would not escape punishment—"if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door" (i.e., the punishment of sin overhangs and is prepared for thee). Third, he should cherish his brother and subject him to him by the love as it were of a first born: as if he should say, Is it just for you to be angry with or to injure your younger brother who is under your power, whom therefore you are bound to love and from whom as an inferior you need expect no injury? Thus the Septuagint explains the words *pros se hē apostrophē autou* (to wit, of Abel, not "of sin" [*hamartias*]; cf. Chrysostom, "Homily 18*," *In Genesin* [PG 53.158], Cyril of Alexandria, *In Genesin* 1* [PG 69.31–50], Procopius, *Commentarii in Genesin* [PG 87.240] and others).

XXVII. Common works are attributed to the wicked and the pious, such as "to love," "to do good," "to lend" (Lk. 6:32, 33), but only in external appearance before men, not however of internal goodness before God. Of this kind were the sacrifices of Abel and of Cain (Gen. 4:3, 4); the gift of the rich man and of the poor widow (Lk. 21:1, 2); the prayers of the Pharisee and of the publican (Lk. 18:10–13).

XXVIII. It is one thing "to do the things contained in the law" as to preception (i.e., to perform the office of the law, in commanding, prohibiting, promising and threatening); another, however, to do them as to obedience, by fulfilling its commands. The former is said of the Gentiles (Rom. 2:14, 15), who (since they have not the written law) "are a law unto themselves," as their conscience does the things contained in the law by commanding and prohibiting. Nor if their thoughts are said to excuse them, this is not to be understood in the court of heaven, but of earth; nor from the whole, but from so much, in those who by abstaining from heavier crimes are not indeed absolutely better than others, but only less evil. Otherwise Paul wandered far from his design, for he declares in the same place that the Gentiles who sin without law, shall perish without law.

XXIX. The example of the midwives does not help our opponents (Ex. 1:15). First, they were not Egyptians, but Hebrews. Even if the Scriptures did not tell us when it calls them "Hebrew midwives," still the very names Shiphrah and Puah (the two who seem to have held the chief place among

many others), which have a Hebrew origin, would sufficiently teach. Nor is it very likely that the Hebrew women had not obstetricians of their own nation, especially since there was a mutual alienation between the Egyptians and Hebrews. Again, even if they were Egyptians (as many after Josephus maintain, AJ 2.206 [Loeb, 4:253]), their fearing God would indeed imply that they were influenced with some fear and reverence for him from the remains of natural light and sense of conscience (which dictated to them that the slaughter of innocent infants would be detestable to God). However it does not prove that they were also filled with a filial fear of God springing from faith.

XXX. No more to the purpose is the example of Rahab, the harlot, because by faith she is said to have received the spies and to have obtained salvation (Heb. 11:31); or of Cornelius (Acts 10:31), whose alms came into the sight of God, and who is called "a just man, of good report, and one that feareth God" (*dikaios, eusebēs, kai phoboumenos ton Theon*, v. 35). These praises cannot belong to the unregenerate and unbelieving. Cornelius, therefore, was a Gentile by birth, but in religion a proselyte. He believed with the Jews in the Messiah about to come, although he did not yet know him to be Jesus who had come (which he was taught by Peter). His faith, therefore, could increase and be strengthened by the preaching of Peter that he might know Jesus *in hypothesi* to be the Messiah, but had not just then its beginning. He had, therefore, before an implicit, if not explicit knowledge of Christ; and the Spirit as to ordinary gifts and grace making acceptable (although not as to extraordinary gifts and as to grace given to the grateful).

XXXI. All that is adduced concerning the virtues of the heathen shows indeed that there still remains in fallen man some strength for external and civil good (especially when special help is granted unto them, without which they could not perform even this). But this does not prove that he has any ability in reference to spiritual good, as will hereafter be more fully shown.

XXXII. Man is called a "coworker" (*synergos*) with God (1 Cor. 3:9), not as corrupt, but as renewed (who acts from the grace bestowed upon him). Again, he is not speaking there properly about cooperation to repentance, but to ecclesiastical functions.

XXXIII. When Paul says, “I labored more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me” (1 Cor. 15:10), he does not wish to divide the cause of the good work between himself and grace. Rather he ascribes the whole to grace, as is evident to one attending to the Greek text. The apostle does not say *hē charis theou syn emoi* (“grace of God with me,” as the Vulgate improperly renders it), but *hē charis tou theou, hē syn emoi* (“the grace of God which was with me”). Thus he does not wish to come into a companionship of labor, but what he had said of himself, he corrects by a certain epanorthosis and wishes to ascribe it to grace alone. Finally, this labor has reference to his ministry and not to his regeneration.

XXXIV. Although God is said “to stand at the door” (Rev. 3:20) and to “knock,” it does not follow that man has the power to open it of himself. Either he stands by the regenerate and knocks that they may use the grace already bestowed to open it by faith and obedience; or by the unregenerate who are either elected (to whom by knocking he gives by the Spirit the strength to open) or the reprobate (whose heart is not knocked at in vain, but in order to manifest that man is justly condemned, since God has witheld none of those things which conduce to conversion).

XXXV. From innocent to corrupt man the consequence does not hold. The Son of Sirach treats of the former, not of the latter when he says “God made man from the beginning and left him in the hand of his counsel” (15:14) (in order to describe the state of innocence and the condition and liberty of the first man). Nor if life and death, good and evil, should be said to be set before corrupt man (in order that he might obtain that which he himself chose) should the liberty of positive indifference to either opposite be ascribed to him. Rather only a rational liberty should be ascribed to him that he may do nothing except what is done spontaneously and deliberately.

XXXVI. Although the unrenewed can be unwilling to come and can resist the call of God, it does not follow that they can equally will to come and follow that call. The former is a disease and imperfection of men so peculiar to them in the state of fallen nature that they can neither do nor will anything else. The latter belongs to restoration by grace and its special work in us. Therefore the censures and rebukes administered to them do not show what good they are able, but are in duty bound to do, and how voluntarily they have broken its laws.

XXXVII. The evils of punishment are deservedly said to be inflicted upon sinners for their crimes (Jer. 32:23), not because they were able to act rightly in their state of natural corruption (the contrary of which Jeremiah himself teaches: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good, that are accustomed to do evil," Jer. 13:23), but because this is the law of God—that they who do such things are worthy of death. Nor in the punishment of crimes ought attention to be paid to what men could do, but what they are in duty bound to do. It suffices for their conviction that they commit evil deliberately, willingly and of their own accord, against what they knew perfectly well should be done by them.

XXXVIII. The cause of the difference between good and bad men, better and worse, is not to be sought in their natural indifference and inclination to good equally with evil without grace. For we are all born equally prone to evil; nor is anyone found better or worse than another. Rather it consists with respect to the regenerate in distinguishing grace by which they are separated from others (1 Cor. 4:7). However, with respect to the unregenerate, it consists in the operation of common providence by which God does not indeed cleanse and renew the nature, but restrains and represses its wickedness and corruption in some more and others less (without whose presence, man would without restraint plunge into every excess and crime and the world would be turned into a robber's den). However since he wishes human society to be preserved, he does not permit the wantonness of all equally to rage, but restrains some by a fear of punishment. Others he incites by the love of reward; otherwise there would prevail the greatest confusion, if in proportion to the proneness of all to every evil, they would break forth into them. Now to produce these results God sometimes employs certain means and second causes such as: (1) goodness of nature (*euphyia*), from which there is a greater or less inclination of vice according to the temperament; (2) education and instruction, of great force in the formation of morals and the correction of life; (3) custom and intercourse with others, having great influence on either side; we are almost such as those with whom we live; (4) civil discipline about rewards and punishments by which Plato said the republic is held together (cf. *The Republic* 2.6–9 [Loeb, 1:127–45]); (5) fear of disgrace usually attending vices and crimes, and the preservation of a good

reputation (held by the wiser heathen in the highest estimation). Hence the latter said that life and honor walk abreast and that fame was to be preserved above other things, according to this: “If you lose all things, remember to keep your reputation.”

The inability of the sinner can be called neither simply moral nor natural, but is well said to be both in a different respect.

XXXIX. The inability of sinful man is not to be called simply moral (in contradistinction to natural, as that is called by moral philosophers morally impossible which is such rather by habit than by nature; and what is indeed done with difficulty, still is at one time done); nor ought it to be reckoned among those things which are absolutely impossible (*adynata*) (since this inability [*adynamia*] is in us innate and insuperable); nor simply natural (as that is natural from which we are called neither good nor bad; while this inability is certainly vicious and culpable); or as natural is contradistinguished from voluntary (as in a stone or brute there is a natural inability to speak). Our inability is in the highest degree voluntary; or as that is called natural which arises from a defect of natural faculty or power (such as the inability to see in the blind, to walk in the paralytic, to rise in the dead). Our inability does not exclude, but always supposes in man a natural power to understand and will. Still it is best said to be both natural and moral in a different respect. Moral (1) objectively because it is conversant with moral duties; (2) originally because it is induced (*epispastos*), arising from moral corruption and voluntarily brought on by the sin of man; (3) formally because it is voluntary and culpable, reflected upon the habit of a corrupt will. Natural also (1) originally because it is born with us and from nature; not created by God, but corrupted by man, on account of which we are said by Paul to be “by nature children of wrath” (*physei tekna orgēs*, Eph. 2:3), and by David “to have been shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin” (Ps. 51:5)—as poison is natural to the serpent and rapacity to the wolf. (2) Subjectively because it taints our whole nature and implies a privation of that faculty of doing well (which was given to the first man and was natural, which was original righteousness). (3) Eventually

because it is unconquerable and insuperable, no less than the purely natural inability of the blind man to see and of the dead man to rise. For the sinner can no more convert himself than the blind man can see and the dead man rise. As therefore it is rightly called moral and voluntary to prove the guilt of man and render him inexcusable, so it is best termed natural to heighten the magnitude of the corruption and demonstrate the necessity of grace. For as it is born with man, so it is incapable of being overcome by him so that he cannot shake it off in any other way than by the almighty and heart-turning grace of the Holy Spirit.

XL. Therefore a man laboring under such an inability is falsely said to be able to believe if he wishes, as if faith (so expressly called by Paul "the gift of God," Eph. 2:8) belonged to the things in our power (*ek tōn eph' hēmin*). For although the phrase can in some measure be tolerated when understood of the natural power of willing (never taken away from us in whatever state we may be; as that by which we are distinguished from the brutes), still it cannot be admitted when we speak of the moral disposition of the will to good; not only to willing, but to willing well. Concerning this alone we dispute with our opponents; unless we wish to pass into the camp of Pelagius who wished good will to be placed in the power of man. For although by sin man did not lose the faculty of willing (in the genus of being), still it is so corrupt in the genus of morals that it neither does nor can do anything good. Besides, since to will to believe and to believe do not differ (since indeed he who wills to believe actually believes, as he who wills to love God and his neighbor really loves God and his neighbor), to say that man can believe if he will is to say that man is able to believe if he has already believed (which is mere trifling). (3) In vain is man said to be able to believe if he will, since it is certain that he cannot of himself will. It is of no use to reply that it is owing to the wickedness of man that he is not able to will; that nothing prevents his believing except his will. For although it is true that this inability is voluntary and culpable, so that its cause can be ascribed to no one but man alone, still it cannot be said absolutely that the will of man alone prevents his believing. As the want and privation of grace (which being furnished, he would believe and without which it is impossible for him to believe) prohibits that also negatively; so it also prohibits it positively; not simply his will, but that native corruption which taints the will and by which (as a spiritual chain) he

is so bound down to sin that he can never snap it asunder or shake it off by himself and in his own strength (without grace).

Fifth Question: The Virtues of the Heathen

Whether the virtues of the heathen were good works from which the power of free will to good can be inferred. We deny against the papists

Occasion of the question.

I. This question arises from the preceding. In order to show that strength for good survives to the free will in a state of sin, the papists use the common example of the heathen who strove after virtue above others or were distinguished for illustrious deeds (whose virtues they deny to have been sins, deserving the disapprobation of God, but rather consider good works, meriting favor). Thus the Council of Trent: "Whoever says that all works done before justification, in whatever way done, are truly sins, or deserve the hatred of God, or that the more earnestly one strives to dispose himself to grace, so much the more seriously he sins, let him be anathema" (Session 6, Canon 7, Schroeder, p. 43). Bellamine endeavors to prove "that man can without faith, with special help and even without it, perform some moral good, if no temptation presses" ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 5.9, 10 in *Opera* [1858], 4:391–98).

II. However we say two things. First, although we confess that some good can be found in these actions (as to the external honesty of the act commanded by God and which therefore cannot but be good), still we deny that they can be called properly and univocally good works as to the truth of the thing and mode of operation (to wit, internal rectitude of heart and intention of the end). We assert with Augustine that they were nothing but "splendid sins." Second, whatever good or less evil they performed, was not owing to their own strength, but to God's special help.

III. The former may easily be gathered from what has been already said. Since it has been shown that the inability (*adynamian*) of the sinner to good is total and Scripture ascribes it to all without exception, it is evident that no works truly good can be performed by the unrenewed man.

IV. This is still further strengthened by the conditions of a good work. Three things are altogether required for a good work. First, on the part of the principle, that it proceed from a heart purified by faith (Acts 15:9), because whatever is not of faith is sin (Rom. 14:23) and is displeasing to God (Heb. 11:6); for "unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure; but even their mind and conscience is defiled" (Tit. 1:15). Second, on the part of the form or mode, that it be done according to the law of God, not only in the external work, but especially with the internal obedience of the heart which the spiritual law of God requires from sinners (Rom. 7:14). (3) On the part of the end, that it be done to the glory of God (1 Cor. 10:31). It is certain that the virtues of the heathen are defective in these three particulars. For in reference to the principle, they could not proceed from faith or a clean heart (of which they were destitute); so as to the mode, they had no internal and spiritual obedience; and as to the end, no direction to the glory of God (since they struggled for their own advancement and glory). Now a good work is from an entire cause, but an evil work from even a single defect.

V. The Athenians are said to "worship (*eusebein*) the unknown God" (Acts 17:23). Not as if with a true and saving worship they adored the true God, but according to opinion (*kata doxan*) because they supposed they offered a true worship to the true God although unknown. Thus by an admirable accommodation (*synkatabasin*), the apostle strove to gain them over to Christ by tempering his rebuke with praise. He did not simply call them "too superstitious" (*deisidaimonesterous*), but "as too superstitious" (*hōs deisidaimonesterous*) that he might not seem too harsh. Thus he does not say simply "ye worship" (*eusebeite*), but "ye ignorantly worship" (*agnoountes eusebeite*) to prove the vanity of their worship, that no one might accuse him of flattery.

VI. As the moral actions of the heathen are not sins per se (and as to substance of the work), but by accident (and as to the mode of operation) in the essential conditions (on account of the various defects mentioned before); not on that account is it better to omit than to perform them, lest we sin (but the defects should rather be corrected and supplied). What are of themselves sins forbidden of God should be omitted; but what are only accidentally such from some defect of circumstances should not be omitted, but corrected.

VII. Earthly reward does not prove true virtue and a good work because it is only of perishable things which God bestows promiscuously upon the reprobate and the elect. This is a remarkable proof of the divine justice, to teach how much true piety pleases him when he not only remunerates true virtues by eternal rewards, but also the images of virtues by temporal blessings not on account of the adhering depravity, but on account of the apparent external good (in order that even unbelievers may have nothing to complain of concerning the justice of God).

VIII. Since the humiliation of Ahab (1 K. 21:27, 28) was dissembled and hypocritical (from fear of punishment rather than from love of virtue), it could not per se be pleasing to God. Nor did God grant to him an absolute remission of the punishment before threatened, but only some delay; not in order to testify that the external humiliation of the wicked king was accepted by him, but to show to others what is to be expected by one seriously and heartily repenting. The repentance of the Ninevites cannot be reckoned among the works of the heathen, since they are said to have repented at the word of God and from the operation of faith in God (which is expressly ascribed to them, Jn. 3:5; Mt. 12:41).

IX. Whatever, moreover, was done by the Gentiles in reference to this subject (by which they were made no better than others, but at least less evil) does not prove remaining strength for good in their free will because not even this could be done without God's special help. If some were more observant than others of justice and goodness; if some excelled in learning, genius, fortitude, justice and temperance and other virtues (as among them Aristides was celebrated for justice; Scipio for continence; Socrates for wisdom; Alexander for bravery; others for other virtues), these are not to be ascribed to their better nature, but are to be recognized as the gifts of God who gives some over to their own lusts, but restrains the depravity of others from breaking forth. Nor were the heathen themselves ignorant of this, who acknowledged that "virtues are inspired only by the divine breath," and "there never was a great man without divine inspiration" as Plato frequently says and Cicero after him (cf. Cicero, *?De Republica* 3.3 and 6.8 [Loeb, 16:186–87, 260–61; *De Natura Deorum* 2.167 [Loeb, 19:282–83]). Reason itself also persuades us. For why should the sons of heroes be so degenerate? Why should twins be so unlike? Why should those enjoying the best education become savage beasts? The cause, therefore, of this

difference is to be sought only in the providence of God. While it permits some to sink with impunity into every enormity, it restrains and represses others as with a bit that they may not rush into the same unbridled license with others. Hence they are not common gifts of nature, but special graces of God dispensed variously to men (inasmuch as he knows that it conduces to the preservation of the universe).

X. Whatever knowledge of God is found in the heathen cannot be considered a good work because if they confess with the mouth, they deny him in their works. They had a knowledge of God, but held the truth in unrighteousness, neither glorified him as God (i.e., they did not truly know him). This was the height of their crime—being unwilling to acknowledge him of whom they could not be ignorant, and forming for themselves innumerable gods in place of the one God (whom they could know from his works). Well, therefore, are they called atheists by the apostle (Eph. 2:12) with their own crowd of gods because they were ignorant of the existence of the true God and of his will towards us. So the Lord gave them indeed a slight taste of his divinity that they might not offer ignorance as an excuse. He has driven them at times to say some things by the confession of which they themselves might be convicted; but they so saw what they saw as by no means to be directed by the sight to the truth, much less to attain it. It is like the flashing of lightning at night, surrounded by which the traveller sees far and wide for a moment, but so evanescent that he is again involved in the darkness of night before he can move a step—so far is he from being prospered in his journey by such a help.

XI. This was the constant opinion of Augustine which he often established against the Pelagians: “True virtue exists in no one who is not righteous; and no one is truly righteous who does not live by faith. Moreover, who of those who wish to be considered Christians, except the Pelagians alone, or even thou alone perhaps among them, would say that the just man is enslaved by the devil?” (*Against Julian* 4.3 [17] [FC 35:181; PL 44.745]). And elsewhere: “However highly the works of unbelievers may be extolled, everything which is not of faith, is sin” (*On the Proceedings of Pelagius* 34 [NPNF1, 5:198–99; PL 44.341]). So Prosper, a disciple of Augustine: “Without the worship of the true God, even what seems virtue is sin, nor can anyone please God without God; and he who does not please God, whom does he please except himself and Satan” (*The*

Call of All Nations 1.7* [ACW 14:34; PL 51.653–54]). And in his precious little book *Carmen de Ingratis*: "Every virtuous deed is a sin, unless it rises from the seed of true faith; it becomes a source of guilt, and its barren glory heaps up punishment for itself" (16.407–409 [trans. C.T. Huegelmeyer, 1962], pp. 66–67; PL 51.117). Whoever wishes more on this question should consult Jansen *Augustinus* where this entire argument is fully and satisfactorily discussed ("De statu naturae lapsae," 3, 4 [1640/1964], pp. 429–678).

XII. Now this is the nature of free will in a state of sin. But how it is constituted in the moment of calling and in the progress of sanctification will be treated of in the proper place (with the favor of God). May the Father of mercies grant that, seriously acknowledging our nothingness (*oudeneian*) and inability (*adynamian*), we may learn to depend entirely upon him and to ascribe all our salvation to his grace, saying with the psalmist, "Not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name be all the glory" (Ps. 115:1). Amen.

FRANCIS TURRETIN

INSTITUTES of ELENCTIC THEOLOGY

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VOLUME TWO: ELEVENTH THROUGH SEVENTEENTH TOPICS

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III. Was it necessary for the Son of God to become incarnate? We affirm

IV. Whether only the second person of the Trinity became incarnate and why

THE NATURE ASSUMED

V. Was the human nature assumed by the Logos like ours in all respects (sin excepted) and his flesh taken from the substance of the blessed virgin; or did it come down from heaven? The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the Anabaptists

THE TRUTH OF THE INCARNATION AND THE HYPOSTATICAL UNION

VI. Did the Son of God assume human nature into the unity of his person? We affirm against the Socinians

VII. Was the hypostatical union of the two natures in Christ such that neither the person is divided nor the natures confounded? We affirm against Nestorius and Eutyches

THE COMMUNICATION OF PROPERTIES

VIII. Were certain properties of the divine nature formally communicated to the human nature of Christ by the personal union? We deny against the Lutherans

THE TWOFOLD STATE OF CHRIST

IX. Was Christ the Mediator bound to perform his office under a twofold state? We affirm

THE BEGINNING OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

X. What was the natal year, month and day of Christ?

THE CONCEPTION AND NATIVITY OF CHRIST

XI. How was Christ conceived from the Holy Spirit and born of the blessed virgin?

THE GRACES AND GIFTS BESTOWED ON CHRIST

XII. What graces were bestowed on the human nature of Christ? And did he have faith and hope? We affirm

THE KNOWLEDGE OF CHRIST'S SOUL

XIII. From its very creation was the soul of Christ so filled with knowledge that it could be ignorant of or learn nothing? We deny against the papists

THE SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST

XIV. Did Christ suffer only corporeal punishments for us in the body or in the soul, but only as to its lower and sensitive part? Or did he in truth also bear the spiritual and infernal punishments of sin themselves (In The Superior As Well As In The Inferior Part) properly in himself and from a sense of God's wrath? We deny the former and affirm the latter against the papists

THE DESCENT OF CHRIST TO HELL

XV. Was the soul of Christ, after its separation from the body, translated to paradise immediately? Or did it descend locally to hell? The

former we affirm; the latter we deny against the papists and Lutherans

XVI. May the descent into hell be rightly referred to infernal torments and to a most abject state under the dominion of death in the sepulcher? We affirm

THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST

XVII. Did Christ rise by his own power? We affirm against the Socinians

THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST

XVIII. Did Christ ascend properly by a local movement from the lower places to the supreme heaven of the blessed; or metaphorically by disappearance? We affirm the former and deny the latter against the Lutherans

CHRIST'S SITTING AT THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD

XIX. What is the session of Christ at the right hand of God? According to what nature does it apply to Christ and does it pertain to the relation of situation? We deny

Fourteenth Topic: The Mediatorial Office of Christ

Question I. In what sense is the name "Mediator" applied to Christ?

II. Is Christ a Mediator according to both natures? We affirm against the papists and Stancar

III. Is Christ the Mediator of angels? We deny

THE UNITY OF THE MEDIATOR

IV. Is Christ alone our Mediator with God? We affirm against the papists

THE THREEFOLD OFFICE OF CHRIST

V. Why ought Christ to sustain a threefold office of Mediator?

VI. Was Christ caught up into heaven before beginning his public ministry in order to be taught there by the Father? We deny against the Socinians

THE PROPHETIC OFFICE OF CHRIST

VII. In what does the prophetic office of Christ consist; or what are its parts and what is its mode?

THE PRIESTLY OFFICE OF CHRIST

VIII. Whether Christ was a Priest of true name who began his priesthood on earth. Or was he so called only figuratively, who fulfilled his office in heaven after his ascension and not before? We affirm the former and deny the latter against the Socinians

IX. On the nature and unity of Christ's priesthood and why it is said to be according to the order of Melchizedek

THE NECESSITY OF THE SATISFACTION

X. Was it necessary for Christ to make satisfaction to divine justice for us? We affirm against the Socinians

THE TRUTH OF THE SATISFACTION

XI. Did Christ truly and properly satisfy God's justice in our place? We affirm against the Socinians

THE PERFECTION OF THE SATISFACTION

XII. Was the satisfaction of Christ so perfect as to leave no room after it either for human satisfactions in this life or for purgatory after this life? We affirm against the Romanists

THE MATTER OF THE SATISFACTION

XIII. Is the satisfaction of Christ to be restricted to the sufferings and punishments which he endured for us? Or is it to be extended also to the active obedience by which he perfectly fulfilled the law in his whole life? The former we deny and the latter we affirm

THE OBJECT OF THE SATISFACTION

XIV. Did Christ die for each and every man universally or only for the elect? The former we deny; the latter we affirm

THE INTERCESSION OF CHRIST

XV. Why and how does Christ intercede for us?

THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST

XVI. Whether the economical kingdom of Christ is temporal and earthly or spiritual and heavenly. The former we deny; we assert the latter against the Jews

THE ETERNITY OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM

XVII. Is the mediatorial kingdom of Christ to continue forever? We affirm

THE ADORATION AND WORSHIP DUE TO CHRIST AS MEDIATOR

XVIII. Is Christ to be adored as Mediator? We distinguish

Fifteenth Topic: Calling and Faith

Question I. What is calling and of how many kinds? Also, how do external and internal calling differ?

THE CALLING OF THE REPROBATE

II. Are the reprobate, who partake of the external calling, called with the design and intention on God's part that they should become partakers of salvation? And, this being denied, does it follow that God does not deal seriously with them, but hypocritically and falsely; or that he can be accused of any injustice? We deny

SUFFICIENT GRACE

III. Is sufficient, subjective and internal grace given to each and every one? We deny against the Romanists, Socinians and Arminians

EFFECTUAL CALLING

IV. Is effectual calling so denominated from the event (or from congruity) or from the supernatural operation of grace itself? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists and Arminians

V. Whether in the first moment of conversion man is merely passive or whether his will cooperates in some measure with the grace of God. The former we affirm and deny the latter against all Synergists

VI. Whether efficacious grace operates only by a certain moral suasion which man is able either to receive or to reject. Or whether it operates by an invincible and omnipotent suasion which the will of man cannot resist. The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists and Arminians

ON FAITH

VII. In how many ways may faith be taken and how many kinds of it are enumerated?

THE VARIOUS ACTS OF JUSTIFYING FAITH

VIII. How many acts does justifying faith include in its formal conception?

IX. Is faith assent without knowledge and can it be defined better by ignorance than by knowledge? We deny against the Romanists

X. Is faith trust? We affirm against the Romanists

THE OBJECT OF FAITH

XI. What is the object of faith in general and can what is false come under it? We deny

XII. Whether the proper and specific object of justifying faith is the special promise of mercy in Christ. We affirm against the Romanists

XIII. Whether the form of justifying faith is love or obedience to God's commands. We deny against the Romanists and Socinians

THE SUBJECT OF FAITH

XIV. Do infants have faith? We distinguish

XV. Does temporary faith differ only in degree and duration or also in kind from justifying faith? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Remonstrants

THE PERSEVERANCE OF FAITH

XVI. Whether the true believer can ever totally or finally fall from faith. We deny against the Romanists, Socinians, Remonstrants and others who favor the apostasy of the saints

THE CERTAINTY OF FAITH

XVII. Whether the believer can and ought to be certain of his faith and justification by a divine and not merely conjectural certainty. We affirm against the Romanists and Remonstrants

Sixteenth Topic: Justification

Question I. Is the word "justification" always used in a forensic sense in this argument; or is it also used in a moral and physical sense? The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the Romanists

II. Is the impulsive and meritorious cause (on account of which man is justified in the judgment of God) inherent righteousness infused into us or good works? We deny against the Romanists

III. Is the righteousness and obedience of Christ imputed to us the meritorious cause and foundation of our justification with God? We affirm against the Romanists and Socinians

IV. Does justification consist only in the remission of sins? Or does it embrace also adoption and the right to life? The former we deny and affirm the latter

THE REMISSION OF SINS

V. Does remission of sins consist in an absolute removal of them? Or in the pardon of them? And after the guilt is remitted is a certain punishment retained? Or is it wholly remitted? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists

ADOPTION

VI. What is the adoption which is given to us in justification?

THE JUSTIFICATION OF FAITH

VII. Does faith justify us properly and of itself or only relatively and instrumentally? The former we deny; the latter we affirm

against the Socinians, Remonstrants and Romanists

VIII. Does faith alone justify? We affirm against the Romanists

THE TIME OF JUSTIFICATION

IX. Was justification made from eternity or is it made in time? Is it an undivided act taking place at one and the same time?

X. The unity, perfection and certainty of justification

Seventeenth Topic: Sanctification and Good Works

Question I. What is sanctification and how is it distinguished from justification, yet inseparable from it?

THE PERFECTION OF SANCTIFICATION

II. Is sanctification so perfect in this life that believers can fulfill the law absolutely? We deny against the Romanists and Socinians

THE NECESSITY OF GOOD WORKS

III. Are good works necessary to salvation? We affirm

THE TRUTH OF GOOD WORKS

IV. What is required that a work may be truly good? Are the works of the righteous such? We affirm

THE MERIT OF WORKS

V. Is there a merit of congruity or condignity? Do good works merit eternal life? We deny against the Romanists

ELEVENTH TOPIC

THE LAW OF GOD

FIRST QUESTION

Whether there is a natural law, and how it differs from the moral law. The former we affirm; the latter we distinguish

Necessity of disputing.

I. As the doctrine concerning the law of God (the discussion of which we now enter upon with the favor of God) properly belongs to the theologian, so it has a multiple use in theology. (1) For the direction of life—as a perfect rule of God's right over man and of man's duty towards God. (2) For a knowledge of sin—because as sin is illegality (*anomia*), from no other source than the law can its truth and heinousness be ascertained (Rom. 3:20). (3) For preparation for grace—that from the declaration of man's sin and misery, the necessity of saving grace may be unfolded and a desire for it excited in us (in which sense it is called "a schoolmaster unto Christ," Gal. 3:24).

Etymology of the word "law".

II. Now law is called by the Hebrews *tvrh* (from the verb *yrh*) signifying in the Hiphel "to teach" because by it all are put in mind of their duty. The Greeks call it *nomos* (from *nemein*) which denotes both "to rule" and "to distribute" because according to its prescription men ought to be governed and each one's own is given to him. The Latins either derive it from *legendo* (according to Isidore, *Etymologiarum* 2.10 [PL 82.130]) because, as Cicero obeserves, it is usually read when enacted that it may become

known to all or is exposed on public tablets to be read (*Laws* 2*.5.11 [Loeb, 16:384–85]); or inasmuch as *legere* is put for *deligere* because in it is contained a choice of things to be done and avoided; or finally from *ligando* (as Thomas Aquinas, ST, I–II*, Q. 90, Art. 1, p. 993 and most of the Scholastics after him hold), because it binds and fastens men as it were by a chain. It may be in reference to this that in Scripture "laws" are frequently called "bonds" (Ps. 2:3; Jer. 5:5).

Its equivocal sense.

III. However, it is used in different ways in Scripture: either broadly, for the whole word of God (Ps. 1:2; 19:7, 8)—now for all the books of the Old Testament (Jn. 10:34; 1 Cor. 14:21), then for the Mosaical books alone—or the Pentateuch as distinct from the Psalms and the Prophets (Lk. 24:44; Rom. 3:21); or strictly, for the Mosaic dispensation in opposition to the New Testament dispensation (Heb. 7:12; Jn. 1:17); or for the covenant of works exclusively in contradistinction to the covenant of grace (Rom. 6:14); or for "the rule of things to be done and avoided, which God has prescribed to rational creatures under the sanction of rewards and punishments." It is to be particularly examined in this sense.

It is divided into natural and positive.

IV. Now this law of God is divided in general into natural and positive. As the right of God is twofold (one natural, founded in the perfectly just and holy nature of God; the other positive, depending on the will of God alone in which he also shows his own liberty), so there is a positive law of God built on the free and positive right of God (with respect to which things are then good because God commands them). Hence God was free either not to give such a law or to institute otherwise (such as the law relating to food and the symbolical law given to Adam [Gen. 2:16, 17] and the ceremonial laws of the Old Testament, in which there was no moral goodness or evil per se, but only from the command of God). There is another (natural) founded on the natural right of God, with regard to which things are not called just because they are commanded, but are commanded because they were just and good antecedently to the command of God (being founded on

the very holiness and wisdom of God). And such is its nature that (the creation of man being supposed) it must have been given to him, since it prescribes to him indispensable duties to be performed by all, always and everywhere.

Natural is taken either broadly or strictly. Statement of the question.

V. However, natural law is again taken in two ways: either broadly and improperly (inasmuch as it is extended to inanimates also and brutes and denotes nothing else than the most wise government of the providence of God over creatures and the most efficacious direction to their ends). In this sense, Ps. 119:91 (where it treats of the motion of the heavens and the stability of the earth) says, "All things continue this day according to thine ordinances: for all are thy servants"; "He hath also stablished all things for ever and ever: he hath made a decree which shall not pass" (Ps. 148:6). In the latter, he is speaking of the works of creation: by this law plants grow, beasts generate and every animal has his own desires (*hormas*) and spontaneous instincts. Or natural law is taken strictly and properly for the practical rule of moral duties to which men are bound by nature. Concerning this law, it is here inquired whether there is such a natural law of God obtaining among all (as the rule of justice and injustice) antecedently to the positive laws of men; or whether justice and virtue depend upon man's will alone and spring from the consent of human society and are to be measured by each one's own utility. The orthodox affirm the former; libertines the latter.

VI. For just as of old Carneades and the Cyrenaics (following Aristippus) denied all natural justice, pretending that "nothing is just and base by nature, but by law and custom" (*mēden einai physei dikaion ē aischron, alla nomō kai ethei*, [Diogenes] Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers: Aristippus* 2.93 [Loeb, 1:220–21]). This was also the opinion of Epicurus, in reference to whom Gassendi says many things ("Philosophiae Epicuri Syntagma," in *Opuscula Philosophica* [1658], 3:3–94). So there are not wanting many in our day who, treading in their footsteps, think that no rule of right and wrong is given by nature, but that it

depends only upon the free determination of man and is to be measured by each one's own advantage (as man is by nature free from every law and has no other rule of right and good than the preservation of himself and the defense of his life and limbs). Calvin testifies that this impious error (with many others) is held by the libertines (*Contre le secte des Libertins*, CR 35.144–248). Hobbes approaches them on this subject in his *Elementa philosophica de cive* (1647).

VII. But the orthodox speak far differently. They affirm that there is a natural law, not arising from a voluntary contract or law of society, but from a divine obligation being impressed by God upon the conscience of man in his very creation, on which the difference between right and wrong is founded and which contains the practical principles of immovable truth (such as: "God should be worshipped," "parents honored," "we should live virtuously," "injure no one," "do to others what we would wish them to do to us" and the like). Also that so many remains and evidences of this law are still left in our nature (although it has been in different ways corrupted and obscured by sin) that there is no mortal who cannot feel its force either more or less. Now they wish this law to be called natural, not because it has its origin from bare nature (since it depends upon God the supreme lawgiver), but because it becomes known from the aspect of creatures and the relation of man to God, and the knowledge of it is impressed upon the mind by nature, not acquired by tradition or instruction.

The origin of the natural law is not to be sought in the Noahic precepts.

VIII. Thus the origin and foundation of this law ought not to be sought (as the Jews falsely seek it) from "the seven precepts" which they maintain were given to Adam and Noah, by which all posterity should be bound: (1) not worshipping idols; (2) not blaspheming the name of God; (3) not committing theft; (4) avoiding incest and foul lusts; (5) appointing judges and magistrates; (6) not shedding blood; (7) not eating the members of a living animal, or flesh with the blood (which is its life). Besides their being founded upon tradition alone (which cannot be said of the natural right), they are not all simply moral and of perpetual observance, but some are

ceremonial and positive (such as that about not eating blood); nor do they draw out whatever belongs to natural right, although from it they can be deduced as conclusions from their own principles.

But from the right of nature.

IX. But it must be drawn from the right of nature itself, founded both on the nature of God, the Creator (who by his holiness must prescribe to his creatures the duties founded upon that right), and on the condition of rational creatures themselves (who, on account of their necessary dependence upon God in the genus of morals, no less than in the genus of being, are bound to perform or avoid those things which sound reason and the dictates of conscience enjoin upon them to do or avoid).

In how many ways the right of nature may be used.

X. The right of nature, however, is here used by us, not broadly and improperly (as by lawyers for "that which nature teaches all animals" [*Corpus Iuris Civilis, I: Institutiones* 1.2, p. 1]) as distinguished from the law of nations which all nations use; and from the civil law which each state or community has determined for itself (because as reason does not belong to brutes, so neither are they properly capacious of right or wrong), but strictly and properly for that which has reference only to rational creatures. The lawyers include this under the law of nations. It is rightly described by common practical notions, or the light and dictation of conscience (which God has engraven by nature upon every individual, to distinguish between virtue and vice, and to know the things to be avoided and the things to be done).

XI. Now of these notions, some are primary (which we call principles), others secondary (called conclusions). The principles are those which (being known of themselves and immovable in all, founded on the common good) by the help of reason beget conclusions from themselves. These are reduced to the foundation of the common good; are either more near, immediate and (as they say) of the first dictation of nature (which are proximately gathered from the principles and readily come into knowledge); or mediate and more remote (which by remoter consequence

and with greater difficulty are deduced from the principles). The former admit of no variety; the latter of a great variety in this corrupted nature. Although in these conclusions, this law has been in many ways corrupted after sin both by natural corruption, by wrong education, and by vicious custom (by which the basest vices and crimes sometimes receive the name of virtues and obtain praise which the most iniquitous laws and most depraved morals of certain nations plainly testify); still this does not prevent its always remaining the same among all, as to its first principles and the immediate conclusions thence deduced.

Proof that there is a natural law: (1) from Scripture.

XII. Many arguments prove the existence of such a natural law. First, the voice of Scripture asserts that "the Gentiles which have not the law" (to wit, the written law of Moses) as the Jews "do by nature the things contained in the law, and are a law unto themselves: since they show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another" (Rom. 2:14, 15). And "that which may be known of God" (*to gnōston tou theou*) is said to be manifest in the Gentiles "for God hath shewed it unto them" (Rom. 1:19*). But how could that truth be said to be revealed in the Gentiles (that although they have not the law, still they do the things contained in the law; not by previous doctrine and instruction, but by nature; that they are a law unto themselves and bear the work of the law written in their hearts [to which the conscience bears witness by approbation or accusation in good or evil deeds]) if this depended upon the mere will of man and was not in them by nature itself and indeed impressed and fixed in them by God?

2. From the consent of nations.

XIII. Second, the consent of nations, among whom (even the most savage) some law of the primitive nations obtains, from which even without a teacher they have learned that God should be worshipped, parents honored, a virtuous life be led and from which as a fountain have flowed so many

laws concerning equity and virtue enacted by heathen legislators, drawn from nature itself. And if certain laws are found among some repugnant to these principles, they were even with reluctance received and observed by a few, at length abrogated by contrary laws, and have fallen into desuetude.

3. From the conscience of each one.

XIV. Third, the conscience of each one dictating the good to be done and the evil to be shunned; and which, as by observation, it exhibits to us practical principles, as universal rules of things to be avoided and omitted. So by consciousness (*syneidēsin*), it makes an application and test of itself to that rule. Hence arise distresses of conscience which at the sight of sin and the sense of divine judgment, trembles all over and torments the sinner as if by familiar, unremitting furies, and night and day inflicts punishment upon the most abandoned. Thus Cicero speaks, "The wicked are punished, not so much by judgments, as by anguish of conscience and the torment of crime" (*Laws** 1.14.40 [Loeb, 16:340–41]). Now whence these scourgings and terrible avengers, except from the natural law impressed upon man which knows that this is "the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death" (Rom. 1:32)? Hence according to Cicero, it is called "the law not written, but born, in which we are not taught but made, not instructed by precepts, but imbued by nature" (*On Behalf of Milo* 10 [Loeb, 16:16–17]). By others it is termed *empsychon dikaion* ("the living right") and *agraphon theou nomimon* ("the unwritten law of God").

4. From God's government over man.

XV. Fourth, the rule and government of God over man; for if the creature as a creature must depend upon the Creator and be governed by him physically, it is even most absurd (*asystaton*) that the rational creature as rational should not be in subjection to him in the genus of morals and not be governed by him suitably to his nature (i.e., by moral means) by the establishment of a law. Hence it follows either that man ought to have been created independent by God (which is absurd) or that he has a natural law impressed upon him, in accordance with which he may be ruled by him.

5. From absurdities.

XVI. Fifth, the various absurdities by which the opposite opinion is pressed. For if nothing is just by nature, but that only which can be made to minister to human advantage, it follows that men are born for themselves and not for the glory of God or for the good of society (of which there is by nature in them an earnest desire), which the wiser heathen themselves acknowledge could not be said. (2) All things would be equally lawful: to hate God as well as to love him; to kill parents as well as to honor them; and each one's own will would be to him for a reason and a law, so that he might do whatever he pleased (whether this does not pave the way to atheism, anyone can readily understand). (3) This moral right and government of God being taken away, all the foundations of right will be removed; all the laws of men which could have flowed from no other source, and thus all government, honesty and order in human society will perish and the world be turned into mere confusion and villainy.

6. From the testimonies of the heathen.

XVII. Sixth, the testimonies of the most illustrious heathen philosophers, who bravely opposed themselves to that impious opinion (such as Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics). Even Cicero sufficiently proves this in his books on the laws. He demonstrates by various weighty arguments "that we are born to justice, and that right is not established by opinion, but by nature" (*Laws* 1.10.28 [Loeb, 16:328–29]); that Socrates deservedly execrated the man who first drew a distinction between utility and nature, for he used to complain that this error was the source of all human vices, since if this were true all justice and piety would be swept from the world. "For if nature does not ratify law," says he, "then all the virtues may lose their sway. For what becomes of generosity, patriotism or friendship? Where will the desire of benefitting our neighbors, or the gratitude that acknowledges kindness, be able to exist at all? For all these virtues proceed from our natural inclination to love mankind. And this is the true basis of justice, and without this not only the mutual charities of men, but the religious services of the gods, would be at an end; for these are preserved, as I imagine, rather by the natural sympathy which subsists between divine and human beings, than by

mere fear and timidity" (ibid., 1.15.43, pp. 344–45). Hence in *The Republic* (3.22 [Loeb, 16:210–11]), as quoted by Lactantius, "True law," says he, "is right reason conformable to nature, universal, unchangeable, eternal, whose commands urge us to duty, and whose prohibitions restrain us from evil" (Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 6.8 [FC 49:412; PL 6.660]). And afterwards: "This law cannot be contradicted by any other law, and is not liable either to derogation or abrogation. Neither the senate nor the people can give us any dispensation for not obeying this universal law of justice. It is not one thing at Rome, and another at Athens; one thing today, and another tomorrow; but in all times and nations this universal law must forever reign, eternal and imperishable. It is the sovereign master and emperor of all beings. God himself is its author, its promulgator, its enforcer. And he who does not obey it flies from himself, and does violence to the very nature of man" (ibid., pp. 412–13; PL 6.660–61).

Sources of solutions.

XVIII. From the cauterization of conscience (1 Tim. 4:2) in the wicked ("who, being past feeling [*apēlgēkotes*] have given themselves to work all uncleanness," Eph. 4:19) can indeed be gathered the suppression of the natural law as to the second act or exercise; but not its extinction and destruction as to the first act or the principle; also insensibility of conscience as to duty, not however as to punishment.

XIX. If various wicked laws obtained among the heathen, repugnant to the natural law (such as those sanctioning idolatry, human sacrifices [*anthrōpothysian*], permitting theft, rapine, homicide, incest), they do not prove that no light of reason was granted to men by nature, as Selden improperly infers (*De Iure Naturali et Gentium* 6, 7 [1640], pp. 75–94). Rather they prove only that men with leisure ill employed have wickedly abused the conceded light and, by struggling against and striving with all their might to extinguish it, were given over to a reprobate mind.

XX. Although various practical notions have been obscured after sin and for a time even obliterated, it does not follow either that they were entirely extinguished or that they never existed at all. For the commonest principle (that good should be done and evil avoided) is unshaken in all, although in the particular conclusions and in the determinations of it good men may

often err because vice deceives us under the appearance and shadow of virtue.

XXI. What is natural ought indeed to be universal and to be the same as to foundation and principle, but not always as to the things principiated: as reason and intelligence are indeed natural, but yet do not exist in the same manner and degree in all (since some are more sharp-sighted than others).

How the natural law differs from the moral law given by Moses.

XXII. If it is asked how this natural law agrees with or differs from the moral law, the answer is easy. It agrees as to substance and with regard to principles, but differs as to accidents and with regard to conclusions. The same duties (both toward God and toward our neighbor) prescribed by the moral law are also contained in the natural law. The difference is with regard to the mode of delivery. In the moral law, these duties are clearly, distinctly and fully declared; while in the natural law they are obscurely and imperfectly declared both because many intimations have been lost and obliterated by sin and because it has been variously corrupted by the vanity and wickedness of men (Rom. 1:20–22). Not to mention other differences: as that the natural law was engraven upon the hearts of men, the moral on stony tables; the former pertains to all universally, the latter only to those called by the word; the former contains nothing except morality, the latter has also certain ceremonials mingled with it.

XXIII. Hence is easily gathered the reason why God wished to recall that law by Moses, to deliver it to his people *viva voce*, and proclaimed it in a solemn manner, committing it to writing and comprehending it in the decalogue. For although in upright nature there was no need of such a promulgation, still (after sin) so great was the blindness of mind, such the perversity of will and disturbance of the affections that only remains of this law survived in the hearts of all (like rubbed pictures of the same, which on that account ought to be retouched by the voice and hand of God as by a new brush). Hence there were weighty causes for that promulgation. (1) That the natural law might be confirmed more and more, lest the remaining traces might gradually be obliterated by the vanity and wickedness of men

or be considered as their uncertain and doubtful opinions. (2) That it might be corrected in those things in which it had been corrupted by the fall. (3) That it might be supplemented in those things which were wanting in it and had been obliterated. (4) That the necessity of a mediator might be understood and a desire for him be enkindled more strongly every day on account of the weakness of man and of the law in the flesh (Rom. 3:20; 8:3; 10:4). (5) That the people of Israel might be joined by this law into one republic and be separated from all other nations (Dt. 4:6, 7; Ps. 147:19, 20; Rom. 9:4).

Second Question: The Nature of the Moral Law

Are the precepts of the decalogue of natural and indispensable right? We affirm

I. There can be four questions concerning the moral law. (1) What is its nature? (2) What are its parts? (3) What is its use? (4) What about its abrogation? In reference to its nature, there is a dispute concerning its immutability and perfection. In reference to its parts, there is a dispute concerning the division of the precepts and their genuine sense. In reference to its use, there is a dispute concerning its use either absolute or relative, as to the various states of man (in nature, in sin and in grace). In reference to its abrogation, in what sense may it be said to have been abrogated and in what sense not?

Statement of the question. Whether it is of natural and indispensable right.

II. The first question about the nature of the moral law refers to its indispensability. For the sake of clarity (1) we must premise a distinction of terms often occuring in this argument. Obligation is the right of the law over man on account of which the man who is under law is bound to obey it. Dispensation is when, in any case in which the law really prevails and obliges, the obligation of the law is taken away from some man in particular, the rest remaining under obligation. A declaration or interpretation of law is when it is declared that the law does not bind in a

particular case. Irritation is when a law is abolished before it can perfectly bind; abrogation when that is simply abolished and taken away which has already perfectly bound; derogation when it is partly taken away and partly remains.

III. (2) We must distinguish between simple precepts (i.e., merely moral) belonging to natural right and mixed precepts (moral and ceremonial, partly of natural and partly of positive right; as the fourth commandment concerning the Sabbath, which is moral as to the genus of public worship, but ceremonial as to the circumstance of the defined time; and the fifth, which is moral as to the prescribed duty and the promise of longevity, but ceremonial as to the appended promise of the land of Canaan).

The right of dominion and government.

IV. (3) We must observe that the right of God (as far as regards creatures) is either of dominion (which includes the right of possessing, disposing and using creatures, as a lord or proprietor, who is able to use and enjoy his own property at pleasure); or of government (which properly refers to rational creatures whom he governs as ruler and legislator; to whom belong legislation, judgment and execution, so as to have the power of enacting laws, of judging in accordance with them and of carrying out the sentence pronounced). This right is commonly distinguished into natural and positive: the former, according to which he must prescribe to rational creatures their duties (the opposites of which imply a contradiction because they are not founded simply on the divine will, but on the perfection, eminence, holiness and rectitude of the divine nature); the latter, however, according to which he freely and from his mere good-pleasure prescribes such duties as he either was able not to prescribe, or the opposites of which antecedently to the open intimation of the divine will, he might have willed and enjoined without any prejudice to his perfection and holiness, and without embarrassing contradiction.

V. Therefore, whatever things have so close a connection with the nature, perfection, eminence and holiness of God (that he cannot command their opposites without prejudice to his nature and which involve a contradiction as commanded) belong to that natural right. It is certain that God cannot deny himself, or do or command anything contrary to his own holiness and

perfection. So God cannot command the hatred of himself, blasphemy and lying; or relieve man from the dependence and obedience due to him because this would be to say that God is not God (i.e., the first cause and absolute Lord). These are what Bradwardine calls "prior reasonables" (*De Causa Dei Contra Pelagium* 1.18 [1618], pp. 220–24), which are such naturally antecedent to the divine will. However, all those things of which it cannot be said that God was not by necessity of nature bound to the other part of the contradiction (or in which we know that God can make or has actually made some change in the obligation) belong to positive right. Such were the symbolical law given to Adam and the ceremonial laws of the Old Testament (which depended on the free will of God). Here also the permission of sin is usually referred.

VI. Besides the uncreated natural divine right (called primary) founded immediately upon the very nature and holiness of God (the contrary of which he could not will nor command without denying himself), another is granted (created and secondary), founded on the nature of things (according to the constitution established by God and the mutual suitableness or fitness of things to each other). On the hypothesis of the order instituted by God (according to which he willed such to be the nature of things), it is necessary. Still it cannot be regarded as of the same necessity with the first, nor do the duties flowing from it have an equal degree of obligation. For the former is immutably absolute; nor is there any case in which God can relax it because thus he would appear to deny his own nature, on which it is based. Hence he never could command or approve hatred of himself, idolatry, perjury and falsehood. But the latter (although containing the natural rule of rectitude, because it supposes a certain state of things) could in certain cases (the circumstances of things and persons being altered) be changed, but only by his authority who established it. For example, murder and stealing (forbidden in the sixth and eighth commandments) could become lawful, some circumstance being changed—for instance, a divine command or public authority being given. In this respect, it can be referred to positive right; not indeed absolutely and simply such and merely free (which has no foundation except in the will of God alone), but relatively, inasmuch as (although based upon the order of things and created nature), it can still admit of a change in accordance with the wisdom of the legislator, who established that order.

VII. From this distinction of the divine right flows the distinction of the precepts (to be held here). For those things that have so close a connection with the nature of God that (the rational and governable creature being posited) he cannot but be bound to do them (such as that he should subject himself to and reverence God; should have him for his one only God; and the like), without controversy belong to natural right. But those which flow from the free good will of God and which he was perfectly free to establish or not establish, ought to be referred to positive right. With regard to this, almost all are agreed. But concerning the particular distinction and enumeration of these and those, all do not equally agree. Some refer those to natural right which others think belong to positive right.

Indispensability with respect to God and ourselves.

VIII. (4) Immutability and indispensability can be understood in two ways: either absolutely and simply with respect to God as well as to us; or comparatively and relatively with respect to us and not to God. Some are absolutely indispensable by God as well as by us; others, however, relatively with respect to us because, since we are not lords or judges, but subjects and accused (*hypodikoi*), we cannot add to or take anything away from the law. Yet this is not the case with respect to God, who, as supreme Lord and lawgiver, could in certain cases dispense with some law given by himself without sin.

IX. The question then returns to this—whether the precepts, not of the ceremonial and forensic law (which are evidently of mutable positive right), but of the moral law (not according to the appendages, but according to substance) are of natural right, whether primary or secondary (not merely positive) and so are necessary (not only hypothetically from the sanction of the divine will, but absolutely on the part of the thing) and incapable of being dispensed with, not only by men but also by God.

Three opinions on the nature of the law.

X. In reference to this question, there are three more celebrated opinions: two extreme, asserting the dispensability or indispensability of the commands; the third (a middle one) maintaining them to be partly

dispensable and partly not. The first holds that the moral law in all its precepts is dispensable; it is founded, namely, on positive right alone, which depends upon the free will of God. This law, therefore, he can change at pleasure. This opinion is held: (1) by many of the Scholastics (Occam, in 2 q. 19+; Gerson, "De Vita Spirituali Animae," 1 in *Opera Omnia* [repr. 1987], 3:5–16; Peter of Ailly, in 1. q. 14+; Almayno, *Acutissimi clarissimi ... Moralia*, Pt. 3.15 [1525], pp. 103–4 and their followers, impelled especially by a rash desire to expunge the second precept from the decalogue and by the power which they claim for their pope of dispensing with the precepts of God); (2) by the Socinians, who insist upon dispensability principally for this reason—that they may prove the imperfection of the Mosaic Law and the necessity of its correction. These are joined by those of our party who maintain that the moral goodness and wickedness of things flows from no other source than the free will of God; so that things are good and just only because they are commanded, not commanded because they were just antecedently. Thus there is nothing to hinder his commanding the contrary to them if he wishes. The second and middle opinion maintains that three precepts of the first table are indispensable; that the fourth, however, is partly dispensable; and that all the others of the second table are dispensable (as Scotus and Gabriel [Biel], who therefore take away those precepts from the natural law strictly so called). To them some of our men approach, who maintain that certain moral precepts of the decalogue which flow absolutely from the nature of God are absolutely indispensable (such as the first, second, third, seventh and ninth), but the others, depending upon the free will of God (as the fourth partly, and the fifth, sixth, eighth and tenth), although immovable and indispensable as to us, still are dispensable as to God (who can for certain reasons command the contrary and yet do nothing repugnant to his own nature). The third is the opinion of those who hold that the moral law as to all its precepts is simply indispensable because it contains the intrinsic reason of justice and duty; not as proceeding from the law, but as founded on the nature of God and arising from the intrinsic constitution of the thing and the proportion between the object and act, compared with right reason or the rational nature. Thomas Aquinas, with his followers (ST, I–II, Q. 100, Art. 8, pp. 1045–46), Altissiodorensis, Richard of Middleton, Peter Paludanus and many others, thinks thus.

XI. This last is the more common opinion of the orthodox. We also follow it with this limitation however—all the precepts are not equally based on the primary right of nature, but some flow absolutely from the nature of God and command such things as God wills most freely indeed but yet necessarily (and so necessarily and immutably that he cannot will the contrary without a contradiction). However, other precepts depend upon the constitution of the nature of things (the free will of God coming in between) so they should not be thought to hold an equal degree of necessity and immutability. Although a dispensation properly so called does not have place in them, still a declaration or interpretation is sometimes given concerning them, the circumstances of the things or persons being changed (as will be seen hereafter).

Indispensability of the precepts is proved: (1) from the necessary dependence of man upon God.

XII. The following reasons establish our opinion. First, there is a necessary and indispensable dependence of the rational creature as such in the genus of morals and in order to right reason, in virtue of which he cannot but be bound to obey God and be in subjection to him (for otherwise he would not be a creature, which is absurd). Therefore, there is in God, naturally and antecedently to his free will, the right of subjecting the rational creature to himself and of binding him to obedience (which he cannot deny, nor can he decree the opposite without a contradiction). Now that such a right belongs to him is evident both from the independence, preeminence, perfection and supreme dominion of God, and the similar attributes which build up such a right. Also from equality because there is a necessary and essential natural dependence of the creature upon God in the genus of being and of the second cause (in virtue of which the creature cannot exist and operate without God, nor can God cast off the care of him and leave him to himself). Therefore, the moral dependence of the rational creature upon God (as the first truth and perfect holiness) is no less necessary and immutable than the natural dependence of each creature.

XIII. Nor is it an objection that God was impelled to the production of the creature by no necessity, but by mere liberty. For although all things out

of God are in this sense contingent (i.e., such as he could have abstained from creating); still from the hypothesis, he wills and acts necessarily in and about those things which he wishes to exist, so that he cannot act or will otherwise. The words of Cajetan refer to this: "Although the divine will is simply free, outwardly; still on the exercise of one free act he can be necessitated to another; as if he wills to promise absolutely, he is necessitated to fulfil the promise; if he wills to speak and reveal, he is bound to reveal the truth; if he wills to govern, he must govern justly; if he wills to have subjects using reason, he must be their legislator" (1am. 2ae, q. 100, artic. 8+). So on the hypothesis of the existence and action of the creature, God must necessarily conserve and concur with it, as long as he wills it to be. Thus, the rational creature being made, it was necessary for some law to be established by God, which he is bound to obey. For that the creature should be and not be under God; or be under God and not be governed by him; or be governed without law and a just law, is contradictory.

2. From the nature of the things commanded.

XIV. Second, if all the precepts of the law are dispensable and founded only upon positive right, God was perfectly free to make or not make them; yea, he could even command the contrary without any repugnancy. In those things which are by nature indifferent (*adiaphora*), he who has the right to command has also the right to forbid and so command the opposite. Thus God on this hypothesis could not only give no law to the rational creature about loving and worshipping him, but could also lay down the contrary concerning hating and blaspheming him; not believing any god; or not believing him to be just, good, omnipotent and the like; not obeying him; worshipping strange gods, yea, even the Devil himself. Thus the most horrible sins (hatred of God, atheism, blasphemy and the like) would become praiseworthy for the very reason that they would fall under the precept, their character would be changed and they would no longer be sins. The proposition of such monstrous absurdities is their own sufficient refutation. For who does not see that God cannot do such things without denying himself and doing violence to his own nature? For as he is true and holy, it is repugnant to his nature to command what is false and base. Now

if he would command the hatred of himself (or atheism and idolatry), he would command dreadful and most base falsehoods against his own truth and holiness. In vain is the reply that the will of God is the supreme rule of justice and cannot be ruled by anything else. It is one thing for it to be such extrinsically (which we grant), another intrinsically (which we deny, as has been proved in Topic III, Question 18).

3. From the difference between the moral and the ceremonial law.

XV. Third, if all the precepts of the moral law are dispensable, there would be no difference between it and the ceremonial law; nor any greater obligation to obedience or greater sin of transgression in reference to the one than to the other. So he will contract no lesser guilt before God who has eaten swine's flesh or who has touched a corpse, than he who has blasphemed God or committed murder. But that this is by far the most absurd, both the nature and the thing evinces and Scripture itself clearly teaches, when (a comparison being instituted between the sacrifices of the law and the works of piety and mercy, the ceremonial and moral worship) it so often testifies that with God the one is of no value in comparison with the other.

4. From the conformity of the moral law with the eternal law of God.

XVI. Fourth, the moral law (which is the pattern of God's image in man) ought to correspond with the eternal and archetypal law in God, since it is its copy and shadow (*aposkimation*), in which he has manifested his justice and holiness. Hence we cannot conform ouselves to the image of God (to the imitation of which Scripture so often exhorts us) except by regulating our lives in accordance with the precepts of this law. So when its observation is enjoined, the voice is frequently heard, "Be ye holy, for I am holy." Now this law is immutable and perpetual. Therefore the moral law (its ectype) must necessarily also be immutable.

5. From the identity of the moral with the natural law.

XVII. Fifth, the moral law is the same as to substance with the natural, which is immutable and founded upon the rational nature; both because the sum of the law (which is exhausted by the love of God and of our neighbor) is impressed upon man by nature and because all its precepts are derived from the light of nature and nothing is found in them which is not taught by sound reason; nothing which does not pertain to all nations in every age; nothing which it is not necessary for human nature to follow in order to attain its end. Therefore it ought to be of perpetual right because the rational nature is always the same and like itself. Hence what is founded upon it must also be such. If by the sin of man the rational nature was changed in the concrete and subjectively, the law was not forthwith altered in the abstract and objectively.

Sources of solution.

XVIII. The natural law cannot be said to have undergone a change by the division of lands and the ownership of possessions and goods introduced by the law of nations. No natural law commands a community of goods or prohibits their distribution. If all things are said to have been common from the beginning, this is to be understood not so much positively (as if God had enacted a law making all things common) as negatively (because nothing was expressly determined concerning it, since there was as yet no necessity for it). Afterwards a distinction and ownership of goods was justly introduced with the authority of God, to prevent controversies, to restrain external violence and to afford certainty to inheritances and make a distinction in conditions (without which human society could not exist).

XIX. Nor by the introduction of slavery; while before, by the primeval law, all were free. They were not otherwise free than inasmuch as they were free from criminality. When this entered, slavery passed upon all. For he who assails another's liberty deservedly loses his own. Nor if the law of nature makes all men equal with regard to nature does it follow that they are equal with regard to qualities and external condition. Nor by prescription

and usucapion by which one obtains dominion over another's property, if the owner has not demanded it within a certain space of time. They do not give the right to another's property if the owner is unwilling (which is repugnant to natural equity). They only concede that what belonged to another before, when it is considered as abandoned by the former owner, may become the property of another. Although the master of the deposited right may not have expressly by pact or donation transferred it to the depositary, still he may be considered as having made it over by implication because he neglected and deserted it. Nor by the retention of a sword which the infuriated owner claims in order to perpetrate homicide; for it is not retained in order that its ownership may be wrested from the lawful owner and for the sake of gain, but to prevent homicide, which each one is bound by natural right to hinder as far as he can (because he who does not prevent an evil deed when he can is just as guilty as the doer). Besides it is not equitable that he should be master of his own property who is not master of himself.

XX. God did not dispense with the second commandment when he ordered the cherubim above the mercy seat and the brazen serpent to be made. These figures were not personal religious images, representing some subsisting substance (since there was no similarity of nature between the cherubim and angels, between the brazen serpent and Christ); rather they were only symbolic and emblematic, to adumbrate duty and qualities. They were not to be regarded as the object and means of worship (in which sense images are prohibited), but to be regarded only as a sacred sign which God employed to shadow forth certain mysteries to us. Therefore although they pertained to religion, they were not on that account the objects of religion or of worship. The same can be said of the brazen serpent, which was indeed a symbol or type of Christ, but not an image.

XXI. The fourth commandment is moral and perpetual as to the substance of the thing commanded (to wit, that some solemn external worship is due to God and that a certain time should be devoted to it; not as to the particular determination of the seventh day [a matter of positive right], which moreover as ceremonial could be changed, as will be shown more at length in its proper place). If the Maccabees fought on the Sabbath, this was not done by a dispensation from the law, but in virtue of its declaration and true interpretation (according to which arbitrary works are

indeed prohibited, but not necessary works, such as the lawful defense of one's self against enemies, which Christ himself often confirms). "What man," says he, "shall there be among you, that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it, and lift it out?" (Mt. 12:11). "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath" (Mk. 2:27*). Hence he healed a man on the Sabbath, and the disciples of Christ, being hungry, plucked ears of corn on the Sabbath.

XXII. When Christ commands us to "hate" parents (Lk. 14:26), he does not dispense with the fifth commandment, but unfolds its true sense and points out both the subordination of the second table to the first and man to God. Thus the word *to misein* is not to be understood absolutely and simply for hatred properly so called and expressed, but comparatively for a lesser and diminished love, to teach us that no necessities should have such power over us as to seduce us from the duty of piety; that God must be loved and worshipped above all; so that if the love of parents is incompatible (*asystatos*) with the love of God, we should be ready to relinquish parents rather than deny God and know that it is always better to obey God rather than men. Thus "to hate" is often used for "to love less" (as Jacob is said to have "hated Leah" [i.e., loved her less, Gen. 29:31, 33]); for we must not consider Jacob to have been so cruel as to have hated her. That it is to be so understood in this place is evident from a comparison with Mt. 10:37 where it is explained by "to love less": "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me."

XXIII. The sixth commandment, about homicide, was not dispensed with when Abraham was ordered to kill his own son. The command was only exploratory, not absolute. Neither if he had killed him by God's command would he have violated the law concerning homicide because he would have done it empowered by a public authority (to wit, the command of God). However, the law does not condemn homicide of every kind. For the magistrate is bound to punish the guilty, and every private person has the right to kill an unjust aggressor and robber for the sake of preserving life (a moderate use being made of the lawful right of protection); only homicide committed by a private person unjustly and without authority is condemned. Moses' act cannot be considered a homicide against the law because God had approved of it by a dispensation (Ex. 2:12). Moses was a public person, having already an internal call. The same may be said of

Phineas, who was furnished with public authority and had an internal, if not an external, call to do it. The self-murder (*autocheiria*) of Samson was not simply against the law, because it was not done by a private impulse only (which is condemned), but by a peculiar instinct and inspiration of him who has an absolute right over life and property (and so can claim our lives or another's whenever he pleases). That such was the case here is proved: (1) by the prayers (which were heard) which he addressed to God for obtaining extraordinary strength for that last act; thus they proceeded from faith. (2) By that divine strength supplied to him, furnished with which he overturned so prodigious an edifice. Hence Augustine properly remarks that the Spirit (who wrought a miracle by him) had secretly commanded this (CG 1.21 [FC 8:54; PL 41.35]). (3) By the testimony of the apostle who among the examples of faith instances Samson (Heb. 11:32), which surely he would not have done if in this act he had sinned and violated the law.

XXIV. When he bids "whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also; and if any man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also" (Mt. 5:39, 40*), Christ does not change the implanted law of nature, which teaches us to repel injury and force by force. Rather he only condemns retaliation (*to antipeponthos*) when to the defense of one's self is added revenge and an equal or greater injury. These words must be understood proverbially and hyperbolically, not according to the letter (*kata to rhēton*); for Christ himself did not turn the other cheek to the one smiting him (Jn. 18:23), nor did Paul (Acts 23:3). The meaning then is that it is better to be ready to suffer new injury, than to return an equal injury or recompense evil for evil; and that too under the pretext of a divine law concerning retaliation. Thus the adversative (as often elsewhere) includes under it a comparison.

XXV. God did not command Hosea to commit whoredom contrary to the law (Hos. 1:2), but commanded him to take a wife of whoredoms. That this is to be understood parabolically rather than historically is testified by the rule of Augustine, who holds that Scripture is to be understood figuratively as often as it either commands a vice or prohibits a virtue, and by the scope of the prophets, which was to rebuke the people for their spiritual fornication. This he could not have done if he had enjoined such things upon them. Finally, the words themselves prove it: "take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms." The same children could not have

been taken with the mother and have been begotten of her. Therefore, the sense is—take unto thee a whore in place of an argument, propose it to the people of Israel and apply this simile of the wife of whoredoms to the Israelites for they are devoted to spiritual fornication (viz., idolatry). If the names of the wife and her father are mentioned by the prophet, it is not to be considered a true history because it is evident from the parable of Lazarus that this was not universal. Besides, for the sake of argument, suppose these things did occur historically, still it would not follow that the prophet was commanded to commit whoredom. The latter is one thing; it is quite another to marry a whore. However there is nothing to hinder the execution (as well as the command) from being emblematic.

XXVI. Simultaneous polygamy is repugnant to the primeval institution of marriage (in which God created one man and one woman that two, not more, might be in one flesh). This is also confirmed by Christ while rebuking the facility of gaining divorces. He says "from the beginning it was not so" (Mt. 19:8). It is also confirmed by the testimony of the wiser heathen, among whom it was considered infamous for a man to have two wives at the same time. Whatever Ochino may say in its defense (*A Dialogue of Polygamy* [1657]), it is undoubtedly unlawful in itself and opposed to natural law. All do not agree as to what should be thought of the patriarchs who were polygamists. Some hold that they had a special dispensation and moral permission from God according to which he remitted for them the law which he had enacted from the beginning in order that the promise concerning the multiplying of the seed of Abraham might be more speedily fulfilled. Otherwise it can hardly be conceived how so many and such men would so frequently and so perseveringly have entered upon a manner of life displeasing to God and sought the blessing of offspring in that which perverted the rules of natural and divine right. And they think they can decide more easily by this—that polygamy is itself certainly contrary to natural law (second in rank) and respectable nature (which the change of events and circumstances of persons may lawfully alter occasionally), but not contrary to law (first in rank) that is absolutely indispensable. But because such a dispensation cannot be proved from Scripture and rests only upon probable reasons, others think it better to acknowledge only a tolerance here and a physical permission of deed; not a moral permission of right, according to which he neither simply approved,

nor absolutely and formally permitted it as lawful. Rather he only winked at and tolerated it as a weakness and fault for his own reasons. Hence it might be lawful in the court of earth (so as to obtain immunity from civil and ecclesiastical punishments among men), but not in the court of heaven before God.

XXVII. Although the Scriptures do not censure polygamy in the patriarchs, it does not follow that it was lawful. For various other things are also related in Scripture (and are not blamed) which cannot be separated from sin: as the incest of Lot, the suicide (*autocheiria*) of Saul, and the like. But that it was not approved by God can be gathered *a posteriori* from the dire calamities with which he castigated polygamists for their conduct. We know the domestic cross imposed upon Abraham on this account; the quarrels and strivings of Jacob's wives; what David suffered from the crimes of his children (the issue of polygamy); and how dear was its cost to Solomon.

XXVIII. Although the patriarchs had not known that they sinned through polygamy, still this does not hinder their having sinned from ignorance. They supposed that to be lawful for all which everywhere prevailed; the evil habit (which had grown strong in them) obscuring or obliterating the memory of the primeval institution, so that they did not recognize it to be a sin. Nor does it follow that they were dead in the guilt of that sin of ignorance, because they never repented of it. If they did not expressly and formally repent of it, yet they sought its pardon implicitly when they sought the pardon of all sins (even of secret sins). Nor was a special repentance to be exacted of them for this act more than for the other acts of which we do not read that they repented. Otherwise we do not read that Noah repented of his drunkenness; or Lot of incest; or others for other sins. Still we do not doubt that they obtained the pardon of all their sins from God through faith in the Messiah. If many pious persons commit numerous sins out of ignorance and error (of which they never distinctly repent), this does not prevent their seeking and obtaining the pardon of them—saying with David, "cleanse thou me from secret faults" (Ps. 19:12). Why may we not say the same of the ancient polygamists?

XXIX. As to divorce, God neither simply commanded nor permitted it, but only wished to restrain by fixed laws the facility of divorces which prevailed among the Jews against the natural law of marriage, so as to

regulate the mode of an unlawful thing, not however to make it lawful. Hence Christ says that God "permitted" or "tolerated" it "because of the hardness of heart of the Jews" (Mt. 19:8).

XXX. If marriages within the prohibited degrees did take place among the children of Adam (between brothers and sisters in the beginning, necessity so demanding), this was done not so much by a dispensation (properly so called) of the law as by its declaration. Most of the Jewish teachers have recourse here to the indulgence of God as if God had indulged those first human beings in this, although they were corrupt. But an indulgence inconsistent with natural right and virtue cannot have place because God never indulges in doing evil. Others (as Augustine) allege necessity here: "since there were none except those born of these two, the men took their sisters to wife, which by as much as it is the more ancient, necessity compelling, by so much did it afterwards become the more worthy of condemnation, religion forbidding" (CG 15*.16 [FC 14:450–51; PL 41.457–58]). Yet neither is this fully satisfactory. God himself was the cause of that necessity, who might easily have altered this state of things by creating more pairs that men might not be reduced to the necessity of violating the natural right. Others get rid of the difficulty better by making a distinction between the primary and absolute natural right (based immediately upon the very nature of God); and the secondary natural right (founded on the nature of things and having place only in a certain state of things, as the law forbidding theft supposes a division of things). Such marriages are indeed repugnant to the posterior natural right in a certain state of things (or constituted nature) after the multiplication of the human race and are unlawful by nature, on account of the reverence for blood. In sister and brother (who are the flesh and image of the parent), the parent is himself to be reverenced; also natural modesty forbids it. Hence the Gentiles themselves call such marriages "by no means holy and hated by God" (*mēdamōs hosia kai theomisē*, Plato, *Laws* 8.838 [Loeb, 11:156–57]). Diodorus Siculus says that it is "the common custom of men (*koinon ethos anthrōpōn*) not to join brothers with sisters" (Diodorus Siculus, 1.27 [Loeb, 1:84–85]). For the daily dwelling and eating together would never exist without a suspicion of illicit amours and would give occasion to lusts and adulteries, if such marriages were to be allowed. However they were not repugnant to the primary and absolute natural right. Otherwise God (who

does not deny himself) could never dispense with it; nor could he ever (not even in the beginning of the world) have either instituted or approved such a connection. Therefore as the constitution of things depends upon the will of God, he could in certain cases (if not absolutely, yet relatively and in a certain state of things) change it, so far forth as he knew it to conduce to the preservation of human society. Because he willed that all should be born of one blood, such a conjunction was necessary then in nature about to be constituted. Now although the union of parents with children never can be lawful, it is not the case with the marriage of brothers with sisters. The reverence of children towards their parents is absolute and intrinsic and can never be removed. That of sisters towards brothers is only extrinsic and relative, inasmuch as they are only the image of their parents. Thus there is nothing to hinder this respect from being restrained by God, in order that it may not clearly manifest itself in this or that person whom she is to marry.

XXXI. The same must be said of the law of the Levirate (Dt. 25:5) by which the brother of the deceased was bound to take the wife of his brother in order to raise up seed for him. If it is understood of the husband's brother properly so called (or of the full brother, as the Jews evidently understood it, Mt. 22:24, 25), it was undoubtedly a peculiar case in which God wished to favor the preservation of the tribes and families of his people. The whole difficulty will be removed if it is extended wider to the nearest kinsman outside of the prohibited degrees, as not a few learned men without improbability maintain, especially Calvin (*Commentaries on the Four Last Books of Moses, Arranged in the Form of a Harmony* [ed. C.W. Bingham, 1854], 3:103–4, on Lev. 18:16). Nor does the word *ybmh* stand in the way. It signifies either a blood relation both on the father's and mother's side or a marriage relation (such as Boaz was to Ruth, the Moabitess, Ruth 3:9).

XXXII. A dispensation was not made of the law of theft by the Israelites bearing away the vessels of the Egyptians: (1) because the Egyptians willingly granted those vessels, "for the Lord gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them such things as they required. And they spoiled the Egyptians" (Ex. 12:36*). Nor did they demand them from them as they departed; nay, they drove them out with their vessels "while they were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of the land in haste" (Ex. 12:33). So the Israelites cannot be said absolutely to have taken the property of others without their consent. (2)

God, as supreme Lord (yea, as a just judge), justly transferred the goods of the Egyptians to the Israelites as the wages of their former services and of that severe bondage with which the Egyptians oppressed them (free by nature); even as a judge permits the creditor to take pledges in the house of the debtor or puts him into the possession of his property. Now that cannot be called theft which is done by the authority of a judge. (3) Nor assuredly can the Egyptians themselves be considered the lawful owners in the court of heaven with God, but only usurpers (as also other wicked men, although in the forum of earth and with men they are esteemed such). Now although the Israelites did not return what they had borrowed, they cannot on that account be called thieves because they might have had the intention to restore the property, if God had commanded them.

XXXIII. Although it was not lawful to move a sickle into a neighbor's standing corn, still the liberty was formerly lawfully granted to a passing traveller, either to pluck ears of corn from the field or grapes from a vineyard for the sake of satisfying hunger (Dt. 23:24, 25*). This was done not by dispensing with the law of theft, but by its true interpretation for it was a work of necessity, permitted by the supreme Lord for the purpose of binding men more closely in the bonds of love. If these acts have any indecency in themselves, they cease to be such when the divine command (or instinct or vocation) intervenes, imposing such a necessity or conceding liberty.

XXXIV. Though men can dispense with their own laws, this is not so with God and the moral law. Human laws are positive, binding only on the part of the legislator, not on the part of the thing. On the contrary, the moral law is of natural right, binding in itself and on the part of the thing.

Third Question: The Perfection of the Moral Law

Is the moral law so perfect a rule of life and morals that nothing can be added to it or ought to be corrected in it for the true worship of God? Or did Christ fulfill it not only as imperfect, but also correct it as contrary to his doctrines? The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the Socinians, Anabaptists, Remonstrants and papists

Opinion of the Socinians, Anabaptists and Remonstrants.

I. In this question we have to deal with various parties. First, with the Socinians, who maintain that the commands of Christ differ from those of Moses and that Christ supplemented and increased the moral law (as imperfect) by various additions and corrected it as less right in certain particulars. Hence they hold that various corrections and additions to the law were made by Christ in reference to particular precepts of the decalogue (by which they are made perfect). For example, with regard to the first, a certain form of prayer defined in the Lord's prayer and the religious worship of Christ, as the Mediator; with respect to the second, the avoidance of idols or images; with regard to the third, the prohibition of oaths even in true affairs; with regard to the fourth, the abrogation of the Sabbath, as far as the substitution of another day is concerned; with regard to the fifth and the second table in general, the love of our enemies; with regard to the sixth, the prohibition of anger and revenge, whether private or public; with regard to the seventh, the prohibition of unchaste looks, of divorce except in case of adultery, of impurity and obscenity; with regard to the eighth, the prohibition of avarice, and the giving of superfluous wealth to the poor; with regard to the ninth, the prohibition of vain and trifling conversation, unjust censures; with regard to the tenth, the prohibition of lust, not only that we should not delight in it, but not even conceive it in our minds. With respect to new commandments, they pretend these were given by Christ in addition to the decalogue, the principal of which are three: (1) the denial of ourselves; (2) the bearing of the cross for Christ's sake; (3) the imitation of him (cf. concerning these "Of the Prophetic Office of Christ: Precepts Added to the Law," 5.1, 2 in *The Racovian Catechism* [1818], pp. 173–249; Ostorodt, *Unterrichtung ... hauptpuncten der Christlichen Religion* 22 [1612], pp. 149–52; Volkelius, *De vera Religione* 4.21 [1630], pp. 298–301). Their object is: (1) to establish the impious dogma of Christ as Savior not by ransom (*lytron*), but by doctrine; (2) to build up the justification of men by works, not indeed by the merit of works (in which they differ from the papists), but by the gracious acceptation of them; (3) to prove that the reward of the soul's immortality did not exist under the Old

Testament economy, but was delivered by Christ. Second, the Anabaptists and Remonstrants follow them. The former in the Frankenthal Colloquy (*Protocoll ... alle Handlung des gesprechs zu Franckenthal ... J. Mayer*, Art. I, 10, 11 [1571], pp. 14–15) and Embden Colloquy (*Protocol ... handelinge des gesprecks tot Embden ... G. Goebens*, Art. 4 [1579], pp. 50–127); the latter in their apology ("Apologia pro confessione sive declaratione," 12 in Episcopius, *Operum Theologicorum* [1656], Pt. II, pp. 178–81). Here they approve the Socinian thesis concerning the imperfection of the law and on that hypothesis make and defend various additions. In chapter 13, they treat at large of the three precepts added by Christ, especially the first (ibid., pp. 181–82).

Of papists.

II. The Manichaeans had played the same game before, between whom and the orthodox the same question was agitated. Thus Augustine says they taught that Christ partly supplemented the moral law by the commands in Mt. 5, partly destroyed it (*Reply to Faustus Manichaean* 19 [NPNF1, 4:239–52]). This is refuted by Augustine throughout that book. From their muddy pools the Mohammedans seem to have derived that expression in the Koran: Moses introduced a less perfect law, Christ a more perfect, but Mohammed a most perfect (Azoa 12+). The papists err here also (not for the same reason), asserting the imperfection of the law. Hence Bellarmine teaches that Christ made the imperfect law perfect (or certainly the perfect law more perfect) and that between the law and the gospel there is the same difference as between an inchoate and perfect doctrine ("De Justificatione," 4.3 *Opera* [1858], 4:572–74). Maldonatus obstinately contends that the old law was corrected by Christ, those things being added which were wanting for gospel perfection (*Commentary on the Holy Gospels: Matthew* [1888], 1:154 on Mt. 5:21). Against all these, the orthodox however think the moral law so perfect as to need no addition or correction, but only a genuine interpretation, and whatever is said to have been added is either false and gratuitous, or contained before in the law, either explicitly or implicitly.

Statement of the question.

III. The subject in controversy is not whether the law needed illustration, confirmation and vindication against the corruptions of the scribes and Pharisees, and the perverse judgments of men (for this we readily grant and will demonstrate in what follows). Rather it is whether it had need of additions or corrections, as if imperfect or incorrect. Our opponents affirm, while we deny. The importance of the question is great because the object of our opponents is no other than to transform the gospel into a new law, and so to establish the righteousness of works in the place of the righteousness of faith.

The perfection of the law is proved.

IV. The arguments of the orthodox are: First, "the law is perfect" (Ps. 19:7), not only relatively and with regard to its age under the Old Testament, but also absolutely with regard to nature; and so perfect as not only to contain all things to be done, and there is no defect in these (Genebrardus, *Psalmi Davidis* [1606], p. 71 on Ps. 18 [19]:9, and Lorinus testifying on this passage), but also to be capable of no addition to or detraction from it (according to Dt. 4:2; 12:32). (2) It is perfect extensively as to parts because it adequately embraces in the love of God and our neighbor all that is due to them (as Christ teaches in Mt. 22:37); intensively as to degrees because it demands not any, but the most perfect love and a greater than which cannot be conceived; and finally as to perfect use and effect because it can grant to its observers life and happiness—"If a man do these things, he shall live in them" (Lev. 18:5). This could not be said if they needed either addition or correction.

V. Second, Christ "came not to destroy but to fulfil the law" (Mt. 5:17). Here *plērōsai* does not mean to make the imperfect perfect or to correct the faulty (which would rather be to destroy [*analysai*] it), but according to Hebrew usage to do what is commanded. Thus Christ fulfilled the law not by addition or correction, but by observation and execution. He fulfilled the law in three ways: either as a doctrine by faithful preaching, solid confirmation and powerful vindication; or as a rule (*normam*) by a full and consistent keeping of it; or as a type by a perfect consummation, by exhibiting in himself the truth of the types and prophecies and the body of its shadows.

VI. Third, Christ in the New Testament did not introduce (either by himself or by his apostles) any other precepts of the law than those which had been given by Moses (Mt. 22:37; Rom. 13:9). He gave no other explanation of them than had been given before by the prophets. Hence the commandment of love is called by John "old and new" (1 Jn. 2:7, 8): old with regard to its first promulgation in the Old Testament; new with regard to its renovation and illustration in the New.

VII. Fourth, the law could not be supplemented or corrected without convicting it of imperfection and faultiness (and so charging that faultiness upon God, the author of the law). Even the thought of this is impious.

VIII. Fifth, the "denial of ourselves," "bearing the cross" and "imitation of Christ" were already commanded under the Old Testament. For when we are entreated to love God above all things are we not by that very command charged to deny ourselves for God's sake and to patiently bear the cross imposed upon us by him? And when the imitation of God is so frequently prescribed, is not the imitation of Christ (who is true God) also commanded by it? Besides, the imitation of Christ lies in the practice of the moral virtues, the rule for which is to be sought only in the law. This is also confirmed by various examples in the Old Testament: as to denial—by Abraham leaving his country and getting ready to sacrifice his son; the Levites slaying their brothers (Ex. 32); Job blessing God in adversity (Job 1:21, 22); Moses, Daniel and his friends disdaining all pleasures (Heb. 11:25, 26; Dan. 1:8ff.). Note also the following: as to "bearing the cross"—by Moses (Heb. 11:25, 26), the prophets under Ahab (1 K. 18:4), Zechariah (2 Chron. 24:20–21), the friends of Daniel (Dan. 3), the Jewish church under Antiochus (Ps. 44; Heb. 11:33–38). As to the "imitation of Christ," by believers conducting themselves after the example of God.

Sources of solution.

IX. It is one thing to correct the law itself; another to clear it of the false interpretation of the scribes and Pharisees. One thing to introduce an entirely new sense into the law; another to introduce only a new light by unfolding what lay concealed in the law and was not attended to by teachers (and so by explaining, to declare; and by vindicating, to restore). Christ did the latter, not the former (Mt. 5). He does not act as a new lawgiver, but

only as an interpreter and vindicator of the law given by Moses. He opposes his sayings not to the sayings or writings of Moses, but to those of the scribes and Pharisees (which they boasted of having received from ancient teachers). This is clear: (1) from the proposition of Christ where he speaks of the righteousness of the Pharisees—"except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees" (Mt. 5:20). Therefore his intention was to set aside the righteousness of the Pharisees and not that enjoined by the law of Moses. (2) From the manner of speaking he does not say, "It is written in the law of Moses"; or "the law or Moses has said to you," but "ye have heard" (viz., from the scribes or Pharisees) "that it was said in old times" or "by them of old time." And thus he shows that he discards only the traditions of the elders (Mt. 15:2, 3) and not the law of Moses. (3) From the example adduced concerning the love of neighbors (Mt. 5:43) and the hatred of our enemies, which was not said by Moses, who commands even the opposite (Lev. 19:18; Ex. 23:4, 5), and Solomon after him (Prov. 25:21, 22), but by the Jewish teachers and elders of the Pharisees. (4) From the things themselves either commanded or forbidden by Christ (which we will hereafter prove were contained either explicitly or implicitly in the law); and from others which he rejects, which were not in the law (as will appear from what follows).

X. In whatever way the words *errethē tois archaiois* are understood—either subjectively to mean the same as *hypo tōn archaiōn* ("said by them of old time") as our Beza holds (*Annotationes maiores in Novum ... Testamentum* [1594], Pars Prior, p. 31 on Mt. 5:21) and after him Piscator; or objectively, which pleases others following Syrus (*?Saint Ephrem Commentaire de l'Evangile Concordant* [trans. L. Leloir, 1954], CSCO 145:55–57) and seems more suitable, to mean *pros tous archaious* ("said to the men of old time"), it does not follow that they were said by Moses to the ancient Israelites of his day. For that word refers promiscuously to all ancestors and the meaning of our Lord is no other than that the Jewish teachers (corrupters of the law) were accustomed to preface the precepts corrupted by them with this specious phrase, "it was said in old times" (i.e., the precepts inculcated by them were not new, but old and long ago delivered by the elders of the Jews). Therefore the antithesis instituted by Christ is not between himself and Moses (or the law delivered by him), but the glosses of the Pharisees upon the law of Moses by which they restricted

it too much and falsely interpreted it. He does this in order to show that the letter and the meaning of the law had been violated by them and not by him (although he was charged with it by his enemies).

Mt. 5:21, 27, 31, 33, 38.

XI. Although Christ cites the words of Moses (Mt. 5:21, 27, 31, 33, 38), yet not in the Mosaic but Pharasaical sense. The words indeed were common, but the meaning was different. The Pharisees most erroneously explained the words of Moses by restricting them to external acts alone, whereas they extend to internal motions also (which Christ teaches by unfolding the true and genuine sense of the law). Christ therefore corrects various things expressed in the law, but not reduplicatively (as there expressed). Rather he corrects as they were usually explained by the scribes and Pharisees (not according to the meaning of Moses, but according to their own private opinion [*pareisaktō*]; not implanted [*emphytō*] and genuine [*gnēsiō*], but spurious [*hypobolimaiō*]).

Mt. 5:33, 34.

XII. The law is not corrected by Christ in reference to the third command about oaths (Mt. 5:33, 34). He only explains and vindicates it against the corruptions of the Pharisees, who restricted the general prohibition of "taking the name of God in vain" to the perjury of him who swore in the name of God. They gave loose rein to trivial and rash oaths in daily conversation and also to oaths by creatures, as if sin was not committed against the law or the lawgiver by swearing rashly and lightly (or even falsely, provided it was not in the name of God, but in the name of some creature), but by perjury alone and in not fulfilling or not performing the oaths. Indeed he was bound who had sworn by the name of God or by a gift consecrated to God, but not he who had sworn by a temple, altar and the like (Mt. 23:16–18). Such oaths could be made and violated with impunity. Christ refutes these false glosses, showing that neither vain and rash oaths are lawful, nor those which are taken by any creatures whatsoever. In this way, he adds to and corrects nothing in the law. For the law does not prohibit only perjury, but also light and rash oaths, when it forbids the

taking of the name of God *lshv*' ("in vain"). The Socinians (and Grotius shouldering them) falsely confound this term with *lshqr* ("in a falsehood" or "lie"—concerning which Lev. 19:12 treats), as if perjury alone was condemned. But it has a far wider reference and is rightly extended to the vanity and levity of rash oaths. Hence the Septuagint renders it by *epi mataiō*; and Aquila by *eis eikē*; the Targum by *lmgn*', the same as the Hebrew *chnm* ("gratuitously" and without cause). Although the name of God is taken in vain by perjury, still it can often be taken in vain without perjury (viz., in rash and trivial oaths).

XIII. Oaths also by creatures are sufficiently prohibited by the law in the Old Testament, both implicitly (by referring the oath to God alone as an act of worship [*latreias*] due solely to him—"thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and thou shalt swear by his name," Dt. 6:13; 10:20; cf. Is. 65:16) and explicitly (by condemning oaths taken by those who are not gods—"they have sworn by them that are no gods," Jer. 5:7). The nature of the oath also proves this. It is the formal calling upon God as a witness, whether explicitly or implicitly. The conditions required in the object are omniscience, omnipresence and omnipotence (which fall upon no creature). Nor do examples stand in the way, if there are any such oaths in the New Testament. They are of deed, not of right; of practice, not of law (which was nowhere given for taking an oath by creatures).

XIV. What Christ adds, *hōlōs* ("swear not at all" and is confirmed by Jam. 5:12), cannot be understood absolutely and universally of every oath, as if we should not simply swear, which would be repugnant both to the nature of the thing (which is good in itself and necessary and as such commanded for the confirmation of the truth and the end of all controversy, Heb. 6:16) and to the practice of Christ himself and the apostles, who sometimes used oaths. Rather it must be understood relatively—concerning rash and light oaths or those conceived by creatures (of which he was speaking in this place). The added explanation clearly teaches this. He says, "swear not at all; neither by heaven, nor by the earth" (i.e., that no perverse formulas of such an oath in use among the Jews were to be employed). James condemns these by a general reference when he adds, "neither by any other oath" (5:12). Otherwise if he had intended to proscribe all oaths entirely, he ought to have added "neither by God." Therefore the universal particle is falsely separated from the species of oath added (or is referred to

the genus and substance of the oath), not to the form of it expressed by Matthew. Nor do the words added by Christ, "let your communication be, yea, yea; nay, nay" prove the contrary. Christ does not speak absolutely and universally of all conversation; or of extraordinary practice; or of cases of necessity, when the conscience is to be cleared, a neighbor to be assisted and the glory of God to be promoted. He speaks of the ordinary habit and practice in lighter cases and of familiar conversation in which a simple affirmation or denial and "yea, yea; nay, nay" (*to nai nai, ou ou*) ought to be sufficient. Here three things are commended: (1) simplicity of speech, in opposition to the habit of swearing; (2) truthfulness, as opposed to falsehood and equivocation; (3) constancy and fidelity, as opposed to fickleness and inconstancy. As to "whatsoever is more than these" (*to perisson*) said to be "of evil" (*ek tou ponērou*), it cannot be extended to the necessary and just additions in weightier oaths and pertaining to the glory of God, or the salvation of a neighbor, or our own, permitted and enjoined by God, but must be referred only to superfluous, unnecessary additions at variance with that simplicity and truthfulness of words, occurring in light and rash oaths.

XV. The sixth command about homicide is not corrected but vindicated in Mt. 5:21. The Pharisees explained it only of external homicide, punishing it capitally. Christ, however, extends it to the internal motions of wrath and to insulting speech, imposing upon them eternal punishments indeed, but diverse as to degree, in allusion to the different degrees of capital punishments inflicted by the Jews (concerning which see Topic IX, Question 4, Section 17). Thus Christ teaches that the sixth commandment is improperly restricted in the Pharasaic school to actual slaughter because this alone was capitally punished among men, while it is extended also in the court of God (in which we must render account not only of deeds, but also of words and thoughts) to those things which otherwise are removed from the punishments usually inflicted by men.

XVI. Although Christ quotes the words of the law concerning retaliation (occurring in Ex. 21:24: "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth") and opposes to them his own opinion ("resist not evil," Mt. 5:39), he does not on that account correct them, as if he meant to abolish simply all vengeance. For he himself as God ordained the magistrate and armed him with the sword for a terror and punishment of evildoers (Rom. 13:3). He

himself, when smitten on the cheek, did not offer the other, but resisted evil by asserting his own innocence and rebuking the injustice of his adversaries (Jn. 18:23), which Paul also imitates (Acts 23:3). Rather he only refutes the gloss of the Pharisees who transferred to private revenge what had been sanctioned by the law of Moses in reference to the public vengeance of the magistrate. Christ wishes his followers to act far differently, so that they ought to prefer their injuries to be doubled than to avenge them themselves. Moses had already taught this: "Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Lev. 19:18), undoubtedly because (as he elsewhere says) "To the Lord belongeth vengeance, and recompense" (Dt. 32:35). The law of retaliation can still, however, have a place in its own sense; not precisely and formally, but with regard to moral estimation.

XVII. The words of Christ about "turning the other cheek to one smiting, and relinquishing the cloak to one suing" (Mt. 5:39, 40) are not to be understood so much positively as if the cheek should be actually presented and the cloak let go (which neither Christ himself nor Paul observed when smitten) as negatively (i.e., concerning the not resisting and avenging ourselves by a private, irregular and unnecessary resistance); not literally and according to what is spoken (*kata to rhēton*), but figuratively and hyperbolically according to the sense (*kata to noēton*) concerning enduring another injury rather than avenging the former. So that we must attend here not to the words, but to the sense and scope; not to the species of the command, but to the genus concerning patience (*peri tēs hypomonēs*) and forbearance (*anexikakias*). Therefore culpable resistance, arising from revenge, is forbidden here, but not that of lawful defense and unblamable protection.

XVIII. Christ did not correct the seventh commandment about adultery, when he extended it to desire and looks (Mt. 5:28), but unfolds the true sense of the law. As spiritual, it regards not only external but also internal motions, so that the last commandment concerning covetousness also proves this (against the Pharisees, who restricted this law to the external act alone of fornication).

XIX. The command of Christ concerning the "not putting away of a wife, saving for the cause of fornication" agrees with the law of Moses. In Dt. 24:1, the uncleanness (*aschēmon pragma*) can be best referred to this

and with the first institution related by Christ (Mt. 19:4, 5). Nor are the words "writing of divorcement" used by Christ in the sense which they have in the law, but as explained by the Pharisees. (1) The Pharisees usually spoke categorically and imperatively, "give her a writing of divorcement" (*Dotō autē apostasin*), whereas the words of Moses are hypothetical: "when a man hath taken a wife … then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house" (Dt. 24:1). (2) Moses has a restriction in his permission of divorce "on account of some uncleanness" (*'rvth dbhr*). But the Pharisees are without any limitation: "whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement" (as if the putting away of a wife in any manner did not at all conflict with the law, provided the formula of dismission was observed and the husband, by the usual writing, ordered her to take her own things and go about her business). (3) The Pharisees also falsely wrested the words of Moses to an approval of divorce, since there was only a toleration and permission. This did not of itself institute it, but only set bounds to it incidentally on account of the hardness of heart of the Jews (Mt. 19:7, 8). Hence Christ in place of *tou eneteilato* (which the Pharisees had used) adds the word *epetrepsen* ("he permitted") not that it might be allowed by a moral dispensation, what was only such by a forensic and civil; or by a relaxation of right, what was only by a relaxation of punishment; or as to freedom from blame in the internal court of conscience, what was free only from punishment in the civil and external court.

XX. The command to love our neighbor cannot be said to have been corrected by Christ with regard to the object, as if the object of love was more restricted under the Old Testament (viz., the neighbor of the same covenant and religion), but in the new extended more wisely to embrace all men universally, even enemies. For in each there is the same command of love, the same object, the same form and the same end, the same love, both extensively as to object and intensively as to manner or degree. By the "neighbor" (whose love the law prescribes) is not meant only a Jew and fellow countryman, but also any stranger; yea, even an enemy, in which sense the Egyptians are called "neighbors" (Ex. 11:2) and the Philistines (Jdg. 14:20). So an enemy is also reckoned under the name of neighbor, when it is clearly said, "Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against him" (Lev. 19:18). Solomon commands to "give bread to a hungry enemy;

and if he be thirsty, to give him water to drink" (Prov. 25:21*), after the example of Elisha (2 K. 6:22). Yea, God commands that we should "help an enemy's beast of burden and bring him back to the way" (Ex. 23:4, 5). Finally, our neighbor is one against whom we ought not to bear false witness and whose wife and goods we must not covet (expressions applicable not to some only but to all men). It is not an objection that in Mt. 5:43, 44 it is said (as if drawn from the law), "thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy," because Christ there refers to the addition of a Pharisaical gloss, not to an imperfection of the law (which neither now has nor ever had this). The law of retaliation given under the Old Testament did not restrict the command of love because it treats of the right of the magistrate, not of the duties of love; of the punishments to be inflicted upon the guilty by a judge, not of private revenge.

XXI. If the Israelites are forbidden to intermarry, to make covenants with and even to pity the seven Canaanite nations (Ex. 34:12; Dt. 7:2): (1) it does not follow that they were commanded to hate them. There is a medium between friendship (implying an agreement in mind and in duties) and hatred; nor is mercy towards them prohibited absolutely, but only relatively (with regard to the vengeance of God respecting them, who ought to be slain by his express command, and indeed for this reason—that they might not be a snare to his people). (2) The command does not concern hatred, but concerns their destruction because God had devoted them to death as his enemies on account of their dreadful crimes. (3) This was not to be done simply, but then only when they had refused peace (Dt. 20:10). (4) In the New Testament, this also holds good, not only when we are forbidden to pray for those who sin unto death (1 Jn. 5:16), and to bid him Godspeed who brings in another doctrine (2 Jn. 10), but also because wars are allowed.

XXII. (2) The commandment of love was not corrected by Christ as to mode and intensity whether we consider God or our neighbor. With respect to God, there can be no greater love than that with which we are bidden to love God as the highest good, not only on account of the blessings he bestows upon us, but also on account of his excellency (than which there is no greater). With respect to our neighbor, the love is susceptible of no degree because we are commanded to love him as ourselves. The command of the gospel that we should lay down even life for our brethren (1 Jn. 3:16)

does not prove that we ought to love our neighbor more than ourselves, so that the measure of Christian love may be greater than legal love. (a) The command to lay down life for a brother was not unknown under the Old Testament, as appears from the example of Moses wishing to die for the people; and of David for Absalom (2 S. 18:33); of the three friends prepared to die for David (2 S. 23:13–17). Nor was this unknown to the heathen themselves, as is evident from the examples of those who devoted themselves to death for their country and did not refuse to die for their friends—as Damon and Pythias, Pylades and Orestes (which Paul himself confesses, Rom. 5:6, 7). (b) The mark of comparison ("as ourselves") is not to be understood canonically (*kanonikōs*), but exemplarily (*paradeigmatikōs*). Nor does it exhibit the measure and rule according to which we ought to love our neighbor, but only the example, and such indeed that a more intense does not commonly exist because by nature we are prone to love ourselves (Eph. 5:29). Thus he who lays down his life for a brother, does not love that brother more than himself, but as himself because he does what he would wish to be done for himself in like case. (c) He who lays down his life for a brother does indeed love his own life less than the other's safety; but he does it both because that other's safety is far more valuable than temporal life and especially because the glory of God is concerned in it; yea, even our own safety, which we ought to love more than our own life. Hence this life is willingly to be lost in order to obtain the eternal.

XXIII. The commandment of love is not called "new" by Christ (Jn. 13:34) and "the law of Christ" (Gal. 6:2) absolutely and simply as to the substance of the command (which was the same in both). It is called new relatively and comparatively (with regard to the mode) because renovated by Christ and restored to its former splendor (since it had become almost antiquated by the evil habits of men) and illustrated and sanctioned by new reasons and motives (such as both the example of Christ and his greatest blessings; since if he loved us so greatly, we ought in turn, in order that love may be paid by love, to delight as a recompense of love both in him and our brethren on account of him, 1 Jn. 4:11). It is new also with regard to duration because it is perpetual and eternal.

XXIV. It cannot be said that anything was added by Christ to the precepts of the moral law as to essentials. Not to the first, either a new

method of praying (proposed in the Lord's prayer) because the command to worship and adore God necessarily embraces prayer. Although the Lord's prayer as to form was instituted by Christ, it has nothing as to matter and things to be sought which is not expressed in the prayers of the saints in the Old Testament. Not a new worship of Christ and of the Father in him because the adoration of Christ was both commanded frequently in the Old Testament (Ps. 2:12; 45:11; 97:7; Ex. 23:20–25) and confirmed by various examples—of Abraham (Gen. 18:23), of Jacob (Gen. 48:16), of Daniel (Dan. 9:17). Yea, no prayer was offered by the patriarchs except in the name of Christ (at least impliedly), inasmuch as they rested upon the divine promises whose foundation was the Messiah (2 Cor. 1:20).

XXV. Not to the second commandment, by the prohibition not only of the worship of images and idols, but also their fabrication and the frequenting of places consecrated to idols. This very thing had already been commanded under the Old Testament when they are ordered to burn the idols of the heathen, destroy their altars and hew down their groves (Ex. 23:24; Dt. 12:2, 3). Nay, they were forbidden to use the names of idols in their conversation (Ex. 23:13; Ps. 16:4); even fellowship with idolators is regarded as dangerous to religion (Dt. 7:2, 3).

XXVI. Not to the third commandment, either by invoking Christ to witness as the searcher of hearts (Rev. 2:23). As Christ was adored under the Old Testament as coeternal and coessential with the Father, so his name was sworn by (Is. 45:23; Rom. 14:11). Or by the absolute prohibition of oaths, since (as was said before) the discourse of Christ in Mt. 5 is not to be understood absolutely and simply, but with a limitation as to the subject matter (i.e., those rash and perverse forms of swearing by creatures used in daily conversation). Not to the fourth commandment, by the abrogation of the Sabbath, because (as will be afterwards proved) it was abrogated only as ceremonial, not as moral.

XXVII. Not to the fifth commandment, by respect for magistrates, masters and husbands (who ought to be obeyed as fathers). It is certain that under the name "fathers" in the Old Testament are also included both magistrates, masters and husbands (Gen. 41:43; 45:8; Job 29:16; 2 K. 5:13). These should use their power moderately and paternally, not despotically (Dt. 5:20, 21; 17:15; 24:1; Mal. 2:14, 15). Not to the sixth commandment, by the prohibition of anger and insults towards a brother and of vengeance

of individuals. As to the former, the law by prohibiting homicide prohibits whatever may lead to it, both outward injuries and insults and inward movements of anger and hatred. As to the latter, private revenge only is prohibited by Christ in accordance with the law, but not public, which cannot be separated from the office of magistrate (Rom. 13:1, 2).

XXVIII. Not to the seventh commandment, by forbidding unchaste looks, divorce (saving for the cause of adultery) and all lust and obscenity of speech. All these were already embraced in the law (embracing under one species the entire genus) by forbidding all impurity (either of deed or word), and the tenth precept concerning covetousness more strongly confirms this very thing. However, divorce (as was said before) was not permitted or commanded by the moral law, but only tolerated by the forensic law on account of the hardness of heart (*sklērokardian*) of the people.

XXIX. Not to the eighth commandment, by prohibiting avarice and luxury in food and dress, for both were already forbidden in the law: the former (Ex. 20:17; 22:25; Ps. 119:36; Is. 3:17); the latter (Dt. 21:20; Prov. 23:20; Is. 3:16, 17; 5:11, 12). Not to the ninth commandment, by the prohibition of all lies, slander and informing, because these also occurred in the law and were prohibited elsewhere (Ps. 15:3; 101:5). Not to the tenth commandment, by the command not to turn the mind to the coveted thing, because Paul teaches that all concupiscence in general is condemned (Rom. 7:7, 8) and so all its species and degrees. In one word, all the additions proposed by our opponents are either contained under the commandments themselves (as species under their genus, parts under the whole, effects under causes, consequents under antecedents and the reverse); or they are heterogeneous in reference to them, foreign to their design and subject or even opposed to them (as is evident from what has been said).

XXX. What is in no way contained under the love of God and our neighbor, neither explicitly nor implicitly, neither as to the letter, nor as to the sense, may well be said to have been added to the law. But self-denial, the bearing of the cross and the imitation of Christ are contained in the law; if not expressly, at least impliedly and as to sense. We cannot love God with all our heart without being prepared to deny ourselves, bear the cross for his sake and imitate Christ, who is true God.

XXXI. Although the law treats expressly only of the duties towards God and our neighbor, yet under them are necessarily contained the duties towards ourselves. We cannot love God with all our heart without every kind of holiness; nor will we rightly love our neighbor as ourselves, unless we regulate the love of ourselves by the law of God.

XXXII. Christ is compared to Moses (Heb. 2:1–3), not in legislation (as if he was a new lawgiver more perfect than Moses; for so he is rather opposed, since it is said the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ, Jn. 1:17), but partly as to the kind of doctrine (which in the one case was legal, in the other evangelical), partly in dignity and glory (by which Christ infinitely surpassed Moses).

XXXIII. Although the law does not directly and formally enjoin repentance (because it holds out no hope of pardon to the sinner and thus it properly belongs to the gospel), still materially and indirectly it is related to it because in it is prescribed the rule of right living and what is pleasing to God (which is the design of repentance).

Fourth Question

May anything be added to the moral law in the way of counsel? We deny against the papists

What is evangelical counsel? The opinion of papists.

I. This question (lying between us and the papists) differs from the preceding. There the dispute was about precepts; here the dispute is about counsels. They define counsels "to be good works not enjoined upon, but demonstrated to us by Christ; not commanded, but commended" (cf. Bellarmine, "De Monachis," 2.7 *Opera* [1857], 2:228). These are called by them "evangelical" and "of perfection" (*perfectionis*) because they are set forth and encouraged in the gospel as a more perfect law and lead to a greater perfection of holiness (those who bind themselves by a special desire to the keeping of them). Hence they are made by them to differ from the precepts: (1) on the part of the matter, which in counsels is far more

difficult and perfect than in the precepts; (2) on the part of the subject, because the counsels pertain only to a certain order of men; the precepts, however, to all universally; (3) on the part of the form (or observation) arbitrary in counsels, but in precepts necessary; (4) on the part of the end and effects, because they obtain a greater and more excellent reward (viz., a golden) and a higher degree of happiness above the keeping of the precepts. Now although they are not agreed as to the number (some making more, others fewer), still there are three principal ones upon which they build up the monastic life, continence, obedience and poverty. To these the three vows imposed upon monks correspond: of perpetual continence, regular obedience and voluntary poverty.

Of the orthodox.

II. On the other hand, the orthodox do not deny that there are certain indifferent works left to each one's own will in the Scriptures, and with respect to which counsels may be given in the word of God, not improperly distinguished from the precepts necessarily to be obeyed: such as Paul's counsel concerning a virgin's marrying or not marrying (1 Cor. 7:26, 36); concerning the use of wine with regard to Timothy (1 Tim. 5:23*). Still they are of such a nature that they are not of themselves pleasing to God and when neglected, deserve no punishment; nor when observed, any reward. But they deny that there are any such counsels about moral things, since these fall under commands properly so called, not under counsels. Again they acknowledge that there are diverse precepts—some universal (binding all men without exception, as the command to love God and our neighbor); others special—suitable to certain persons in a particular state and manner of life (such as the duties of magistrates, parents, husbands and the like); still others private—imposed upon particular individuals (as the command given to Noah to build an ark and to Abraham to offer up his son). But they deny that any of these fall under counsel, since they were expressly commanded.

Statement of the question.

III. The question therefore returns to this—whether in the gospel anything has been added, not by way of precept, but way of counsel; not about indifferent, but about moral things; not with respect to all, but to some only; not to secure the perfection of Christianity only, but to the attainment of a certain more perfect state and to establish the merits of supererogation. The adversaries affirm; we deny.

Proof of the nonexistence of evangelical counsels.

IV. The reasons are: (1) there is no morally good work which is not contained in the moral law and so does not therefore fall under the precept (since indeed it is a most perfect rule of all rectitude and perfection and nothing can pertain to the moral perfection of man of whatever degree which is not included in the love of God and our neighbor). (2) Whatever falls under counsel in moral things, falls also under precept. For what God counsels, by that very act he commands. Hence counsel is used for command (Prov. 1:30; Lk. 7:30; Acts 20:27; Rev. 3:18). (3) Whatever conduces to the perfection of the Christian is not only encouraged or commended, but commanded by Christ: "Be ye perfect, even as your Father is perfect" (Mt. 5:48). (4) What are thrust forward as evangelical counsels are either commanded in the word (such as the love of enemies [Mt. 5:44; Rom. 12:20]; the suffering of injuries [Mt. 5:39]; chastity or even celibacy, if the gift of continence is possessed and it is required for any reason [1 Cor. 9:5]; voluntary poverty for the sake of Christ and the gospel [Lk. 14:33; Mt. 16:24]); or they have been invented by men without the authority of the word and rest upon no other ground than that of voluntary worship (as regular obedience, which is repugnant to the liberty in which Christ has established us [Gal. 5:1] and according to which we ought no longer to be made the servants of men [1 Cor. 7:23]; perpetual continence, because Christ testifies that this is not a gift belonging to every one [Mt. 19:11] and by the apostle he commands, "If they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn" [1 Cor. 7:9]; voluntary poverty, such as is recommended by the papists, because no one without a special call or necessity ought to throw away his resources [Mt. 19:21, 27], lest he tempt God [Mt. 4:7] or be compelled to neglect charity towards his neighbor [Eph. 4:28]).

Sources of solution.

V. The mandate given by Christ to the proud young man (boasting of his perfect observance of the law Pharisaically), "if thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all thou hast, and give to the poor" (Mt. 19:21), was not a counsel of perfection, but "a personal and explanatory comment" to rebuke his pride and unveil his hypocrisy. Nor is it proposed by way of counsel (which he was at liberty to follow or not), but by way of precept (to the keeping of which he was bound). (2) The perfection here proposed is not a perfection of glory (which he was to obtain above others), but a perfection of righteousness, to be obtained in this life by a zeal in good works (as if he had said, if you wish to show that you are perfect, as you boast yourself to be, you ought to prove it by this trial, by selling all things; as is evident from the question of the young man and Christ's answer to it). (3) What Christ says ("one thing thou lackest") does not evince that Christ approved of what the young man had said about the perfect keeping of the law. Otherwise he would not have refused to obey the command of Christ. Rather it was only exploratory, that the latent hypocrisy might be uncovered. (4) Although the command to sell all is not general and common, it does not follow that it is a counsel because it can be a special precept and personal testing (*peirastikon*) proposed for certain reasons. (5) Christ is said to have "loved him" (Mk. 10:21). This does not imply that the young man spoke the truth when he professed to have kept all the commands of the law from his youth up. The sorrow produced by the command of Christ sufficiently proves that his love to God was not perfect. Rather it was a sign of benevolence (on account of the desire he expressed to obtain eternal life), and the zeal employed in fulfilling the law (although he was not without his faults).

VI. When the apostle opposes judgment to commandment (*gnōmēn epitagē*, 1 Cor. 7:25) and says that he has no commandment (*epitagēn*) or mandate concerning virgins, but gives his judgment (*gnōmēn*) or "opinion and counsel" (as the Vulgate renders it), he does not favor the evangelical counsels of the papists. He treats of a matter free and indifferent which neither done nor omitted brings on any guilt. For whether the virgin marries or not, she does not sin in the least (since each state can be pleasing to God, if purely lived in). (2) Nor if Paul adds, "he doeth better that giveth her not

in marriage" (*kreisson poiein*, 1 Cor. 7:38), does he mean so much a virtuous and moral good (since according to Paul himself "if a virgin marry she hath not sinned" [1 Cor. 7:28] and "marriage is honorable in all" [*timios gamos en pasi*, Heb. 13:4]) as a useful and suitable good (on account of the various trials which matrimony brings with it and especially in reference to that time, on account of the impending persecutions which they could meet better as single persons than as married). The apostle intimates this in v. 28, "such shall have trouble in the flesh," and v. 35, "this I speak for your own profit" (*pros to ymōn sympheron*). (3) If "she" is called "happier who abides in a state of celibacy" (1 Cor. 7:40), this must not be understood of a more perfect degree of glory, but concerning the condition in this life because she is exposed to fewer afflictions and temptations.

VII. The eunuchs mentioned in Is. 56:3, 4 to whom is promised a place "within the walls of Jerusalem and a name better than of sons and of daughters" (v. 5) are not voluntary eunuchs (making themselves such by any vow), but natural or made so by violence, to whom under the New Testament (provided they cultivate piety) admission is promised into the temple and city of God (i.e., into the church) and the illustrious name of sons of God (which is better than children because it is eternal)—notwithstanding the forensic law concerning eunuchs by which (under the Old Testament) they were excluded from the congregation of the Lord (Dt. 23:1, 2). Because therefore the law promised fruitfulness to the obedient, childless (*ateknoi*) eunuchs might think their zeal would be in vain, especially since they were stigmatized and excluded from the privileges of the people. Thus what they lacked in this respect, God says he would make up to them by better blessings, if they would be faithful so that their labor should not be lost. Thus under "strangers and eunuchs" Isaiah embraces all who seem to be unworthy of being reckoned by God among his people, either because they were excluded from the covenant or because they carried a certain mark of disgrace separating them from the people of God (whom he addresses in order that they may not despair, because "God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him is accepted with him," as Peter says in Acts 10:34, 35).

VIII. They who are said to "have made themselves eunuchs (*eunouchizein*) for the kingdom of heaven's sake" (Mt. 19:12) do not denote those who from counsel vowed perpetual celibacy whether it would happen

that they would burn or not. They could not be exculpated from blame because it is better to marry than to burn. Rather it denotes those who impose upon themselves voluntarily the necessity of remaining in celibacy and of preserving such a state of life that they may serve God better and promote his cause, as long as God may grant them the gift of continence. This limitation is gathered from v. 11 where the Lord testifies that all are not capable of celibacy and so marriage is necessary to some; also from v. 12 when he says, "he that is able to receive it, let him receive it," where he exhorts to continence those who are conscious of possessing the gift (and as long as they have it).

IX. Some apostles were unmarried, but not in consequence of a vow (the liberty of entering the married state remaining unimpaired if circumstances should demand it, 1 Cor. 9:5). Others remained married even after their call (1 Cor. 9:5; Lk. 4:38). They indeed left all things (as it is said in Mt. 19:27), but they were those things which might hinder their following Christ. To number among these their wives is disgraceful both because they themselves followed Christ (Lk. 8:2, 3) and because we read of their constantly adhering to their faithful husbands. As to property (if they had relinquished it), they would have done it not by counsel, but by the command of Christ (Jn. 1:40; Mt. 9:9). But the gospel teaches that they did not give up their ownership in it, as those who retained their houses and ships (Mt. 8; Jn. 19, 21), but by abstaining from the ordinary use of them and from their occupations in order that they might devote all their time to the ministry.

X. The gratuitous preaching of the gospel (concerning which Paul speaks in 1 Cor. 9:12, 15) was not indeed enjoined by a common command; otherwise it would not have been lawful for him or others to receive wages. Rather it rested upon him from his singular call (in accordance with the circumstances of men and of places) in order to the proper performance of the apostolic functions imposed upon him by Christ (on account of the false apostles [his rivals] who did this in order to recommend themselves to the churches). The glory which on this account he claims for himself (v. 15), he opposes to the calumnies of the false brethren (as if he made a gain of the gospel); not as if he had done an undue and supererogatory work, but inasmuch as he had diligently and faithfully executed the office entrusted to him.

XI. When Christ enjoins upon the young man the duty of following him (Mt. 19:21), he does not give a counsel, but a command to all in common because no one can have a hope of salvation unless he follows Christ (1 Pet. 2:21), although from a particular cause it is peculiarly adapted to him.

Fifth Question: The Division of the Precepts of the Decalogue

Are four precepts rightly assigned to the first table and six to the second? We affirm

Statement of the question.

I. The question is not whether the precepts are more or fewer than the number ten (for concerning this all are agreed). Hence the name "decalogue" was given to the law on account of the ten words. The question is not whether these ten precepts may be divided into two tables (for this also is granted). But how are they to be distributed; and how many and which ones belong to each table (for concerning this the opinions of divines vary)?

II. Some assign five precepts to each table: as Josephus, "Moses brings forward two tables containing ten written precepts, five on each" (AJ 3.5*.8 [Loeb, 4:364–65]) whom Philo follows (*The Decalogue* 12.50 [Loeb, 7:30–31]) and, of the fathers, Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 2.24* [ANF 1:395]). But this is false because Christ comprehends the fifth precept under the second table (Mt. 19:18); and Paul also when he calls it the first commandment of the second table with promise (Eph. 6:2). For in the first table, a promise is given in the second precept. Also the nature of the thing proves it because some are duties of religion towards God (prescribed in the first table), others of love and reverence for superiors (prescribed in the second table).

III. Some assign only three precepts to the first table, throwing the first and second into one and dividing the tenth into two: a division made by Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 6.16 [ANF 2:511–12]) and Augustine (*Quaestionum in heptateuchum*, Q. 71 [PL 34.620–21] and Letter 55, "To

Januarius" [FC 12:276]) and adopted by the papists and Lutherans. Finally, others claim four for the first and six for the second table; the opinion of the Chaldee Paraphrase on Ex. 20 and most of the fathers: Origen, Athanasius, Ambrose, Chrysostom and others (whom we also follow). Let us only observe with our men that this is a controversy concerning which we are not to contend bitterly and pertinaciously with anyone, provided the teaching of the whole decalogue be preserved and the number of precepts be unmutilated. The papists do the latter here, joining the second commandment, about graven images, to the first, about not having other gods, as if it was only an appendix or explanation of the first. They are even also accustomed to expunge it from their breviaries so that the people may not know it. This is the reason why some of our party have zealously defended that division and adhered to the received opinion (relying principally upon the following arguments).

IV. First, unless our division holds its place, the duties of religion towards God (contained in the first table) will be confounded with the duties of justice and love towards our neighbor (contained in the second table). For the first four precepts have respect to the worship and love of God; the last six, however, have respect to love towards our neighbor.

V. Second, the first and second precepts differ in meaning; therefore, they also differ in order. The former refers to the object (*to on*) of worship (that the true God may be worshipped); the latter to the mode (*to poion*) of worship (that he be not worshipped by images). Hence one could be violated without a violation of the other, when the true God is worshipped as the object, but with an unlawful worship, as to manner (as the Israelites who worshipped Jehovah in the calf, Ex. 32).

VI. Third, the tenth precept is falsely divided into two because it is comprehended under the one common name of covetousness and the same kind of sin is prohibited. Hence Moses puts the coveting of the house before the coveting of the wife (Ex. 20:18); but reverses the order (Dt. 5:21), which he ought not to have done, if they were two distinct precepts. Paul refers to this precept as only one, not as two: "I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet" (Rom. 7:7).

Sources of solution.

VII. Although under the prohibition of other gods in the first precept is contained also the prohibition of idols (inasmuch as they constitute the object of worship), it does not follow that the second does not constitute a distinct precept because then they are viewed under a different relation (*schesei*) with regard to the mode of worship. Nor do they denote only idols or representations of fictitious gods, but also images of the true God. In order therefore that the worship of images (or of God by images) might not be considered lawful, God most wisely willed to forbid it by a peculiar precept. Nor does it help them to say that images can best be called other gods because whoever religiously worships an image does not worship the true God, but a false one, even the Devil himself (according to Paul, 1 Cor. 10:20). For although consequently and eventually, the worship of images terminates on false gods or the Devil, still not according to the mind and intention of the worshippers (who sin here not in the object, but in the manner of worship).

VIII. Although the promise and threatening added to the second precept can be extended to all the precepts in general (with regard to those who keep God's commmands), yet it is well annexed to this command in particular for a peculiar reason (because the people at that time were inordinately given to idolatry), in order that they might the more diligently keep themselves from it, both by the hope of the promise and by the fear of the threatening.

IX. Although Moses uses two words to prohibit covetousness (*chmdh* and *th'vh* in Exodus and Deuteronomy), it does not follow that he intended to make a twofold precept; for in the second also (which is only one), he uses two words for the prohibition of image worship (*shchh* ["bow down"] and *'bhdh* ["serve"]), which he does not for the sake of distinction, but of greater emphasis.

X. Although covetousness is different as to degrees (one original, another actual; one without, another with a previous consent of the will), still it is the same as to species which is prohibited by this precept. Nor, if the objects materially considered are diverse, do they differ formally because they are contained under the formal relation of the possessions of others. If the precepts were to be multiplied according to the diversity of coveted things, there would have to be not two, but many more.

XI. The division of the decalogue as to matter (or things commanded or prohibited) can be so instituted. In general, the worship of God is commanded and whatever is opposed to it is forbidden. However the worship of God is either immediate (containing the duties which are immediately rendered to God) or mediate (when duties to our neighbor are performed on account of God). The immediate is contained in the first table and is either internal (consisting in both retaining the true object of worship by worshipping the one God alone—sanctioned by the first precept; and in worshipping him in a lawful manner—mentioned in the second); or external (and this either private, to be rendered by everyone always and everywhere, taught in the third; or public in the sanctification of the Sabbath, contained in the fourth). The mediate is likewise internal and external: external both in the duties of superiors towards inferiors and of the latter towards the former (the subject of the fifth precept); and in the duties of neighbors towards neighbors, such as the conservation of life and safety (taught in the sixth); of chastity and marriage (in the seventh); of property or possessions (in the eighth); of fame and truth (in the ninth). Internal is the rectitude of all the affections and desires (included under the tenth).

Sixth Question: The Rules of Explanation and of Observance of the Decalogue

What rules are to be observed in explaining and keeping the precepts of the decalogue?

The first rule of explanation of the law.

I. Two things come under this question. First, concerning the rules of explanation of the decalogue, that the genuine sense of the precepts may be held against the perverse judgments of men who interpret them preposterously. Second, concerning the rules of obedience, that we may know what the law demands of us. As to the first, the following rules are to be observed in the explanation of the law.

II. First, "the law is spiritual, respecting not only the external acts of the body, but the internal motions of the mind." It is evident both from Paul

(who in Rom. 7:14 testifies that "the law is spiritual") and from the nature of the lawgiver himself. He is not a human and earthly lawgiver who, since he has fleshly eyes, attends only to the external deeds striking the senses, nor does he take notice of counsels and intentions (except insofar as they manifest themselves outwardly); hence his interdicts are violated only by flagitious actions. Rather he is a divine and heavenly lawgiver whose eye nothing escapes and who regards not so much the external appearance as the purity of the heart. Thus he speaks to the soul no less than to the body and demands an internal no less than an external obedience. Christ plainly teaches this when he extends homicide to hatred of a brother and adultery to lust and looks (Mt. 5:22, 28).

Rule 2.

III. Second, "in affirmative precepts, negative, and in negative, affirmative are contained." As in Scripture there are more things than words, so in the precepts and interdicts there is always more than is expressed in words. Not that the law is to be considered as a Lesbian rule (to be made to mean anything), but that we may search more deeply into the meaning of the lawgiver and embrace those things which are mutually connected or depend upon each other. Hence since a good precept cannot be performed by the law without its opposite evil being avoided (nor a prohibited evil be shunned without its opposite good being performed), it follows that in the affirmative precepts negative are contained, and in the negative affirmative; so that those which are expressly negative are impliedly affirmative and vice versa. And so virtues are commended when vices are forbidden. Not that virtue is to be placed in the abstinence from vice alone (as is commonly said), for we must proceed farther (viz., to the contrary duties and deeds). Thus in the precept "thou shalt not kill" reason sees nothing else than that we must abstain from every evil deed, but it is certain that in addition love is recommended that we should cherish our neighbor's life in every way we can. Reason demands this because God forbids us to assail or injure a brother by injustice because he wishes his life to be dear and precious to us. Thus we should exert all our efforts to preserve it. So when theft is prohibited, beneficence is enjoined. If God commands us to honor our parents and promises a reward to those reverencing them, it forbids us by

that very thing to injure them and intimates that he will not go unpunished who acts differently.

Rule 3.

IV. Third, "in all the precepts synecdoche is to be acknowledged" by which in one proposed species all under the same genus are understood, and by one prohibited vice others of the same kind analogous to it (and whatever bear upon or lead to it) are prohibited. Thus in the precept "thou shalt not commit adultery" is prohibited every affection for another's wife; to lust after her (Mt. 5:28) and all illicit desires are forbidden. Under homicide, all angry feelings are included. What are most base and capital in each species of sin are forbidden, under which all the others are included, either because they flow thence or because they lead at length to it; or because what appear the smallest to men are in the most accurate judgment of God rated more severely. This is not done, therefore, to excuse or exclude lesser sins, but that a greater detestation of sin may be impressed upon our minds. For the flesh endeavors to dilute the foulness of sin and to cover it under specious pretexts; for example, anger and hatred are supposed to be so execrable when these terms are used, but when they are prohibited under the name of homicide, we understand better in how great abomination they are held by God.

Rule 4.

V. Fourth (belonging to the same), "in the effect, the cause, in the genus, the species, in the related, the correlative is included." He who wishes or prohibits anything, also wishes or prohibits that without which it cannot be or is not usually done. So in the prohibition of adultery are prohibited all illicit desires and their springs—intemperance and all incitements of them. Thus while the law enjoins chastity, it requires also its nurse—temperance and moderation in eating. When children are commanded to honor their parents, parents are in turn commanded to cherish their children paternally and to bring them up in the nurture of the Lord. Under the word "parents" are understood all superiors—magistrates, masters, teachers, pastors—to

whom in turn the duties are prescribed which they are bound to perform towards inferiors.

Rule 5.

VI. Fifth, "the precepts of the first table take the preference of those of the second" as to necessary internal and external acts, when they both cannot have place at the same time. Thus the love of our neighbor ought to be subjected to the love of God. We are bound to hate father and mother for Christ's sake (Lk. 14:26), when the love of parents is incompatible (*asystatos*) with the love of Christ. Human commands are to be neglected when opposed to the commands of God (Mt. 10:37; Acts 4:19). But in turn "the ceremonial of the first table yields to the moral of the second because God desires mercy and not sacrifice" (Hos. 6:6), i.e., moral worship principally and primarily as better and of itself necessary; the ceremonial, however, only secondarily on account of the moral. Hence we ought not to be so anxious about the former as about the latter.

Rule 6.

VII. Sixth, "some precepts are affirmative" (ordering things to be done, sins of omission); "others negative" (prohibiting things to be avoided, sins of commission). "The former bind always, but not to always, the latter bind always to always." The virtues and duties commanded by the affirmative precepts cannot be exercised every moment together at once, and suppose certain conditions (which being absent, there is no place for them); for example, parents are not always alive or near us, so that we can render them their due respect. But the vices and crimes prohibited can be committed lawfully in no article of time. Here however, we must make an exception of the general affirmative command to love God (which obliges always and to always) because there is no time or place or state in which man can be exempted from the duty of loving God.

Rule 7.

VIII. Seventh, “the beginning and end of all the precepts is love.” Hence love is called the “end” and “fulfilling” (*plērōma*) of the law (1 Tim. 1:5; Rom. 13:10). Love discharges all the claims of God’s beneficence and of man’s obedience. As all God’s blessings flow from love and are contained in it, so all man’s duties are included in love. The love of God is the fullness of the gospel; the love of man is the fullness of the law. God is love and the mark of the sons of God is none other than love (Jn. 13:35). However as the object of love is twofold (God and our neighbor), so a twofold love is commanded: of God in the first table of the law; of our neighbor in the second. That is called “the first and great commandment”; this “the second like to it.” The love of God is rightly called the “first” commandment because as there is nothing before God, so his worship ought first to be attended to by us in order that all things may begin from and end in it. It is called “great” (a) with regard to the object because conversant with the greatest and infinite object (viz., God); (b) with regard to the subject because it demands all the powers and faculties of man, that we love God with all our mind and heart and strength; (c) with regard to amplitude and extension, because it shuts up all things in its embrace and flows into all the actions of man, for nothing can be pleasing to God except it be done for his sake. The second is said to be “like” unto it, not with regard to importance, but (1) with regard to quality because both in the love of God and of our neighbor sincerity and purity of heart are required; (2) with regard to authority because each is commanded by God and tends to his glory; (3) with regard to punishment because the violation of either table exposes to eternal death; (4) with regard to connection and dependence because they are so strictly connected with each other that neither can be fulfilled without the other (for as God cannot be loved without a love for our neighbor made after his image, so neither can our neighbor be loved without the love of God, who created him). “If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen” (1 Jn. 4:20)?

The first rule of observation of the law.

IX. The rules of obedience due to the law are also diverse. First, the whole law must be fulfilled by the whole man. For as God prescribes to us the

entire law as to all its precepts without any division of them, so he demands the whole man and not a half to keep it; not only externally as to the body, but also internally as to the soul and all its powers (as nothing of the precepts should be omitted by us that we may remain in all things which are written). As the whole man is under the law to God, no part of it can or ought to be withdrawn from his obedience. Whatever is in man (whether in the mind or in the will and affections; whether in soul or in the body) may worship and be in subjection to God. This is also demanded by the strictest justice of the lawgiver and the nature of good (which ought to be perfect) and by the formula of the legal covenant.

Rule 2.

X. Second, a fourfold perfection is required in obedience. First, with regard to the principle, that it be true and sincere, consisting not only in the mouth or external motion of the body, but which has its seat in the soul and arises from a purified heart and faith unfeigned (*anypokritō*): "the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned" (1 Tim. 1:5). Second, with regard to the object or parts, that it be universal, not with regard to this or that command, but with regard to all. For he who sins in one thing is guilty of all; nor is he to be considered as having fulfilled the law who has not remained in all the things which are written. Third, with regard to degrees, that it be intense and perfect, so that nothing can be added to it. Hence Bernard says the measure of loving God is "to love him without measure" (*De Diligendo Deo* 1.1 and 6.16 [PL 182.974 and 983]). Fourth, with regard to time and duration, that it be perpetual and constant from the beginning unto the end, so that we rest not only in one or another act of the law, but remain through our whole life in those things which are written.

Rule 3.

XI. Third, that as the internal obedience is far better than the external, the moral than the ceremonial, so to no purpose is the latter rendered without the former. Hence the grievous complaints of the prophets who rebuke the people for their impiety because they separate those things which God has

joined together by an indissoluble bond, are content with external and ceremonial worship and show no anxiety about the internal and morals (cf. Is. 1:15–18; 58:1–4; 66:1–4; Mic. 6:7; and frequently elsewhere).

Rule 4.

XII. Fourth, as the precepts do not have an equal degree of importance and necessity, so neither is the obedience to be reckoned of the same order and value; nor is all disobedience of the same demerit, but contracts a greater or lesser guilt. The omission of a command is one thing; opposition to it another; forgetfulness, neglect and contempt are different. Neglect proceeds from the languor of slothfulness, but contempt from the swelling of pride. Hence the exaltation of the despiser increases guilt and turns his fault into a crime. In easier things contempt is more worthy of condemnation and the act less praiseworthy. In more difficult things obedience is the more acceptable as violation is the more heinous.

Seventh Question: The First Commandment

Is God alone to be worshipped and invoked? Or is it lawful to invoke and religiously worship deceased saints? We affirm the former and deny the latter against the papists

I. By the first precept "thou shalt have no other gods before me," the true object of religious worship is sanctioned. Not only is atheism forbidden (which acknowledges and worships no God) and polytheism (which makes for itself gods without number), but also all superstition and idolatry in the object (by which what is not God is esteemed and served as God [Gal. 4:8] whether it be a mere figment of man, such as most of the fictitious gods of the Gentiles were, or a really existing thing, but created and finite, to which the religious worship of faith, adoration, and invocation due to God alone is in any way paid). The papists sin in many ways about this: by the religious worship of creatures, angels, saints, relics, the host of the Mass, and of the pope himself. Thus they are guilty of not one kind of idolatry. And thus we must dispute concerning the most important head of religion in controversy

between us. We have spoken before of the worship of angels (Topic VII, Question 9); now we treat of the invocation of saints.

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not whether the saints piously dying in the Lord are to be held in any respect and honor. We do not deny that they are to be honored by us according to the degree of their excellence, both by thinking highly of them as servants of God most happy and admitted into the fellowship of the Lord and by cherishing their memory with a grateful and pleasant recollection (Lk. 1:48; Mk. 14:9), extolling their conflicts and victories, preserving their doctrine, celebrating and imitating their virtues (Heb. 12:1), praising God in and for them and giving him thanks for raising up such for the good of his church. Rather the question is whether they are to be reverenced with religious worship properly so called. This our opponents wish; we deny. At the outset, we oppose the calumnies of the papists who slander us as despisers and enemies of the saints because we repudiate the worship of them (as if disgrace were thrown upon the saints when what belongs to God and Christ alone is not attributed to them). Now although their memory is very sacred to us, still we think that care should be diligently taken that they be not worshipped to the injury of God. Nay, we think grievous injury is done to them by those who turn them into idols and abuse the friends of God to provoke him to jealousy. Nor do we hesitate to assert if they could see from the heights of glory what is done here, they would not only refuse the worship offered to them, but also testify the greatest indignation towards such undutiful worshippers.

III. The question is not about invocation improperly so called; or social, civil and loving address, customary among living men (belonging to the second table). Rather the question is about invocation properly so called and religions of piety, commanded in the first table as the principal part of religion (frequently put by way of synecdoche for the whole worship of God [Rom. 10:13], under which our adversaries embrace the universal worship of saints). According to them this worship consists partly within in the judgment concerning them (because they know our necessities and can assist us), partly in confidence in them (because they also wish to do so), partly without in the sacrifices and invocations presented to them, in the

festivals and temples consecrated to them. The question is whether they are to be reverenced, not with that respect of love and fellowship exhibited to holy men of God in this life on account of imitation, but with a sacred worship of piety on account of religion (as Augustine expresses it, *Reply to Faustus the Manichaean* 20.21 [NPNF1, 4:261–63]). This we deny; the papists affirm.

IV. The question is not whether the saints are our mediators and intercessors with God. This belongs to another question to be taken up when we discuss the intercession of Christ. Rather the question is whether they are to be invoked as our mediators and intercessors. Nor only as intercessors who may obtain for us by their prayers and merits the blessings asked from them; but as the bestowers of them (which the papists, although they dissemble, still maintain, as will appear from the examples of prayers directed to saints given below).

V. The question, therefore, comes back to this—whether the worship of adoration and of invocation is due to God alone, to the exclusion of all creatures of whatever order and dignity; or whether it cannot be rendered also to angels and saints (not militant, but triumphant). The papists maintain the latter; we assert the former.

Opinion of the papists.

VI. The opinion of the papists is gathered not only from their practice, but also from its sanction by the Council of Trent, the decree concerning the invocation of saints and the veneration of relics: "It enjoins upon the same to teach the invocation of saints, the honor of relics, and the use of images; and charges those who teach otherwise with holding an impious opinion" (Session 25, Schroeder, pp. 215–17). Bellarmine says, "The holy, whether angels or men, are invoked piously and usefully by the living" ("De Sanctorum Beatitudine," 1.19 *Opera* [1857], 2:451). The Roman Catechism advocates the invocation of saints, by various arguments, and especially by this: "that they assiduously labor in prayers for the salvation of men, and God bestows upon us many blessings on account of their merit and for their sake" (*Catechism of the Council of Trent* [ed. J.A. McHugh and C.J. Callan, 1923], p. 371). Perronius endeavors to prove the invocation of saints to be not only useful but also necessary (*Reply of the ... Cardinall of Perron to*

the Answeare of the ... King of Great Britaine [1630/1975]). Maldonatus says "that the error of those, who afford no religious honor except to God, is impious and ignorant" (*Commentary on the Holy Gospels: Matthew* [1888], 1:174 on Mt. 5:34). Hence so earnestly do the Expurgational Indexes labor to destroy whatever (either in books or in the writings of the fathers) pertains to the worship of God alone. From the books of Vatablus, they erase "who believe in God will be saved, but who do not will perish" (*Bibliorum sacrorum* [1584], 2:63 on Is. 8:22). From the Index of Athanasius they erase, "God alone is to be adored and no creature." From Augustine, they destroy "the saints are to be honored by imitation, not by adoration" (*Of True Religion* 55 [108] [LCC 6:280; PL 34.169]); and "against those who say, I do not worship images, but by them I am drawn to that which I ought to worship" ("In Psalmum CXIII* Enarratio: De altera parte," 3, 4 [PL 37.1483]).

VII. As to their practice, there is no one who does not know that this worship is placed among the principal parts of the popish religion; that saints are honored by temples, chapels, altars, images, rayed heads, Masses, festivals, tapers, that gifts and sacrifices are offered to them, prayers addressed to them, oaths taken by them, vows made to them, hope of salvation and confidence placed in them. Thus they are invoked, not only as intercessors, but also as protectors from evil and bestowers both of grace and glory. Thus invocation is directed to all the saints: "Also ye happy hosts of souls in heaven; Let present, past and future ills from us be driven" (cf. "Festa Novembris: Ad Vesperas," in *Breviarium Romanum* [1884], 2:817). And to the apostles: "O happy apostles, deliver me from sin, Defend, comfort and lead me into the kingdom of heaven" (*Hortulus Animae* [1602], pp. 450–51). Also: "I seek to be saved by you in the last judgment." To Peter: "O Shepherd Peter, mild and good, receive My prayers—from bonds of sin my soul relieve; By that great power which unto thee was given Who by thy word dost open and shut the gate of heaven" ("Festa Junii: SS. Petri et Pauli," in *Breviarium Romanum* [1884], 2:499). To the elder James: "O James hasten To blot out my wickedness, Giving me the gift of righteousness From the leaven of malice" (*Hortulus Animae* [1602], p. 294). The same thing could easily be shown of the other apostles and saints. Hence it most clearly appears that they are not only invoked as intercessors to pray for us, but also as bestowers of good in whom therefore

hope and confidence should be placed. For this reason they order to invoke in the article of death whatever saint anyone has been most devoted to in life, after this manner: "O most glorious Saint or Saintess, N., I have always reposed in the particular hope and confidence while I have lived, succor me now struggling in this time of extreme necessity" (*Hortu. ani*.+). This is especially evident with respect to the blessed virgin, to whom they not only frequently ascribe divine names and articles (when they call her "Goddess, Mistress, Queen of Heaven, Mother of Mercy, Redemptress, Our Omnipotent Mistress, the Refuge of sinners"), but also worship internal as well as external. This can be proved by innumerable examples; even the *Psalterium Marianum* composed by Bonaventure (and never censured by the Roman church, not even by the *Expurgatory Indexes*) most clearly proves. In it the ascriptions of the psalmist to God are impiously transferred to the virgin. See what we have said in "De Necessaria Secessione Nostra ab Ecclesia Romana" (in *Opera* [1848], 4:31–50); and Downame* (*A Treatise concerning Antichrist* [1603], Part I, 5.1, 2, pp. 313–41); and especially Drelincourt (*De l'honneur qui doit estre rendu à la Saincte etii Bien-heureuse Vierge Marie* [1643]).

VIII. To understand their meaning more fully, however, we must observe that worship in general among the papists is the honor due from an inferior to a superior. Three things are required for it. (1) An act of the intellect by which we apprehend the excellence of any one. (2) An act of the will by which we internally bow to it and desire to testify its excellence and our subjection. (3) An external act by which we bow the head or bend the knee or exhibit any other sign of subjection. Hence they infer three kinds of adoration or worship according to the kinds of excellence. These they also make three: divine, to which the kind of worship they call "latria" answers; human, which is placed in the various dignities, powers and degrees of men, to which *cultus civilis* or that of human observance corresponds; intermediate, arising from grace and glory and answering the third kind of worship, which they call "dulia." The latter is either simple (afforded to saints and angels) or "hyperdulia" (given to the humanity of Christ considered apart, although united to the Word; and to the blessed virgin, which they hold to be religious).

IX. Although we do not deny that a diversity of worship is not improperly constituted according to the diversity of excellence in the

objects; and we readily grant that by reason of the uncreated and infinite and the created and finite excellence, there can be a twofold worship (the one religious due to God alone, the other civil given to creatures; which again can be considered either with respect to this earthly state, in all the offices of reverence, love and respect due to men [although they may be strangers to the faith]; or with respect to the heavenly state, with which honor we regard the household of faith, whether living by a communication of duties, or dead by love, praise, memory, imitation, etc.), still we do not think that without serious error religious worship is divided into various degrees, but hold it to be one only, peculiar to God alone and incommunicable to all creatures.

X. Nor can the distinction into latria and dulia help this error. (1) It rests upon no solid foundation; not on the propriety of the words, because the signification of *latreias* and *douleias* is promiscuous with profane writers. Hesychius sets forth *latreian* by *douleian* (*Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* [1861], 3:16); Glossator, *douleia latreia, latreuō douleuō*. From the force of the word, *douleia* means more than *latreia*. The latter marks only the obedience and worship of a hireling (*latris ho epi misthō douleuōn*), but the former the subjection of a slave and servant who owes himself entirely to his master. Not on the use of the Scriptures; for although in the New Testament the word *latreias* is never used except for the worship due to God alone, the same is also often set forth by the word *douleias* (as in Gal. 4:8; 1 Thess. 1:9; Mt. 6:24; Rom. 12:11; 14:18; Eph. 6:7). The Septuagint applies *latreia* to human respect (Dt. 28:48; Lev. 23:7); a servile work not to be done on the Sabbath is called *latreuton*; Paul always calls himself a *doulon* of Christ and never a *latreutēn*. Not on the authority of the fathers, for although Augustine made a distinction between *latreian* and *douleian*, his intention was not to divide religious worship into two degrees: one pertaining to God and the other to the saints. Rather his intention was only to distinguish servitude into that which is due to God alone and which for the purpose of teaching he calls *latreian* (and elsewhere the servitude of religion) and that which is due to men, which he calls peculiarly dulia. “But that servitude” (i.e., in opposition to the latria due to God) “which is due to men, according to which the apostle teaches slaves that they ought to be obedient to their masters, he is wont to call by another name, to wit dulia” (CG 10.1 [FC 14:116; PL 41.278]). Our opponents are forced to confess

that the distinction is unwritten (*agraphon*) and that the Hebrew as well as the Greek words are used promiscuously (Bellarmine, "De Sanctorum Beatitudine," 1.12 in *Opera* [1857], 2:441; Vasquez, *Commentariorum ac Disputationum in Tertiam Partem*, I, Disp. 93.1 [1631], pp. 625–27).

Invocation of saints is rejected by Ex. 20:3 and Mt. 4:10.

XI. For the worship of God alone (against the invocation of saints and the worship of creatures), the orthodox contend: First, with express command of God by which he forbids having any other gods before himself—"thou shalt have no other gods before me" (Ex. 20:3) or as the Septuagint has it "besides me" (*plēn emou*). Here the Lord decrees that nothing should be religiously worshipped except himself, the alone and supreme God. For that is said to be God to us and to be regarded as God whatever we adore and serve with religious worship, whatever that may be otherwise, either in itself or with us—namely because we transfer to it the honor which belongs to God alone. This is confirmed by Christ disputing against Satan: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve" (Mt. 4:10). Now although the exclusive particle "alone" does not occur in Dt. 6:13 and 10:20 (whence the quotation is made), yet necessarily from the nature of the thing it is included (as it is expressed in 1 S. 7:3, "serve him only" [*lbhdv*], and in the cited place is expressed by *monon* by the Septuagint, which the Vulgate follows here). And if there was no other reason, the expression of the Savior is sufficient for us to conclude that religious worship must be paid to God alone. Nor can it be replied here that the exclusive is added only to the latter words where the verb *latreuō* occurs, not to the former, in order to indicate that religious worship indeed is common to God and the saints, but *latreian* belongs to God alone. Since the same species of worship is designated by adoring and serving, if the exclusive particle is added to one, it is understood to be added to the other also. Finally, Satan does not seek *latreian*, but *proskynēsin* ("All these things will I give thee," says he "if thou wilt fall down and worship me" [*ean pesōn prokynēsēs moi*]). Since Christ refuses this to him, by that very thing is unconquerably testified that *proskynēsin* as well as *latreian* is due to God alone.

2. From the defect of precept and example.

XII. Second, invocation of saints has neither a precept, nor promise, nor example in Scripture for its foundation. Thus it is nothing else than a corrupt and damnable will-worship (*ethelothrēskeia*). Invocation of God is indeed everywhere urged, but mention is nowhere made of the invocation of creatures. Yet the word "to pray" is often put simply for to pray to God because no other lawful invocation than that of God can be granted. Bannes does not question this: "The Scriptures neither expressly nor impliedly teach that prayers should be made to the saints" (2.2, q. 1, Art. 10+); thus Eck (*Enchiridion of Commonplaces* 15 [trans. F.L. Battles, 1979], pp. 119–21); Salmeron (*Commentari in evangeliam historiam et in Acta Apostolorum*, Disp. VII [1602–04], 15:456–67 on 1 Tim. 2). Cotton says, "As to a command concerning the invocation of saints, the church never taught that any existed except so far forth as we are ordered to obey the church" (*Institutio Catholica* 1.16* [1616], p. 91). Bellarmine says, "A command is not required, when necessity itself impels us" ("De Sanctorum Beatitudine," 1.20 in *Opera* [1857], 2:461). But he takes for granted that there is a necessity for such worship; yea, since whatever is without faith is sin, such worship (which we never read to have been instituted by God) must be corrupt. As to examples, they acknowledge that under the Old Testament dispensation the invocation of saints was not indulged, because they hold that they were not then received into heaven, but were still in limbo. Under the New Testament, however, we read of no address either to the virgin or the apostles or any saints (which affords a clear argument of its impropriety).

3. Because they are without the knowledge, power and will requisite in the one invoked.

XIII. Third, invocation supposes faith (Rom. 10:14) in the invoker; knowledge, power and will in the one invoked: knowledge to know all our necessities and everywhere hear our prayers (mental as well as oral) and be truly a searcher of hearts (*kardiognōstēs*); power to be able to succor those in distress; will, to will to assist us and demand this worship to be paid to

them. Now these belong to God alone (the only searcher of hearts [*kardiognōstēs*]), who alone is the object of faith and omniscient, the only omnipotent one, who calls to himself and opens his ears to the prayers of suppliants. As to the saints, on the contrary, we have no proof of their knowledge, less of their power, none of their will; nor more of their mediatorial and intercessory office. Rather they themselves are unwilling for that to be exhibited to them which they know is due to God alone. Augustine expresses this when he gives the reason why angels do not wish to be thus adored—"they are our fellow servants, Rev. 19:10" (*Reply to Faustus the Manichaean* 20.21 [NPNF1, 4:262; PL 42.385]). Indeed, Scripture (which often ascribes to God alone omniscience, heart-searching [*kardiognōsian*] and omnipotence, 1 K. 8:39; 2 Ch. 6:30; Rev. 2:23; Jer. 17:10) clearly proves that these cannot belong to creatures and frequently ascribes to the saints an ignorance of the affairs of earth (Is. 63:16; Ecc. 9:6; 2 K. 22:20).

XIV. Nor can this defect be supplied (as the papists wish) either by the imaginary mirror of the Trinity, which they feign (as if the saints, seeing all things in the essence of God saw all things done here)—because as it is gratuitously invented without Scripture, it is rejected with the same facility with which it is proposed. It displeased not a few of the distinguished papists: Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Altissiodorensis, Bannes, Estius and many others. Nor if the saints see the face of God seeing all things (i.e., enjoy immediate vision of him) does it follow that they see all things in God. Otherwise they would not be ignorant of the day of judgment (which however is the case). Besides that mirror will be either natural or voluntary; if the former, nothing at all will be hidden to them, no less than to God (to say which is impious); if voluntary, they will see in God no other things than those which he is pleased to represent (and who can say what they are?). Or by a revelation of God since he reveals to the saints the prayers and thoughts of believers; for besides such a revelation being thrust forward in vain when Scripture is silent, why should such a circuitous course be chosen when God calls us directly to himself? And what would be the use of God's revealing to the saints our necessities and prayers that they might offer them to him again? If God sometimes willed to reveal to prophets the thoughts of the heart in order that they might perform their duty (as was done to Elisha, 2 K. 5:16), it does not follow that this is ordinarily done to

the saints since Scripture says nothing about it, nor do they have any duty towards men, to perform which such knowledge would be necessary. Or by the gift of beatitude, in virtue of which they can behold from heaven the affairs of earth (as Coster wishes, *Enchiridion controuersarium* 14 [1586], pp. 417–38). It is falsely assumed both that such a vision is granted and that it increases the blessedness of the saints. Nor can either the example of Stephen (to whom, by an extraordinary dispensation, it was granted to see Christ in heaven) or of Paul (caught up into the third heaven and hearing there unutterable things) prove that the saints living in heaven see the thoughts of the heart (which belongs to God alone).

4. Because it is idolatrous.

XV. Fourth, all religious worship and invocation (directed to any other than God) is idolatrous for that is truly called idolatry by which the creature is worshipped "beyond the Creator" (*para ton ktisanta*) or "he being passed by" (Rom. 1:25), when they are worshipped "which by nature are no gods" (Gal. 4:8), which no one denies is rightly said of the saints. Hence Gregory Nazianzus calls idolatry "the transference of adoration from the Creator to creatures" (*metathesis tēs proskynēseōs apo tou pepoiēkotos epi ta ktismata*, Oration 38, "On the Theophany," 13 [NPNF2, 7:349; PG 36.325]), and Thomas Aquinas defines idolatry as "the giving of divine honor to a creature" (ST, II–II, Q. 94, Art. 3, p. 1598). Nor can the idle distinctions and incrustations obtruded by the papists remove so great a crime. They deny that they offer the supreme worship due to God, but only a subordinate (to the saints, not as to God, but as the friends of God). (a) They falsely invent degrees of religious worship (which is one alone and indivisible). (b) This was the limitation of the Gentiles, who distinguished between the supreme God (to whom supreme worship was due) and those holding a middle and inferior place (to whom inferior worship was also paid). (c) The Arians and Nestorians did not adore Christ as God (whom the former held to be a created god, the latter a man divided from the person of the *Logos*) and yet they were charged with idolatry by the fathers. (d) Who would excuse an adulteress saying that she furnished her body to another, not as to a husband, but as to a friend of her husband? And yet all religious worship is as peculiar to God alone as conjugal benevolence is due to the husband

alone: since it is evident that our communion with God is frequently shadowed forth by wedlock, and idolatry by adultery and fornication. (e) The worship which the adherents of Rome pay to creatures does not differ from divine worship, neither as to the internal worship of confidence and hope, which they place in them, nor as to the external worship of adoration and invocation, which they offer them, as was seen above and we have proved elsewhere (Disputation 2, "De Necessaria Secessione nostra ab Ecclesia Romana," Section 16, 17ff. in *Opera* [1848], 4:40–42). Hence if they make a distinction in words to deceive the more simple, nevertheless it remains really the same in practice.

5. It rests upon a doubly false foundation.

XVI. Fifth, the invocation of the saints rests upon a doubly false foundation. The first is that they are our mediators and intercessors with God, who can obtain temporal and spiritual benefits for us not only by their prayers but also by their merits. Since this is most false and most dishonoring to Christ (as we will show in the proper place), whatever is built upon it must necessarily be false and fictitious. The other is the canonization or apotheosis of the saints by which the saints to be invoked by the church (introduced into heaven by the pope with certain ceremonies, especially with the golden ladder) are declared to be such as ought to be worshipped and invoked. But this impious fabrication of god-making (*theopoiias*), by which an earthly insignificant man, who is not certain of his own salvation, wishes to pronounce concerning that of another, and sacrilegiously to constitute himself the distributor of heavenly blessings, is a pure imitation of impure Gentilism and Jewish superstition, having no foundation either in Scripture, or in pious antiquity, as a long time ago divines remarked and incontestably proved (see John Prideaux, "Oratio xiii, De Canonizatione Sanctorum," in *Viginti-duae Lectiones ... accesserunt Tredecim Orationes* [1648], pp. 120–28 and Hospinius, *De Festis Iudaeorum et Ethnicorum ... de origine* 6 [1674], pp. 34–37). Not to say now that many fictitious saints are worshipped, who either never existed or are anything but blessed.

6. From the testimonies of the ancients.

XVII. Sixth, the invocation of saints was unknown to the apostolic church and to the first ages of Christianity. It is evident from the testimonies of the most ancient fathers. Justin Martyr says, “Hence we adore God alone and joyfully serve you in other things” (*First Apology** 17 [FC 6:52; PL 6.354]). The church of Smyrna denies that “she can worship any other” in Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* 4.15 [FC 19:241; PG 20.359]). Irenaeus says, “Him alone it behooves the disciples of Christ to worship” (*Against Heresies* 5.22 [ANF 1:550; PG 7.1183]). Tertullian says, “What we worship is the one God” (*To Scapula* 2 [FC 10:151; PL 1.777] and *Apology* 17 [FC 10:52; PL 1.431]). Epiphanius says, “The holy church of God does not adore a creature” (haeres. 69+). Athanasius says, “A creature adores not a creature, adoration belongs to the deity alone” (“Contra Arianos, Oratio tertia,” *Opera Omnia* [1627], 1:394). Gregory of Nyssa: “He who adores a creature, although he may do it in the name of Christ, is an idolator, giving the name of Christ to an idol” (*Oratio Funebris de Placilla Imperatrice* [PG 46.891]). Gregory Nazianzus: “Neither worshipping any above nor under (*mēd’ hypersebontes, mēd’ hyposebontes*); for the former cannot be done, the latter is wicked and impious” (*Oratio* 22.12 [PG 35.1143–44]). And that the saints were neither worshipped nor invoked by them at that time can be proved by various arguments. No mention is made of temples, altars, images, festivals or offerings dedicated to deities (as is seen everywhere among our adversaries); that in the public worship of the church, they sang hymns to the one and only God; that in explaining the first commandment and the Lord’s prayer, they did not (like the Romanists) make equal mention of religious prayers to the departed; that the canonization of saints was unheard-of and unknown among them; that most of them thought the souls of the saints existed out of heaven until the resurrection of the body; that the pagans nowhere charged the Christians with the worship of deities before the fourth century; that to the pagans worshipping God in the highest, ministers in the second place, they so constantly responded as to deny sternly that they adored any other but the supreme God alone, nor did they anywhere distinguish the worship of God from the worship of ministers; and other things of the same kind which clearly prove that such worship was unknown in the first ages (cf. the collection by the celebrated Daille, *Adversus Latinorum de cultus religiosi obiecto* 3 [1664], pp. 340–581). And if error gradually crept in through the progress of time (becoming apparent

about the year 370 A.D.), there were not wanting those who strenuously opposed it. It was condemned by the Council of Laodicea, Canon 35 (Hefele, 2:317) and the Third Council of Carthage, Canon 23 (Lauchert, p. 166). It was opposed by Epiphanius against the Collyridians invoking the virgin (*Panarion* 79 [PG 42.739–55]) and by Augustine, who maintained that "they should be honored on account of imitation," not "adored on account of religion, with the worship of love and fellowship" (*Of True Religion* 55 [108] [LCC 6:280; PL 34.169) (such as is due to fellow servants and fellow citizens), not of religion (such as belongs to God) (cf. *Reply to Faustus the Manichaean* 20.21 [NPNF1, 4:261–63]).

7. From the testimonies of our opponents.

XVIII. Seventh, not a few of our opponents agree with us here. Cassander mentions the various errors on this head ("De Articulis Religionis … consultatio," Art. 20 and 21 in *Opera* [1616], pp. 963–81). Vives ingenuously confesses that many "Christians very often sin in a good thing, venerating saints and saintesses no otherwise than God; nor do they see in many things what is the difference between their opinion concerning the saints and what the Gentiles thought concerning their deities" (*Saint Augustine of the Citie of God ... with ... comments of Ludovicus Vives* [1620], p. 320). Cardinal Richelieu acknowledges that the primitive church did not invoke saints before the fourth century and maintains that the Catholic church does not absolutely bind Christians actually to pray to the saints (lib. 3, cap. 4 of his method, p. 410+). Thus he attempts to remove the stigma of idolatry from his church; but in vain, since this is confirmed by multiple sanctions and by continuous practice.

Sources of explanation.

XIX. From the civil addresses of the living to the religious invocation of departed saints, the consequence does not hold good. Among the living there is a mutual interchange of duties; between the living and dead there is none (Is. 63:16; Ecc. 9:5, 6*). The former rests upon God's command and promise and the commended examples of the saints of the Old and New Testament; the latter, however, is destitute of these. The former is merely

the effect of social and mutual love; the latter is religious, a primary part of the worship due to God alone. That rests upon the love alone of the living; this upon the merits also of the dead. Nor if deceased saints now possess greater love, do they on that account wish to be invoked by us; yea, by way of retort, much less than in this life they permitted it (Acts 10:25, 26; 14:11–15), since they now know more perfectly that such honor is due to God alone. And if they could be addressed by us either by the voice or by letter (because they were with us sojourners in an earthly country), they ought not to be invoked in their heavenly country, which is far distant from us. If there is the same reason for the invocation of the saints and the salutations of the living, why did Paul (who so often orders some to pray for others) never command us to invoke the saints? And why do we not read of his praying either to Stephen or the blessed virgin or any other? To no purpose, therefore, do the Wallenburg brothers, Meth. Aug. c. 32+, and Bishop Condomensis (Jacques Bossuet, An *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church* [1685]) attempt to persuade us that the papists invoke deceased saints in no other way than the Reformed invoke living saints—that they may pray for us. The protestation is contrary to the fact and the thing itself cries out that to seek pardon, protection, salvation, deliverance from evils (and the like) is far different from seeking their intercession. Nor can the intention of the church be obtruded here, when the words themselves prove the contrary (unless we wish to allow her to trifle with us by thinking one thing and speaking another, which no one would say).

XX. It is one thing for Jacob to wish (when he says that he desires "his name to be named on them," Gen. 48:16) that Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Joseph, should be named by his name and be two heads of tribes among the sons of Joseph (as Tostatus, Ribera, Cajetan, Cornelius a Lapide, Arias Montanus and others acknowledge; as the Scripture elsewhere expresses it, Is. 4:1); quite another for him to wish to be invoked by them after his death (which we deny).

Job 5:1.

XXI. When Eliphaz advises Job to turn to some one of the saints, he does not speak of deceased saints, but calls the living to witness of whom he denies that he can bring forward any saint agreeing with him in affirming

that God afflicts the innocent and just (as the antithesis teaches and the series of the context). When Job calls upon his friends, by *r'y* ("companions" whose pity he implores, 19:21) angels or saints in heaven are not meant (since they were not his companions and familiars), but they who were formerly his companions and friends, whose sympathy (*sympatheian*) he seeks. Hence in the following verse he complains of the same friends, not intending to complain of angels. "The messenger," "the interpreter," "one among a thousand" (referred to in Job 33:23) mean no other than the angel of the covenant (Christ). To him alone can belong the predicates of having mercy, praying for deliverance, showing unto man his uprightness, interceding with the exhibition *khphr* (*lytrou*) "of a ransom" (*'lyw*) to him (i.e., the Father). For Christ alone can say, "I have found a ransom" (*mts'thy khphr*). Thus the ordinary gloss explains the text.

XXII. Invocation differs from commemoration. Moses does not address Abraham, nor fly to his protection (Ex. 32:13), but directs his prayers to God that (mindful of his covenant entered into with the patriarch) he may mercifully pardon their calf-worshipping posterity.

XXIII. The councils adduced by Bellarmine (held 400 years after the time of the apostles) could not introduce any new doctrine of religion not found before in Scripture, nor promulgated in the primitive church through so many years. They show rather what was done (the shades of superstition thickening) than what ought to be done.

XXIV. It is evident that no father can be found in the first three centuries as a patron of this invocation. Under Origen (as it seems, a good interpreter, but a bad theologian, according to Jerome), the opinion of intercession began to creep in among the teachers. Still not immediately did anyone invoke saints or teach that they should be invoked, until gradually (partly from the Platonic philosophy and the remains of Hellenism; partly from poetic and oratorical license and hyperbolical eulogies and apostrophes) Basil, Gregory Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzus (among the Greeks) and Ambrose (among the Latins) opened the door wider to this error. Sixtus Senensis very appropriately remarks: "We should bear in mind that the words of haranguers are not to be taken with the same strictness with which they come at first to the ears of the hearers. For speakers often utter hyperboles either influenced by a regard to places, times or persons, or carried away by the impulse of their feelings and the flow of the oration"

(*Bibliotheca Sancta*, 6, annot. 152 [1575], 2:174). The fathers also frequently declare that the saints were invoked rather than that they should be invoked; or they employ a hypothetical invocation, only hesitatingly and with a limitation in these terms—"as I think," "unless I am deceived," "if the dead have any feeling," "if they have a care for us"—and when they do not express this condition it must be understood as implied.

Eighth Question: The Worship of Relics

Should the bodies of saints and relics be adored with religious worship? We deny against the papists

Statement of the question.

I. Worship of relics is an appendix to the worship of saints. It is believed to pertain not a little to the honor of the saints that their bodies (or at least their bones, ashes, girdles, garments and similar relics) should be religiously worshipped. Although indeed the Sophists of the present day (endeavoring to cover and encrust the turpitude of this relic-worship [*leipsanothrēskeias*]) deny that the adoration due to God is paid to them, but only veneration and honor; still it is certain that it was sanctioned by the authority of the Second Council of Nicea in these words: "Adoring bones, ashes, garments, blood, and sepulchers, still we do not sacrifice to them" (Actione 4, Mansi, 13:47). Baronius says that he was sent by Clement VIII "to search for and worship the venerated body of Cecilia" (*Annales Ecclesiastici* [1868], Annus 821, 14, 14:15). Vasquez proves that "images and relics are to be adored in the same manner" (*De Cultu Adorationis*, Bk. 3, Disp. 4.1, 2 [1594], pp. 216–18). The Catechism of Trent approves of an oath by relics, which no one can deny is an act of religion (*Catechism of the Council of Trent* [trans. J.A. McHugh and C.J. Callan, 1923], p. 386). But under whatever name (whether worship is designated by adoration or veneration), it is certain that it is religious to them.

II. Now although we think the bodies of the saints with their relics should not be cast aside and made sport of, but should be decently buried (not only because they are the relics of men who ought to obtain honorable burial by a certain privilege of nature; but also because of believers and

saints whose memory ought to be blessed in the church); yet we deny that they should receive religious worship. We deservedly turn away from the superstition by which (through sheer fraud to make sport of the people) the relics of the apostles are shown, while their writings are concealed. The relics are mute and there is no danger of their muttering anything against the pope, but the apostolic writings strangle the papacy and overthrow idolatry.

Arguments against the worship of relics. (1) The silence of Scripture.

III. Our arguments are: (1) Scripture has sanctioned such worship nowhere either by command or promise or example. As often as in the Old or New Testament the examples of the dead are commemorated, their bodies are said to have been committed to the earth without any ostentation or religious veneration. Thus dying Jacob and Joseph ordered their bones to be carried out of Egypt to Canaan that they might rest with their fathers; but nowhere do we read that they were adored or kissed, nor were they placed in a tabernacle or carried about in processions or placed upon altars (all which are constantly practiced in the Roman church). And how could the Israelites be induced to kiss or carry about relics when (according to the law of Moses) he was considered polluted who had only touched a corpse. God himself is said to have buried and concealed the body of Moses (Dt. 34:6) in order that the Israelites might not abuse the relics of so great a man to idolatry. It is very consistent with this that there was no other cause of the contest between Michael and Satan (mentioned in Jd. 9) than that Satan wished to draw forth the dead body of Moses, which Michael wished to conceal and keep hidden. The disciples carried the body of Stephen, the first martyr, to its burial and made great lamentation over it (Acts 8:2), but we read of no one prostrating himself on his bier or paying religious worship to his bones.

2. Mt. 23:29 opposes it.

IV. (2) Christ rebukes "the Pharisees and scribes, hypocrites, because ye build tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous" (Mt. 23:29) in the meantime despising their doctrines. No less are they to be censured who worship and venerate their dead bodies lying in sepulchers. Paul protests that henceforth he knows no man "not even Christ after the flesh" (2 Cor. 5:16, to wit, that he may bestow all his zeal and labor upon seeking and possessing him according to the spirit). Now who would deny that they who seek and worship the relics of Christ and the saints, wish still to know them according to the flesh? Thus it is expressly forbidden "for the living to go to the dead" (Is. 8:19).

3. It is useless and idolatrous.

V. (3) Such worship is not only useless (being exhibited to inanimate things and wanting all sense), but also idolatrous and superstitious (cannot be given to them without sacrilege, as due to God alone). Nor does the encrustation of our opponents avail, denying that they give to relics an absolute religious worship (strictly and properly so called or latreutic [*latreuticam*] adoration, proper to God alone), but only a relative and douleutic (*duleuticam*). Scripture does not recognize the difference between the adoration of latreia, douleia (absolute and relative), but claims religious adoration simply for God alone. Nor will God judge according to those ingenious but idle distinctions and intentions of prevaricating men (which the common people know nothing of), but according to the rule prescribed in his word.

4. It is exposed to impostures.

VI. (4) That worship is exposed to a thousand frauds and impostures; while instead of the true relics of Christ and the saints, a thousand suppositious and adulterated relics are obtruded and the bodies of many are worshipped on earth, whose souls are tormented in hell (as Augustine said). An example is given by Socrates concerning a certain Ammonius (a monk and robber) who was worshipped as a saint for a long time (*Ecclesiastical History* 7.14 [NPNF2, 2:160]). Gregory of Tours testifies "that in the coffin of a certain saint were found roots, teeth of moles, bones of mice and claws of foxes"

(*Historia Francorum* 9.6 [PL 71.485]). At Zurich in a most costly box (in which the relics of a saint and the rules of martyrs were supposed to be deposited) were found (when opened at the Reformation) some particles of a burnt side, also a rope 12 cubits long and ribs of a cat or of a similar animal, and nothing besides. Our Geneva can bear witness to a not dissimilar fraud. Before the Reformation, we boasted of two special relics: the brain of Peter and the arm of Anthony. What was said to be the brain of Peter was afterwards shown to be a pumice stone and the arm of Anthony to be the hip of a stag. Cassander does not deny "that for the sake of avarice to allure the simple people, false relics were substituted, and feigned miracles reported, and superstition nourished by these miracles" ("De Articulis Religionis … consultatio," Art. 21 ["De Veneratione reliquiarum"] in *Opera* [1616], p. 973). If, however, we would enumerate such frauds, innumerable examples of them occur everywhere. From this it clearly appears with how great license the clergy insulted and trifled with the miserable common people; yea, it would seem altogether incredible that they could have been seduced by such base and so continual impostures, unless the thing itself proclaimed it (cf. Calvin, *Advertisement Tresutile ... inventoire de ... reliques* [CR 34.405–452] and Hospinian, "De Origine … Reliquiarum," in *De Origine Templorum* [1681], pp. 92–122). Therefore as many as worship relics, worship they know not what. For after the detection of so many frauds and impostures, what certainty can there be that they are the relics of the saints they pretend to be?

5. It was unknown to the ancient church.

VII. (5) Relic worship (*leipsanothrēskeia*) was unknown to the first ages of Christianity. This can be seen even from this—they most carefully buried the bodies of martyrs and saints, which they would not have done if they supposed they ought to be adored. Eusebius testifies this was done by the church of Smyrna with the bones of Polycarp (*Ecclesiastical History* 4.15 [FC 19:242]). No mention of such worship paid to relics occurs in the books of the most ancient theologians, where not only opportunely, but also almost necessarily it would have to be mentioned. The pagans never charged our people with such worship for 300 years, as they did afterwards. Reliquiaries, such as are now constantly worn as arms and protection by

Romanists, were then wholly unknown. Now from these and many other similar arguments (which you may find collected by the celebrated Daille, *Adversus Latinorum de cultus religiosi obiecto* 4 [1664], pp. 582–703), it appears clearer than the noonday sun, that in those first ages the worship of relics was entirely unknown and unheard-of; that it was introduced only in the following ages and indeed successively and by degrees.

By what degrees introduced.

VIII. At first ecclesiastical assemblies began to be held at the sepulchers of the martyrs and indeed on the day of their suffering; not however to worship and invoke them, which the epistle of Smyrna expressly denies, but "that the minds of their followers might be aroused by illustrious examples to the way of their predecessors" (cf. Agobard, *Liber de Imaginibus Sanctorum* 18 [PL 104.215]). Basil confirms this (*Homily* 19 [PG 31.507–26]). Augustine writes: "To excite imitation, Christian people celebrated the memory of the martyrs in connection with religious solemnities" (*Reply to Faustus the Manichaean* 20.21 [NPNF1, 4:262; PL 42.384]) which thus far were devoid of superstition. But in the course of time the seeds of superstition were gradually sown. Under Constantine the Great the digging up and translation of relics from more obscure to more celebrated sepulchers began to take place. Indeed this was appointed by the emperor with a proper intention and praiseworthy zeal. As he desired to transfer the various external ornaments (which had conciliated any respect and authority for the heathen religion) to the Christian religion (that he might render it more acceptable not only to Christians but also to the heathen, as Eusebius tells us in his *Life of Constantine* 2.40 [NPNF2, 1:510]); so since he saw the heathen transferring with great pomp and solemnity the bodies of kings and other distinguished men (if they had been buried in somewhat obscure places) to more splendid monuments (yea, even to deposit them in magnificent temples), he thought that this honor ought to be shown much more properly to the bodies and relics of the holy apostles of God, martyrs and others. When however the bodies and relics of saints began to be exhumed and removed, presently a persuasion entered the minds of men that the martyrs and other saints were the columns, towers and guards of that country, city, place where their relics or bodies were deposited (as Basil

tells us, *The Long Rules*, Question 40 [FC 9:313–14]). Another superstition immediately followed this, that the bodies of saints and other relics should no longer be buried under the altar, but be placed on them and prostituted to veneration. Hence arose the carrying around of the relics that they might be held in greater admiration. And because various miracles were wrought at the sepulchers of the martyrs, they began to invoke there not only God, but also the martyrs themselves; yea, even to worship their relics. Thus the error gradually grew and increased to the most superstitious worship and the grossest idolatry.

Sources of explanation.

IX. The miracle divinely performed at the bones of Elisha (2 K. 13:21) confirmed the faith of his preceding prophecy concerning the coming irruption of the Moabites, but does not favor the religious worship of his body. Hence neither before nor after that miracle do we read of anyone having visited the sepulcher of Elisha or kissed his bones adoringly. Again, that was a real miracle and free from all false suspicion (which no one can say concerning the pretended miracles of relics).

X. The touch of Christ's garment was an extraordinary symbol of miraculous healing (Mt. 9:21). Yet on this account neither was any other symbol of divine miracles religiously worshipped by any pious person, nor is there the same reason of the garment of Christ (clothed with which he willed to use for a demonstration of his divine power) and the popish relics (which either uncertain or separated from the living Christ, cannot have the same virtue and efficacy).

XI. The "shadow" of Peter (Acts 5:15) and the "handkerchiefs" and "aprons" of Paul (which healed the sick, Acts 19:12) were likewise symbols of extraordinary cures. But that on account of this symbolical office they should be adored, neither the apostles commanded nor does it appear to have been done by anyone. Did Peter, who would not be adored by Cornelius when living, wish to order the adoration of his carcass? Or would he suffer that before his shadow or aprons (pertaining not at all to his essence) men should prostrate themselves in reverence?

XII. The translation of the bones of the patriarchs tended to confirm their faith towards the promise of God concerning the possession of the land and

the Messiah who was to be born in it. Yet it had nothing to do with the religious worship of their bones (which were again buried).

XIII. If Vigilantius did that one thing in order to set himself in opposition to the growing superstition in the worship of relics, he could not therefore be justly accused of heresy by Jerome (*Against Vigilantius* [NPNF2, 6:417–23]) or be associated with the Gnostics and Eunomians (from whose opinion he most widely differed). That Jerome dealt most unjustly with him in this, Erasmus himself cannot conceal, when he says that he was so much enraged against him as to be compelled to desire more modesty in him (as if he denied that martyrdom was to be endured or thought that the blood of the martyrs should be trodden underfoot and was to be worthy of no honor at all; while he only denied that the relics of martyrs should be worshipped). In this thing, we do not hesitate to say that we agree with Vigilantius. But if he nourished certain errors on other heads of doctrine (as Jerome charges him, how truly is not sufficiently clear), we confess that there is nothing common to us with him.

Ninth Question: The Second Commandment—The Worship of Images

Is it lawful to religiously worship images of God, the holy Trinity, Christ, the virgin and other saints? We deny against the papists

I. There are two principal questions concerning sacred images: (1) concerning the worship of them—should they be worshipped and reverenced? (2) concerning their use—should they at least be made and placed in temples and other sacred places? We now discuss the former and will afterwards take up the latter.

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not whether images may be made which ought to be valued by us (whether we regard the artist, material or antiquity, or even on account of the prototype, if he is a man of some reputation, dear to us). Rather the question is Should any religious worship (whether called adoration or veneration) be paid to images of God and the saints made by

the hand of men? Among our opponents, there is no agreement on this point, some roundly showing adoration, others however, to avoid odium, urging only veneration. But this is an empty distinction. Since religious worship is only one and does not admit of various species, it is equally such by whatever name it may be designated.

III. Second, the question here does not concern the mode of exhibiting worship to images, but in what manner images ought to be adored. This is done in order to examine the varying and adverse opinions of papists themselves who, like the builders of ancient Babel, are divided in their tongues and fiercely fight with each other—whether they are to be adored properly and per se (so that they may limit the adoration between themselves, as some hold); or, on the other hand, only analogically, improperly and with reference to the example and prototype (as others think). Whether with the same worship as the prototype (as not a few); or with a different and inferior worship (as others). Rather the question only concerns the truth of worship—whether any religious worship ought to be paid to them. This the papists constantly maintain; we, however, deny.

IV. The opinion of the papists can be gathered in no better way than from the decree of the Council of Trent. For although here, as elsewhere, they speak hesitatingly and ambiguously, so as to satisfy as far as possible each of the dissenting parties; yet they sufficiently disclose their meaning, when they appeal to the Second Nicene Council and approve whatever was sanctioned in it concerning the worship of images. The words are in Session 25, where bishops are commanded to "teach the invocation of the saints, honor of relics, and use the images, and charge those who teach otherwise with thinking impiously; that which was sanctioned against the opposers of images by the decrees of councils, especially of the Second Nicene Council" (Schroeder, pp. 215–16). Now everybody knows that this council (held in the year 787 and considered ecumenical by them) expressly sanctioned the adoration of images. Hence it anathematizes those who even for a little while doubt whether images should be adored. "We think the images of the glorious angels and saints ought to be adored. If anyone, however, is not so disposed, but labors and hesitates about the adoration of images worthy of veneration, the holy and venerable synod anathematizes him" (Second Council of Nicea, Actione 7 in Mansi, 13:743). However since to some the word "adoration" might appear too strong and they would

be disposed to say in milder terms "that images should be reverenced," the Synod thus inveighs against them: "All who profess to venerate sacred images, but refuse adoration, are proved to be hypocrites by holy father Anastasius"; and he says that "they dishonor the saints" (Actione 4, Mansi, 13:597). Since, therefore, the Council of Trent approves whatever was sanctioned in that Synod, it is clear that its opinion was the same.

V. Second, this is confirmed by their daily practice in which it is evident that they prostrate themselves before images, kiss them, burn incense to them, erect altars, offer prayers, make vows, institute sacred festivals and make use of similar parts of adoration and worship. And that no one may suppose that only the people sin in that practice while the principal divines think differently, it is not difficult to show that their views correspond with this practice. Hence Thomas Aquinas wishes the worship of *latreia* to be given to the cross of Christ, no less than to Christ himself. "Since, therefore, Christ ought to be adored with the adoration of *latreia*, it follows that his image ought to be adored with the same adoration" (ST, III, Q. 25, Art. 3*, p. 2155). As usual, Cajetan follows him and Gabriel Biel—"If there are images of Christ, they should be adored with the same kind of adoration as Christ, viz., that of latreia" (*Canonis Misse Expositio* 49 [ed. H. Oberman and W. Courtenay, 1965], 2:264). A majority of divines embrace this opinion: Alexander [of Hales], Bonaventure, Richard [of Middleton], Paludanus, Capreolus, Castro, Canisius, Turrianus and many others, whom Vasquez counts up to thirty (*De Cultu Adorationis*, Bk. 2, Disp. 8.3 [1594], p. 133). He indeed contends with the greatest earnestness that all inanimate things can be adored with the worship of *latreia*—yea, even straw and the rays of the sun, under which the devil lies concealed (ibid., Bk. 3, Disp. 1.2, 3, pp. 183–89). Bellarmine wishes images to be worshipped, not only on account of the prototype (or thing signified), but also on account of themselves so that the veneration may be terminated upon the image ("De Reliquiis et Imaginibus Sanctorum," 21 *Opera* [1857], 2:499–500). Pertinent here is the fact that in a solemn and public worship, the cross itself is invoked in the hymn, sung in adoration of it on the Wednesday before Easter, for while the priest, uncovering the cross, says, "Behold the wood of the cross" and the choir responds, "Come let us worship"; the prayer is addressed to it, "Hail, O Cross, our only hope, in this time of Passion, increase righteousness to the pious, and bestow pardon on the guilty." And

that no one may suppose that this is said metonymically of the crucifix, it is immediately distinguished expressly from it: "thou alone wast worthy to bear the price of the world." Thus in *Pontificale Romanum*: "The cross of the apostolic legate will be on the right hand, because *latreia* is due to it, and the sword of the emperor on the left" ("Ordo ad recipiendum Imperatorem," *Pontificale Romanum Clemente* VIII [1700], p. 645).

VI. I confess that this opinion does not please some among the papists, who hold that no worship ought to be given to the images of God, but that they should be esteemed only for history and the memory of past things. Not that the image itself should be adored, but only the exemplar itself before the image. This was the opinion of Gregory the Great, who praises Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, for condemning the worship of images, but blames him for breaking them: "We praise you wholly for having prohibited their adoration, but blame you for having broken them; it is one thing to adore a picture, another to learn through the history of a picture what ought to be worshipped" (Letter 13, "To Serenus" [NPNF2, 13:53; PL 77.1128]). With him agree [William] Durand, Bishop of Mimatum (*Rationale* [1481], Bk. IV, Quart. Canonis, fo. 64), Gerson, Chancellor of Paris ("Declaratio defectum Virorum Ecclesiasticorum," n. 67 in *Opera Omnia* [1987 repr.], 2:318), Holchot, Tostatus and others on Dt. 4 ("Preclarum … super Deuteronomium," in *Opera* [1507–31], pp. 11–15). Nor is it doubtful that the more devoted and sharp-sighted papists incline to this opinion. But that it cannot be considered as the received opinion of the Roman church is evident, not only from Bellarmine and others, who fiercely reject it as rash and heretical, so that Baronius (on the year 794) says that they were insane who thought thus (*Annales Ecclesiastici* [1868], Annus 794, 13:255–79) and Sirmondus calls this the "heresy of the Gauls" (cf. *Concilia Antiqua Galliae* [1629/1970], 2:191–92); but especially from the Council of Trent, which expressly sanctions the worship of images.

The worship of images is rejected: (1) from the law.

VII. However, the orthodox impugn it. First, from the law because it contains an express prohibition, when the Lord clearly teaches us neither to make images for the sake of religion, nor to adore and worship them. "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that

is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them" (Ex. 20:4, 5*). This is confirmed: "ye shall make you no idols nor graven image, neither rear you up a standing image, neither shall ye set up any image of stone in your land, to bow down unto it" (Lev. 26:1; cf. Dt. 4:15). In these places they are forbidden to make not only a "graven image" (*phsl*), but also any "likeness" (*thmvnh*) whatever (even painted), expressing or representing by copy any shape, whether in heaven or on earth or under the earth. Could anything ever be more strictly forbidden than that every image (which may be used for religious worship) is here interdicted? Or was anything ever more manifestly violated than this commandment is in the Romish communion?

VIII. To no purpose is it here objected (in order to escape the force of this argument): (1) that this is a precept of positive right, binding only the Jews and not a natural precept by which all are bound, as Vasquez tries to escape (*Commentariorum ac Disputationum in Tertiam Partem ... Thomae*, I, Disp. 104*.2* [1631], p. 678) and Ambrosius Catharinus ("Disputatio: De Cultu et adoratione Imaginum," in *Ambrosius Catharinus: Ennarationes, Assertationes, Disputationes* [1964], pp. 121–22), with whom Grotius agrees. The contrary is testified to both by the immediate and proximate end of the precept, which is of moral and perpetual right (viz., that the true God should be worshipped purely and uncorruptedly without any idolatry), and by its two parts—the first concerning idol-making (*eidōlopoiia*) because it is impossible and wicked to represent God by an image; the other concerning idol-worship (*eidōlolatreia*), which is simply forbidden (Dt. 4:15). Again, by the frequent repetition in the New Testament (even after the abrogation of the ceremonial law, Acts 15:20; 1 Jn. 5:21) and often in both epistles to the Corinthians. Third, the precept is known by nature, whence Paul convicts the Gentiles by it (Acts 14:11–18, 17:22–31; Rom. 1:18–23). This is confirmed by the history of many nations which would not allow the introduction of images (cf. *Plutarch's Lives: Numa* 8.7–8 [Loeb, 1:332–35]; Tertullian, *Apology* 25 [*FC* 10:77–81; Tacitus, *Germania* 9 [Loeb, 1:144–45]). Fourth, many of the adversaries acknowledge this with us: Bellarmine, ??"De Cultu Sanctorum," 7 in *Opera* [1857], 2:535–37; Suarez, "Commentaria … in tertiam partem D. Thomae," Q. 25, Art. 3*, Disp. 54, Sect. 7 in *Opera Omnia* [1856–78], 18:647).

IX. Second objection. It refers to idols, of things not existing (such as the false deities of the Gentiles) and not to the images of existing things. For this reason they think *phsl* should be translated by *eidōlon* and not by *eikona*. But that this is a fruitless way of extrication is evident: (1) because the word *phsl* is said of every representation, hence the Septuagint translates it now *eidōlon* (as in Exodus) then *glypton* (as in Dt. 4:16 and 5:8), then *eikona* (Is. 40:18, 20); the Chaldee renders it by *tslm*' ("image"). (2) Although the word *phsl* may be somewhat restricted, the word *thmvnh* (indeed with the mark of universality) ought to include every image necessarily, unless we wish a representation not to be an image and vice versa. (3) The Vulgate version rejects this distinction in Dt. 4:16 when it renders "sculptam similitudinem, aut imaginem masculi" and in Is. 40:18 "quam imaginem ponteis ei?" (4) The distinction between *eidōlon* and *eikona* is falsely taken for granted. Although in theological and ecclesiastical use idol is understood for the most part in a bad sense (and even in a good sense) for any representation; yet it is certain that in grammatical use they have the same signification and are used promiscuously for any representation. Hence the Glossator has *eikōn, eidōlon*. In Cicero, "image" and "idol" differ only in this—one is Greek, the other Latin. Says he, "Empty images of an atom, which they term idols" (*De Finibus* 1.6.21 [Loeb, 17:22–23]). So everywhere in Diodorus, Polybius, Plutarch and other approved authors, the status of kings, emperors and others is called *eidōla*. Among ecclesiastical authors they are frequently confounded so that *eidōlon* is used for a simple image, and in turn image for idol. (5) Although they may differ in this, that in everyday use idol is taken more strictly and image more widely (so that indeed every idol is an image, but not in turn every image an idol, unless some relation of divinity is added to it, whether as to representation or as to worship), it is certain that nowhere have they been thus distinguished from each other, as the papists maintain, as if an idol was only of things not existing, and an image of things existing. Uniformly (among profane writers) idol is used of existing things. In the Scriptures indeed images of the true God are called idols (as the golden calf is called an "idol" [Acts 7:41] and its worshippers idolaters, which nevertheless was formed to represent the true God): thus the idol of Micah (Jdg. 17:3, 4) and the calves of Jeroboam (1 K. 12:28). Again in the law God prohibits not only the images of false things, but also of things

existing whether in heaven or on earth, etc. He does not say of those things which are not, but "which are." So every created thing becomes an idol when religious worship is paid to it. The brazen serpent became an idol when the Israelites wished to burn incense to it. The statue of Nebuchadnezzar was an idol when set up for adoration. Most idols of the Gentiles were images not of false things, but of truly existing things (viz., either of the stars or of men or of animals). An "idol" is said "to be nothing" (1 Cor. 8:4), not subjectively (by reason of existence) or objectively (with regard to representation), but with regard to efficacy and formally (because it is not the true God).

X. Third objection. In the law not all images are forbidden, but those which are made for the adoration of latria and are considered "as gods." We answer that the words of the law reject such an explanation. They forbid not only latria, but also dulia to be given to images, for the Hebrew word (*th'bhdhm*) signifies "serve them" (which is *douleuein*). (2) If only images esteemed as gods are forbidden, it would thus refer to the object of worship, not to the mode (and so the first commandment would be confounded with the second). (3) If the objection holds good, the Gentiles might easily be freed from the crime of idolatry. They often professed that they did not consider their idols as gods. Celsus says "who but a perfect child considers these (viz., representations) to be gods?" (*tis gar allos ei mē panta nēpios tauta hēgeitai theous*, Origen, *Contra Celsum* 7.66 [trans. H. Chadwick, 1965], p. 446; PG 11.1509). Arnobius introduces the heathen saying, "You err and are mistaken, for we consider neither the bronze, nor the materials of gold and silver to be of themselves gods, and religious deities; but we worship the gods by them" (*The Case Against the Pagans* 6.17 [ACW 8:470; PL 5.1199–1200]). They speak in the same manner in Lactantius (*Divine Institutes* 2.2 [FC 49:97–101]). Augustine mentions and refutes this subterfuge. "They seem to themselves to be of a purer religion, who say, I neither worship the image, nor demons, but through the bodily appearance I behold the sign of that which I ought to worship" (*Psalm* 115 [113].6 [4] [NPNF1, 8:552; PL 37.1483]). "I worship not this visible thing, but the divinity dwelling there invisibly" (*Ennaratio in Psalmum CXIII* ["In Psalmum CXIII Alterum: De altera parte," 3] PL 37.1483). Neither would the Israelites have been idolaters of the golden calf, which they did not suppose to be God. For who can believe them to have been so stupid as to

believe the work of their own hands to be that of God who had led them out of Egypt? They intended merely to form for themselves a representation of him that they might worship the true God in this image (according to Aaron himself, who calls the feast consecrated to this idol "the feast of Jehovah," Ex. 32:5). Nor is it an objection that they said to Aaron "make us gods" because it is well known that in Scripture the names of the things signified are often given to the signs.

XI. Hence it is evident that our adversaries can in no way free themselves from the crime of idolatry brought upon them by the law. While they attend to this and feel themselves pressed by such an express command, they turn their indignation against the law of God itself with a sacrilegious boldness and impiety unheard-of before, by expunging it from the number of the rest that it may not trouble them (if not from Scripture itself). Since this was not in their power, still they expunge it from the offices, the breviaries and other formulas of the divine law which are given to the people (which is verily a clear argument of a desperate cause).

2. Because image-worship is idolatrous.

XII. Second, the religious worship of images (never commanded or approved by Scripture) cannot be freed from the crime of idolatry. According to the usage of Scripture and of the ancient church, an idol is every image made for the sake of religion. Therefore he worships idols who bends and bows down before images (Is. 2:8, 9) or adores them in themselves with any religious worship properly so called whatsoever (which, under whatever name it may come, is due to God alone). Yea, they who worshipped images not indeed in themselves, but in the image of the prototypes, are called "idolaters" (as the Israelites in the worship of the golden calf [Ex. 32:4, 5] and in the worship of the two calves set up by Jeroboam in Dan and Bethel [1 K. 12:28]). For Ahab afterwards introduced the worship of Baal and of the false gods by images (1 K. 16:32, 33), who on that account is said to have done evil more than all who were before him. The same thing is said of the idol of Micah (Jdg. 17:3), which was sanctified to Jehovah and whose priest is described as the priest of Jehovah (Jdg. 17, 18). Thus the Gentiles (although they adore the prototype in presence of images) are justly condemned no less as idolaters. Finally that

cannot help being idolatrous worship by which God is worshipped in a manner not due, but unlawful and forbidden. To no purpose is the objection here, that the images themselves are not worshipped by themselves (which would be idolatrous), but only in relation to the prototype or the prototype in them. For besides the fact that not a few of them wish the image itself to be worshipped properly and by itself (as something sacred) and to regulate the worship itself and not only that it may represent the exemplar (as Bellarmine teaches, "De reliquiis et Imaginibus Sanctorum," 20, 22 in *Opera* [1857], 2:498–99, 500–01), the words of the law expressly forbid all worship of images, whether absolute or relative. Where indeed has God instituted the relative worship of latria, whose proximate object is the creature and remote object God? Were not the calf-worshipping Israelites of old (and so the pagans themselves) ready to encrust their idolatry with the same distinction? Again, if a relation (*schesis*) to the prototype would take away from the crime of idolatry, there never could be any idolatry about images of the deity. For they could not be worshipped as images without a relation to the prototype which they represent.

3. Because they can be worshipped neither on account of themselves, nor on account of the exemplar.

XIII. Third, if images could be religiously worshipped, it would be either on account of themselves or of the exemplar. But neither can be said. Not on account of themselves, because they are beneath the dignity of man which are made and preserved by the care of men (as being inanimate things subject to the hand and fancy of the artificer); hence so often the worship of images is forbidden because they are the workmanship of men's hands (Ps. 115:8; Is. 40:18; Jer. 10:14; Hab. 2:18, 19). Not on account of the exemplar, either God or the saints, because God does not wish to be worshipped in an image (in which he has not put his name) and cannot be represented by a material image; and the saints must not be worshipped either by themselves or by images.

4. Because it was unknown in the ancient church.

XIV. Fourth, the worship of images was unknown in the Christian church during the first four centuries. This appears from the various testimonies of the fathers impugning it: Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.40 and 7.70 (trans. H. Chadwick, 1965), pp. 155–56 and 384–85; Tertullian, *Apology* 12 (FC 10:41–42) and *De Idolatria* (ed. J.H. Waszink and J.C.M. van Winden, 1987); Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Heathen* (ANF 2:171–206); Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 2.1 (FC 49:94–97); Epiphanius (cf. Jerome, Letter 51, "Epiphanius to John of Jerusalem" [NPNF2, 6:89]); Jerome, Letter 57, "To Pammachius" (NPNF2, 6:112–19); Augustine, *Ennaratio in Psalmum CXIII* (PL 37.1483). (2) From the Elibertine Council (Council of Elvira) where we have this express decree: "Pictures ought not to be in churches, nor any object of worship or adoration be painted on the walls" (Canon 36, cf. Mansi, 2:11). (3) The fathers constantly throw up to the pagans the worship of images and the Gentiles (answering the Christian charge that this is a disgrace) never bring forward the worship of images as practiced by Christians to remove or at least mitigate the odium of their superstition in reference to idols (which undoubtedly they would not have omitted, if any such custom had then existed among the Christians). They not only make no such reply, but upbraid them with the want of altar and images as the greatest impiety. To purge themselves from this charge, so far are the Christians from referring in the slightest degree to any use or worship of images among them that they rather employ various reasons to prove that it is impossible or unlawful and useless to make images of the deity. The Jews in their disputations with the Christians never charged them with the worship of images (which they held in the greatest detestation). Different fathers condemned the pictorial art, either as absolutely unlawful or as vain and useless. From these and similar reasons, it is indisputably gathered that in the primitive church the worship of images did not as yet prevail (which the celebrated Daille proves in his usual solid manner, *De Imaginibus* 1, 2 [1642], pp. 1–244). (4) Not a few of the papists confess this. Cassander: "it is certain that in the beginning of the preached gospel for a considerable time among the Christians especially in churches there was no use of images" ("De Articularis Religionis … consultatio," Art. 21 ["De Imaginibus"] in *Opera* [1616], p. 974). And afterwards: "Now how

strongly opposed to all veneration of images the ancients in the beginning of the church were, Origen alone declares" (ibid., p. 975). "At length," says he, "pictures were admitted into churches as expressing the history of events or bearing the likeness of holy men" (ibid., p. 974). Erasmus says, "Even to the age of Jerome there were men of approved piety, who introduced no image into the temples neither painted, nor sculptured, nor woven, nor indeed of Christ" ("Symbolum sive Catechismus," in *Opera* [1704/1962], 5:1187). In the same place: "For no constitution, even human, commanded that images should be in temples; and as it is easier, so it is safer to remove all images from temples" (ibid., p. 1188). Lilius Gyraldus: "That certainly I will not pass over, we, I say Christians, as formerly Romans, were without images in what is called the primitive church" ("Historiae deorum gentilium syntagma," 1 in *Opera* [1696], p. 15). Polydore Virgil testifies "that almost all the ancient fathers condemned the worship of images on account of their fear of idolatry, than which no crime can be more execrable" (*De rerum inventoribus* 6.12 [1671], pp. 417–18). Add to these words the following in which he teaches that Moses inculcated nothing more strongly than that the people should not venerate anything made with hands; and that the prophet said, "Let all be confounded, who adore graven images" (ibid., p. 418). The Index Expurgatorius (with the sanction of the Council of Trent) ordered this phrase to be erased.

XV. However, after the fourth century, near the beginning of the fifth, Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, and Severus (Sulpicius), Bishop of Bituricensis, introduced certain historical pictures into the basilicas which they erected. This was not done that they might be images of that which is religiously worshipped, nor that the pictures themselves might be religiously worshipped; but only that they might be historical and commemorative symbols and also ornaments of the basilicas, as is evident from Letter 13 of Paulinus to Severus (ACW 36:134–59). Since however by degrees from the use of images, the worship of them was introduced by some, it happened that in the beginning of the sixth century, Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, and Gregory I, the Roman, decided to meet this superstition, though in different ways. The former by taking them away entirely; the latter, however, by retaining them indeed, but diligently instructing the people that they were useful only as remembrancers and should not in any way be adored. Hence writing to Serenus, he says, "We praise your zeal that

nothing manufactured can be adored, but we judge that you ought not to have broken the images themselves" (Gregory the Great, Letter 13, "To Serenus" [NPNF2, 13:53; PL 77.1128]). Since, however, from the retention of images, their worship gradually returned and superstition creeping in by little and little, it prevailed both in the east and the west. Various decrees were made by the emperors concerning the removal of images: by Leo III, the Isaurian, in the year 726; by Constantine V Caballinus, called Copronymus; his son who (338 bishops of the east being assembled at Constantinople in the Seventh Ecumenical Council) had a decree passed against the worship of images in the year 754; by Christophorus and Nicephorus, emperors, in the year 775; by Leo IV in the year 780. However although Irene, wife of Leo IV, ruling over the east, strove to restore by her youthful son the images with which he was greatly pleased, in the general Council of Nicea, which sanctioned their worship in 787 contrary to the Constantopolitan; still there were many emperors in the east who did not cease to oppose it—Nicephorus I and Stauratius in 810; Leo V Armenus in 814; Michael II, Balbus and Theophilus in 824, 829, 830, 832; Michael III, Porphyrogenitus, in 866. See the *Decreta Imperialia* concerning the worship of images.

XVI. But more especially in the west, Charles the Great was so indignant at the decree of the Second Nicene Council that he not only in a special treatise (very recently reproduced) entitled *Capitulare de Imaginibus* (PL 98.989–1248) (that this is the true and genuine offspring of the author, whatever Baronius and Bellarmine may allege to the contrary, even the testimony of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims [cf. "Opuscula et Epistolae … ad causam Hincmarii Laudunensis" PL 126.360; cf. PL 98.997–98], alone and the prolix letter of Pope Adrian [*Epistola Adriani Papae ad beatum Carolum Regem De Imaginibus*, PL 98.1247–92] to Charles in reply, abundantly demonstrate) most learnedly impugned the worship of images against the false Synod of Nice, but also assembled a Council at Frankfort in the year 794 which condemned the Nicene and enacted a severe decree against the worship of images. That from this time, the presidents of the western church constantly repudiated entirely all veneration of images is so clear that Baronius and the editors of the Library of the Fathers (*Patrum Bibliothecam*) confess (although unwillingly) that the most distinguished writers of that age held this opinion: among them is

Agobard, Bishop of Lyons; Claudius of Turin; Jonas of Aurelia (Orleans) who indeed rebukes Claudius for his intemperate zeal in removing images, but agrees with him that they should in no way be adored (*De Cultu Imaginum* 1 [PL 106.305–42]; cf. Walafridus Strabo, *De Ecclesiasticarum rerum exordiis et incrementis* (PL 114.919–66). This was more strongly confirmed in the Synod of Paris by Louis I (the Pious), son of Charles, held in the year 825, in which the worship of images was again condemned. Hence Pithou: "Indeed if we seriously desire the truth, our men" [he means the French] "very lately began to be fond of images" ("Praefatio," *Historia Miscellae a Paulo Aquilegiensi Diacono* [1569], p. [6]). How many and how great commotions, however, were excited from the eighth century about the erection and worship of images between the image-breakers and the image-worshippers, both in the east and in the west, have been fully recounted by the illustrious Plessaeus in *Mysterium iniquitatis seu historia papatus* (1611) and Forbes in *Instructiones Historico-theologicae* 7.12 (1645), pp. 563 [363]–356 [368]. The latter in a historical narration concerning images brought down from the time of the Council of Frankfort even to the 13th century, shows the constancy of the French and Germans even to that age in rejecting images (cf. also Daille, *De Imaginibus* [1642]).

XVII. Before the Council of Trent, many among the papists inveighed against the veneration of images and the notorious abuses springing from their use, as William Durand, Bishop of Mimatum, John Billet (a Parisian Divine), Gerson, Biel and others. Yea, while the Council was sitting, Sebastian, Elector of Mainz, held a provincial council in which it was decreed that images should be set up in temples not for adoration or worship to be paid them, but to recall those things only to remembrance which ought to be adored (cf. Sarpi, *Historie of the Council of Trent* 3 [1620], p. 296). Also Catharine de Medici, Queen of France, in the year 1561 sent a letter to Pius IV, in which among other things she seeks "that the use of images forbidden by God, and condemned by the sainted Gregory should be removed forthwith from the place of adoration" (cf. Thuanus, *Historiarum sui temporis* 28 [1625], p. 563). In the year 1562, by his command, Valentinus and Sagiensis (Bishops), Butillerius, Espensaeus, and Picherellus were chosen to consult concerning the plan of entering into union with the Protestants. Among other things, this was proposed: "that the representations of the Holy Trinity should be removed from the temples,

that crowns and garments should not be placed upon images, vows and offerings should not be made to them, they should not be carried around in supplications; that the sign of the cross should be no longer worshipped." However from that time (after the sanction of the Council) the worship of images prevailed everywhere in the Roman church. Still there were always some (and are still many among them) who are ashamed of such gross idolatry. Hence so many distinctions, pretexts and disguises are invented to cover up this superstition and to remove the odium of so great a crime (with which however they cannot satisfy even themselves). Yea, Bellarmine concedes, "If we treat of the thing itself, that images can be worshipped improperly and by accident, with the same kind of worship, with which the exemplar is worshipped; but as to the manner of speaking to the people, it ought not to be said that any images should be adored with latria" ("De Reliquiis et Imaginibus Sanctorum," 22, 23 in *Opera* [1857], 2:500–01). As if it was wrong to say what nevertheless it is right to do.

XVIII. Fifth, the dissent of papists, and their various and uncertain (yea, inextricable) opinion concerning the adoration of images sufficiently prove the falsity of the doctrine. While some hold that images should receive the same worship as the exemplar (viz., the images of God, Christ and the cross, the worship of latria; the images of the blessed virgin, that of hyperdulia; and those of the saints, that of dulia—as Thomas Aquinas with his followers and many of the Scholastics), others however assign an inferior worship to that of the exemplar (as Bellarmine and others); some that they should be worshipped properly and by themselves; others only by accident, analogically and relatively to the exemplar. Since therefore there is no agreement as yet among the worshippers of images (as to whether they ought truly and properly to be adored and with what kind of worship), such worship is falsely prescribed to the people, calculated to bring them into the most imminent and constant danger of idolatry. For who is there either among the people (nay, even among the learned) who either understands such distinctions or can rightly apply them when understood; so as by an abstraction of mind, while bowing before an image, not to give it any proper, but only a relative and analogical worship; or a worship only inferior to its prototype? Who on the other hand does not see that in practice the theoretical distinctions devised by divines to escape a too horrible idol mania are confounded? Bellarmine, indeed, could not conceal this, and

speaking of the distinction between "relative and absolute latria," says, "They who contend that images should be adored with latria, are compelled to use the most subtle distinctions, which scarcely they themselves understand, much less the uninstructed people" (*ibid*., 22, p. 500).

Sources of explanation.

XIX. It is one thing "to bow down at God's footstool" (i.e., towards the ark, so called as the symbol of God's glorious presence); another, however, to worship the footstool itself. The former we grant, but not the latter. Nor is the contrary proved by Ps. 99:5 where the psalmist commands: "Worship, or prostrate yourselves at his footstool" (*hshthchvv lhdhvm rglyv*), as in v. 9 "at his holy hill" (*lhr qdhshv*) where the "place of worship" is proposed, not the object; as the Chaldee renders it, "Worship ye in the house of his sanctuary"; and the Septuagint translates the same words in Ps. 132:7, "Bow down at the place in which his feet stand" (*proskynēsomen eis ton topon*). (2) The pious are commanded to bow down towards the temple (Ps. 5:7) and yet all will confess that it was not to be worshipped.

XX. From the cherubim and the brazen serpent the consequent does not hold good to images. The one is a symbol, emblem and type of something (as the brazen serpent was a type of Christ); the other an image. (2) Neither the cherubim, nor the brazen serpent was adored (Vasquez himself confessing). God indeed promised that he would answer Moses from between the cherubim (Ex. 25:22), but nowhere commands him to worship them; nor were they set up for worship, since they were out of sight of the people above the ark in the holy of holies. As to the brazen serpent, so far from there being any obligation to worship it, it was even thrown down and broken in pieces by King Hezekiah, since the Jews began to worship it (2 K. 18:4). The Israelites were therefore healed, not by a religious worship of this serpent, but by looking at it according to the command of God. No objection can arise from its high position because the relation of type and the necessity of seeing demanded that. For both the sun and the planets are placed on high and yet not for worship.

XXI. The adoration of an angel, often occurring among the patriarchs, does not favor the worship of images, because they adored the uncreated angel, who not only belonged to Jehovah, but was Jehovah himself (as is

clearly evinced by the circumstances of the passages and has been shown elsewhere, Topic VII, Question 9, Section 22).

XXII. When the apostle says that "Jesus Christ had been evidently set forth before the eyes of the Galatians, crucified among them" (Gal. 3:1), he does not speak of the fashioning of images of the crucifix (which were made either by the brush of the painter or the chisel of the sculptor), but of the preaching of the gospel, by which he is exhibited to us as crucified. Paul sets before himself no other object of teaching than Christ crucified (1 Cor. 2:2) and the word *proegraphē* used by the apostle means nothing else.

XXIII. The honor of the image does not pass over to the prototype and exemplar, unless he himself (who is the exemplar) has so willed or ordained. But if on the contrary he has prohibited any image of himself to be made or to be honored, he is treated injuriously if anyone goes against his will. This we maintain has been done by God here. Nor can a good intention be sufficient here, because the goodness of a work is to be judged not by the intention of the performer, but by the command of the legislator.

XXIV. From the worship of the "name of God" (prescribed in Ex. 20:7 and Phil. 2:10), the consequence does not hold good to the worship of images for then the name is not taken precisely for the syllables and letters, but for the thing itself signified by the name. In this sense, the Hebrews were accustomed to call God himself *shm* ("name").

XXV. Although we read that Christians before the time of Constantine the Great used the sign of the cross, but unreal (*anyparktō*) and only formed in the air by a certain motion of the fingers, as appears from Tertullian, *The Chaplet* 3 (FC 40:237; PL 2.80), it was not done according to any law of Scripture, but by custom alone (as he confesses in the same place). Nor did they employ this sign as in adoration or as operative *ex opere operato* (as Bellarmine falsely maintains, "De Reliquiis et Imaginibus Sanctorum," 30 *Opera* [1857], 2:512), but only as a distinguishing sign and mark by which Christians might mutually know each other and that what was thrown up to them as a reproach (their worship of the crucified) might be ascribed to his glory (according to Masius, *Iosua imperatoris histori illustrata* [1574], pp. 313–27, on Jos. 22). Hence Minucius Felix says, "Crosses, we neither worship nor desire; you evidently who consecrate wooden gods, adore wooden crosses, as perhaps parts of your gods" (*Octavio* 29 [ANF 4:191; PL 3.346]). If Constantine the Great in the heavenly vision (which

portended victory by the sign of the cross) was so moved by these words *En toutō nika* ("by this conquer") as to make a standard in the form of a cross; and if his mother, Helen, is said to have found the wood of the cross at Jerusalem, in the year 326 (which even the silence of Eusebius alone ought to make us greatly suspect); we do not therefore read that any worship was rendered to the cross. Ambrose expressly refutes this. "Helen," says he, "found a title; she adored the king, the wood not at all, because this is a pagan error and the vanity of the impious" (*Funeral Oration on the Death of Theodosius* 46 [FC 22:327; PL 16.1464]). If afterwards images of the cross were gradually introduced into the Christian oratories (although repugnant to many pious persons), they were not yet objects of adoration, but symbols of Christian faith, until in later times, and especially about the eighth century in the false Nicene Council under Irene, this worship was sanctioned.

Tenth Question

Whether not only the worship but also the formation and use of religious images in sacred places is prohibited by the second commandment. We affirm against the Lutherans

I. In the preceding question we treated of the worship of images. It remains to inquire further concerning their use—whether by the precept concerning images, besides the adoration, the making of them is also prohibited. Here we come into collision not only with papists, but also with Lutherans who (although they are opposed to and condemn the worship of images as unlawful and superstitious) endeavor to defend the making of images (*eikonopoiian*) and their use in sacred places as legitimate (if not for worship, at least for history and as the reminders of events).

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not whether all images of whatever kind they may be (even for a civil and economical use) are prohibited by God (as if the plastic [*plastikē*] art and all pictures as well as statues were condemned). Although this was the opinion of some of the ancients, Jews as well as Christians (as

appears from many passages of Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and others who thought that all use of images should be absolutely interdicted in order to withdraw Christians the more easily from the dreadful idol-mania of the Gentiles), still that this is a false opinion even the structure of the tabernacle and temple alone can teach (in which various figures of cherubim, oxen and other things were ingeniously wrought by skillful artists under the direction of God). Thus we do not condemn historical representations of events or of great men, either symbolical (by which their virtues and vices are represented) or political (impressed upon coins). But we here treat of sacred and religious images which are supposed to contribute something to the excitation of religious feeling.

III. The question is not whether it is lawful to represent creatures and to exhibit with the pencil historical events (either for the sake of ornament or for delight or even for instruction and to recall [*mnēmosynon*] past events) for this no one of us denies. Rather the question is whether it is lawful to represent God himself and the persons of the Trinity by any image; if not by an immediate and proper similitude to set forth a perfect image of the nature of God (which the papists acknowledge cannot be done), at least by analogy or metaphorical and mystical significations. This the adversaries maintain; we deny.

IV. Finally, the question is not whether it is lawful to have in our houses representations of holy men for a recollection of their piety and an example for imitation. Rather the question is whether it is right to set them up in sacred places; for instance in temples and oratories, not for worship and veneration, but for strongly impressing believers and exciting their affections by bringing up past things (which the Lutherans hold with the Council of Frankfort; we deny).

Proof that the use of images is unlawful. (1) From the second precept (Ex. 20).

V. The reasons are: First, God expressly forbids this in the second commandment, where two things are prohibited—both the making of images for worship and the worshipping of them. Nor can it be replied (a) that such images are meant by which men endeavor to express the essence

of God; not, however, those by which either God or the saints are represented in appearance. The falsity is evident from this—that there would be no necessity of prohibiting this because no one is so simple and insane as to wish to represent the spiritual essence of God by any external and corporeal symbol. If we would speak accurately and philosophically, not even the smallest essence of the creature can be set forth, but only the external lineaments. (b) Nor can it be replied that it refers only to images of false gods. Moses himself clearly explained not representing God (Dt. 4:12); yea, even God himself (the best interpreter of his own law) intimates this (Is. 40:18). Hence the Israelites representing God by the image of a calf were sharply rebuked and heavily punished (Ex. 32). Pious kings of the Jews no less than of the heathen removed idols, even as God had laid both commands upon his people that they should demolish the altars of the Canaanites, break the statues and not make molten gods for themselves (Ex. 34:13, 17).

2. From the nature of God.

VI. Second, God, being boundless (*apeiros*) and invisible (*aoratos*), can be represented by no image: "To whom will ye liken God? or what likeness" (or "image" as the Vulgate has it) "will ye compare unto him" (Is. 40:18). Paul refers to this in Acts 17:29: "Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device." Hence God in promulgating the law wished to set forth no likeness of himself, that the people might understand that they must abstain from every image of him as a thing unlawful; yea, even impossible: "Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves; (for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you … lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female" (Dt. 4:15, 16*). This the apostle condemns in the Gentiles "who changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things" (Rom. 1:23). Indeed this was not unknown to various Gentiles, who thought it unlawful to wish to represent the deity by an image. Plutarch: "He (Numa) however, forbids any image of God, like man or any animal; nor was there before among them any sculptured or

graven representation of God. Indeed during all those preceding 160 years they continually built temples and erected sacred buildings, or shrines; still they made no corporeal representation, judging that it was not holy to liken better things to worse, and that God could be apprehended by us in no other way than by the mind alone" (*Plutarch's Lives: Numa* 8.7–8 [Loeb, 1:334–35]). Thus Antiphanes: "God is not discerned by an image, is not seen by the eyes, is like to no one, wherefore no one can learn him from an image" (*De Deo*+). And Herodotus: "The Persians have neither statues nor altars, and think those who make them insane, because they do not (like the Greeks) think the Gods to be the offspring of men" (Herodotus, 1.131 [Loeb, 1:170–71]).

3. Because it is connected with the danger of idolatry.

VII. Third, that ought to be distant from sacred places which does not belong to the worship of God and is joined with danger of idolatry. Now images in sacred places do not belong to the worship of God, since indeed God has expressly removed them from his worship by the law and they are connected with the most imminent danger of idolatry. For men (especially uneducated men prone by nature to superstition) are moved to the worship of them by the very reverence for the place, as experience shows. As Brochmann properly acknowledges, "Rather ought all images of whatsoever kind to be removed than that we should permit them to stand in a public place for the sake of religious worship against the express command of God" ("De Lege," 7, Q. 1 in *Universae theologicae systema* [1638], 2:46). In vain is the reply made here that indeed the occasion of sin per se is prohibited, not likewise that which is by accident; otherwise the sun ought to be taken away from the heavens since it has afforded the occasion of idolatry to innumerable persons. Therefore the abuse should be removed, but not the lawful use of them. For the abuse indeed ought not to take away the legitimate use, if any such is granted from the appointment of God (which the adversaries suppose; we deny). Second objection: that only worship makes images unlawful, from which Lutherans profess that they shrink. We answer that although they are not expressly worshipped by them

(as by the papists) by bowing the knee and burning incense to them or offering prayers, still they cannot be said to be free from all worship; if not direct, at least indirect and participative because they hold that by images and the sight of them they conceive holy thoughts concerning God and Christ (which cannot but belong to the worship of God, so that thus they really worship God by images). Finally, if they are not worshipped by them, they can be worshipped by others (namely by papists if they enter their churches) and so render the use of them in churches unlawful (exposed to the danger of idolatry) by which idolaters are confirmed in their error and innumerable persons—not only unbelieving Jews and Mohammedans, but believing Christians—are scandalized.

VIII. Our ancestors cannot therefore be blamed for their zeal at the time of the Reformation in causing all images to be removed from sacred places. They did nothing here which was not commanded by God (Num. 33:52; Dt. 7:5; Ezk. 20:7) and confirmed by various examples of kings and emperors. In destroying idols and purging all sacred places of every kind of idolatry, the latter labored diligently, as was done by Hezekiah, who "removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto those days the children of Israel did bum incense to it" (2 K. 18:4). For this reason various emperors obtained the name of "image-breakers" (*iconoclastarum*).

Sources of explanation.

IX. Although God sometimes manifested himself in a visible form and in such an appearance is described to us in Scripture (when members and bodily actions are ascribed to him), it does not follow that it is lawful to represent him by an image. (1) The same God who thus appeared nevertheless strongly forbade the Israelites to fabricate any representation of him (to wit, God could employ speech, bodies and symbols, in order to testify his special presence; yet not on that account may man make unto God an image and statue in which he may exhibit himself to man). (2) Those bodily appearances were exhibited only in vision, shadowing forth not the essence of God, but in some measure his works and external glory; indeed extraordinary not ordinary, temporal not perpetual, not presented openly to all, but shown to individuals, especially in the spirit. Therefore

they have nothing in common with images. (3) It is one thing to speak metaphorically concerning God in accommodation to our conceptions; another to form a visible representation of him as if true and proper and exhibit it publicly to the eyes of all.

X. The making of images is not absolutely interdicted, but with a twofold limitation—that images should not be made representing God (Dt. 4:16), nor be employed in his worship. Therefore to make images and to worship them are not to be regarded in the second commandment only as means and end, but as two parts of the divine prohibition. Images are prohibited not only inasmuch as they are the object or the means of worship, but inasmuch as they are made simply for the sake of religion or are set up in sacred places.

XI. From a mental image to a sculptured or painted image, the consequence does not hold good. The former is of necessity, since I cannot perceive anything without some species or idea of it formed in the mind. Now this image is always conjoined with the spirit of discernment by which we so separate the true from the false that there is no danger of idolatry. But the latter is a work of mere judgment and will, expressly prohibited by God and always attended with great danger of idolatry. Hence it is falsely asserted that it is no less a sin to present images of certain things to the mind or to commit them to writing and exhibit them to be read, than to present them to the view when painted. For there is a wide difference between these things.

XII. The consequence does not hold good from the figures of the temple at Jerusalem to the images of Christians. The former were commanded and the latter not; those typical and fulfilled in the New Testament, these not; the former placed almost out of sight of the people and danger of adoration, which cannot be said of the latter. Nor is Christian liberty to be brought up here (which is not the license of doing anything whatsoever in relation to the worship of God, but is the immunity from the malediction of the law and the slavery of ceremonies). Since the former figures pertained to these, they also are to be considered as equally abrogated in the New Testament.

XIII. So far from images being rightly called “books of the common people” and aids to piety and religious devotion, the Holy Spirit testifies that they are “teachers of vanity and lies” (Jer. 10:8; Hab. 2:18). There is another book to be consulted by all (learned as well as unlearned) which

makes us wise and learned (to wit, Scripture, which is to be continually read and meditated upon by believers that they may be made wise unto salvation). But the pope takes this away from the people that they may be involved in inextricable error and that he may not be convicted by it. He substitutes other dumb books by which ignorance is not removed but nourished because he does not fear that they will mutter anything against it. So while for teachers he gives stones, the people are turned into stones and become no wiser than their teachers. Hence Augustine treats of the images of Peter and Paul (by occasion of which certain persons fell into error): "Thus forsooth they deserved to err, who sought Christ and his apostles not in the sacred writings, but on painted walls" (*The Harmony of the Gospels* 1.10 [NPNF1, 6:83; PL 34.1049]). (2) It would have been bad for the Jews to whom God denied those books (to whom nevertheless as more simple they were more necessary).

XIV. Whatever may be said of the utility of images in sacred places cannot and ought not to be opposed to the command of God forbidding them. That is taken for granted, not proved. Sacred signs are the sacraments, not images. The ornaments of churches are the pure preaching of the word, the lawful administration of the sacraments and holiness of discipline. The means for keeping the mind attentive are the presence and majesty of God himself and the difficulty and excellence of sacred mysteries.

XV. It is not sufficient to cast images out of the heart by the preaching of the word unless they are removed also from sacred places (where they cannot remain without danger of idolatry).

Eleventh Question: The Third Commandment

Whether every oath so obliges the conscience that we are bound to keep it by an inevitable necessity. We distinguish

The question concerning the obligation of an oath is disposed of by three propositions.

I. To the third commandment belongs the celebrated question concerning the faith of an oath; or what and how great is the obligation of an oath; and in what cases we can violate or are bound to keep plighted faith. We reach the determination of this question in three propositions.

1. Proposition: an unlawful oath is not binding.

II. First, every oath repugnant to the law of God and the lawful obedience to magistrates (concerning things either unlawful or impossible) does not bind the swearer to a performance of it. An oath ought not to be a bond of iniquity and no one ought to be compelled to do anything iniquitously. The apostolic maxim ought always to hold good here, "It is better to obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29). Here belongs that trite saying of Isidore of Seville: "In wicked promises break your faith, in a base vow change the purpose, do not perform what you have incautiously vowed" (actually, cf. Rudolf of Liebegg, *Pastorale novellum* 4.14, v. 1058 [Corpus Christianorum, Continuo Medaevalis 55:223]). And of the other Isidore (of Pelusium): "It is better in those things which have atrocity of wickedness, well to rescind bad promises than badly to seem to keep an oath" (*ameinon gar en tois enagesi ta kakōs epangelthenta lyein kalōs, ē to dokein enorkein kakōs*, *Book IV, Letter* 96, PG 78.1160). Hence the oath of David was unlawful and consequently not obligatory—swearing with fervor that he would put to the sword the whole house of Nabal on account of the denial of food (1 S. 25:22, 23); of Herod promising the head of John the Baptist to a most depraved woman (Mt. 14:7); of the Jews who pledged themselves to the destruction of Paul (Acts 23:21). Such oaths not only do not bind (because an evil thing receives no power from an oath), but if observed increase guilt. For then two sins are committed: one as a deed considered by itself, the other against religion from the abuse of the name of God (inasmuch as the proposed evil is sought to be strengthened by the authority of God). Of this kind are monastic vows which, as they are made badly, so they are worse if observed and are lawfully revoked.

III. There are various vicious oaths of this kind. (1) As to matter, they concern either unlawful or impossible things. (2) As to persons who cannot swear (such as children, idiots, fools, the intoxicated, madmen) or who cannot otherwise use the judgment of reason (such also are they who are not

masters of themselves, but under the power of others [as children, slaves, women, etc.] who bind themselves to anything, they to whom they are in subjection being unwilling), they are not bound by an oath, but ought to rescind it according to the command of the Lord (Num. 30:4), even though taken under pretext of worship and religion. Thus when the formal reason of an oath is taken away, the oath ceases by reason of the event. This is the case with those who have sworn to obey a master or prince who afterwards ceases to be such.

2. Proposition: an oath concerning a lawful and possible thing binds.

IV. Second proposition: Every oath concerning a lawful and possible thing which can be performed without detriment to religion, to the obedience due to magistrates and the salvation of our neighbor ought to be kept without treachery and deceit; even if extorted by violence or fear, or connected with temporal injury and involving loss to the swearer. Such an oath was made with the invocation of the divine name, which is not to be profaned. Its truth rests upon the express words of Scripture: "Ye shall not steal, neither deal falsely, neither lie one to another. And ye shall not swear by my name falsely" (Lev. 19:11, 12). "Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths" (Mt. 5:33). "He that sweareth evil" (i.e., an evil of loss which he sees to be injurious to his property, not of fault) "and changeth not, shall dwell in the mountain of the Lord" (Ps. 15:4). Although the injury done takes away the obligation with respect to the man doing the injury (since no right is founded upon injustice), still the obligation made to God remains (which without irreverence and injury to God cannot be considered as void). And here is the case of a man forced to an oath by robbers, concerning the payment of a redemption price, who either ought not to swear or religiously to observe the oath made because the oath was made to God (who cannot be trifled with). (2) It is not made simply by an unwilling person, but it is a mixed action in which there is something voluntary (between the payment of the money and the redemption of his life, he chooses the better). (3) The thing promised is possible and private to which religion and truth is always to be preferred.

Nor can it be said that thus robbery and rapine would be encouraged if the robber is paid what he has violently extorted. This is done by accident, for the traveller who has sworn neither assists robbers, nor approved their conduct, but redeems his life by paying what he had promised under oath. He can however meet this evil as far as in him lies by revealing the robbery to a magistrate. Nor is it any hindrance if he has sworn silence to the robber in addition. That is an oath concerning an unlawful thing which has the appearance of some collusion with the robbers. If this were not at all the case, still it hinders justice, confirms the depraved in their wickedness and affords to a neighbor the occasion of falling into peril of life (and thus in many ways sins against piety, justice and charity).

V. This very thing is confirmed by the example of the Israelites toward the Gibeonites. Although they had confirmed by an oath the covenant made with the former (deceived by their treachery as if they were strangers from most remote places), they did not rescind the oath when their treachery and deceit was afterwards found out, but fulfilled it in good faith (although they belonged to those nations whom God had devoted to destruction): "We have sworn unto them by the Lord God of Israel: now therefore we may not touch them. This we will do to them; we will even let them live, lest wrath be upon us, because of the oath which we sware unto them" (Jos. 9:19, 20*). And that no one might condemn this as not meeting with God's approbation, the joyful and miraculous victory testifies that he was pleased with it (Jos. 10:13). And when Saul (a hundred years afterwards) put to death certain of the Gibeonites, God testified how greatly he was displeased by sending a famine. This perjury could be atoned for only by the hanging of seven sons of Saul (2 S. 21:1ff.).

VI. As the religious force of an oath belongs to the divine court, so it does not come under the human court. Hence to no class or order of men is conceded the power to absolve from an oath: either from the whole by dispensation (which is a simple breaking of the bond) or in part by breaking it by a commutation (which is the transference of the bond from one matter to another).

3. Proposition: sworn faith is to be kept even with heretics.

VII. Third proposition: plighted faith is to be kept even with heretics and infidels. It is opposed to the opinion held by papists that faith is not to be kept with heretics (which both in a former age and in ours was the foundation of the dreadful massacres and slaughters of Protestants). The first authors of this perfidy were the Roman pontiffs themselves, who not only entertained this opinion, but both openly professed and approved it by their practice. (1) Against excommunicated emperors, kings and princes (who were regarded by them as infidels) with whom neither they themselves kept faith, nor did they wish others to keep faith. This was begun by Gregory III against Leo III (the Isaurian), the Iconoclast. (2) Against infidels (strangers to religion), as is evident even from the single example of Uladislaus, King of Poland, against Amurathes, the Turk, who, instigated by Cardinals Julian (Cesarini) and Francis (Condulmaro), violated a covenant and broke plighted faith. (3) Against pretended heretics, as was done towards John Hus and Jerome of Prague in the Council of Constance. This is strongly held and pressed by the Jesuits of the present day.

VIII. I confess that some of the papists (who are ashamed of such an infamous dogma) seem averse to this detestable opinion; yea, deny that it is a dogma of the popes. But the futility and falseness of this declaration appears even from the single decree of the Council of Constance: “The present holy Synod declares that no prejudice is generated against the catholic faith or ecclesiastical jurisdiction or that an obstacle can or ought to be interposed by any safe-conduct, granted by an emperor and other secular princes to heretics, or those reported to be heretics (thinking thus to recall them from their errors), no matter with what obligation they may have bound themselves, to prevent a competent and ecclesiastical judge (notwithstanding the safe-conduct) from inquiring concerning the errors of such persons and otherwise proceeding dutifully against them and punishing the same, as far as justice demands, if they obstinately refuse to recant their errors: even if relying upon the safe-conduct they may have come to the place of trial, while otherwise they would not have come; nor does the promiser remain bound by his promise” (Council of Constance, Session 19, Mansi, 27:799). This was also immediately confirmed in practice against John Hus and Jerome of Prague, who contrary to the plighted faith and imperial passport of Emperor Sigismund, were

nefariously burned. Nor ought the Council of Trent (Session 15*, Schroeder, pp. 116–18) in the safe-conduct given to Protestants to have derogated in this particular from the Council of Constance by name and the axiom concerning the breaking of faith with heretics, unless otherwise she had acknowledged this to be a constant dogma of the Romish communion. Nor did Thomas Aquinas hold a different opinion, maintaining that "a heretic should be delivered up to the judges, notwithstanding faith and an oath" (II–II, q. 97, art. 1+). *Cardinal* Toletus says, "They who are held bound by the chain of friendship or oath to another are freed from such bond, if the person has fallen under excommunication" (*Instructio Sacerdotum* 1.13.7 [1628], 1:47). Now all heretics are *ipso facto* excommunicated. This is confirmed by Azorius (*Institutiones morales*, Pt. 1, 8.13 [1613], pp. 529–34) and the Directory of the Inquisition where it is taught that "all those, who are held bound to another by any kind of obligation are then wholly freed, when they, to whom they have bound themselves, have fallen into heresy" (p. 3, q. 129+). This punishment, says the author of *De amisso jure obligationem*, produces many effects; nor do we hesitate to mention some. First, he with whom a heretic has deposited something will not be bound after the heresy is established to return the deposit. Again a Catholic wife will not be obliged to restore a debt to a heretical husband. Add to these that the keepers of citadels, forts or of states will not be bound to restore them to a heretical master, nor to guard them in his name. Finally, all vassals are freed by right itself from every obligation, even the sanction of an oath by which they had bound themselves to their lords. Thus Cardinal Simancas: "It also belongs to the punishment and hatred of heretics that plighted faith should not be kept with them … Catholics ought to have no intercourse, no peace with heretics. Wherefore faith given to them even confirmed by an oath, against the public good, the salvation of souls, divine and human laws, ought in no manner to be kept" (*De Catholicis Institutionibus* 56.52 [1613], pp. 529–34). Pertinent here are the impious decrees of popes concerning the liberation of subjects from the oath of fidelity to princes, either on account of heresy or excommunication. Nor does the mystery of Jesuitical equivocations and of dispensation of oaths have any other effect than to deceive men by so eluding all agreements and covenants that scarcely anyone can safely make a contract with them. How much more straightforward this opinion of Charles V, who,

when solicited to break the faith plighted with Luther as a heretic, nobly responded, “Even if from the whole world faith should be banished, still it ought to remain immaculate with an emperor.” This is also the opinion of the orthodox supported by the weightiest reasons.

IX. First, to keep faith is an act of truth, justice and fidelity. He that keeps faith does what he says, the characteristic of truth. He does what he has promised and to which he is bound, the characteristic of fidelity. He restores to another what is his due according to the promise, the characteristic of justice.

X. Second, it is lawful to swear faith to infidels, therefore also to keep faith with them as appears from the examples of Abraham making a covenant with Abimelech (Gen. 21:23, 24), of Isaac (Gen. 26:26), of Jacob (Gen. 31:53), of the spies with Rahab (Jos. 6:22), of the Israelites with the Gibeonites (Jos. 9:15). The condition of heretics cannot be worse.

XI. Third, God most severely punished such perjuries in the sons of Jacob against the Shechemites (Gen. 34 and 49:5–7), in Saul on account of the Gibeonites (2 S. 21:1–9), in Zedekiah against Nebuchadnezzar (2 Ch. 36:11–13; Ezk. 17:11–21); in Uladislaus, King of Poland, against Amurathes, the Turk; in Rudolph of Swabia, against the emperor Henry IV.

XII. Fourth, marriages with infidels are not to be broken on account of infidelity and heresy, nor plighted faith to be broken on this account (1 Cor. 7:13, 14); therefore no other covenant whatsoever because in such cases a religious pledge intervenes.

XIII. Fifth, faith plighted even to enemies is to be kept by the law of nature and of nations (as appears from the illustrious examples of Regulus, Agesilaus and others). Now under that law come infidels and heretics, no less than enemies themselves.

Twelfth Question

Whether it is lawful to use ambiguous equivocations and mental reservations in oaths. We deny against the papists and especially the Jesuits

Statement of the question.

I. To understand the state of the question, observe: (1) that we do not speak of the rhetorical use of equivocations, for rhetoricians frequently use these in the figure called antanaclasis and *plokē*; also ironically, as in the common epigram: "Who can deny the descent from Aeneas' great line of our Nero? One his mother took off, the other one took of his sire" (Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, Book IV: Nero, 39.2 [Loeb, 2:158–59]). In Scripture the same word is often taken in a different sense in the same place (Jn. 1:10; Mk. 8:35). Nor do we speak of the logical use which often obtains in disputations and other proving (*peirastikois*) discourses instituted for the purpose of exercising and strengthening the mental powers against sophisms. Rather we speak of the theological and moral use in giving testimony, either in a trial or in the case of confession; and whether besides the grammatical or logical ambiguity which often occurs either from the doubtful meaning of the words or from the structure of a discourse or from the various disposition of circumstances, another theological use is to be admitted under some pretext of limitation by which we profess one thing with the mouth, keep another shut up in the breast, in order that the investigations of judges may be escaped and the truth concealed.

II. The question does not concern a limitation proposed, either explicitly or implicitly; nor a limitation supposed, which can be readily gathered from the mutual consent of the speakers or from other plain circumstances. No one denies that such limitations or logical restrictions which may be elicited from the proposed or are supposed and understood on both sides are lawful and free the discourse from falsehood and perjury. But the question concerns a limitation supposed only and secretly understood by the speaker, amounting to a verbal or real equivocation. The verbal is when the words used themselves are of ambiguous sense and are received in that sense by the swearer (which he desires to conceal from the hearers that they may be accepted by them in a different sense). As if anyone being asked, "Is Peter at home?" should reply, "He is not" (i.e., "he is not eating"). Mental is when the words employed have one simple sense, but by a tacit restriction or interpretation (which he keeps to himself) they are changed into another (which was the nature of the reply of Francis of Assisi, who being asked in what direction a certain murderer who had passed by him had gone, thrusting his hands into his sleeves, answered he did not pass in this direction—meaning that he had not passed through his sleeves). In this

manner, many of the Jesuits hold that a priest being asked whether he is a priest (if he should either be asked by one not a judge or has a reasonable cause for dissembling the truth), can answer that he is not a priest, provided he means that he is not a priest of Baal or that he is not a priest as to tell this to another.

III. The question returns to this—whether equivocation and ambiguity (not rhetorical or logical from the indifferent signification of words or the construction of a sentence or a collation of circumstances; but moral, intended to deceive, which reserves in the mind a limitation proposed in no intelligible manner, nor supposed and understood on both sides, but reserved within the breast of him only who speaks) can have place either in a trial or in case of a confession or in the common conversation of men, and excuse from falsehood and (if confirmed by an oath) from perjury. Our opponents affirm; we deny.

IV. The ancient heretics were masters of equivocations. On account of them, the Basilidians were rendered infamous. They taught that faith was to be dissimulated or denied by perjury so that martyrdom might be escaped (cf. Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 1.24* [ANF 1:350; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 4.7 [FC 19:215–18]). The Priscillianists followed the same thing after them, concerning whom Augustine says, on account of their contaminations and basenesses to be concealed, had among their dogmas these words: "swear, commit perjury, betray not a secret" (*De Haeresibus* 70 [PL 42.44]). The shuffling (*kybeia*) of Arius is also well known. He evaded the examination of Constantine concerning the Nicene faith (cf. Nicephorus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae* 8.51 [PG 146.205–10]). In a former age the Jesuits (masters of all perfidy) recalled the same dogma as it were from the pit. Although not willingly but almost unwillingly, they brought it forward and have it among the secrets of their society, still in their writings they do not disguise it and sufficiently approve it by their deeds. The open defenders of this art are Cardinal Toletus (*Instructio Sacerdotum* 4.21 [1628], 1:578–83), Suarez ("Commentaria in secundam … Thomae: De Virtute et Statu Religionis," Tract. 5*, 3.10, 11 in *Opera Omnia* [1856–78], 14:697–701), Lessius (*De iustitia et iure*, Chap. 47, Dub. 6, Sec. 35 [1617], p. 688), Emmanuel Sa (*Aphorismi* [1607], pp. 291–98 on *juramentum* and pp. 345–46 on *mendacium*), Sanchez (*De praeceptis decalogi* 6 [1738], pp. 281–87), Gregory of Valentia, ad 2.2, q. 110+ and many more—Azorius,

Maldonatus, Parsons, Eudaemon-Johannes (*Ad actionem ... apologia pro ... Garneto* [1610]), who professedly and laboriously pleads this cause. To all these ought to be added Garnett himself, who in practice and defense before judges approved this art, as can be seen in *Actio in H. Garnetum ... proditione* (published by Camden in 1607) and in King James I, *An apologie for the oath of allegiance* (1609). All these belong to the order of Jesuits. With them agree Navarrus, the Canonist (*Enchiridion sive Manuale Confessariorum* 12 [1584], pp. 187–221), Bannes (*Scholastica Commentaria in Secundum S. Thomae* [1614], 4:96 on II–II, Q. 62, Art. 2, Dub. 8), Gloss of Canonical Law, in cap. ne quis 22 qu.+, Vincent Candidus (*Illustres Disquisitiones Morales*, Disp. 26, Art. 3, Dub. I [1639], 2:267) and many others.

V. Now although Becanus protests that injustice is done to himself and his allies because they teach that we ought to speak and answer sincerely, candidly and free from all equivocation; yet it can easily be seen that he in his usual way tergiversates and sports with equivocation. He maintains that an accused person is not bound to confess the truth, if the judge in his interrogations does not observe the legitimate process of right. Now the judge is considered as not adhering to the order of right when he interrogates concerning a concealed crime (about which there is neither a report against the accused, nor a competency of the judge, nor a full proof). In such a case, he holds that the accused does not lie if he denies the crime to have been committed by him; if, namely, the crime is still concealed as if the order of right depended upon the estimation of the accused himself.

VI. Still we must confess that not a few boldly and openly reject and oppose this impious dogma: such as Malderus in his *Tractatus de Restrictionum Mentalium Abusu* 4 (1625), pp. 20–32; Sepulveda in his little work “De Ratione Dicendi Testimonium in Causis” (in *Opera* [1780], 4:375–413); Paul (?François) Sylvius, a Duacene (Douai) theologian, and especially John Barnes, a Benedictine, who published a special treatise *Dissertatio contra aequivocationes* (1625) with the approbation of the theological faculty of Paris, which approved his doctrine by the consent of Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Gerson, Lombard, Cajetan, Soto and all the Scholastics of distinction.

VII. This opinion the orthodox constantly follow. For although Becanus calumniously says that he may for a little while withdraw the nefarious

doctrine of the Jesuits from the eyes of his readers, by ejecting the liquor as it were of a cuttlefish, he ascribes to us "that we strenuously use this art, and calumniously charge upon them what we ourselves do" (*Manuale controversariarum* 5.21 [1750], pp. 582–83), whom Brochmann follows ("De Lege," 6, Q. 4 in *Universae theologicae systema* [1638], 2:36–37). That they boldly lie is clear from the constant teaching and practice of our men. Nor does what each brings forward from Beza favor the calumny that he asserted in his *Confession* (in the year 1556) "that the body of Christ is truly and really present in the supper" (*A briefe and pithie summe of Christian Faith made in forme of a Confession* [1589], pp. 129–30). We hold to a true and real presence and perception of Christ to believers in the supper, although we reject a corporeal and capernaitic presence.

Proof from Heb. 6:16 that it is not lawful to use equivocations in oaths.

VIII. Our reasons are: (1) an oath ought to be an end of all controversy according to the apostle (Heb. 6:16); but where there is equivocation, controversies are rather multiplied than ended, since nothing appears whence the other party may ascertain whether it is done in good faith or not. Nor does the distinction of a competent or incompetent judge hold good here (who may proceed or not juridically), so that we must not equivocate before a judge proceeding juridically, but we may before an incompetent one. For even among enemies faith must be kept, nor are we to consider to whom, but by whom we have sworn. And although in a certain case, as Thomas Aquinas acknowledges, it is not only lawful, but also praiseworthy "to keep secret the truth, when you are not bound to bring it forward; still it is lawful in no case, says he, to declare a falsehood to anyone" (ST, II–II, Q. 69, Art. 2, p. 1490). For as Lombard says—with whatever art of words anyone swears, still God (who is a witness of the conscience) so receives it as he to whom it is sworn understands it (*Sententiarum*, 3.39.10 [PL 192/2.838]). Thus a simple asseveration is to be estimated not by a concealed reservation, but by the agreement of the distinct enunciation with the thing proposed by the interrogator (provided it be directed to him). Nor does it make any difference whether he addresses a competent judge or an

enemy or a friend. For as a mendacious writing does not borrow truth from the reader, so neither does a false assertion from any auditor.

2. Because Scripture condemns it.

IX. (2) Scripture openly condemns this art when it rebukes those who speak peaceably to their neighbor with their mouths, but in heart lie in wait (Jer. 9:8) and those who walk in craftiness (2 Cor. 4:2). Hence he wishes us to renounce the hidden things of dishonesty and commands us (by manifestation of the truth) "to commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God" (*ta krypta tēs aischynēs peripatountōn en panourgia*). To no purpose is the objection that they do not everywhere and without distinction permit equivocation, but when a just necessity for concealment so requires that when you truly respond, still you may escape his conscience who has no right to know the secret. It is taken for granted that there is a just necessity for using such equivocation which cannot be without a falsehood. Although therefore they are unwilling that it ought to have a place, either in things of faith or in contracts (by which there might be a prejudice to others), or in morals (as in the common intercourse of life when truth is required among friends), but either in necessary defense to escape some great loss or to obtain a good of no little importance, elsewhere they extend it further "in any other act of utility or virtue" (as Garnett says) where "a mental reservation is considered expedient and zealous" (as Sanchez* maintains). "In the cause of religion in times of persecution, anyone can, and perhaps is bound," says Parsons, "to equivocate." In other things, however, by this remarkable doctrine, we can escape many sins, as Navarrus says. In this way according to them it will be lawful to equivocate when and as often as we like, as Mason (*The New Art of Lying, Covered by Iesuites under the Vaile of Equivocation* 3 [1624], pp. 41–54) rightly shows from the various cases of themselves. Everyone sees how dangerous this would be in the church, the state and in the reciprocal intercourse of individuals.

3. Because it is repugnant to divine right—natural and civil.

X. (3) This is repugnant to the divine, natural and civil right: to the divine, which forbids us to do evil that good may come; to the natural because it is a false signification, contending against nature and connected with an intention to deceive; to civil because this being established colloquys, oaths, contracts, commerce would be suspected and nothing would be safe and secure.

4. Because it imposes upon the magistrate.

XI. (4) It is wrong to impose upon a magistrate and to elude his questions by ambiguous answers (which the Jesuistical equivocations do because they so impose upon God, who stands over judges, and in whose name they act, 2 Ch. 19:6). Thus all decisions of magistrates are dissolved, since by equivocation neither the truth can be found nor controversies decided nor the guilty punished and the innocent acquitted.

5. Because a mental reservation is a grievous sin.

XII. (5) Mental equivocation cannot be employed without the most grievous sin. (a) It is a direct and manifest lie since one thing is concealed in the breast, another brought forward with the lips (and that too with the intention of deceiving) and the words are as much against the mind and conscience of the witness as against the thing itself. Nor does he escape who says that there is no falsehood here because the equivocator enunciates what is false, not indeed with the desire of deceiving but of preserving himself. He who thinks otherwise than as he speaks deceives another and intends to deceive, says Toletus (*Instructio Sacerdotum* 8.54 [1628], 2:1081–82), for he speaks in such a way as to produce a different opinion in the mind of another (which is to deceive). Nor does the circumstance of this being done to escape help the matter; for howsoever the primary end may be to escape danger, the intermediate is that you may escape by deceiving. A robber will say that he goes prowling about, not that he may despoil the traveller, but to consult for his own necessities. The judge will answer, “I do not condemn you because you had a regard for yourself, but because you wished to rob in order to do this, for evil is not to be done that good may come.” (b) The nature of an oath is violated by such simulation (which is to give the most

solemn testimony to others, which cannot be done when we unfold nothing certain by words, but something feigned and deceitful). (c) It is a grievous injury towards God to adduce his testimony (although feignedly) to prove a falsehood. (d) Thus the gate would be thrown open to all lies. There is nothing, says Azorius, so false that it cannot be freed from all falsehood if we retain at will something concealed in the mind. For we can easily deny that we have whatever is asked of us, understanding (namely) to give and to deny that we have done or seen what we have (to wit, in this sense, that we may tell it to others). It cannot be replied that one compound and total statement is made by a vocal statement and a mental restriction in which there is no falsity, it being lawful for man to compose his declaration from vocal and mental terms. Although such a mixed speech can in some way be admitted (when the believer speaks with himself or with God alone, who perceives whatever is in our minds equally as well as if expressed in words), still it cannot have place in testimony given before men because a mental reservation testifies nothing to the hearers. Of whatever kind therefore it may have been, it does not cease to be a lie and if confirmed by an oath, perjury (since that which in the testimony is signified by the vocal declaration is repugnant to the understanding of the witness).

6. Because a verbal equivocation is unlawful.

XIII. (6) A verbal equivocation is no less unlawful in an oath both because nothing certain is testified (without which the oath at least is worthless) and because it misleads and deceives the hearers (which is opposed to the nature of an oath) and because an oath of this kind confirming a lie is manifest perjury from the nature of the thing and from the very intention of the swearer (and is a profanation of the divine name). Nor is the relation of perjury or falsehood taken away if injury would be done to us or we are interrogated in an illegal manner (as if it were right for us to consult our own interest provided we speak ambiguously). For no injury done to us by men can justify the doing injury to the divine name (such as is done in a lie and still greater in perjury).

7. It is opposed to the example of Christ and the saints.

XIV. (7) The example of Christ, the apostles and martyrs affords the strongest argument here. We never read of their using equivocations. Although Christ, when once asked, held his peace to testify that he laid down his life of his own accord; still when he replied to the high priest and Pilate, he spoke openly (Jn. 18:19) and is said to have witnessed a good confession (1 Tim. 6:13). Thus the apostles conducted themselves in Acts before the Jews and Gentiles. The martyrs, when dragged before the tribunals of unbelieving judges, never eluded their interrogations or answered ambiguously.

8. It is pressed with various absurdities.

XV. (8) The opinion of our opponents is weighed down by many of the greatest absurdities. For if it is lawful to make true an enunciation clearly false by an added limitation (which anyone may mentally conceive at pleasure), it will follow: (a) that to no purpose has God enacted laws against falsehood and perjury, since there is no one to whom such a mental limitation may not afford help immediately; (b) that the devil is not the father of lies, or that he never lied since he must always have such a reservation; (c) that the martyrs were not only fools, but injurious both to the truth and themselves, since everyone is bound especially in peril of life to employ every lawful defense by which to extricate himself (which according to this Jesuitical hypothesis might easily have been done). (d) All confidence is taken away from trials, covenants and contracts, whether public (between princes or states) or private in ordinary dealings, if a mental reservation lies concealed, perverting and rendering doubtful all things. Since, therefore, this cunning-in-the-perversion-of-justice (*strepsodikopanourgia*) labors under so many and so great absurdities, it clearly appears with how much reason not only the orthodox, but also the more sincere papists have thus far rejected and opposed so rank and preposterous a fiction.

Sources of explanation.

XVI. It is one thing to pass over in silence something true; another to speak something false. It is not a lie when the truth is hidden by silence, but when by speaking a falsehood is educed; as Augustine answers the Priscillianists who excused falsehood by the example of the patriarchs (*To Consentius: Against Lying* 23 [NPNF1, 3:491]). Abraham could be silent about something true when he did not call Sarah his wife (Gen. 12:18) because he was not asked precisely this, nor was it necessary for him of his own accord to declare it; but he said nothing false when he called her his sister because "indeed," says he, "she is my sister, she is the daughter of my father" (Gen. 20:12). Again, the examples of the saints are recorded in the Scriptures, but are not therefore praised; nor are we to live by examples, but by laws. Hence Augustine: "When we read these things in the Holy Scriptures, not on this account because we believe them to have been done, should we also believe that they ought to be done, lest we violate commands, while we everywhere follow examples" (ibid., 21 [NPNF1, 3:489–90; PL 40.531]).

XVII. The promises and threatenings which have a tacit condition do not favor Jesuitical equivocation. Although it is tacit and not expressed, still it was not unknown to those to whom they were proposed (as the threat of destruction made by Jonah to the Ninevites [3:4] included a limitation known by all, unless they should repent; this very thing the Ninevites understood and therefore did repent). So Samuel, while he professes that he had come to Bethlehem to sacrifice unto the Lord (1 S. 16:5), says something which he was about to do and actually did, but he did not tell what he was about to do further because there was no need.

XVIII. Christ did not equivocate when he said "that he would not go up to the feast" (Jn. 7:8), while nevertheless he had determined tacitly to go up (as he did a short time afterwards). He does not say simply that he will not go up, but relatively with respect to a certain time. "I go up not yet [*Egō oupō anabainō*]" because, to wit, his own determined time or appointed hour of going up had not yet come, as he immediately adds. Therefore he put off and did not deny his going up. Thus he simply says that he does not know the day and hour of judgment (Mk. 13:32) without any mental reservation, but he means this according to his human nature as the Son of man. The gesture of Christ by which his disciples going to Emmaus (Lk.

24:28) were led to believe that he would go further does not imply any equivocation, but a concealment of his purpose which belonged to prudence, not to equivocation. “The Lord determined to go further,” says the Jesuit Barradius, “unless he should be restrained by his disciples” (“De discipulis petentibus Emmaus,” *Commentaria in Concordiam et Historiam Evangelicam* 8.12 [1622], 4:309). “The truth did not deceive,” says Ribera. “If they had not detained him, he would undoubtedly have passed by and gone further.”

1 K. 3; Jn. 6:6.

XIX. Examination to elicit the truth differs from a subterfuge to palliate a lie. The first is confirmed by the practice of Solomon in the case of the harlots and of the Savior with Philip, whom he asked concerning bread, “proving him; for he himself knew what he would do” (Jn. 6:6). Hence it is evident that explorations differ widely from equivocations and prudently trying anyone or concealing an intention are just as far from lying as they depart from Christian sincerity who patronize a lie. In proving, it is allowable to conceal the truth; but to lie, to deceive, to perjure yourself that you may more safely prove, is not allowable.

XX. The fictions of physicians to soothe madmen always have an understood modification (most known in practice) so that it is evident from the thing concerning which it is treated and the end which they propose—that they do not feign to deceive, but only narrate fictions that they may consult the weakness of the diseased person. An explanation being made at the end of the business, not a perfidious imposture of equivocation heals all things.

XXI. When it is asked what must be done in the peril of a prince of our country or to preserve the chastity of a wife or mother or to escape the severity of an overbearing tyrant in personal danger or to divert a robber and assassin from a harmless traveller; a certain and just subterfuge for escaping cannot be accounted an equivocation (which cannot be employed without sin). Let us rather hear Firmus, Bishop of Tagaste, who being asked about a man sought by officers, “I will neither tell,” said he, “nor will I lie” (Augustine, *On Lying** 23 [NPNF1, 3:468; PL 40.504]). And the woman on the rack: “I do not wish to deny in order that I may not perish, but I am

unwilling to lie in order that I may not sin" (Jerome, Letter I, "To Innocent" [NPNF2, 6:1; PL 22.327–28]). Therefore we must do our duty leaving the rest to the providence of God, who knows how to protect the innocent without the help of sin.

Thirteenth Question: The Fourth Commandment

Whether the first institution of the Sabbath was in the fourth commandment; and whether the commandment is partly moral, partly ceremonial. The former we deny; the latter we affirm

Etymology of the word "Sabbath."

I. For the easier understanding of the most vexed question concerning the Sabbath, some things must be premised—both concerning the etymology of the word and concerning its various significations. The true derivation of the word (for there is no necessity for mentioning the worthless and absurd conjectures of many) is from the verb *shbhth* (i.e., "to cease" or "to rest"), which relates either to the existence of a thing, when it ceases to be and fails (as is said of the manna [Jos. 5:12] and of joy [Is. 24:8]) or to the operation of an agent when he ceases to work and is put for "he rested" and "stopped working." This is the proper signification in Gen. 2:3 when God is said to have blessed the seventh day because "in it" (*bhv shbhth*) "he had rested." Therefore that day is called *shbhth* and *yvm shbhth*. The Greeks render it by *pauein, anapauein* and *katapauein*; the noun *shbhth by anapausin* (as Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.27 [Loeb, 1:302–3], and the Septuagint frequently do also). Otherwise they retain the Hebrew word, as also the New Testament writers, who abstained from a translation of it as a word well known and so distinguish it from a profane and common rest (as was the case with many other Hebrew words, "Hosanna," "Pascha," "Immanuel," etc.).

Its manifold significations.

II. The use and the meaning of the word is manifold. The peculiar and primary (upon which all the others depend and which is understood here) is

that by which it is put for each seventh day of the week and that too from the event—God after finishing the creation of things ceased from the creation of new species and determined that this should be set apart for the rest of man afterwards in memory of the thing; so that not only in imitation of God should they rest on it from bodily and secular works, but also employ it for divine worship. Accordingly for the same reason all the solemn feasts of the Jews were designated by the name "Sabbath," although they did not fall upon the seventh day (Lev. 23:32 and elsewhere), because they were kept almost in the same manner as the weekly Sabbath. Third, the first and last day of each festival (which lasted many days) is called a Sabbath because both were equally solemn. Here belongs the "second Sabbath after the first (*deuteroprōton*)" (mentioned in Lk. 6:1), so called either because it followed next after the feast of the Passover (which is the first from the second [*apo tēs deuteras prōton*] in the computation of Pentecost, as the great Scaliger holds); or because it was the last day of the feast (which as it was in order the posterior and second Sabbath, so in dignity it was equally the first or great Sabbath as the first day of the feast, which was solemn on account of the public assembly congregated on it; as if you should call it the first secondarily repeated). The latter is more agreeable to Beza and others. Fourth, the Sabbath is also taken synecdochically for the week itself, which the seventh day concluded: "I fast twice (*nēsteuō dis tou sabbatou*) in the week" (Lk. 18:12); also *mia sabbatōn* (1 Cor. 16:2) is put for the first day of the week.

A threefold Sabbath: temporal, spiritual and eternal.

III. Again a threefold Sabbath is mentioned in the Scriptures: temporal, spiritual and eternal or heavenly. The temporal is that which God prescribed to the Old Testament believers, which again was either annual (viz., each seventh year) in which he ordered the Israelites to leave the land uncultivated that it might have its own rest also (Lev. 25:2) and the forty-ninth year, which was the year of Jubilee (which was a Sabbath of seventh years, Lev. 25:8); or monthly, of the new moon; or of each first day; or weekly, of which we speak here. (2) The spiritual consists in that peace of

conscience enjoyed by believers and cessation from sinful works which they ought to seek after through the whole course of their lives (which is referred to in Heb. 4:1, 3). (3) The eternal and heavenly is that by which, being received into heaven most perfectly freed both from sin and from the labors and troubles of this life, we rest eternally in God: "There remaineth a rest for the people of God" (Heb. 4:9, viz., a heavenly rest under which eternal happiness is usually shadowed forth).

First question: concerning the origin of the Sabbath.

IV. Two things particularly are sought concerning the Sabbath which are embraced under this question: (1) concerning its first origin or institution; (2) concerning its nature and use, or what is the nature of its obligation, moral or ceremonial? Both these are the subjects of controversy among divines and they dispute with great zeal even in our day. We will set forth our own opinion here in accordance with the judgment of the more learned.

Statement of the question.

V. As to the former, the question does not concern the author of the Sabbath, for all agree in referring its institution to God alone; rather it concerns the first beginning and origin of this institution—whether we must trace it back to the very cradle of the world or refer it to the promulgation of the law on Mount Sinai. Most of the Reformed embrace the former opinion (see a list of them in Walaeus and Rivet); some others follow the latter opinion. Now although each is supported by its own reasons (not to be despised) and the dissent is not fundamental, still we judge the first to be the truer and more suitable to the words of Scripture and to it we adhere, relying principally upon the following argument.

The institution of the Sabbath before the law is proved: (1) from Gen. 2:3.

VI. First, God is said immediately after the end of creation to have blessed and sanctified the seventh day: "And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made" (Gen. 2:3). These words are too clear to be turned by any distinction to the support of the contrary opinion. For God cannot be said to have blessed the seventh day and sanctified it unless by the institution of the Sabbath. That day was blessed for no other end than that it might be consecrated to the worship of God in memory of the divine rest from the works of creation. Therefore God is said to have blessed and sanctified it because by sanctifying he blessed it, separating it from secular and common use and dedicating it to divine worship; so that afterwards it might be sanctified by men in the public exercises of piety and the solemn worship of God.

VII. Of no force are the following objections. (1) This is said proleptically by Moses to show the equity, not the beginning of the command; so that God may be said to have sanctified this day, not when he ceased from his works, but when he gave the manna or when he delivered the law by Moses. We answer that although the Scriptures sometimes use a prolepsis, we are never to have recourse to it unless driven by necessity. But here there is no necessity for a prolepsis and many reasons stand in the way of its adoption. First, as God is said to have rested from his works on this seventh day properly and historically (not proleptically), so also to have blessed and sanctified it. These things are proposed in the same connection and ought to be understood concerning the same seventh day of creation; not of another similar day (which also the thrice repeated demonstrative article *h* indicates). Second, on the supposition of a prolepsis, the sense of the words of Moses will be: God, after the six days' work was finished, rested on the seventh day; therefore after the lapse of two thousand four hundred and fifty-three years, he blessed a similar day and sanctified it to sacred uses. Everyone sees this to be harsh and forced. Third, no solid reason can be adduced why Moses in a simple narration of history or of events (two thousand years before they occurred) determined to insert something which took place only in his own time. It would plainly tend to obscure rather than explain the history he was composing, not even the slightest intimation of such a prolepsis being introduced.

VIII. Objection two: that sanctification and blessing are to be understood with regard to the intention and destination, not with regard to the execution. We answer that he is said to have blessed the day in the same way that he rested upon it. Now he did not rest only in intention because he intended to do it, but really because he ceased from his works. (2) The destination was not then at length made on this day, but from eternity. Thus God might be said to have sanctified the day of the Passover and Pentecost because he then intended to sanctify them. Objection three: "Although God then blessed the seventh day, it does not follow that he then enjoined the observance of it upon Adam" for God does not forthwith command us to keep those things which he blesses. To bless and to sanctify are the acts of God, not ours; while a precept pertains to the actions of men. We answer that since blessing and sanctification are not done with respect to God, but to man, it is hence plain that God for no other end sanctified that day (i.e., separated it from a common and dedicated it to sacred use) than that it might be religiously observed by man.

2. From Ex. 16:23, 25.

IX. Second, in Ex. 16:23 mention is made of the Sabbath as already known and observed among the Israelites in the giving of the manna before the promulgation of the law. They are ordered to gather a double quantity on the sixth day, to support them on the sixth and on the seventh days, which day was the Sabbath of the Lord. "This is that which the Lord hath said, Tomorrow is the rest of the holy sabbath unto the Lord: bake that which ye will bake today"; and "six days ye shall gather it; but on the seventh day, which is the sabbath, in it there shall be none" (v. 26); and "See, for that the Lord hath given you the sabbath, abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place" (viz., to gather manna) "on the sabbath. So the people rested on the seventh day" (v. 29, 30*). This could not have been said unless the Sabbath had already been instituted and commanded by God. Nor ought it to be objected that it was not instituted until just when the Lord said "tomorrow is the Sabbath." In whatever way it is read, whether tomorrow "is" (as most of the interpreters have it) or tomorrow "will be" (in the future), neither of which occurs in the Hebrew, this does not denote the first institution of the Sabbath, but only its confirmation and an exhortation

to observe it properly. Nor ought the institution of so solemn a day to have been so obscurely made, but ought to have had also a solemn and clear declaration of the divine command.

3. From Ex. 20:8.

X. Third, the words of the fourth commandment ("Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy") plainly imply that this law was not then given for the first time, but only renewed after it had fallen as it were into desuetude, that they should exercise particular care in this matter and not afterwards be unmindful of this command (as they had been before). The following words confirm this view where he repeats the reason for its institution adduced in Gen. 2:2, 3 concerning the rest of God and the blessing and sanctification of the seventh day (which sufficiently indicates that the Sabbath was then instituted when that reason applied). Hence Calvin says, "From this passage it is elicited by probable conjecture that the sanctification of the Sabbath was prior to the law. Certainly what Moses had narrated before (that they were forbidden to gather manna on the seventh day) seems to have been taken from a received knowledge and use. And since God gave to the saints the rite of sacrifice, it is not credible that the observance of the Sabbath was omitted" (*Commentaries on the Four Last Books of Moses* [1853], 2:439–40 on Ex. 20:11).

4. From Heb. 4:3, 4.

XI. Fourth, from Heb. 4:3, 4 where the apostle, about to prove that there remains a Sabbatism (i.e., a rest for the people of God into which believers will enter by faith as unbelievers will be excluded from it on account of unbelief), shows that the words of Ps. 95:11 (which he quotes: "As I have sworn in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest") must necessarily be referred to this. Since the Scriptures speak of only three Sabbatisms of God —the first, after the work of creation; the second, after the introduction of his people into the land of Canaan; the third, as to the spiritual and eternal rest of believers and the blessed—the words of David cannot be referred either to the first rest of God (into which he entered from the beginning and which he prescribed to men by his example) or to the second (which he

procured for them by the introduction of his people into the land of Canaan under Joshua) because both have long ago passed by. They must necessarily be understood of that third rest promised to believers in the gospel through grace and to the saints in heaven through glory. Thus the sense of the words (otherwise involved) is plain: "For we who believe," says he, "enter into the rest of God, as if he had said, and so have I sworn in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest" (for although the words of the psalm are threatening, yet they include a promise by way of consequent; as in the commands of God, every command includes a prohibition and every prohibition a command). To prevent anyone from saying that these words should be referred either to the rest of God (which he took after the work of creation in Gen. 2:3), he adds *kaitoi ergōn* ("although the works were finished from the foundation of the world") to show that this could not be understood of the rest of which Moses speaks in the same place (because it had long ago passed by). That it could not be understood of the rest of Canaan, he subjoins, "For if Joshua had given them rest" (to wit, that true and saving rest in which happiness consists) "then he would not afterward have spoken of another day" (v. 8). Hence he concludes in v. 9, "There remaineth therefore a rest for the people of God" (i.e., a rest differing from the former ones).

XII. It cannot be objected here that the rest of which the apostle speaks in vv. 3 and 4 has nothing in common with the Sabbath instituted by God because it must be understood of the rest of God (i.e., peculiar to him and not of men). The rest of God does not exclude, but necessarily includes in this passage the rest or Sabbath of men. For no reason can be assigned why the apostle should except that rest from the laying of the foundations of the world, if it pertained in no manner to men and if under the rest of God he did not understand that which he had by his own example prescribed to men. (2) If the Sabbath of men is not here included, it will follow that Paul omitted the Jewish Sabbath (which he could not do without prejudice to the reasoning he employed) because it might have been objected to him that there was another Sabbath besides that on which God rested and that which the Israelites enjoyed after the possession of Canaan (to wit, the ordinary weekly Sabbath).

5. From the religion of the fathers.

XIII. Fifth, the piety and religion of the ancient fathers confirm this very thing. Since it is of natural and perpetual right that certain times should be set apart for the solemn worship of God, Adam and the holy patriarchs must have had some sacred and stated days in which to worship God and remember his blessings in the creation of heaven and earth. And if there were then sacred days, it is right to suppose that this day instituted by God was observed, rather than some other days of which Scripture says nothing. To no purpose is the objection that they might have had other days besides this day. For since this is nowhere said, it is rejected just as easily as it is asserted. Nor without temerity are other times imagined which are nowhere mentioned; and that time passed by of whose sanctification such express mention is made before the law.

6. From the traces of a Sabbath among the Gentiles.

XIV. Sixth, not obscure monuments are extant among the heathen, both of the number seven in general as sacred and of the recurring seventh day held sacred among them. This seems not so much to have been drawn from the custom of the Jews (whose religion was despised by the Gentiles) as received from the tradition handed down from their fathers (*patroparadotō*) and conveyed to them by long use. Hence Clement of Alexandria: "Not only the Hebrews, but also the Greeks hold each seventh day to be sacred" (*alla kai tēn hebdomēn hieran, ou monon hoi Hebraioi, alla kai hoi Hellēnes isasi*, *Stromata* 5.14 [ANF 2:469; PG 9.161–62]). He proves this from Hesiod, Homer, Linus and Callimachus, by whom the seventh day (*hebdomē*) is called the "sacred day" (*hieron ēmar*). By Philo, it is called the "public feast" (*heortē pandēmos*) belonging to all the Gentiles equally (*Flaccus* 14 [116] [Loeb, 9:366–67]). Josephus says, "There is no city anywhere of the Greeks nor of the barbarians, to which the observance of the seventh day, in which we rest, has not reached" (*Against Apion* 2.282 [Loeb, 1:404–7]). Saturday is called "the sacred day" by Tibullus (*Tibullus* 1.3*.18 [Loeb, 206–7]; cf. more authorities in Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.13.677c [ed. E.H. Gifford], 2:732).

XV. Although God is said to have made known the command concerning the Sabbath through Moses (an emphatic arresting of attention being premised, Ex. 16:29; 31:13; Ezk. 20:12; Neh. 9:14), it does not follow that it had not already been instituted from the beginning. Not only what is at first instituted is said to be given, but also what is renewed (if perchance it has been obliterated or neglected) or what is clearly and distinctly promulgated in a new and more remarkable manner. Thus in Ps. 147:19, God is said to have given his statues and his judgments unto Israel and not to have dealt so with any nation; not absolutely and simply because the Gentiles bear the work of the law written on their hearts (Rom. 2:15), but relatively and comparatively with respect to the revelation made in his word. The Sabbath is said to have been made known in the same way as the law and the precepts and statutes (which are said to have been commanded by Moses). These are connected together in Neh. 9:14. Yet no one can deny that that law (to wit, the moral law) had been given before as also the statutes and various ceremonial precepts in the institution of sacrifices and of circumcision.

XVI. Things given commonly to all may be given specially to certain ones, with an emphatic distinction (and indeed as a sign of the sanctification of them). If these had been given at first in common and by negligence omitted or forgotten, they were afterwards restored to particular persons and commended for special reasons (as is the case here). Although therefore the Sabbath in its first institution had uses common to all and a general design (namely to celebrate the memory of the creation, contemplating the works of God and the performance of public worship of God), it nevertheless had special ends with respect to the Israelites. Just as the rainbow (which was in other respects a natural sign) was made the sacramental sign of a thing which it had not before indicated (although it had existed). Thus what had been the sign of one blessing could (when blessed and instituted anew) be a special sign to those to whom the blessing had been enlarged. In this sense, the Sabbath is said to have been given to the Israelites as a special sign that they might be separated from other nations (Ex. 31:13; Ezk. 20:12), especially from the Egyptians, by a true worship of God (which otherwise was a common sign).

XVII. Although upright and holy Adam in his state of innocence ought every day to have worshipped God and contemplated his works, still this

would not have prevented his having a certain stated time for the solemn and public worship of God—by ceasing, not indeed from works of righteousness and praise (which ought to have been continual), but from his daily labors in cultivating paradise (to which he was bound also to apply himself according to the command of God—although without weariness and fatigue, as was afterwards the case on account of sin).

XVIII. Although in the life of the patriarchs no express mention is made of a Sabbath kept by them, it does not follow that it was not at all known or observed by them. Theirs is a compendious narrative in which it is not necessary that all things pertaining to them should be found. It was sufficient for the Holy Spirit to touch upon those things which bore upon his purpose (namely, to confirm the promises made to them concerning the blessed seed, and to weave together their genealogy to exhibit the truth of history). So no mention is made of the Sabbath observed in the time of the Judges and of Samuel. But the inference would be false that it was not observed. (2) We do not read of the patriarchs observing any stated times for the public worship of God. Yet their piety forbids our doubting that they had certain sacred and fixed days consecrated to the worship of God. Now no other days could have been more fit than the seventh day of the week, which for a peculiar reason had been blessed and sanctified by God for the rest of man like the rest of God.

The second question, concerning the morality of the Sabbath.

XIX. The second question treats of the morality of the Sabbath—whether the fourth commandment, sanctioning the sanctification of the Sabbath, is moral and perpetual; or only ceremonial and constituted for a certain time. In reference to this, there are three principal opinions of theologians—two extreme and a third between the two. The first is that the command is simply moral and perpetual (held by the Jews). With them agreed the old Ebionites, Cerinthians, Apollinarians and others (called by the common name of Sabbatarians), who maintained that the seventh day ought to be kept sacred now as well as formerly. Eusebius mentions that they were condemned for heresy by the ancient church (*Ecclesiastical History* 3.27,

28* [FC 19:184–86]). They do not differ from those, who even now in our day hold that this precept is absolutely moral as the other precepts of the moral law and thus is of perpetual observance. The second asserts that it is merely ceremonial and so entirely abrogated by Christ. This was the opinion of the ancient Manichaeans and of the Anabaptists and Socinians of the present day (who hold that it was so abrogated as to pertain in no way to Christians). The Racovian Catechism answers: "It was taken away under the New Testament as other ceremonies" (*Racovian Catechism* [1818], p. 219). And Volkelius: "The fourth precept of the decalogue concerning the Sabbath, formerly given to the Israelites, is ceremonial, not moral, and moreover has nothing to do with the discipline of Christ" (*De vera Religione* 4.14 [1630], p. 250). Others also are pleased with this opinion. The third (and mean) holds this precept to be mixed (i.e., partly moral, partly ceremonial; moral as to substance [viz., the necessity of divine worship on a stated and certain time], but ceremonial as to circumstance [viz., the special determination of the seventh day]). This is the opinion of the orthodox, and we will demonstrate its truth by three propositions.

First proposition: the fourth precept is not wholly moral.

XX. First, the fourth precept is not in all its parts moral and perpetual. It is proved both against the Jews and the Christians who urge its absolute morality still. First, against the Jews, from the nature of moral things: moral precepts strictly so called belong to the law of nature conformed to the image of God and to the notions of good and evil, virtue and vice (which have their origin in nature itself and by themselves conduce to good morals and so are of eternal and immutable right). Such, however, is not the determination of the seventh day, since it (whether considered simply [*haplōs*] in itself) is neither good nor holy; or comparatively is no better than the determination of another day, except on account of the authority alone of the one commanding. (2) From the precept itself (in which is prescribed the determination of public worship to the seventh day, which being a mere circumstance of time is for that reason to be considered mutable, and so ceremonial and positive, not moral). (3) From the design of

the precept, for among other ends it also had the relation of a sign and type (which therefore ought to be abrogated in their own time). A sign when it is called a sign of the covenant made between God and the Israelites (Ex. 31:13; Ezk. 20:12, 20); a sign not indicative only of present grace, but also sealing future grace; not only that Jehovah is the God of the Jews, but also the God sanctifying them. A type because it is called with other ceremonies "a shadow of things to come" (Col. 2:16, 17) (to wit, shadowing the twofold rest which believers obtain in Christ). This rest is first spiritual both in quiet of conscience from the terror of divine wrath and in cessation from our evil works (referred to in Mt. 11:28; Rom. 5:1; Heb. 4:3; Is. 58:13, 14). Hence the spiritual worship of the New Testament is wont to be described in the style of the Holy Spirit (who loves to express as far as possible the mysteries of the gospel in legal terms) by the celebration of the Sabbath (Is. 56:2; 66:23). Next this rest is celestial (to wit, a rest not only from all sin, but also from all the toils and miseries of this life, Ps. 95:11; Heb. 4:10; Rev. 14:13). (4) Sabbaths are frequently enumerated by the prophets among the other festivals and ceremonies of the Jews (which, however, were of mere ceremonial and positive right and observed only from command and on account of it). Therefore the precept concerning the Sabbath also is related to them as to some part of it.

XXI. Second, against the Christians: (1) because all ceremonies and types as such were taken away by Christ; therefore also that which is ceremonial in the Sabbath. And that there is some such thing in it Christ testifies when he reckons it in the same class with other legal ceremonies, such as the institution of the showbread and the service (*leitourgia*) of the priests in the temple (Mt. 12:3–5). In the same passage, the Sabbath is included by him under the term "sacrifice" and that too of "sacrifice" as contradistinguished from "mercy" (Mt. 12:7, 8). (2) Our Lord testifies, "the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath, therefore, the son of man is Lord also of the sabbath" (Mk. 2:27, 28). Thus its sanction is of a different nature from the other precepts, subject even to the Son of man who has the power to abrogate it with respect to that which is merely positive (which cannot be said of the others). (3) The apostle expressly declares this when he says, "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect to an holyday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ" (Col. 2:16, 17). Here

(a) he connects the observance of Sabbaths with other ceremonials as something of the same kind with the distinction of food, of holydays and new moons. (b) He calls all these "a shadow of things to come (*skian tōn mellontōn*)" where the words *ha esti* are not so much diacritical (*diakritika*) as etiological (*aitiologika*), giving the reason why the Sabbaths should no longer be kept, because "they are a shadow of things to come." (c) He opposes Christ to them as the body in whom and by whom the thing signified was accomplished. In vain is the reply that weekly Sabbaths are not meant, but the various others prevailing among the Jews (which were typical). [1] What ought to be proved is taken for granted. The words of the apostle do not admit it because, since they are general and treat of Sabbaths in the plural without any limitation, they ought also to be extended to all; nor does it become us to restrict what the apostle has not restricted. [2] Festivals are here distinguished from Sabbaths. [3] The Sabbaths are specially meant (which were sanctioned by the fourth commandment) which frequently recurred and whose observance the Jews and Sabbatarians among the primitive Christians insisted upon. Still, however, it would be wrong to infer that the Sabbath is therefore merely ceremonial, as those who are of the opposite opinion thence argue (because what is ceremonial in a certain respect ought not immediately and so mutably to be such in all its parts, as will hereafter be proved more fully). (4) From an absurdity: if this precept is in all its parts moral and perpetual, then we are still at this time (under the New Testament) bound to the particular observance of the seventh day, nor could a transference of it have been made to the Lord's day.

Sources of explanation.

XXII. Although the command concerning the Sabbath is contained in the decalogue, it does not follow that it is in all its parts moral. The decalogue is not only a compendium of the moral law, but in it is given the foundation of the whole Mosaic Law (whose parts were three: moral, ceremonial and forensic). Hence besides the moral law (which is principally delivered here), there is given also the root of all the ceremonies (of which the divine worship of that time consisted) in the first table, as in the second the foundation of the Jewish polity and its judicial laws. We must therefore

distinguish here between the thing commanded and the circumstance of the thing: the thing commanded is moral; the circumstance of the thing, however, is ceremonial (or at least merely positive).

XXIII. The Sabbath is called "a perpetual covenant" (*bryth 'vlm*, Ex. 31:16, 17), not by reason of absolute perpetuity, but as comparative and periodic on account of its continual observance under the Old Testament. The word *'vlm* is often used for a remarkable duration, but limited according to the nature of the thing. In this sense, it is applied to circumcision (Gen. 17:13), to the showbread (Lev. 24:8), to the offerings of the first fruits (Num. 18:19), to the priesthood (Num. 28:23); and everywhere the word *'vlm* is used for the time of the legal economy up to the Messiah. It is used even for a shorter duration, for instance, for the time of Jubilee. The servant, it is said, "shall serve forever" (Ex. 21:6, that is, unto the Jubilee).

XXIV. From the fact that the law concerning the Sabbath was given before the fall (that that day might be sanctified by man after the example of God), it is well inferred that it is moral as to a principal part, but it does not immediately follow that it is such absolutely and simply. Not whatever God commanded or forbade Adam is of itself and in itself morally good and evil (which is evident even from the eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil).

XXV. The immutability of God and the constancy of his decrees makes those things which are of the natural right of God (or were decreed by him forever) to be also perpetual and unchangeable; but there is not the same reason for those things which are of positive right and were instituted only for a certain time (such as was the Mosaic Sabbath as to the circumstance of time and the mode of observation prescribed to the Jews).

Second proposition: the fourth precept is not merely ceremonial.

XXVI. Second proposition: the fourth precept is not in every part ceremonial. The reasons are: (1) it is a precept of the decalogue, in which the moral law is contained; therefore no precept of it is merely ceremonial. (2) Its end is moral, both the first (viz., the public and stated worship of

God consisting in the consideration and contemplation of his works; also in the public exercises of religion, which cannot be accomplished without the determination of a certain stated and fixed day devoted to that worship) and the subordinate (to wit, the cessation from servile work for the relaxation of servants and of brutes). (3) The duty prescribed is moral (to wit, the sanctification of the Sabbath by separating that day from others, and consecrating it to sacred uses—namely, the exercises of piety and worship towards God and of love towards our neighbor). (4) The reason and motive of the precept from the example of God proposed to us for imitation (to wit, his rest on that day and sanctifying it is moral; we therefore cannot be conformed to it except by a performance of the moral duty answering to it).

XXVII. (5) The nature of the precept concerns things which become a rational nature as such and are agreeable to natural principles and right reason. For as a rational creature is bound to worship God (not only with the internal service of the soul, but also external of the body; not only private, but also public in the communion of saints), so right reason teaches that nothing is more suitable than to consecrate some stated and fixed time in a certain convenient cycle for publicly worshipping and celebrating the praises of God, who has gratuitously given our being to us, all that we possess and the whole of time itself. (6) We never read of the abrogation of this precept in the New Testament. Since Christ confirmed the whole moral law as pertaining to Christians and binding them at all times, by this very thing he should be considered to have confirmed this precept also. And since certain days have always been sanctified and devoted by the Christian church to public assemblies and the solemn worship of God, it is abundantly evident from this that the observance of this precept should be considered as moral and of perpetual right. Otherwise if the precept were merely moral, it would not be lawful now to observe any Sabbath, no more than to introduce by the back door other ceremonies which God has abrogated under the New Testament (and everyone sees how absurd this is).

Sources of explanation.

XXVIII. The precept concerning the Sabbath ought to be viewed in two ways: either absolutely and in itself (as to the substance of the command);

or relatively (as to the Mosaic economy of the Old Testament and as to the precise circumstance of time; also the special reasons and ends for which it was given to the Israelites). Although in this latter respect it may be called a "sign" of the particular dispensation of that covenant (Ex. 31:13; Ezk. 20:12) and thus may have something ceremonial, it does not follow that it is a mere ceremony or that the precept considered in itself pertained only to that economy.

XXIX. Although the command concerning the particular place of worship was ceremonial, it does not follow that the command concerning the particular time is equally ceremonial, for there is here a manifold difference between the place and the time. (1) Mention is made in the decalogue of the observance of time, but not of a determination of place; therefore the circumstances of religion are not equal. (2) The necessity and utility of a certain place for worship is only physical and accidental to religion. It has nothing to do with the promotion of religion whether God is worshipped in an open place or in a church or underground or in a public or private place. But the necessity of the time, whether indeterminate or determinate, is far greater because it is moral and theological (whether we speak separately of the whole portion or the duration or the frequency, and much more if we speak of these together). There is no doubt that the greater portion of time (either as to duration or as to frequency or as to both) in the exercises of religion conduces to progress in piety and that he is more pleasing and acceptable to God who spends such time in sacred worship, than he who spends time rarely and briefly (provided other things are equal). (3) The determination of a time for sacred exercises is necessary because it is impossible that at one and the same time we can attend to worldly affairs and at the same time worship God. Therefore, in order that these may not hinder us from being free for divine worship as long and as often as it is required, such a determination is absolutely demanded. Yet nothing like this can be said of the place because in one and the same place (namely at different times), we can worship God and carry on worldly business. The determination of the place being made, it is not necessary that worship should be given there, if no determination of time has been made.

XXX. Although the weekly Sabbath (considered in reference to the Mosaic economy) and the ceremonial adjuncts (namely with regard to the particular observance of the seventh day and its scrupulous and exact

observance, prescribed in the Old Testament) were a shadow of things to come and may properly be said to have been abrogated under the New Testament; it does not follow that the Sabbath itself considered in itself and absolutely is equally ceremonial and so has been abrogated. In Col. 2:16, 17, Paul speaks of the Sabbath in the former sense (in which sense the false apostles pressed it); but not in the second. In the same manner, he speaks of meat and drink, not absolutely and simply (because then it would follow that no moral precept was given about meat and drink and on that account gluttons and wine-bibbers are no more to be condemned now, than the observers of new moons), but relatively and comparatively, with reference to the law of food (which prescribed a distinction of foods, which has now been taken away under the New Testament).

XXXI. Although the institution of the Sabbath as to the determination of a certain day does not flow from the nature of God and is not founded absolutely upon the primary natural right of God, but depends upon his will and so is rather based upon his positive right, it does not follow that it cannot be moral and perpetual by reason of the secondary right natural to us. What is positive to God can be natural to us (as has already been seen).

Third proposition: the fourth precept is partly moral, partly ceremonial.

XXXII. Third proposition: the fourth precept, concerning the Sabbath, is partly moral and partly ceremonial. Ceremonial can be viewed in three ways: (1) in the designation of the seventh day, which, as it was changed under the New Testament, ought to have been ceremonial. (2) In the sanctification of that day, its strict and rigid observance from evening to evening, both privative (by the cessation from all servile work, according to which it was not lawful either to kindle a fire, prepare and cook food or walk and go on a journey) and positive (in the performance of various ceremonial works, partly common to other days—such as the continual sacrifice and circumcision—partly peculiar to that day—as for instance the sacrifices of that day for the whole church, the two lambs of the first year, the two tenth deals of flour mingled with oil [Num. 28:8, 9] and the showbread to be placed in the temple every Sabbath [Lev. 24:7, 8]). (3) In

the typical signification of that day, to shadow forth the grace of sanctification and from it the spiritual and heavenly rest in Christ (of which Paul speaks in Col. 2:16, 17).

XXXIII. The moral also consists in three things: (1) in the appointment of public meetings for the worship of God on a certain and fixed time and day. (2) In the sanctification of the day itself, both privative by a cessation from the works of our ordinary calling so that we may have leisure for sacred meditation and divine worship (works of charity and necessity, however, being excepted); and positive, by the solemn and public worship of God in the congregation of the church. (3) In the relief of servants and beasts, for whom God had regard (that they might not be broken down by continued labor), and that servants themselves also might attend to sacred things.

Whether the determination of one day out of seven pertains to the morality of the Sabbath. Statement of the question.

XXXIV. Here, however, a new question arises about this morality (also the subject of dispute among the orthodox): whether from the force and analogy of this precept there belongs to it not only the determination of a certain time and an indeterminate day for public worship, but also the designation of one day out of seven in the weekly cycle, which, recurring in each seven-day period, ought necessarily to be observed. Concerning this: (1) it is not inquired about the suitableness of the thing—whether it was convenient and agreeable to reason for it to be so designated (for all agree that one day out of seven could rightly be instituted for the worship of God and was not instituted without various weighty reasons); rather the question concerns the necessity—whether it was absolutely necessary from the nature of the thing that this should be so arranged from the force and analogy of the precept. (2) The question does not concern the moral strictly so called. This is natural to God, being founded in his nature and holiness and flowing from his image (the contrary of which he cannot command nor dispense with without a contradiction). In this sense, all agree that the designation of such a day is not natural to God and that he was free to select either one out of

seven or out of eight or out of ten days for his worship; and that he was not bound to the other part of the contradiction from any necessity of his nature. Rather the question treats of the moral broadly so called, which, although positive on the part of God, still is natural to us inasmuch as it suits the rational nature and the relation of man and his duty to God.

XXXV. Although the dispute is here carried on problematically on both sides (the bond of faith and love remaining unbroken, nor are weighty reasons wanting to the distinguished men who support the negative), still we do not hesitate to say that we incline to the affirmative with others and that the reasons brought forward for it seem to us the more convincing.

XXXVI. First, from the nature of the thing. For since it is natural and moral not only that man should worship God publicly with some external service (and indeed in the communion of saints and in a public assembly), but also that some time should be set apart for this purpose, it ought to be equally natural that there should be some fixed determination of that time, both as to frequency and as to duration (which could not be done by any other than the most wise God, the author of the worship and of time). Since, then, he determined to define that day in the law which in his wisdom he knew to be most in accordance with this purpose and most suitable (six days being left to man and keeping one only for himself in the weekly cycle), he who would now refix that day and substitute another in its place would in a measure raise himself above God and profess to be wiser than he (which would be a proof not only of the greatest rashness, but also of intolerable pride and profane impiety).

XXXVII. Second, if from the force and analogy of the precept, it is not rightly inferred that one day out of seven should be consecrated to divine worship, no certain number or circle of days could have been limited by any divine precept, since mention is made of no other number anywhere in any other precept (and everyone sees this is absurd). Nor is the objection of any force that it is enough that a day sufficient for exhibiting gratitude to God may be gathered from the force of the precept. The precept does not treat only of a sufficient day, but of one day out of seven (which is not ours to change).

XXXVIII. Third, the apostles in the change of the seventh day still retained the hebdomadal cycle, that they might select for public worship one out of seven days. However, they would not have done this unless they

had recognized this as invariable and moral. And no one has ever been found among Christians who dared to attempt any change here. Nor ought it to be said that this was the result of Christian liberty and prudence. Although the change of the seventh day to the first was made from Christian liberty, it does not follow that the retention of one day out of seven was equally absolutely free and positive, depending merely upon their will.

Sources of explanation.

XXXIX. The determination of one day out of seven is no more repugnant to Christian liberty than the designation of a certain and stated day for divine worship. For whether one out of seven or eight or ten be selected, always a certain discrimination would be observed. Therefore, when the apostle teaches that under the New Testament the difference of days was taken away (Rom. 14:5, 6; Gal. 4:10) and rebukes the Galatians for keeping days and months, this must be understood of the ceremonial distinction of days (such as prevailed among the Jews under the Old Testament, when it constituted a part of divine worship and had to be laboriously and strictly observed; or such as prevailed among the Gentiles who thought some days to be more holy and fortunate than other days in themselves, and which on that account they were accustomed to distinguish into black and white, lucky and unlucky). Otherwise if all observation of days is absolutely and simply condemned, it would not be lawful now to observe any day at all devoted to the worship of God. Nor could Paul have enjoined it upon Christians to come together upon the first day of each week and make collections (1 Cor. 16:2).

XL. Although believers are bound to worship God on each day of the seven (and thus our whole life ought to be a continual Sabbath), it does not follow that a stated day in the seven should not be consecrated to God. It is evident that public worship could not be performed every day, both on account of weakness of the flesh and on account of the necessity of animal life (which demands the various works of man for its conservation). Thus the Sabbatism of this life is distinguished from the heavenly (which will be perpetual and constant because we will rest from our labors, being then freed from all the miseries and necessities of this life).

XLI. Although from the force of the precept one day out of seven must necessarily be kept as a moral and perpetual duty, it does not follow that the observance of the seventh day (sanctioned in this precept) is equally moral. The precise determination of the seventh day is merely free and accidental to worship; for whether on the seventh or the sixth or any other day of the week the worship of God is attended to, it is all the same provided he is worshipped. But the determination of one day is necessary and conduces in a high degree to the worship of God, for we do not think God can be worshipped conveniently and sufficiently unless one day in seven be consecrated to him.

XLII. That this was the opinion of Calvin can be clearly gathered from his discourses on the ten commandments. In discourse five: "If we would be fervent in the worship of God, as we should be, not one day in seven would be selected, but every day it would be fitting without a written law; since then such and so great is our infirmity, we recognize that polity to have been given not only to the Jews, that there should be a certain day for assembling together, but also to us and that this is common to us with them" ("Sermon Five on Deut. 5:12–14" in *John Calvin's Sermons on the Ten Commandments* [ed. B.W. Farley, 1980], pp. 108–9). So in the sixth discourse: "When it is said, six days shalt thou work, the Lord shows that it ought not to seem grievous to us for him to set apart some one day, when he grants us six in place of one" ("Sermon Six on Deut. 5:13–15," ibid., p. 117). Near the end he adds: "God does not treat with us by his supreme right, but is content if we consecrate one day to him or if that day should serve us through the whole seven" (ibid.).

XLIII. This may also be gathered from the *Institutes* when he says that "he does not so dwell upon the septenary number of days as to bind the church to its invariable observance" (ICR 2.8.34, p. 400). There his design is not so much to condemn the destination of one day in seven to public worship (which elsewhere with sufficient explicitness he approves) or to refer it to merely human and free polity, as to combat here the Jewish superstition of those who Judaized in its observance. The words which follow have the same reference: "Thus all the triflings of false prophets vanish, who in former ages imbued the people with a Jewish notion, affirming that nothing but the ceremonial part of this command has been abrogated, which they call the appointment of the seventh day, but that the

moral part of it still remains (to wit, the observance of one day in seven). And yet this is nothing else than changing the day in contempt of the Jews, while they retain the same opinion of the holiness of the day." Here it is certain that he does not attack any of the Reformed (with whom he never had any controversy on this point), but certain papists and Scholastics who thought that they had a sufficient regard for evangelical freedom, if they taught the appointment of the seventh day as ceremonial to be abolished (and in the meantime taught that one day out of seven should be kept in the same way as the Jews kept their Sabbath). Hence he adds, "They, who adhere to their constitutions, far surpass the Jews in a gross and carnal superstition of Sabbatism."

XLIV. Peter Viret, a colleague of Calvin, follows the received opinion and discusses it fully (*Exposition familiere sur les dix Commandemens* [1554], pp. 260–314). Nor did Beza think differently: "The fourth precept concerning the sanctification of each seventh day, as to the day of the Sabbath and the legal rites, was ceremonial; as to the worship of God it belonged to the immutable moral law and in this life is a perpetual precept" (*Annotationes maiores in Novum ... Testamentum* [1594], Pars Altera, p. 634 on Rev. 1:10). Afterwards: "Therefore assemblies on the Lord's day are of apostolic and truly divine tradition, so however that the Jewish cessation from all work should by no means be observed, since this would plainly be not to abolish Judaism, but only to change the day" (ibid., p. 635). The same is the opinion of Peter Martyr: "We here omit the mystery of the number seven … and this only we notice, that one out of every seven days is to be devoted to God" (*Loci Communis*, Cl. 2.7.1 [1583], p. 241). And afterwards: "Just as it is perpetual and eternal that as long as the church exists on earth, she is bound to support her ministers … so, that one day in the seven should be consecrated to divine worship, is well settled and firm" (ibid.). Bucer: "This also is certainly our duty publicly to sanctify one day in the seven to religion. Who, therefore, does not see how healthful it is to the people of Christ, that there should be one day in the week so consecrated to sacred religious exercises that in it no other work is right than to meet in sacred assemblies?" ("De Regno Christi," 1.11* in *Martini Buceri Opera Latina* [ed. F. Wendel, 1955], 15:82). Zanchius: "The precept is moral inasmuch as it commands us to consecrate one day out of seven to external divine worship" ("De Quarto Praecepto," in *Opera Theologicorum*

[1613], 4:650). Of the same opinion were Fayus (cf. "Theses in quartum legis," 33*.9* in *Theses Theologicae in Schola Genevensi* [1586], pp. 65–66 [40]); Junius ("De Politiae Mosis Observatione," 8 in *Opera Theologicae* [1613], 1:1914); Paraeus (*Miscellanea Catechetica* [1600], pp. 175–76); Alsted (*Theologia Catechetica* [1622], pp. 568–93) and many others.

Fourteenth Question: The Lord's Day

Whether the institution of the Lord's day is divine or human; whether it is of necessary and perpetual or of free and mutable observance. The former we affirm and the latter we deny (*as to both parts*)

What is the Lord's day?

I. The Lord's day (*kyriakē hēmera*) in Christian usage is applied to the first day of the week, appointed for the public worship of God in memory of Christ's resurrection. Now it is so called not so much with regard to the efficient (as if it was formally instituted by Christ himself, as the Lord's Prayer and the Lord's Supper are designated by the apostle, 1 Cor. 10:21). As will be seen afterwards, no argument can be given for such institution. With regard to the end, it was instituted in memory of the resurrection of Christ, which took place on this day (Mt. 28:1); and for his honor and worship (as that is called "the Lord's altar," "the Lord's festival" which was instituted for his worship), and the ancients call temples dedicated to divine worship *Kyriakas* (or "the Lord's").

The origin of the Lord's day. Statement of the question.

II. Concerning this day, there are two principal questions: (1) what is its origin; (2) what is the necessity of its observance? As to the first, it is not asked whether a change was made of the seventh day to the first by abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath (for this is granted among Christians who acknowledge that this change could be made by him who is Lord of the

Sabbath), but both ought to be made and was made most fittingly; that former day (on account of its ceremonial part and what on that account pertained to the legal economy) ought to be abrogated that another might be substituted in its place: another, however, could not be more appropriately introduced under the new covenant than that which is now called the Lord's day (on account of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ on this day, the recollection of which is most justly to be celebrated always in the Christian church, since on it was most fully accomplished the work of our redemption and of the new creation); that this might be a public monument of the abrogated ceremonial law and of the distinction which ought to exist between the Jews and Christians. Rather the question concerns the principle and origin of this change—whether it was only of human and political (or ecclesiastical) or of divine ordination.

III. Here the opinions of theologians vary. Some refer it to canonical right (as the papists do, who gather from it also the necessity of unwritten traditions). There are some among the latter who (according to Azorius, *Institutionum morales*, Pt. II, 1.2 [1613], pp. 12–16) contend for its divine authority (as Anchoranus, Panormitanus, Angelus Sylvester). Others refer it to political ordination (as the Remonstrants, who in their Confession allege that the distinction of days was removed under the New Testament, and the Socinians, who assert that its observance is arbitrary, cf. *Racovian Catechism* [1818], p. 220). Others ascend to a divine ordination, so that either Christ himself may be said to have immediately and expressly instituted that day, which Junius holds ("Praelectiones in Geneses," in *Opera Theologica* [1613], 4:26–27 on Gen. 2:1, 2) and some others with him; or mediately only inasmuch as the apostles inspired of God (*theopneustoi*) sanctioned it in the Christian church by precept, example and their own practice. This is the more common opinion of the orthodox and to this we adhere.

IV. They who refer the origin of the Lord's day to Christ rely most especially both upon the resurrection of Christ (who by rising on this day from the dead seems to have consecrated it to his worship in memory of that fact) and on the various appearances made after the resurrection on this day when he showed himself to his assembled disciples (Jn. 20:19, 26; Rev. 1:10); also by the effusion of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles which is held to have occurred on this day. Although these things may with probability be

said and seem to have given occasion for the institution of this day, still they cannot make a strong and solid argument to prove it because it would require some express command (or the example of Christ).

V. Far more properly, therefore, is it said to be of apostolic institution. They substituted the Lord's day for the Sabbath and commended it to the churches, not without the special influence of the Holy Spirit by whom they were infallibly directed to prescribe such things as not only conduced to faith and morals, but also to the good order (*eutaxian*) of the church and the performance of divine worship. Now there are three passages in particular from which this institution is gathered: (1) from Acts 20:7—"And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow." Why are the apostles said to have assembled for the preaching of the word and the administration of the eucharist, on this rather than on any other day (or on the well-known Sabbath of the Jews), unless at that time the custom of holding stated meetings had prevailed, the ceremony of the Jewish Sabbath by degrees vanishing? Nor ought it to be said that *mian sabbatōn* here designates not the first day of the seven, but only one (i.e., some one of the seven) because it is used in no other sense (Lk. 24:1; Mk. 16:2). What is adduced from Lk. 5:17 (cf. 8:22) does not apply here because it is one thing to say *en mia tōn hēmerōn* (which denotes an indeterminate time), another to say *en tē mia* with the article which determines the day.

VI. (2) From 1 Cor. 16:1, 2, where not only the apostolic practice but also a precept is introduced: "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come." The apostle wishes collections to be made by believers upon each first day of the week (viz., on which their public assemblies ought also to be held), which he draws from the custom of the Jews who, according to Philo (cf. *The Special Laws* I. 14.76–78 [Loeb, 7:145]) and Josephus (AJ 18.312 [Loeb, 9:180–81]), on each Sabbath on which they were accustomed to assemble used to make collections in the synagogues of tithes and other voluntary offerings, afterwards sent to Jerusalem for the use of the temple and the Levites. On account of the persecution of the Jews, the advent of many strangers, and their continual zeal in propagating the gospel, the church at Jerusalem was

greatly pressed by want and the apostle wishes believers to take up collections for their benefit. As therefore he orders collections on each first day of the week, so he also is considered by parity of reason to have ordained the public assemblies in which they were accustomed to be made (or to have approved them by his vote as already ordained).

VII. (3) From Rev. 1:10, where John says that "he was in the Spirit on the Lord's day"; not verily on the Jewish Sabbath because he undoubtedly would have named it; not on some one day only of the seven because thus the title would be ambiguous, calculated to confuse rather than explain; but on that day on which Christ had arisen, on which the apostles were accustomed to assemble to perform sacred worship and on which Paul had ordered collections to be made, as was the custom in the primitive church. Since he speaks of that day as known and observed in the church, there is no doubt that it had been distinguished by this name from the received usage of the church. Otherwise, who among the Christians would have understood what John meant by this appellation, if he intended to designate some other day?

VIII. Second, he alone could change the Sabbath (either immediately and by himself or mediately by the apostles) who is Lord of the Sabbath (Mt. 12:8). It was most fitting that the day of worship should be instituted by him under the New Testament (by whom the worship itself had been instituted and from whom all blessing in all worship is to be expected).

IX. Third, if the Lord's day was constituted neither by Christ nor by the apostles, the condition of the Christian church under the New Testament would be worse than of the Jews under the Old. Under the Old Testament a day was appropriated to rest from secular labor in which to servants and beasts of burden was granted a breathing time from servile work (Dt. 5:14), such as would not exist under the New Testament. Everyone sees this to be absurd, since far better is our condition in comparison with their state who were pressed down by the unbearable (*abastaktō*) yoke of the law.

X. Fourth, if the institution of the Lord's day is only of human ordination (whether political or ecclesiastical, as a human constitution circumscribed the necessity of public worship), it could be rescinded as easily as it was enjoined. Nor could the necessity of its observance be so strongly pressed, for thus a profane person might dispense with it, not attend to prayer and assemblies, and anyone might excuse himself for doing or neglecting

anything, if nothing could be elicited from the Scriptures to bind the conscience besides a human appointment. Prudently, therefore, and piously (in addition to the uniform and uninterrupted tradition of the church), the apostolic sanction and practice is urged that it may be evident that the church has done nothing in an affair of so much importance which she has not received from inspired men (*theopneustois*) and which on that account is not of necessary observation.

XI. Fifth, it is favored by the authority of the fathers who were nearest the age and times of the apostles. Among whom is Ignatius (Pseudo-Ignatius, "Ad Magnesianos," 9.4 in *Patres Apostolici* [ed. F.X. Funk, 1913], 2:125; "Ad Trallianos," 9.5, ibid., 2:104–7); Justin Martyr (*First Apology** 67 [ANF 1:185–86]); Dionysius of Corinth, according to Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* 4.23* [FC 19:259]); Melito, according to the same (Eusebius, ibid., 4.26, p. 262); Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 5.23* [ANF 1:551–52]); Tertullian (*Chaplet* [FC 40:237, 256]); Origen (cf. *In Exodum Homilia* 7.5–6 [PG 12.345–47]) and not a few others. Here belongs the law enacted concerning it by the Emperor Constantine the Great (cf. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 4.18 [London: 1845], pp. 189–90), repeated and confirmed by succeeding emperors—Theodosius, Valentinian, Arcadius, Leo and Anthemius*—by whom the most severe penalties were imposed upon those who exhibited spectacles on this day or gave themselves up to pleasure, as may be seen in the "Codex de feriis" (cf. *Corpus Iuris Civilis, II: Codex Iustinianus* 12.9 [ed. P. Krueger, 1968], p. 128).

XII. Most of our men assert the same thing. Calvin says: "It is very probable that the apostles retained in the beginning the day already observed, afterwards forced by the Jewish superstition substituted another in the place of the one abrogated" (in Acts 20+). Bucer says: "The Lord's day was consecrated to sacred acts by the apostles themselves" ("De Regno Christi," 1.11* in *Martini Buceri Opera Latina* [ed. F. Wendel, 1955], p. 82). So Beza maintains that this tradition is truly divine and made by the apostles at the suggestion of the Spirit: "The services of the Lord's day therefore, which Justin also in the *Second Apology* (sic!) expressly mentions, are of apostolic and truly divine tradition" (*Annationes maiores in Novum ... Testamentum* [1594], Pars Altera, p. 635 on Rev. 1:10). So Gallasius, a colleague of Calvin and Beza: "We have received this as established, that the Lord's day should be substituted in place of the

Sabbath, not by men, but even by the apostles, that is, by the Spirit of God, who directed them" (*In Exodum Commentaria* [1560], p. 195 on Ex. 31). Not otherwise Fayus: "Deservedly therefore we might have said that the apostles under the guidance of the Holy Spirit substituted it for that seventh legal day which was the first in the creation of the former world" (cf. "Theses in quartum Legis," 33*.12* in *Theses Theologicae in Schola Genevensi* [1586], p. 66 [40]). Of the same opinion are Bullinger (*A Hundred Sermons upon the Apocalips* [1561], pp. 29–30 on Rev. 1:10); Gualterus, homi. 162+ (on Mt.); Junius ("Praelectiones in Geneses," in *Opera Theologica* [1613], 1:26–61 on Gen. 2); Piscator in *Aphor explic. Aphor*. 18+; Perkins, Ames, Hyperius (*In Epistolam D. Pauli ad Romanos et ... ad Corinthos* [1583], pp. 331–32 on 1 Cor. 16:2); Wallaeus (*Dissertatio de Sabbatho* 7* [1628], pp. 147–88); Voetius (*Selectae Disputationes* [1667], 4:760–61) and not a few others.

Sources of explanation.

XIII. Although the Lord's day may be said to be of apostolic institution, the authority upon which it rests is nevertheless divine because they were influenced by the Holy Spirit no less in sacred institutions than in setting forth the doctrines of the gospel either orally or by writing. Divine ordination is, therefore, rightly claimed here; not indeed formally and immediately by the institution of Christ, but mediately by the sanction and practice of the inspired (*theopneustōn*) apostles.

XIV. Although certain ordinations of the apostles (which referred to the rites and circumstances of divine worship) were variable and instituted only for a time (as the sanction concerning the not eating of blood and of things strangled [Acts 15:20]; concerning the woman's head being covered and the man's being uncovered when they prophesy [1 Cor. 11:4, 5]) because there was a special cause and reason for them and (this ceasing) the institution itself ought to cease also; still there were others invariable and of perpetual observance in the church, none of which were founded upon any special occasion to last only for a time by which they might be rendered temporary (such as the imposition of hands in the setting apart of ministers and the distinction between the offices of deacon and pastor). Since the institution of the Lord's day was of this kind, from this we infer that the intention of

the founders was that the observance of this day should be of perpetual and immutable right.

XV. The constitutions of emperors and the canons of councils about the observance of the Lord's day do not prove that it was only of human ordination because they did not sanction it first, but confirmed and established it by their own authority as already instituted by the apostles that no one might presume to violate it with impunity. This was done by them most piously, both on account of the Gentiles and on account of the impious Christians by whom they were unwilling that this day should be profaned (and who without constitutions of this kind might think themselves free and unrestrained in their violation of it).

XVI. The Scripture passages usually adduced against the divine institution of the Lord's day (Rom. 14:5; Gal. 4:10; Col. 2:16) do not overthrow our argument. (1) In all these passages, the observance of some day for the purpose of religion (from the order of Christ) is no more condemned or denied than the choice of some particular food for the use of religion from the institution of Christ. And no one would say that the selection of bread and wine in the Supper for a religious use is either unlawful or not instituted by Christ. (2) The apostle expressly speaks of that regard for days (Rom. 14:5, 6) which at that time gave offense to Christians; but the observance of the Lord's day (which the apostle himself teaches prevailed at that time in all the churches, 1 Cor. 16:1, 2), could not afford the occasion of offense to anyone. (3) They treat of the Jewish distinction of days, which belonged to the slavery of weak and beggarly elements (Gal. 4:9), inasmuch as it had something typical and ceremonial and brought back the rigor of the law (which has now no place with respect to the Lord's day).

XVII. Christian liberty cannot be said to be lessened by this opinion. It is not liberty, but an unchristian license for anyone to think he is freed from the observance of any precept of the decalogue and from a divine and apostolic sanction. Experience teaches too well that license and the negligence of sacred things grows more and more, where a proper regard is not shown for the Lord's day.

XVIII. However, above all things, we must observe this—that we should not be so anxious to investigate the primary origin of this day as its careful and serious sanctification. Whatever opinion anyone may wish to follow

(for we suffer each one to enjoy his own judgment), this should be strictly and inviolably taken care of by all—that according to the command of Christ, believers keep themselves clear of profanations, seriously devote themselves to the sacred exercises of piety and observe this consecrated day in a holy manner. Concerning the necessity and mode of its observance we will treat in what follows.

Second question: concerning the observance of the Lord's day. The necessity of it proved.

XIX. Concerning the observance of the Lord's day also there is not a little controversy. Some (in excess) incline to a too great rigor and severity and thus approach Judaism. Others on the contrary (in defect) use too great relaxation, which opens the door to profanity and license. The middle way, however, seems to us to be the safest. We unfold it by two propositions: the first teaches the necessity, the second the mode of its observance.

XX. First proposition: (1) the observance of the Lord's day is not necessary per se as a part of divine worship or a grace of mystical signification, but still it is necessary with regard to the preservation of good order (*eutaxias*) and apostolic and ecclesiastical polity. It cannot be called a part of worship in itself, but only an adjunct and circumstance of it because the gospel and rational (*logikos*) worship of the New Testament is no longer restricted to certain places or times (as under the Old Testament), but can be performed everywhere and always in spirit and truth. Still it is necessary according to God's arrangement by reason of the polity always to be preserved in the church, for without a certain day neither order nor decorum will exist in the church, but there will be mere confusion in ecclesiastical assemblies. (2) It was not instituted from any peculiar reason for a particular church of one time, but generally for the church of all times. As the apostles (who sanctioned this by their own example and precept, 1 Cor. 16:2; Acts 20:7) were universal ambassadors, so they had regard to the good of the whole church in this sanction. And as it was received even in the age of the apostles, so it was constantly retained by all the churches (as is evident from ecclesiastical history). (3) There can be no reason for a change since, as the memory of Christ's death, so also the memory of his

resurrection ought to be perpetual in the church (1 Cor. 11:26; 2 Tim. 2:8). (4) It was afterwards confirmed by the various canons of ecumenical councils and by the many edicts and laws of the emperors.

XXI. Now although we readily grant that if he pleases God (who is the Lord of the Sabbath) can change this first day into any other of the seven, still we do not think that this is lawful for any mortal, after so constant and general an observance of this day. Nor if cases can be granted, in which the public exercises of piety cannot be performed on this day, does it follow that this observance is only temporal and mutable; for this is not done spontaneously, but from necessity (which has no law).

XXII. If the ancient Christians observed for some time the Sabbath also in connection with the Lord's day, so that they held sacred assemblies on that day and thought it wrong to fast on it, as we gather from *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* (2.59 [ANF 7:422–23]) and from Socrates (*Ecclesiastical History* 6.8* [NPNF2, 2:144]), this pertained to the decent burial of the synagogue. It is evident that the festivity of the Sabbath, even when kept, was considered far inferior to the Lord's day. This appears even from this—that among the errors of the Ebionites (on account of which they were condemned by the church), they were convicted of this also, that they celebrated the Lord's day and the Sabbath together (in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.27* [FC 19:184]). Note also the Council of Laodicea, whose words are these: "It is not becoming for Christians to Judaize and to rest on the Sabbath, but to work on that day, preferring to rest on the Lord's day, as Christians, provided they can" (which seems to have been added on account of servants who had heathen masters) "and if they are discovered to be Judaizers, let them be anathema by Christ" (Canon 29, Mansi, 2:569).

And the mode.

XXIII. Second proposition: the mode of the right observance of the Lord's day resolves itself into two parts—first, what may be called privative and consists in rest or cessation from all servile work; the other, which is positive, and is concerned with the sanctification of that rest by the religious worship of God.

XXIV. The rest required is not one of ease and idleness, much less of feasting and gluttony, of shows and dances and other profane practices condemned by Paul in Rom. 13:13. It is the Sabbath of Jehovah, not a feast of Ceres, Bacchus or Venus. Rather the rest is a cessation from all works of our ordinary and worldly vocation which can call us away from divine worship. Thus we must abstain on that day: (1) from all those works which are strictly and properly called servile, usually done by servants and serving men (to wit, as much as it can be done through immediate necessity); (2) from our works which pertain to the uses of this life in natural and civil affairs and properly refer to our own gain and advantage. This is gathered from the opposed concession, for as he grants six days to us that we may labor and do all our work in them, so on this day he enjoins a cessation from such work that no obstacle may be put in the way of divine worship. And further here belongs the memorable law of Leo and Anthemius, extant in the "Codex de feriis," whose words we are not ashamed to quote: "We decree the Lord's day to be always so honorable and to be reverenced that it should be free from all executions, no admonition should be given to anyone, no exaction of bail be made, the officer should be silent, summons lie hid. Let that day be free from judicial examinations, let the rough voice of the crier be still, litigants cease from controversy" (*Corpus Iuris Civilis, II: Codex Iustinianus* 12.9 [ed. P. Krueger, 1968], p. 128). And afterwards: "Nor relaxing the rest of this religious day, do we suffer anyone to be occupied with obscene pleasures, theatrical shows, circus plays, and the mournful spectacles of wild beasts should have no patronage on that day, and if our birth day should fall upon it, the celebration of it should be deferred" (ibid.).

XXV. Here, nevertheless, are excepted: (1) those works which directly regard the worship and glory of God (Mt. 12:5; Jn. 5:8, 9), for in this case those works which are in their nature servile pass into the nature of sacred works—nor are they so much our works as God's; (2) works of charity and of mercy which are reckoned among the duties of piety (Mt. 12:10, 12; Jn. 5:9; 9:14; Lk. 13:15); (3) the works of common honesty, because as always, so on this day above others, we ought to carry ourselves and to act honestly and decorously; (4) works of necessity, which are neither feigned nor designedly produced, but imposed upon us by providence (Lk. 14:5); not only absolute and simple, that may be called necessary only (which we can

in no way be in want of), but modified and relative so that those things may be reckoned necessary not only which are required absolutely for the existence or support of life, but also those which conduce to our living better. Hence some great advantage and emolument accrues to us or our neighbor if they are done or some great disadvantage and loss if they are omitted. "The sabbath" (as Christ testifies in Mk. 2:27) "was made for man and not man for the sabbath."

XXVI. Therefore, we do not think that in this cessation believers are bound to Judaical precision which some (more scrupulous than is just) maintain was not revoked, so that it is lawful neither to kindle a fire, nor to cook food, nor to take up arms against an enemy, nor to prosecute a journey begun by land or sea, nor to refresh themselves with innocent relaxation of the mind and body, provided they are done out of the hours appointed for divine worship, nor to have any diversion, however slight, to any things belonging to the advantages or emoluments of this life. For although this opinion bears on its face a beautiful appearance of piety (and undoubtedly with good intention is proposed by pious men to procure the better sanctification of this day, usually so basely profaned), still it labors under grievous disadvantages; nor can it be retained without in this way bringing back into the church and imposing anew upon the shoulders of Christians an unbearable yoke (*abastakton*), repugnant to Christian liberty and the gentleness of Christ and opposed to the sweetness of the covenant of grace by agitating and tormenting the consciences of men through infinite scruples and inextricable difficulties (nearly driving to desperation).

XXVII. The other part of the observance of the Lord's day pertains to the sanctification of the rest which is employed in sacred assemblies and in the stated and public worship of God. For although sacred assemblies for the public exercises of piety can and ought to be frequented on other days also by everyone (as far as their business will allow) and every pious person is bound in duty to his conscience to have privately his daily devotional exercises, still on this day above others a holy convocation ought to take place (as was the custom on the Sabbath, Lev. 23:3) in which there may be leisure for devout attention to the reading and hearing of the word (Heb. 10:25), the celebration of the sacraments (Acts 20:7), the psalms and prayer (Col. 3:16; Acts 1:14), to alms and help to the poor (1 Cor. 16:2) and in general to all that sacred service pertaining to external and stated worship.

XXVIII. And all agree that to this we should most especially devote ourselves, the many other controversies here waged, either curious or by no means necessary and useful, being removed. The Synod of Dort has reference to this, maintaining "that this day ought so to be appropriated to divine worship, that we should rest on it from all servile works (with the exception of those which charity and pressing necessity demand) and from all pleasures of such a kind as could hinder divine worship" ("Post-Acta, of Na-Handelingen, Sec. 164" in *Acta of Handelingen der Nationale Synode ... 1618 en 1619* [1987 repr.], pp. 941–42). And "lest the people on the Lord's day after 12 o'clock, distracted by other labors and profane exercises, should be kept away from the afternoon meetings, it wishes the magistrates to be asked to prohibit by more severe edicts all servile or daily works and especially plays, drinking together and other profanations of the Sabbath, in which the afternoon (especially in the town) is accustomed for the most part to be passed, so that in this way also they may better be drawn to those afternoon meetings and so learn to sanctify the entire Sabbath day" (ibid.). For no other reason did God in the Law and the Prophets so strongly urge and recommend the sanctification of the Sabbath and threaten to punish so severely its violation and profanation. For although these had a primary reference to the Jews, yet we cannot doubt that in their own manner they had a reference to Christians also inasmuch as they included a moral duty and one of perpetual observance.

Sources of explanation.

XXIX. Although the conscientious regard for and distinction of days (and of other typical ceremonial times of the Old Testament) has been taken away under the New, as also straightway is forbidden the superstitious distinction of days and times (prevailing among the heathen), it does not follow that the Sabbath of the Lord transferred from the seventh day to the first (and freed from the typical use and economical strictness of the Old Testament) was on that account abrogated.

XXX. He who does works of necessary charity and mercy on the Sabbath does not profane it. He would be guilty of the basest superstition and hypocrisy who, under this pretext, would desert a neighbor in trouble. He ought to help whom he can and to serve God according to his

ordination. For the Sabbath is said to have been "made for man" that he may in a special manner consult his own salvation by performing the duties of piety to God and of love to his neighbor; "not man for the Sabbath," as if he ought to neglect necessary charity or mercy towards himself or neighbor through a superstitious regard for the Sabbath.

XXXI. The cessation from all servile work and carnal pleasure ought not to be pressed to the neglect of the spiritual practice of true holiness. It ought not to be pressed on account of itself, as if it were a part of worship or as if the day itself were holier than others, but as the condition and help of private and public exercises to be performed thus. Therefore, this doctrine is very far from leading men to the opinion that they have done their duty remarkably well if, the desire for true piety and holiness being left, they devote themselves to a scrupulous and absolute cessation from all work. We seek the means on account of the end and the condition on account of the principal work (to wit, rest on account of the spiritual exercises of true piety and holiness). Therefore no more ought the practice of the Sabbath to be burdened with those consequences from the accidental abuse of men, than the practice of sacred reading, the hearing of the word, prayers and the sacraments, which are open to the same abuses, although no one would deny that these are moral duties of perpetual observance.

XXXII. The accommodation of the fourth precept to the peculiar state of the Jews (which was in the observance of the seventh day from the beginning of creation) did not render this precept ceremonial anymore than the promise to give the land of Canaan to the people of Israel makes the fifth commandment ceremonial; nor the preface, where the bringing of the people out of Egypt is mentioned, makes all the precepts ceremonial. Indeed, we grant that a somewhat stricter observance of the Sabbath was commanded in those times, accommodated to the training and servitude of the times, which does not obtain in all ages. However, this does not hinder the observance itself from being moral and common to all ages.

Fifteenth Question: Festivals

Whether it belongs to the faith in the New Testament that besides the Lord's day there are other festival days properly so called whose celebration is

necessary per se and by reason of mystery, not by reason of order or ecclesiastical polity only. We deny against the papists

Statement of the question.

I. Festivals are stated days recurring every year or week or month, separated from others for the sake of religion and piety and, as it were, consecrated by a certain law to the public worship of the deity. No one doubts that there were many under the Old Testament, since a distinction of days was a part of the ceremonial law. But the question is whether they ought to have a place in the Christian church. This is the question between us and the papists, who, as in other things, have retained various rites of the Jews. Here they have interpolated Judaism or rather paganism itself (in which it is known that there were more festival days distinct from common days), burdening Christianity with such a mass of festivals as to embrace the greater portion of the year.

II. The question is not whether the memory of God's blessings to us and the mysteries of Christ wrought to acquire salvation for us ought to be perpetual in our minds and continually reflected upon by us. For this all allow and it is done daily by the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments. Rather the question is whether for the recollection and solemn and public commemoration of those singular benefits and mysteries particular festival days, sacred to God, annually recurring, should be celebrated every year by Christians. This we deny.

III. The question is not whether anniversary days may be selected on which either the nativity, or circumcision, or passion, or ascension of Christ, and similar mysteries of redemption, may be commemorated, or even on which the memory of some remarkable blessing may be celebrated. For this the orthodox think should be left to the liberty of the church. Hence some devote certain days to such festivity, not from necessity of faith, but from the counsel of prudence to excite more to piety and devotion. However, others, using their liberty, retain the Lord's day alone and in it, at stated times, celebrate the memory of the mysteries of Christ, with whom "the dissonance of things of this kind does not take away the harmony of faith," as Augustine+ formerly remarked of a fast. Rather the question is whether some days are more holy and sacred than others and a certain part of divine

worship ought to be celebrated under the reason of mystery and not only as related to ecclesiastical order and polity (as Bellarmine maintains, "De Cultu Sanctorum," 3.10 *Opera* [1857], 2:541–47 and is the doctrine and public practice of the papists). On the contrary, we deny that those days are in themselves more holy than others; rather all are equal. If any sanctity is attributed them, it does not belong to the time and the day, but to the divine worship. Thus the observance of them among those who retain it, is only of positive right and ecclesiastical appointment; not, however, necessary from a divine precept.

IV. First, festivals properly so called (which are of the necessity of faith, obligatory of themselves and under the relation of mystery) ought to be commanded by the divine word because the right of prescribing his own worship belongs to God alone (who in his word has omitted none of the things which he judged necessary to his church). But such festivals we nowhere read as having been either instituted or kept by Christ or his apostles. Nor can an unwritten (*agraphos*) tradition be brought up here, since no place can or ought to be allowed it in matters of faith and practice, as has already been demonstrated. Second, this brings back the Old Testament distinction of days, abrogated in the New Testament and condemned by Paul (Rom. 14:5, 6; Gal. 4:10; Col. 2:16). It introduces into the church under other names and a specious appearance both the superstition and idolatry of the old heathen.

V. Third, the ancients confess that festivals were kept neither from the institution of Christ nor of the apostles, but from choice and custom. There is a noteworthy passage in Socrates where, speaking of the disagreement of the Eastern and Western churches about the observance of Easter (which was the first festival day begun to be kept in the Christian church), he says expressly, "Neither the apostles, nor the gospel itself imposed the yoke of slavery upon those who yielded to the doctrine of Christ, but left the festival of Easter and others to be celebrated according to the free and impartial judgment (*tē eugnōmosynē tōn euergetēthentōn timan katelipon*) of those who had received on such days blessings" (*Ecclesiastical History* 5.22 [NPNF2, 2:130; PG 67.627–28]). And he adds: "Neither the Savior nor the apostles commanded it to be observed" (ibid., p. 627). "For," he subjoins, "the apostles proposed not to enact laws concerning the celebration of festivals, but to prescribe to us the method of piety and of right living"

(ibid.). Nicephorus repeats this (*Ecclesiastical History* 12.32 [PG 146.847–54]).

VI. Fourth, in the papacy these festivals sowed the seeds of deadly superstitions, making festival days in themselves more holy than others, cherishing the opinion of work wrought (*operis operati*), attaching to them merit and the expiation of sins, consecrating them to the saints and so connecting them with the worship of latria, since (according to Durandus) festivals also belong to latria (cf. *Sententias theologicas Petri Lombardi Commentariorum*, Bk. 3*, Dist. 38, Q. 1 [1556], p. 234). Finally they make so many festivals and distract the mind with such difficult trifles and scruples that great men in the papacy (overcome by their tediousness) have most bitterly complained. Let Nicholas de Clemangis be heard ("De novis celebratibus non instituendio," *Opera Omnia* [1613/1967], pp. 155–56). Among other things, he proves that some old festivals were better abolished on account of their great abuse, than new ones instituted. He complains that so many things are read and spoken in the churches about the saints that now the reading of the Holy Scriptures is altogether omitted. Peter Ailly among other things advises the chief ecclesiastics of the Council of Constance "to take care not to appoint so many new festivals, that besides the Lord's day and the greater festivals instituted by the church it might be permitted to work after the service had been heard, both because often on festivals sins are more multiplied in taverns, dances and other lascivious amusements which ease teaches: and because the working days are hardly sufficient for procuring the necessaries of life" (*de Reform. Eccles*.+). Polydore Virgil writes: "As much as it was formerly the custom to institute festivals, so much now it seems better that they should be rendered antiquated; since a great many men barefacedly employ that rest of festivals not in praying, but in increasing every day more and more all kinds of corruptions of good morals" (*De rerum inventoribus* 6.8 [1671], p. 396). Erasmus confirms the same thing (*In Novum Testamentum ... annotationes* [1522], p. 48 on Mt. 11). Pope Urban VIII himself in his Bull, published in the year 1642, having endeavored to restrict the number of festivals, among other things confesses: "The festivals instituted at first to glorify the deity, in the progress of time inimical man has corrupted and converted into great offence to him and the grievous loss of souls" (Bull 759, "Pro observatione

festorum," in *Bullarium ... sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum* [1868], 15:206).

Sources of explanation.

VII. Although the Lord's day is sacred to God, it does not follow by an equal reason that other festivals can be consecrated to God. (1) The Lord's day was instituted and kept by the apostles themselves; other festivals were ordained only by the fathers. (2) The Lord's day as to genus is commanded so that one day in seven should be set apart for the public worship of God (although not as to species). On the contrary, these festivals were commanded in neither way.

VIII. The practice of the Jews, who kept the feast of Purim in Esther and the Feast of Dedication in memory of the temple purged by Judas Maccabaeus (mentioned in Jn. 10:22), does not immediately prove that this custom ought to prevail in the Christian church (on account of the difference between the Old and New Testament economy). It shows only that on certain days (annually recurring) there may be a public commemoration of the singular benefits of God, provided abuses, the idea of necessity, mystery and worship, superstition and idolatry be absent.

IX. Paul does not intimate that the Feast of Pentecost was to be kept by him necessarily (Acts 20:16), but only that he must hasten to be present in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost on account of the gathering of the Jews (that he might have a fuller opportunity and chance to preach and turn many to Christ).

X. It is one thing to make mention of the conception, nativity, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ on certain days in discourses to the people and thus to embrace the opportunity of exhorting, consoling, instructing Christians to edification, piety, patience and holiness. It is another, however, to make and by established law to impose necessarily upon Christians festivals sacred to God and the saints, to constitute these a part of religion and of divine worship as more holy than other days. The former can sometimes be employed with advantage according to the circumstances of time, place, persons and things (provided abuse, superstition and idolatry are absent, as was not rarely done in the primitive church); but the latter is not lawful both because it belongs to God alone

(and not to men) to prescribe what belongs to divine worship and because religious worship is not to be paid to any creatures, but to God alone.

XI. A thing can be called "holy" either absolutely (with regard to some inherent sanctity) or relatively (with regard to its destination to a sacred use); either by divine or human appointment. There are no days to which any quality of inherent sanctity may be attached of which they are not capacious (nor if it could be attributed to them, could this be done by the operation of men, who can communicate internal sanctity to nothing). We do not deny relative sanctity to certain days by reason of their destination to sacred uses, which (if it proceeds from God, as formerly on the Sabbath day and on the festivals established among the Jews) was a true relative sanctity by reason of the divine will. But if from men, in no way can sanctity be ascribed to days, except in relation to the things done on them and on account of the purpose for which the cessation from our works is enjoined.

XII. By the feast (of which the apostle speaks in 1 Cor. 5:7, 8), he does not mean a stated day on which the memory of Christ's passion should be celebrated, but the whole time commencing with our regeneration; not only for seven days (as the Passover of the Jews), but the whole time of our life. This is evident because he is speaking of the paschal feast, when having slain a lamb, unleavened bread is eaten. Now in the New Testament, Christ, the Lamb of God, having been once slain (whose efficacy remains forever), our unleavened bread of sincerity and truth ought to last through the whole course of life.

XIII. If some Reformed churches still observe some festivals (as the conception, nativity, passion and ascension of Christ), they differ widely from the papists because they dedicate these days to God alone and not to creatures. (2) No sanctity is attached to them, nor power and efficacy believed to be in them (as if they are much more holy than the remaining days). (3) They do not bind believers to a scrupulous and too strict abstinence on them from all servile work (as if in that abstinence there was any moral good or any part of religion placed and on the other hand it would be a great offense to do any work on those days). (4) The church is not bound by any necessity to the unchangeable observance of those days, but as they were instituted by human authority, so by the same they can be abolished and changed, if utility and the necessity of the church should demand it. "For everything is dissolved by the same causes by which it was

produced," the lawyers say. In one word, they are considered as human institutions. Superstition and the idea of necessity are absent.

XIV. If some days with certain churches are designated by the names of apostles or martyrs, it is not to be supposed that they were instituted for their worship or should be terminated on their honor, as the papists do. Hence Bellarmine asserts "that the honor of the festivals immediately and terminatively pertains to the saints" ("De Cultu Sanctorum," 3.16 *Opera* [1857], 2:555). Rather they are referred to the memory of the saints by whom Christ built up his church for our advantage (to the worship, however, and honor of God alone, who conferred upon the apostles and martyrs whatever thing worthy of praise they possessed, did or underwent). They neither invoke nor burn incense to them, but to God alone, whom they invoke. They give thanks on account of the benefits redounding to us by their ministry and example. Hence we cannot approve the rigid judgment of those who charge such churches with idolatry (in which those days are still kept, the name of the saints being retained), since they agree with us in doctrine concerning the worship of God alone and detest the idolatry of the papists.

XV. However although our churches do not condemn that practice simply as evil, yet since sad experience has shown that the institution of festival days received into the papacy from a false jealousy (*kakozēlia*) of the Jews or of the heathen gave occasion to the abominable idolatry which continues and increases in the papacy, not without weighty reasons have they preferred to abolish that usage in their reformation (that no contagion might be contracted, but that they might carefully shun the danger from that source). For in religion, when even the slightest departure takes place from the commands of God and men wish or suppose a thing to be lawful for them, all safe things are to be feared. Indeed it has been found by experience that from insignificant beginnings wonderful progress was made in superstition and idolatry in the papacy as to the worship of images, invocation of saints, purgatory, the sacrifice of the mass, prayers for the dead, etc. Thus it seems better to lack some useful good (but less necessary), than from the use of it to incur the imminent danger of any great evil.

Sixteenth Question: The Fifth Commandment

May children withdraw themselves from the power of their parents and marry without their consent? We deny against the papists

I. Among others in relation to the fifth precept, this question concerning the honoring of parents is agitated between us and the papists. In many ways, the latter weaken this precept, maintaining that children, against the consent of their parents, may not only contract marriage, but even adopt a monastic life. Therefore, two points must be discussed here. First, whether children (the parents being unwilling) can in any way withdraw themselves from their power. Second, whether without their consent it is right for them to marry.

How parents are to be honored.

II. That the first question may be more easily settled, we must see what is meant by "the honor" due to parents from their children (since many things are contained in it). (1) Love, which they ought to bear to them and want of which (*astorgia*, "without natural affection," Rom. 1:31) is reckoned among the most detestable crimes. For if our neighbor is to be loved, who is a greater neighbor to us than father and mother whose flesh we are? Again if kindnesses bestowed upon us ought to conciliate our love to the bestower, from whom have we received more or greater benefits than from our parents (from whom as instruments of divine power we have received whatever we are and have)? (2) Reverence, which is due to them both on account of preeminence (*hyperochēn*) (because they are superior and children inferiors; and inferiors owe honor to superiors) and on account of their authority (*exousian*) and power over children, which they have by reason of generation and education. Since this is the highest, it demands special honor; to which, as abominable sins, are opposed contempt (Lev. 20:9; Dt. 27:16; Prov. 20:20), despising and mocking (Prov. 15:5; 30:17). (3) Obligatory and voluntary obedience (Eph. 6:1; Col. 3:20; 1 Tim. 3:4; Tit. 1:6); but this ought to be "in the Lord," i.e., so that obedience to God be not compromised and God's authority be recognized. For if they command anything contrary, then it is certain that the children are not bound to obey,

because “it is better to obey God than men” (Acts 5*:29*). (4) Gratitude; not verbal only, but also real, in offices necessary to the support of life in all things which depend upon them (which is called by the Greeks *antipelargia*, “mutual love”). Storks are accustomed to rear, in turn, their old parents, as Aristotle mentions (*De historia animalium* 9.13 [1552], p. 216). The apostle and Christ commend this trait (1 Tim. 5:4, 16; Mt. 15:4, 5), so that they ought not to be ashamed in case of a deficiency of servants to render servile duties and obedience to them.

Statement of the question.

III. The question is Can children shake off the subjection and obedience due to parents and withdraw themselves from paternal authority? This the papists hold, maintaining that children can (the parents being unwilling) freely devote themselves to a monastic life. Thomas Aquinas says, “After the years of puberty children can bind themselves by a religious vow without the will of parents” (ST, II–II, Q. 88, Art. 9, p. 1574). Bellarmine confirms this (“De Monachis,” 36 *Opera* [1857], 2:290–92). On the contrary, we deny it.

Children cannot take upon themselves a vow against the wish or knowledge of their parents.

IV. First, Christ expressly condemns this in the Pharisees who, under the pretext of piety and of a vow, maintained that children could justly refuse the offices due to parents. “Whoever,” they said, “shall say to his father or mother, it is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; and honor not his father or his mother, he shall be free” (Mt. 15:5*, 6*). For although this obscure passage has given rise to various interpretations, yet all agree in this—that they thought the offices due to parents could be withheld under the pretext of religion and the worship of God. This may be understood of a gift which the child had presented to God for the sake of a father and under this pretext refused to help a needy parent; as if he had said, it is a gift by whatsoever thou mightest be assisted by me, i.e., I have consecrated to God all that by which thou mightest otherwise have been

helped in this need by me (or from my goods) and on that account I can no longer devote it to your use. This absolves me from the right which you have over me and from all honor and office due to you, as Beza (*Annotationes maiores ... Novum ... Testamentum* [1594], Pars Prior, p. 92 on Mt. 15:5) and Scaliger interpret it. Or it may be understood as Masius in c. 6 Judic.+ and many other learned men prefer (and is more pleasing to us). The formula of a vow and oath is here described by which the rebellious son devotes to God whatever proceeding from him could profit his father. The sense is this: I swear that I will not show you any kindness, no more than it is not lawful to use things sacred to God, in which class I place as if by an express vow whatever help I might give you—"gift" or as in Mk. 7:11, "Corban" (supply "it is"), i.e., a thing devoted to God and sacred, which it is not right to touch anymore; "whatsoever will profit you from me," i.e., will or could profit (for to *ōpheleisthai* is here a verb implying power [*dynētikon*]) and "will no longer honor his father or his mother" by any assistance afterwards (supply "he will be free" or "should no more honor" that they may be the words of the Pharisees forbidding the child to assist his parent that they may have a share with the son). This seems to be intimated in Mk. 7:12: "And ye suffer him no more to do ought for his father or his mother." That this is the true meaning of the passage appears from the rites of the Jews, with whom such formulas of oaths and vows were frequent. They often occur in the Talmud: "Let all this be Corban, by which I might be useful to thee" (*qrbhn sh'ny nhnh lk*) or "it is a sacred thing" (namely, which it was not lawful to touch) "whatever proceeding from me could profit thee" (*qrbhn khl mh dhthhn' mny*) (*Babylonian Talmud: Seder Nashim* [ed. I. Epstein, 1936], passim). However because the Pharisees held such vows ratified (regard being had to sacred offerings, which they made of more account than the command to honor parents), so they are said to have made the commandment of God of none effect by their tradition, by withdrawing children from the power of parents. For this reason they are severely rebuked by Christ and with them all their followers.

V. Second, the honoring of parents prescribed in the law cannot consist with this opinion, which withdraws children from the reverence due them in an affair of the greatest importance (viz., in choosing such a kind of life as calls them away from the obedience due to them). Yea, it takes them away

from duties which by nature they are indispensably bound to perform. Nor does it help the matter to say that the obedience due to God, the Father of spirits, ought to be placed before the obedience due to carnal parents. Although we willingly grant this, it does not follow that he is free and untrammeled to devote himself to a monastic life. The obedience due to God is not involved here (or rather is repugnant to it) since he forbids us to be the servants of men (1 Cor. 7:23).

VI. Third, children are not independent. Therefore they cannot decide for themselves, their parents being unwilling. Hence the law considers that vow void which a virgin has vowed in her father's house in her youth, if the father disallow her (Num. 30:4). Nor does the objection have any force that it refers only to girls who have not reached the years of puberty. The law does not limit this, but speaks in general of virgins who are in the house of their father. It is evident that in law such a liberty is not granted to girls.

VII. Fourth, this opinion (by taking away the obedience of children) overthrows nature herself and destroys human society altogether. For who would labor to nourish and bring up children if, after all the care and anxiety, they are strangers (not our own) and by a certain right (or rather Turkish tyranny) are torn away from their parents, who cannot enjoy the comfort and obedience which they expected from them, especially in old age when these duties are more necessary to them.

VIII. Fifth, Canon 16 of the Council of Gangra opposes this impiety. "Whatever children," it says, "depart from their parents under the pretext of divine worship and do not accord to them due reverence, let them be anathema" (Mansi, 2:1103). To no purpose does Bellarmine try to show that this is to be restricted to those who desert needy parents, in extreme necessity, and against their will take upon them vows of any religious order of life. The canon speaks absolutely and without any limitation; nor is it lawful to restrict the obedience due to parents to extreme necessity.

Sources of explanation.

IX. The example of Abraham called out from his home and relatives by God (Gen. 12:1) cannot favor either the wickedness of children withdrawing themselves from the power of parents or of the men-stealing Jesuits who tear them with impunity from the bosom of their parents. (1)

Abraham was already married and no longer under the guardianship of his father. (2) He had a special divine command, which is not the case here. (3) He went away from idolators, but these depart from Christian parents. (4) He did not assume vows of celibacy (or of obedience to any man) to lessen the paternal power; yea, not against but with the consent and to the gratification of his father, he went out from his home.

X. When the Levites are said to "have said unto their father and to their mother, we have not seen them, and to their brethren, we do not know them" (Dt. 33:9), it is shown indeed that they are worthy of praise who, in order to obey God expressly commanding anything, have a regard neither for blood nor marriage relations. This can be referred either to the law where a priest is forbidden to go in and defile himself with the dead body of his father or his mother (Lev. 21:10, 11), as if he did not know them; or to the deed of the Levites where they were to slay all the guilty irrespective of persons (Ex. 32:25–28); or to the trials which they ought to conduct without respect of persons. But it has no reference to those who (contrary to the command of God to honor parents) desert them in order to enslave themselves to other men.

XI. If the spouse is told "to forget her own people and her father's house" (Ps. 45:10), it has no reference to denying the obedience due to parents, but that she may understand (from the law of marriage instituted from the beginning by God) that parents are to be left so that she may cleave to her husband. The duty of believers (who are bound to renounce the world, the flesh and the old Adam) is mystically represented that they may be indissolubly united to Christ.

XII. When Christ commands us to hate parents for his sake (Lk. 14:26), he does not wish the binding duties of piety to be denied them, which are founded in nature and are indispensable. The command must be understood comparatively, so that the love of parents should yield to divine love (as when the commands of parents are opposed to the obedience due to God, we should postpone them to the commands of God).

XIII. Although Christ does not permit him whom he orders to follow him to bury his father (Lk. 9:59, 60), in order to teach that a divine call is to be preferred to the burying of a parent, i.e., to the offices due to parents, it does not follow that a child (not called by Christ, without necessity, the parent being unwilling) may take a vow withdrawing himself forever from

the authority of parents. It is one thing to follow Christ calling; another to embrace a monastic life without such a call and through will-worship (*ethelothrēskeian*). It is one thing to leave dead parents (especially if they are also spiritually dead) to be buried by the dead; another to throw off parents living spiritually and temporally and to devote one's self to fictitious parents often dead in sins.

Second question: concerning the necessity of the consent of parents to the marriage of children.

XIV. The second question refers to the consent of parents for marriage—whether children have the right to contract marriage, their parents being unwilling. It is necessary not only to restrain youthful license (which indulges itself more than is right on this subject, mutually entering into a marriage contract, yea, and sometimes into the state, the parents either unconsulted or even unwilling), but also on account of the papists, whose opinion is too favorable to this disorder. "It is not to be doubted that clandestine marriages made with free consent, are legal and true marriages, as long as the church has not made them void; and forthwith they are rightly to be condemned and the holy synod pronounces them accursed, who deny that they are true, and who affirm that the marriages of children without the consent of their parents, are void, and that parents can make them void or ratify them" (Session 24.1, "Reform of Matrimony," Schroeder, p. 183). Bellarmine holds the consent of parents to be of honesty, but not of necessity ("De Sacramento Matrimonii," 19 *Opera* [1858], 3:824–26).

XV. On the contrary, the orthodox maintain that the consent of parents in the marriages of children is not only of honesty, but also of necessity, so that without it the marriages are not legitimate and may also be broken. On the state of the question observe: (1) the question here is not whether the parental authority extends so far that it can compel unwilling children to marriage and to make matches for them without their consent; for this is denied on both sides. (2) It does not concern insane and maniacal parents or captive in a far distant region, who cannot give their consent. Rather it concerns sane and free parents, who can use their rightful power. (3) It does not concern children freed and in their majority, who have already gone

from under parental power (whom no one doubts to be independent), but especially concerns minors, who are still in every way constituted under parental authority. (4) It is not whether any dissent of parents can hinder or render void a marriage. We confess that where parents morose and avaricious and through sheer obstinacy will not consent to the proper marriage of children and cannot give sufficient reasons for their dissent after the request has been made by their children that the latter are not absolutely bound to their will, but it is right for them to apply to a superior power to whom a judgment concerning the justice or injustice of the dissent belongs. Thus the matter being well considered, they may determine what the children ought to do and consult their interest by supplying in this point the defect of the consent of the parents. But this is the special question—whether children, without the consent or knowledge of their parents, may lawfully marry, their consent not being sought or expected. This we deny.

The necessity of the consent of parents proved: (1) from the law, Eph. 6:1.

XVI. The reasons are: (1) from the fifth commandment, for that honor consists principally in the obedience due to them and since it is to be rendered to in all things "in the Lord," according to the command of Paul (Eph. 6:1), marriage cannot be excepted, which is of so great importance to settling the condition and fortune of the whole life and which, as the most difficult thing, exceeds the age, understanding and judgment of children. How can they be said to obey them in all things, who in the most momentous case pay no regard to them?

XVII. (2) From the special passages pertaining here in which precepts are given to parents concerning the settling of children in marriage. "Thou shalt not take of their daughters unto thy sons" (Ex. 34:16); "thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son" (Dt. 7:3); "Take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands" (Jer. 29:6); "So then he that giveth his virgin in marriage doeth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better" (1 Cor. 7:38). Now how could such things be said unless the children were in subjection to parental power, especially in the contraction of marriage?

3. Ex. 22:16, 17.

XVIII. (3) There is an express law concerning a daughter seduced and defiled who is not married, unless the father has assented: "If a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely endow her to be his wife" (Ex. 22:16). This is repeated in Dt. 22:29. Nevertheless that this was not to be understood absolutely, but with the condition of the consent of the father, it is immediately added, "If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins" (Ex. 22:17). Nor is Bellarmine's objection of any force that it treats not of a marriage already contracted, but of a future marriage on account of the preceding rape ("De Sacramento Matrimoni," 20 *Opera* [1858], 3:826–30). The force of the argument always remains. If it is left in the power of the father, whether he is willing to give the defiled daughter in marriage to her defiler (requesting it), assuredly in the marriage of a daughter the necessary consent of the parent is supposed. Yea, it binds even more strongly; for if this holds good with respect to a debauched daughter (whose dishonor seems to be covered by marriage), how much more with respect to an untouched and pure daughter? The same thing is proved from parity, as was seen before from Num. 30:4. The father can make void the daughter's vow; therefore also a marriage. If a vow, which is a promise made to God, comes under the parental will, how much more a promise made to men?

4. From the practice under the Old and New Testaments.

XIX. (4) From the continuous practice and the examples of the Old and New Testaments. Abraham sought Rebecca for his son (Gen. 24); Hagar a wife for Ishmael (Gen. 21:21); Jacob from Laban (Gen. 29:21). See similar examples in Caleb promising his daughter (Jdg. 1:12); in Samson seeking a wife from his parents (Jdg. 14:3); in the Israelites binding themselves to the Benjamites for this—that they would neither give their sons nor receive daughters from them (Jdg. 21:7); in Tamar answering Amnon according to law and custom, referring her disposal in marriage to her father—"speak unto the king for me" (2 S. 13:13).

5. Because children are not independent.

XX. (5) They who are not their own masters cannot determine for themselves. Children who are under parental power are not independent. (a) They are reckoned among the goods of parents as being from the parents and owing themselves to them (Job 1:2, 10, 12). (b) It was lawful for parents in extreme poverty to sell them into servitude (Ex. 21:7). (c) The vow of a daughter is rendered void by a father because she is under his power (Num. 30:5). For if it is not lawful to dispose of the goods of parents without their consent (if no power is given to the son of making away with money or of selling property), how can it be lawful for him to dispose of himself? What is nefarious as to the property in a farm that in persons is far more to be condemned (as an alienation would be made of a thing belonging to another). We punish thieves who steal money and furniture from their owners; but the theft is greater in a thing far more valuable.

6. From the absurd consequences.

XXI. (6) The opinion of our opponents is urged with the greatest absurdities. Not only is the divine law concerning honor to parents violated, the authority of fathers weakened, public morality flowing from the law of nature trampled upon, but also (the father being unwilling) an heir is introduced, domestic peace disturbed, while (against the will of the father) the young bride (who ought to be in the place of a daughter) is brought in and the safety of children (who on account of their age cannot yet consult for themselves) is placed in imminent danger. Devoid of counsel, inexperienced and untried, the latter are easily captivated by allurements and entangled in miserable marriages. The window is even opened to lust, since with the hope of matrimony many virgins are easily enticed to fornication.

7. From the civil laws.

XXII. (7) The civil laws written with the highest agreement both by ancient lawyers and by the emperors are too well known to be ignored, too clear to be obscured, too sacred to be rightly abolished. “Natural and civil reason

persuades this," says an emperor, "that the consent of parents ought first to be obtained" (Justinian, *Institutes*, 1.10 ["De Nuptiis"] [ed. P. Birks and G. McLeod, 1987], p. 4). Not even to widows (although freed) does he allow this under the twenty-fifth year, nor to a soldier (to which class of men many privileges are conceded): "A soldier, if a minor, does not contract matrimony without the will of the father." Paulus says: "It cannot hold good, unless all agree together, as well those who unite as well as those under whose power they are" (*Corpus Iuris Civilis, I: Digesta* 23.2.2 ["De Ritu Nuptiarum"] [ed. P. Krueger, 1955], p. 330). Ulpianus says, "If the father is out of his mind, the grandfather sane, the opinion of the latter is to be inquired" (ibid., 23.2.9, p. 331). However, the reasons are to be noticed which are added in the civil law. (a) The paternal power is to be pressed, on account of which children are not their own masters. (b) The succession of inheritance, that an heir be not introduced against the wish of the father. (c) The affection of parents, which is presumed to take the best counsel for a child (for whom it prepares everything willingly) and from whose offspring it hopes for continual remembrance. (d) The judgment of infirm children.

XXIII. Most of the popish canonists do not decide otherwise. See the testimonies of Euaristus, Leo I, Pelagius, Urban V, Nicholas (of Cusa) and others in Espensaeus ("De clandestinis matrimoniis," *Opera omnia* [1619], pp. 633–55). He has compiled many things on this opinion from the fathers and the Gentiles themselves. Zanchius and Gherardus ("De conjugio, coelibatu et similibus argumentis," in *Loci Theologici* [1869], 7:54–55) ought also to be consulted, who collect many pertinent passages from Gratian, Cassander, Erasmus, Vives, Groper, Beatus Rhenanus.

Sources of explanation.

XXIV. If Esau took a wife without consulting his parents, so far is this from confirming the validity of such marriages that it rather the more strongly proves their invalidity. It was most bitter to the parties and had a dreadful end. However, if Isaac did not declare it void, this is to be attributed either to parental indulgence (which tolerates many things in children which it cannot alter) or to the obstinacy of Esau, who could not be drawn away from the unjust and unlawful consort. Still the argument from fact to right is

not valid. Nor are we to be guided here by examples, but by laws. The same must be said of the apocryphal example of Tobit which is brought forward.

XXV. What God has joined together man cannot separate; but God cannot be regarded as the author of that union made only by violating his laws. If an ecclesiastical blessing comes in, it cannot ratify the marriage. For either by deceit or evil arts, it is extorted from the church; or when injury to it is granted by its corrupt ministers, which (when it is made void) ecclesiastical authority is not weakened but asserted.

XXVI. The expression that man ought to leave his parents and cleave to his wife does not avail except for true and lawful marriages. So close is the bond in these that if parents or the wife must be left, it is better to cleave to the wife. And yet in a wicked connection, how could the Lord seem to have absolved children (manifestly rebellious and obstinate) from the right of paternal power?

XXVII. Although marriages without the consent of parents (as being clandestine) are unlawful (even if the blessing of the church and copulation has taken place), they are not always actually rescinded. This arises from the paternal indulgence that greater evils may be avoided, not from justice. It is one thing however to seek the right; another to seek forbearance (*epieikeia*) or the remission of the right in any case. With respect to the latter is to be understood whatever is said by some orthodox theologians and lawyers about such clandestine marriage where copulation has taken place. Otherwise, if by illicit intercourse the right of making such marriages void would be taken away from the parent, occasion would be afforded to innumerable rapes and lusts, and the gate would be opened to every rake for seducing respectable virgins and trampling underfoot parental power. Nor is it a hindrance that a virgin, who has lost her virginity, is forced to be without a husband and thus injury would be suffered. She ought to impute that to her own folly, which may make others more cautious and that they suffer themselves not to be ruined. Nor ought they to complain of the injury received from the parent, but of the misery they have brought upon themselves.

XXVIII. There is not at all the same reason for slaves and children here. Between the slave and his master, the obligation is merely civil, but between parents and children it is natural. Servants belong to masters only by possession, but children belong to parents by generation. Hence there is

not an equal necessity for the master's consent in the marriages of slaves, as for the parent's in the marriage of children. Again, if slaves are property (as formerly), they can marry without the will of the master neither by divine nor civil laws. Hence power is given to the master of giving a wife to his slave (Ex. 21:4; Lev. 25:44).

XXIX. Although there may be the consent of the contracting parties in such marriages and the intention of the minister, still there is wanting the lawful consent. This is not only attended to with respect to the contracting parties, but also with respect to those in whose power they are. If a son is free, he is not forthwith absolutely independent (*autoexousios*) and master of himself. Otherwise, how could a father sell his son (Ex. 21) and how could a father make void the vow of a daughter, or a husband the vow of a wife (Num. 30)? If he can in no way alienate the goods of parents, how much less himself?

Seventeenth Question: The Sixth Commandment

Are the rights of war and punishment contained under this commandment? Are suicide (autocheiria) *and duelling prohibited? The former we deny; the latter we affirm*

I. Because various cases can occur in which homicide can either be lawful or unlawful and to be condemned, hence arises the question—What is prohibited in the sixth precept, "Thou shalt not kill," and what is not?

1. Judicial homicide is not prohibited.

II. First negatively (*kat' arsin*), judicial homicide is not prohibited, committed by the public magistrate against private persons whom he punishes with the sword or the gallows or in any other way. The magistrate is armed with the sword for the purpose of avenging evil (Rom. 13:4; 1 Pet. 2:14). This pertains not only to the heathen magistrates then in power, but to all magistrates as such, whether believers or not. Yea, it has a special reference to believers, who as guards of both tables ought to attend to the observation of the law. This could not be done if it were not allowed them to punish the guilty. For where there is no fear of punishment, crime is

encouraged. Thus the Anabaptists and Socinians have failed, who endeavor in this respect to wrest the sword from the Christian magistrate.

III. Nor does the duty of the magistrate alone claim this, but public tranquility and peace demand it. This could never be preserved if the sword could not be unsheathed against the guilty, so that the state might be cleared of such wretches.

IV. This public right is not opposed either by the command of God, which respects private persons (not magistrates and ministers of God clothed with public authority), or by Christian charity, which can love the persons and punish the crimes. It would be a violation of the law of charity to leave the desperately wicked unpunished as pernicious to the republic and injurious to the good. Nor is it opposed by the prophecy concerning the wolf dwelling with the lamb (Is. 11:6). This does not refer to the duty of magistrates, but to believers. It consists of this—that they who were before cruel and fierce, after putting on the yoke of Christ should grow mild and live peacefully together. Nor is it opposed by the words of Christ, "resist not evil" (Mt. 5:39, 40), because they treat only of private vengeance, not public (which should be exercised in the name of God, who asserts that vengeance belongs to him). This is the meaning of Paul's words, "Recompense to no man evil for evil" (Rom. 12:17). Nor is it opposed by Mt. 26:52: "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." It is one thing to take the sword without its being given (as all do who from private vengeance seize it and are here condemned), another to use it lawfully when given by God (which magistrates do). Nor is it opposed by the fact that Christ did not condemn the adulteress (Jn. 8:11) because Christ did not act as a magistrate or judge on earth, but as a minister of the circumcision (Rom. 15:8). Nor is it opposed by the parable concerning not rooting up the tares (Mt. 13:29, 30) because hypocrites are meant by the tares, not the openly wicked. Nor does it treat of the office of magistrates and political punishment, but of the administration of ecclesiastical discipline, in the exercise of which he does not wish his people to be so rigid, lest with hypocrites they root out believers themselves.

The right of war is proved against the Socinians and Anabaptists.

V. We maintain the same thing concerning the right of war, against the Socinians and Anabaptists, who think it is abolished under the New Testament. Hence Smaltzius: "We deny that it is lawful to carry on wars and hold that it is unworthy of Christian piety" (*Refutatio Thesium D. Wolfgangi Frantzii*, Disp. VI [1614], p. 393). On the contrary, we maintain that the right of war belongs to the magistrate and can be lawfully exercised by him in a just and necessary war. Unjust and hasty wars, undertaken without just and necessary cause from mere ambition or avarice in order to extend the boundaries of an empire, we detest as mere highway robberies.

(1) From the Old Testament.

VI. The reasons are: (1) it was lawful under the Old Testament; therefore it ought to be lawful under the New, since there is the same reason of both as far as this is concerned. Nor is the objection of Socinus of any force—that it was lawful formerly because God in many ways declared that he did not disapprove of it at that time; but under the New Testament in no way (either by Christ or by his apostles) did he approve of the repulse of invaders connected with their destruction. From the very fact that Christ did not take away, but confirmed, the authority of the magistrate, he also approved of the right of carrying on war, since it pertains to the magistrate to defend his subjects against unjust violence (which certainly cannot sometimes be done without war). Besides these do not fall under political law, but under the moral and natural law, which was confirmed by Christ.

(2) From the New Testament.

VII. Second, the same right is repeatedly approved in the New Testament. First, by John the Baptist, who (preparing the way of the Lord) sanctioned military discipline by laws (Lk. 3:14). He exhorted the soldiers who asked him what they ought to do in order to escape the wrath to come and obtain eternal life; he did not order them to give up their military profession (which they would have to do entirely if it was wicked and unlawful per se), but that remaining in it, they should be content with their wages and do violence to no man. It does not help the matter to say that John speaks only of the manner of warring rightly and of the military office and not of the

office of candidates for eternal life. For if the military life is hateful to God under the New Testament, John would not have prescribed a rule for that life, but would have simply condemned it and exhorted them to change their manner of life. Thus the faith of the centurion is mentioned by Christ (Mt. 8:10), the piety of Cornelius by Luke (Acts 10:1) and is adorned by the testimony of an angel (cf. Acts 10:7). Nor does Paul refuse to employ a military guard for his safety and protection (Acts 23:17–31).

(3) From the office of the magistrate.

VIII. Third, the office of the magistrate necessarily demands this. To him has been given the sword as the avenger of crimes (Rom. 13:4; 1 Pet. 2:14). Now if small robberies are rightly punished (committed against a few), how much more severely should the great and public robberies be punished of those who endeavor to lay waste a state and to devastate regions? He is bound to undertake the defense of his subjects and to have a care for the public tranquility and safety; to guard the laws against the contumacious and open enemies who strive to destroy them (which cannot be done without just war).

(4) From Revelation.

IX. Fourth, the Apocalypse records and approves various wars of the pious under the New Testament, which the circumstances of the passages sufficiently prove are to be understood not only spiritually, but also concerning external war and the real effusion of blood. Nor ought it to be said that here only the wars of infidels, Gog and Magog (which have no reference to Christians), are mentioned. These mutually follow each other; for if those former offensive wars are unjust, these latter defensive wars are just.

Sources of explanation.

X. What is said of New Testament believers does not invalidate the right of war: “They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks” (Is. 2:4). “Messiah will cut off the chariot from Ephraim,

and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle bow shall be cut off" (Zech. 9:10). It is one thing to speak of the spiritual and internal peace of the kingdom of Christ to be procured by Messiah; another to speak of the political and external peace which does not have a place here. For Christ testifies that "he did not come to send peace, but a sword" (Mt. 10:34). The meaning of these prophecies is no other than that the propagation of the kingdom of Christ is to be accomplished not by carnal weapons, but by the preaching of the gospel and the power of the Holy Spirit alone. But it cannot be inferred that it is not lawful for the magistrate to carry on wars for just and necessary causes because the gospel does not abolish governments or magistracies.

XI. Although the arms of the apostles (with which they were to fight against Satan, the world and the flesh) are said to be spiritual, not carnal (2 Cor. 10:4), because they were ordered to war against the world not by external force, but by the preaching of the word alone (Mt. 28:19); and the arms of believers are no other than prayers and tears in spiritual war, it does not follow that the right of the sword and of carnal weapons does not belong to the magistrate. As the calling of the apostles and of believers does not take away the office of the magistrate, so the spiritual arms with which believers fight do not take away the carnal which the magistrate uses.

XII. The private duty of believers is one thing, the public duty of a magistrate another. Believers ought to be prepared to pour out their own blood rather than that of others because to them the right of the sword and of war is not granted. But it is different with the office of the magistrate, since God has armed him for the avenging of wickedness and the defense of the state and the church. He has granted to him also the right of waging necessary wars.

XIII. The objections drawn from Mt. 5:39 and similar passages do not prove that every war is simply unlawful. (1) Nothing new is there commanded which cannot be shown to have been commanded in the Old Testament (where nevertheless war is approved). (2) What is said there is said to private persons—how far in any way they may indulge their affections and perturbations. It is not said to the public authority ordained of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil (Rom. 13:4). Thus the hatred of enmity and of sheer revenge is prohibited there, not the care of justice.

XIV. James teaches indeed that the origin and cause of wars is evil because it is always unjust on one side (4:1), but it does not follow that every war is evil on both sides. It is frequently lawful for the magistrate to repel again and avenge by force offensive injury.

2. Defensive homicide is not forbidden.

XV. Second, defensive homicide is not forbidden when anyone, for the purpose of defending his own life against a violent and unjust aggressor (keeping within the limits of lawful protection), kills another. To be considered as lawful protection, it is necessary: (1) that the aggressor unjustly assails and falls upon us; (2) that the defender be placed beyond all blame, while every other way of escaping morally by speaking or flying or yielding is shut against him; (3) that the defense be made during the very attack and not after it is over; (4) that nothing is done by him either under the impulse of anger or with the feeling and desire of revenge, but with the sole intention of defending himself.

XVI. The reason is clear. Although it is not lawful to return like for like and to avenge oneself, still to repel force by force and to defend oneself belongs to natural and perpetual right (especially where the aggression is simply violent and destitute of all public authority) even unto the slaying of the aggressor (although not intended by itself, but inasmuch as we cannot otherwise defend our lives and free ourselves from his unjust oppression). Nor do civil laws alone approve this, as is evident from the Codex to the Cornelian law and to the Aquilian law: “All laws and all rights allow the repelling of force by force” (cf. *Corpus Iuris Civilis, I: Digesta* 48.8 [“Ad legem Corneliam de sicariis”] [ed. P. Krueger, 1955], pp. 852–53 and ibid., 9.2.45 [“Ad legem Aquiliam”], p. 162). But God himself is found to have intimated this clearly in the law where a case of private defense is set forth from which a judgment can be formed concerning the practice of that law: “If a thief be found breaking up” (in the very act) “and be smitten that he die, there shall no blood be shed for him” (Ex. 22:2). If the sun be risen upon him, there shall be blood shed for him if doubtless the slayer could discover that he had come only for the purpose of stealing and not of killing.

XVII. However such defense is wrongfully extended to the preservation or recovery of honor (oftentimes imaginary), whose idol the devil (who is a murderer from the beginning) has set up in the world that offering may be made to it with human blood; both because honor can be recovered, but life never; and because such slaughter would pertain not to lawful defense, but to unlawful revenge. But it is properly referred: (1) To the defense of life, whether our own or our neighbor's, especially when they are bound to us by a somewhat closer tie (as our parents, wives, children, friends and the like). For he who does not repel an injury from another when he can is as much to blame as he who commits it. Still the person acting can be such, as is (for example) a father or a prince, so that it is more becoming for the one attacked to suffer death itself than to repel injury by such a defense. (2) It is referred to the defense of chastity, either our own or another's (as the examples of brave virgins stand forth, who killed those attempting to violate their chastity, when they could in no other way escape). Just as many laws permit the father or the husband to kill with impunity the violator of a daughter or wife taken in the act (*ep' autophorō*).

XVIII. Blameless protection is not prohibited in Rom. 12:19, but private revenge (as the words themselves show: *mē heautous ekdikountes*). Nor does he who justly defends his own life do it by private undertaking, but by the public authority of the law of nature. The injunctions to love our enemies do not take away the necessary defense of life because the foundation of the love of neighbors is the love of ourselves. The passage in Mt. 26:52 in which our Lord orders Peter, "Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword" does not take away just self-defense. This had the appearance not so much of defense (which would have been useless against so great a multitude) as of revenge. Again, he had not waited for the command of the Lord (who had no need of such a defender), but acted precipitately.

3. Casual homicide is not prohibited.

XIX. Third, casual homicide is not prohibited, whether committed personally or by another, provided it be in no way intended and treachery and guilt be absent (such as is described in Dt. 19:4, 5). Hence asylums and cities of refuge were appointed for such, to which murderers might retreat,

lest the Goel (or avenger of blood), carried away by fury before the cause was known, should slay the innocent. But this is falsely extended in the papacy to wretches of all kinds and voluntary homicides, ravishers of virgins and the like, to whom they wish an asylum to lie open in sacred places.

Affirmatively, all private homicide is forbidden.

XX. Affirmatively (*kata thesin*) private manslaughter is prohibited when committed by private authority and wicked treachery, or from hatred and studied vengeance or from any other evil motive: whether by force or cunning, by the sword or by poison; whether directly by oneself or indirectly by another (as David had Uriah killed by others). Hence Abraham would not have sinned against this law if, in accordance with the command of God, he had slain his own son. He would have done it by the supreme authority of him who has the right of life and death over all.

XXI. There is a threefold reason of the sanction: divine, natural and civil. Divine, because since man is the image of God, it cannot be destroyed without manifest and sacrilegious injury to God (the archetype and the sole arbiter and Lord of our life). Natural, because since all things by their own nature seek self-preservation, they are deservedly to be considered enemies of the human race who deprive men of life. Civil, because civil society (which is damaged by other wickednesses) is by the crime of homicide straightway disturbed and overthrown.

Under which suicide is comprehended.

XXII. Under homicide condemned by the law, we include: (1) self-murder (*autocheirian*, so highly praised by the Stoics) of those who desert this post without the will of the supreme commander. By this precept is prohibited self-murder (*autophonia*) no less than the murder of others (*heterophonia*). For although the second table seems to terminate on our neighbor, still it must be considered to pertain no less to man with respect to himself, since each one is nearest to himself. Yea, since each one is bound to love his neighbor as himself and to defend his life as his own, for the very reason

that he is forbidden to do violence to the life of a neighbor, is he far more strongly prohibited from doing injury to his own life.

XXIII. That suicide (*autocheirian*) is a most heinous sin appears from the following reasons. A suicide (*autocheir*) sins against God by trampling on his authority, who alone is Lord of life; on his goodness, who has so kindly preserved him thus long among the living; on his providence, whose order he endeavors to disturb. He sins against himself by violating the natural inclination prompting each one to love himself, and cherish and preserve his own flesh (Eph. 5:29). He sins against the state by destroying one of her citizens; against his family by violently tearing away its member and (perhaps the chief) plunging all his relatives into disgrace, grief and mourning; against the church and religion by branding the Christian system with ignominy, causing grief to all, scandal to the good and occasion of scoffing to enemies. It is opposed to the law of nature, which binds each one to self-preservation; and to confidence and piety in God, which ought to receive all evils, either resting upon or threatening us, as from God; to wisdom because this crime is reached not so much by reflection as by fury and wild impulse. Not even Seneca could deny this: "A wise man ought not to assist in his own punishment: it is folly to die through fear of death" (*Epistle 70* [Loeb, 2:60–61]). It is opposed to justice because man is no more lord of his own than of another's life. He is a servant who has a master, a soldier who has a general. He is placed in his station; he ought not to be irregular (*leipotaktēs*) or to leave at his own pleasure, but to be discharged by another. This is expressed in the best way by Epictetus himself, who orders men to wait until God gives the sign (*ekdechesthai ton theon*) and discharges us from this service (*Discourses* 1.9.16 [Loeb, 1:68–69]). It is opposed to fortitude because it arises from an impatience of evil sent or from fear that it will be sent, whether in order that it may be removed or escaped. Hence Augustine properly says that it does not belong to magnanimity and that he is deservedly said to have a greater soul who can bear a life of trials rather than fly from it (CG 1.22* [FC 8:54]). It is opposed to the consent of the wiser among the heathen, Greeks as well as Romans: Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Cicero and others, who confess it to be wicked. Here pertain the examples of self-murder (*autocheirias*) recounted in the Scriptures, which are ascribed only to the

abandoned: in Saul (1 S. 31:4); Ahithophel (2 S. 17:23); Judas Iscariot (Mt. 27:5; Acts 1:18).

Sources of explanation.

XXIV. The example of Samson (Jdg. 16:30) does not favor suicide (*autocheiria*) because in the ruins of the house which he threw down he buried himself no less than others. This was a singular deed, perpetrated by the extraordinary influence of the Holy Spirit, as appears both from the apostle (Heb. 11:34), who says that he did this by faith and from the prayers which he offered to God for obtaining extraordinary strength for this act and from their being heard (Jdg. 16:28). God increased his strength and bestowed the desired success that he might thus be an illustrious type of Christ causing the great destruction of his enemies by his own death and breaking the tyrannical yoke resting upon the neck of his people. Finally, the design was not private revenge simply, but the vindication of the glory of God, of religion and of the people, since he was a public person and raised up by God from the people as an avenger.

XXV. Nor do the examples of Eleazar, the brother of Judas Maccabeus, who crept under an elephant and, crushed by it, died (1 Mac. 6:43–45); and of Razis (killing himself with his own sword, 2 Mac. 14:41, 42) favor it because they are drawn from the Apocryphal books. Nor is it to be called generosity, but the height of timidity for anyone voluntarily to rush upon his own total destruction on account of an uncertain evil. Nor do the examples of those who wished to encounter extreme dangers for their country or friends and to purchase the tranquility and safety of others by their own death belong here. It is one thing to expose oneself to dangers from the pressure of necessity and in answer to a special divine call; another to kill oneself. Nor ought he to be considered a suicide (*autocheir*) who lays down his life for another, for then Christ's laying down his life for us would have been a suicide (*autocheir*) (which no one would say).

XXVI. The act of those who blow up themselves with their ships (as is sometimes done by sailors who, reduced to extremity, have their own ship set on fire in order that they might not be brought under the tyranny of enemies; nor the warlike instruments, in their power, be turned by the enemy to the destruction of their native country and that the same works

might inflict injury upon the enemy, by taking themselves away together with the ship), although approved by certain theologians (or taken out of the sphere of suicide [*autocheiria*] because they did not design their own destruction, but the slaughter of the enemy and the good of their country), yet by us and many others cannot be approved at all. By this act they directly and voluntarily bring death upon themselves as a physical and moral cause; thus they cannot escape the crime of self-murder (*autophonōn*). Besides in it they oppose confidence in God by limiting his providence, as if with him there were not a thousand ways for escaping even when we suppose that we are shut up on all sides. They oppose Christian prudence because they weigh certain and present destruction with an uncertain chance and event and hold the former to outweigh the latter. They might, although almost conquered, come out superior; the enemy might spare their lives; some might save their lives by swimming away or in some other manner. They oppose fortitude, for it is bravery not basely to leave our post from desperation of victory or safety, but to fight even to the very last. They oppose love and kindness towards miserable persons: the old, the weak, the sick, children—whom the enemies themselves might spare and for the most part are accustomed to spare. Therefore such cannot be acquitted of guilt according to the rule of the apostle (not to do evil that good may come); nor can any laws either of war or of the state stand opposed to the divine sanction. Although such may sometimes be excused from so much, still they cannot be excused from the whole, whether they may be said to do it as private persons or as public servants. Nor can public authority bind us in opposition to the divine authority. Nor can any disadvantage done to the enemy or advantage to the country be so great as to absolve the conscience here. Nor can the intention of injuring the enemy be wholly abstracted from the most certain knowledge of destroying himself together with the enemy and of bringing indubitable death upon himself.

XXVII. It is good to render to God what has been given by him, but when that is both demanded of us and is restored in due manner; not however when it is neither demanded nor restored in due manner. We grant that death is sometimes better than life; but inflicted by others, not brought upon ourselves. Death can be lawfully wished for, but not sought. As life is received only at the divine will, so neither ought it to be laid down except

by his command. To despise that most dreadful messenger (*to phoberōtaton*) from God is brave; but voluntarily to rush upon it is rash and insane (which Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics* 3.8 [Loeb, 19:163–71], teaches to be not bravery but cowardice). Nor if the love of country, the safety of others, the desire of immortality can impel to the brave endurance of death sent against us, they ought to have the same influence in inviting it when unsent.

XXVIII. It is one thing to suffer death, to permit the murder of oneself; yea, even to present oneself bravely to it at the call of God. It is another to kill oneself. The former in some circumstances is lawful and Christ, the martyrs and heroes did something like it; but not the latter likewise.

XXIX. "The giving of the body to be burned" of which Paul speaks (1 Cor. 13:3) is not a rash and useless act by which anyone voluntarily and unnecessarily exposes himself to death for the cause of God. Rather it is necessary and holy by which he meets martyrdom at the call of God, nor refuses that call either by lying or by denying the truth on account of love; either for his relatives or for the world, when it is his lot to be carried to the tribunals of pagans by the enemies of the gospel.

2. Unlawful duels.

XXX. Second, duelling is prohibited; not every single combat or fight between two, such as is the necessary defense of life against an unjust aggressor (which has been approved by us before); not one engaged in by public authority for the common good (as was the single combat of David and Goliath); but a fight between private persons, directly and willingly entered into, by appointment or agreement, with danger of slaying or of mutilation, which we think is simply to be condemned, as much in the accepter as in the challenger, although the challenger is more guilty. It directly assails this precept: "Thou shall not kill."

XXXI. No reason can be given, which can make duelling honorable and lawful. Not the defenses of worldly honor and the avoidance of disgrace because that honor is false and prevails only among worthless men (the wounding of which takes nothing away from the true fortitude, which is not to be preferred to the honor due to God). Nor can there be any danger of real disgrace when he who refuses to accept a challenge gives as the reasons

the divine prohibition, and the danger of the soul (with which no loss of honor is to be compared). Besides wounded honor can be better and more easily healed than the death of the injurer. Not the defense of goods because our own life and another's ought not to be exchanged with other temporal goods. Not the manifestation of truth or the purgation of crime because since there is no promise of God which wills to give testimony to the truth in this way, thus to consult his extraordinary providence (or appeal to it) is nothing else than to tempt God by a diabolical invention. Not the execution of vengeance because vengeance is denied to private persons. They would thus be judges in their own case while it is lawful to public persons only and that in a legal way. How the Jesuits (Lessius, Amicus, Escobar and others) favor this diabolical art is evident from the extracts of their moral theology published in the year 1666 (Proposi. 11, 12, 15, 16+).

3. Anger and hatred.

XXXII. Third, not only is external homicide and whatever pertains to it forbidden; but also (since the law is spiritual) anger, hatred, the desire of revenge, envy, contumely and whatever is opposed to the true and sincere love of our neighbor or his legitimate defense. All these are condemned not only in the New Testament (Mt. 5:21), as Socinians falsely maintain, but were also prohibited and condemned in the Old (Lev. 19:17, 18; Zech. 8:16, 17). For although only effective and external homicide was capitally punished by the forensic law (Lev. 24:17), affective and internal homicide in the sight of God comes under the same head.

XXXIII. However, because under negative precepts affirmative ones are contained, we are bound by this law to the defense, aid, love, kind treatment of our neighbor, the desire for concord and peace (Rom. 12:18). For it is not sufficient that we injure no one, rather we must give to everyone his due. It is not enough not to kill anyone, but we must in addition study to preserve our neighbor's life in whatever lawful way it can be done. And as a lamp is extinguished in a twofold manner (either by blowing it out or by not supplying it with oil), so the life of our neighbor is destroyed either by a violent extinction or by an iniquitous withdrawal of the alms and assistance by which it might have been preserved.

Eighteenth Question: The Seventh Commandment

What is forbidden and what is enjoined by the precept concerning not committing adultery?

I. As by the sixth precept both our own and our neighbors' lives are entrusted to us, so by the seventh both our own and others' virtue. A threefold reason is assigned: divine, because since God is holy, it is just that man created in the image of God should lead a holy and consequently also a chaste life (since chastity is a part of holiness); natural, because since the conjunction of male and female pertains to the right of nature, it must necessarily be directed in accordance with the rule of right reason, lest nature herself remain unbridled (thus there is no nation in the world which has not approved matrimony and condemned promiscuous intercourse); civil, because as by the distinction of families political good order (*eutaxia*) is maintained, so the disturbance of the same by promiscuous lusts overthrows republics and brings destruction upon houses.

Under adultery all illicit intercourse is synecdochically forbidden.

II. Therefore, by this precept all lewdness and wantonness of whatever kind is forbidden under the word "adultery" (which is one of its grossest forms, most injurious to human society and contumelious to our neighbor) as comprehended by way of synecdoche. Thus here is condemned all illicit intercourse outside of marriage. Under which is included, first, adultery properly so called, the violation of another's bed, whether one of the parties is unmarried or both are married (in which way the adultery is doubled by the violation of a twofold bed). (2) Fornication in general and simple (of two unmarried persons), which, although among the heathens looked upon as a venial sin (or rather as no sin at all—as also among the papists), still is frequently expressly condemned as a heinous sin in the Old as well as in the New Testament (Dt. 22:28; 23:17, 18; 1 Cor. 6:18; Heb. 13:4; Rev. 21:8). The apostle marks its seriousness because he who commits fornication makes his body one with a harlot, sins against his own body, profanes a temple of the Holy Spirit and pollutes a vessel of grace (1 Cor. 6:16). Hence

we gather the extent of the criminality of those who defend public brothels against human and divine laws (as is done in the papacy where such establishments are publicly tolerated; yea, even taxes and tributes are drawn from them; although God formerly forbade the wages of a harlot and the price of a dog to be brought into the temple, Dt. 23:18). Espensaeus complains about this ("De Continentia," 3.4 *Opera Omnia* [1619], pp. 732–35), while others defend this infamous cause (as Emanuel Sa, Toletus and various casuists among the papists). Bellarmine confesses that brothels are necessary evils for avoiding greater sin; but here the apostolic rule ought to obtain, evil must not be done that good may come. If in the Old Testament there are said to have been harlots (as in the time of the patriarchs and of Solomon), they are not on that account approved or proposed for imitation. The example of Solomon (revelling in lust) is not to be pressed, as it was vicious. Rather we are to imitate the zeal of Josiah reforming the worship of God and especially destroying brothels (2 K. 23:7); and also of Louis IX (called Sanctus), who expelled actors from his kingdom and destroyed houses of prostitution.

Incest.

III. (3) Incest which is committed between persons connected by consanguinity or affinity, if the degrees prohibited in both kinds of relationship are settled by the law of God, not by the legislation of men. (4) Rape, when a girl is forcibly carried from the house of her father for the purpose of lust, whether she struggles against or assents to it. For then violence is done at least to the father from whom his property is violently wrested. (5) Concubinage, when anyone has intercourse with a woman living in his house; not with marital affection, but only for the sake of convenience (who can even be dismissed, so that the children are not considered either as legitimate or heirs). This is a species of whoredom; yea, it is rather worse, for this bespeaks only a transient act, but concubinage adds permanency to the condition. Hence the apostle makes a direct antithesis between marriage and whoredom (Heb. 13:4) because all concubinage outside of lawful marriage is whoredom. However although it prevailed under the Old Testament among the patriarchs, it cannot therefore be made honorable or be imitated. We live by rules, not by examples; nor

are the defects and blemishes of the saints, recorded by the sacred writers, on that account approved; nor if they are excused by the canonical law, can they consequently be excused by the divine law.

Sin against nature.

IV. (6) The sin against nature and those horrible crimes expressed by the words "sodomy" and "bestiality" (of which mention is made in Lev. 20:13 and Rom. 1:27, which are not even to be named among Christians, although even now they prevail too much in various places to the disgrace of the Christian name).

Obscenity; dancing.

V. (7) All unchaste obscenity, existing as well in the heart by evil thoughts and depraved concupiscence and condemned by Christ (Mt. 5:28), as expressed by obscene words and immodest gestures. We do not doubt that under these are contained the painting of the face and the loose and lascivious dress of the body, when lewdness flows (*aselgeia*) from the soul into the clothing, from the conscience to the surface: dances and lascivious motions, demoralizing scenic representations and stage plays (usual now); intoxication, habitual drunkenness, gluttony and the like (which are so many different allurements and incentives to this kind of illicit intercourse). It is certain that all these are comprehended under this interdict, since they are frequently condemned in the Scriptures as characterizing the heathen and the children of this world (Rom. 13:12, 13; Eph. 4:19; 1 Pet. 4:3; 1 Jn. 2:15, 16). They are wrong for Christians to indulge in, who ought not to be conformed to this world (Rom. 12:2), but are bound to regulate their whole lives in accordance with sobriety, temperance, modesty and holiness (Tit. 2:12; Rom. 13:13).

VI. Nor if the apostle wishes Christians to abstain from all impurity and lasciviousness (Eph. 5:3, 4; 1 Thess. 4:3), does it follow that this was prohibited only under the New Testament and is an addition made by Christ to the moral law. It is evident that the holiness commanded in the law excludes every kind of impurity, internal of the heart as well as external of the body. But here is gathered only that this duty is commanded no less by

the gospel than by the law and in the former is more strongly confirmed what had already been forbidden in the latter, which can be proved further by various passages (Prov. 6:25, 26; Job 31:1, 9; Gen. 39:7, 9; Jer. 5:8, 9). Nor if the wise man seems to allow the young man to walk in the ways of his heart and in the sight of his eyes (Ecc. 11:9), does he approve this as lawful. Rather he speaks ironically, immediately altering his tone and adding, for all these things God will bring him into judgment.

Polygamy.

VII. (8) Polygamy, not successive (which is lawful), but simultaneous (which is a sin). (a) It is against the first institution of marriage (Gen. 2:23, 24), to which Christ recalls the Jews. God made and joined together one man and one woman and sanctioned by an edict that two (not three or more) should be one flesh; also that the man should cleave to his own wife, not to wives; nor are they to be separated whom God has joined together (Mal. 2:15; Mt. 19:5). (b) It is a sin against the nature of conjugal love, which is so peculiar and singular that it cannot receive a third person into participation of the same thing (as experience teaches in conjugal jealousy). (c) Against the nature of the marriage contract, by which neither has power over his or her own body (1 Cor. 7:4). Hence he is convicted of injustice and treachery who joins himself to another (Mal. 2:14). (d) Against the command of Paul, who wishes each wife to have her "own husband" (*ton idion andra*). Hence a wife is called an adulteress who becomes the wife of another while her husband is still living (Rom. 7:2, 3) because matrimonial fidelity ought to be reciprocal. This cannot be the case if one can have many husbands or one husband many wives. (e) Against that united care of offspring which the end of marriage requires (which is divided in polygamy). (f) Against the peace of the family because innumerable strifes arise from it (Lev. 18:18), as was seen in the house of Jacob (Gen. 30) and of Elkanah (1 S. 1:6).

VIII. The legality of polygamy cannot be gathered either from the example of the patriarchs of the Old Testament, who were polygamists and to whom polygamy ought to have been permitted. We are to be governed by laws and not by examples. (b) If it was permitted, it was either by an ethical permission of right through a particular dispensation on account of infirmity

because they were still babes, to whom many things are allowed which are denied to adults (and this now ceases under the New Testament); or, what is more likely, by a permission of the deed (i.e., through mere tolerance, not through approbation) so that in this way they might be free from civil punishment in the earthly court, but not likewise from the divine punishment in the court of heaven (from which they had to be freed by the grace of God, by the intervention of their repentance, either explicit or at least implicit); see above Topic XI, Question 2, Section 27, 28. Or from this that God gives laws concerning the inheritances of polygamists (Dt. 21:15, 16). Although he gives laws to polygamists, still he does not on that account approve polygamy itself; as he gives a law concerning the not bringing the hire of a whore into the house of the Lord (Dt. 23:18), yet he does not approve of the hire itself. He gives a law concerning the election of a king and yet does not approve of the desire of the people (1 S. 8:6, 7). Or from this, that a man who may be married ought to raise up seed to his dead brother (Dt. 25:5). The reference is to brothers dwelling together, i.e., who were not both married.

IX. Because lawful intercourse (found in virtuous union) is a remedy for the irregular lusts and illicit intercourse forbidden by this precept, the lawful use of marriage instituted by God is enjoined in those who are unwilling or unable to contain themselves so that there may be a lawful and undivided conjunction of two in one flesh, by the just consent not only of the contracting parties, but also of those in whose power they are and without which the nuptials are clandestine and *ipso jure* null; full, not extorted by force or deceit (which refers to rape); sincere, not fraudulent, since it ought to be an inseparable connection, not only of bodies, but also of souls and of property to be regularly dissolved by death alone (Rom. 7:2, 3).

X. Modesty, chastity (whether in celibacy or in marriage), purity, sobriety and all virtues pertaining to the true sanctification of the body and soul (whose leader is temperance) are also commanded, by which the reason restrains lust and all the force of the concupiscible appetite and teaches them to obey her.

Nineteenth Question: The Eighth Commandment

What is forbidden and commanded by the precept concerning not stealing? Is usury of all kinds contained under it? We deny

I. As by the two preceding precepts the persons and bodies of neighbors (or their lives and chastity) were guarded, by this eighth precept their goods (or property) are placed in safety. The design is that each one's own may be rendered to him, since injustice is an abomination to God.

The reason of the precept is threefold.

II. There is a threefold reason for this sanction no less than the preceding. (1) Divine, because since God is no less the bestower of goods than the Creator, whoever does not wait for these things from his bounteous hand, but seizes them by injury, greatly offends God himself. (2) Natural, because since the distinction of property (according to which some possess more, others fewer things) is of natural right the usurpation of another's possession cannot but be a grievous sin, repugnant to natural right. (3) Political, because (the license of thieves and robbers prevailing) the public peace and tranquility (the bond of human society) is weakened.

Theft and its various kinds are condemned.

III. Theft in general is here forbidden, which is commonly defined as the illegal appropriation of what belongs to another; or the unlawful use (the owner being unwilling) of what belongs to another, whether by treachery or violence. This, however, is not only simple, but qualified: also various and multiple according to the diversity of objects. For if it is the appropriation of a sacred thing, it is called "sacrilege"; if of public goods belonging to the state, "peculation"; if of a person in another's power (whether he be free or a slave), "man-stealing." Here belong highway robbery, extortion of money by threats, cheating: to each of which their own punishments are assigned by the civil laws.

IV. To theft belong also reductively all deceits, frauds and overreaching in contracts, measures, weights, monies, monopolies and all evil arts and trickery by which another's property is appropriated. Yea, they are guilty of the theft in the sight of God who devote themselves to indolence and

depraved ease (which is the cushion of the devil) and who, in their callings, professions and ministries, are negligent and unfaithful—who unjustly steal the wages allowed them, performing lazily and imperfectly the work entrusted to them.

V. Here belongs avarice also, the root of all evils (1 Tim. 6:9, 10). It consists in an insatiable desire of gain and accursed thirst of gold; or an inordinate love of riches, which is incompatible (*asystatos*) with the love we owe to God and to our neighbor. "Ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God?" (Jam. 4:4). Hence it is characterized by the apostle by the detestable crime of idolatry (Eph. 5:5) because by it man is led (the deity being neglected) to place his whole confidence and trust in riches as his highest good.

VI. And hence it is evident that this vice was prohibited not just under the New Testament (as the Socinians with the Anabaptists maintain, as if it were an addition made to the law by Christ) in this—that the possession of riches even beyond necessity was allowed under the Old Testament, but under the New is restricted to those things which are necessary simply to support life (as in the *Racovian Catechism* [1818], p. 247). It is frequently interdicted in the Old Testament, not only by this and the tenth precept (where the coveting of the goods of a neighbor is forbidden), but is also condemned elsewhere (Ex. 18:21; 22:25; 23:8; Lev. 19:13; 25:46; Dt. 16:19; Ps. 62:10; Is. 5:8; Jer. 6:6, 7; 22:17; Ps. 119:36). Nor is the possession of riches unlawful per se, provided they are acquired in lawful ways and we use them as means, not enjoy them as an end (as is done by many believers who are said to have abounded in wealth even under the New Testament, such as Joseph of Arimathea [Mt. 27:57], Cornelius the centurion [Acts 10:2], Tabitha [Acts 9:36] and similar persons). If it is said that the rich can hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven (Mt. 19:23), this is not on account of riches, but on account of the abuse of them. This is clear from Mk. 10:24 where they who trust in riches are condemned. Hence riches are called "unrighteous mammon" (Lk. 16:9); not properly by reason of itself, but accidentally by reason of the possessors because they are too frequently unjustly acquired and badly used. And "deceitfulness" (*apatē*) is ascribed to them (Mt. 13:22), not per se, but with respect to the mind by which they are possessed. In this sense, worldly care and the choking of the word is also attributed to them, not in relation to the riches themselves, but

to the mind of the possessor who, anxious with care, chokes in himself the seed of the word and suffers it not to take root in his heart. Therefore avarice consists not in the execution but in the disposition; not in the riches, but in the desire for and unlawful use of them.

Is usury lawful?

VII. Here belongs the celebrated question concerning usury, reckoned by some among the species of theft. Is any kind of usury lawful? We must say a few words about it in order that we may see what is taught about it in the word of God. Usury is the gain which is demanded over and above a mutual exchange, whether it be money or produce or any other thing. It is so called from use because it is obtained by the use of money; by the Greeks *tokos*, from *tiktō* ("I bring forth") because it is as it were the birth of money lent out. The Hebrews were accustomed to designate it by two words: *thrbhyth* from *rbhh* ("he multiplied") because by usury the principle itself is multiplied and grows; and *nshk* from the root *nshk* ("he has bitten") because like a serpent it bites and bruises the unwary.

VIII. With regard to the question, there are two principal opinions: the one of those denying, the other of those affirming usury. The canonists here defend the negative and think all usury should be absolutely condemned (Gratian, "Decreti," Pt. II, Causa XIV, Q. 3 in *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [ed. A. Friedberg, 1955], 1:734–35). The Scholastics and the followers of the Master of Sentences agree (Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum* 3.37.3 [PL 192/2.832]). Also some of the Lutherans; yea, even of our men—Zwingli, Musculus, Aretius; and various Anglican theologians—Jewel ("De Usura," *Works of John Jewel* [1848], 8:252–61), Lancelot Andrews, (Thomas) Wilson and others. The orthodox commonly embrace the affirmative and hold that usury is lawful, on the basis however of certain distinctions.

IX. First, usury is to be distinguished. One kind is biting and immoderate and fraudulent, which without any regard for equity and Christian charity, is unmercifully exacted from every borrower—even a poor and reduced person or one who has suffered some great loss in his property which renders him (without any fault of his own) unable to repay. Another is moderate and helping in which such moderation is used as is conducive to the necessity, advantage and gain acquired (or usually acquired) by the

benefit of a loan of both the lender and the borrower. It answers to Christian equity according to the mode prescribed by the magistrate in relation to the places, times and persons (for these vary in different countries and among different people). Second, they who let out money on interest are either moneylenders and usurers professedly (who do this alone or not); or those who only lend money on interest or even sometimes gratuitously; or such as can or cannot trade with their own money honestly—whether because they are without the power or talent for doing it or because they are wholly devoted to public offices, either sacred or political. Third, they who borrow temporarily as either poor or rich or at least moderate circumstances. They either receive the loan for necessary uses to the support of themselves and family or for their own advantage and gain.

Statement of the question.

X. These principles being laid down, we say that the question is not about biting usury (which we consider unjust and unlawful), but about moderate and reasonable usury; not about those who practice usury as a profession and do that alone, that by assessments and usury they may benefit themselves to the disadvantage of others (for we think this art should be stigmatized and such moneylenders and brokers, who follow this kind of life, and like leeches suck out the blood of the poor, are most justly condemned); but about those who have a regard for others' interests as well as their own. These exact so honest an interest from those from whom it can rightfully be exacted as to be ready gratuitously to assist the poor with their own money (and actually do it); or who are somewhat unfit (whether on account of age or through incapacity or on account of other business) to increase their property by the use of their own money. Not concerning the poor and needy who for necessary and unavoidable uses borrow money on interest—for to contract for and to demand usury from these we hold to be unjust; but concerning others who are wealthy or at least in moderate circumstances, who borrow money in order to increase their own property and who from negotiations with money can receive any advantage and gain. From them, we maintain, it is just and lawful to demand a certain interest.

Proof that all usury is not unlawful.

XI. First, because it was lawful under the Old Testament to take usury from strangers (Dt. 23:20), which could not have been done if it had in it intrinsic baseness; for what is by itself and by its own nature evil cannot become lawful in relation to any object. Nor can it be said either: that only the seven nations devoted to destruction are meant (because it treats of strangers in general as distinguished from brethren, i.e., from the Jews), for as they had the power of exacting usury from the Jews, so it was fair that the Israelites should have the same privilege so that commerce might be carried on between them (this is equality); or that it is only a permission of the deed, not of the right, not as something lawful, but as less evil (like the bill of divorcement). This is taken for granted, not proved, nor are express evils to be done or permitted by sanction in order that good may come.

XII. Second, if usury was absolutely unlawful, Christ would not under that figure have a spiritual duty from the lawful use of talents (Mt. 25:14–30) without any intimation of disapprobation, such as he was accustomed to employ in other parables drawn from a disapproved practice (as in Lk. 16:8). Nor would John the Baptist have directed the publicans who hired the tributes from the Romans at a certain price (Lk. 3:13) only to exact nothing beyond what was just without making a change in their manner of life.

XIII. Third, all practice of usury is neither prohibited in the law, nor is it opposed to equity and honesty. Yea, it is founded (1) upon necessity and utility because without usury commerce, the principal support of human society, can neither subsist nor be carried on. Now can a thing be charged with injustice without which human society cannot exist and which, taken away, all negotiations and dealings of men would cease? (2) Upon natural equity because it is fair that he who receives benefit from another's money should make him also a sharer in that by the help of which he gains this benefit, as a due compensation. (3) Upon just gratitude, for what another rightly owes, that the other rightly receives. He who gains by a loan the right of gratitude owes some recompense (*antidōron*); for the right of nature demands that we should be grateful to those who oblige us, not only by words, but also in fact. (4) Upon Christian charity, which requires each head of a family to provide for his own (1 Tim. 5:8), and parents are bound to lay up for their children (2 Cor. 12:14). However if anyone should assist others

with his own money and neglect his own, he would never increase his own means. (5) From a comparison with other contracts, which have a place in society and are approved by all; for example, of implanting reciprocal use (*emphyteuseōs*), hiring (*antichrēseōs*), accommodations, etc. If from the letting of a house and a farm and the lending of utensils, anyone gains advantage, why not equally from the borrowing of money? (6) Besides there are constitutions of emperors and of kings by which limitations are established for lawful usury; cf. "De usuris et fructibus," *Corpus Iuris Civilis, I: Digesta* 22.1 (ed. P. Krueger, 1988), pp. 320–24; "De usuris," ibid., *II: Codex Iustinianus* 4.32 (ed. P. Krueger, 1967), pp. 171–73.

Sources of explanation.

XIV. Against usury is not opposed (1) the prohibition of usury in Ex. 22:25*–27 and Lev. 25:35–37*. It is restricted manifestly to the poor and destitute, so that it may appear that there is a different reason for the rich: "If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor," i.e., to him who among the people is miserable and needy, having nothing wherewith to relieve himself (as it is more clearly set forth, "If thy brother be waxen poor … take thou no usury of him," Lev. 25:35, 36*; cf. Dt. 15:7–9). If elsewhere it seems to be extended to all the Israelites indiscriminately (as "Unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury," Dt. 23:20), the interdiction is either to be explained from parallel passages of Exodus and Leviticus, in which it is manifestly restricted to the poor. This is not obscurely intimated when mention is made of "usury of victuals," namely, which would be received by him who takes a loan for his sustentation that he may have wherewith to live. If it applies without exception to all the Hebrews, the law will be forensic peculiar to this people so that the society of the Israelites might be more closely connected together by this bond (such as were not a few others concerning slaves, pledges, fields, gleaning and the like, which have no force now under the New Testament).

XV. (2) Nor is it against this—that he is praised as just who does not put out his money to usury (Ps. 15:5; Ezk. 18:8). It refers to usury of all kinds, otherwise it would be repugnant to Moses, who permits some kinds of usury. Rather it is opposed to biting and wicked usury by which the creditor,

disregarding all equity, burdens and oppresses his debtor by exacting either too much or too rigidly that which the law wished proscribed.

XVI. (3) Nor is what Christ says ("lend, hoping for nothing again," Lk. 6:35) opposed to this because there is indeed commanded what is to be done, not what is only to be done (viz., that we should also assist the poor and needy, from whom nothing can be expected). (b) If the words of Christ were to be taken strictly, it would follow that not even the principal should be sought from anyone because we are commanded "to lend, hoping for nothing again" (*daneizein mēden apelpizontes*): thus no less the principal than interest. That this however would be unjust absolutely and universally, no one can deny. (c) The design is to encourage benevolence towards the poor that on them also when necessity presses something may be expended, even if there is no hope either of gain or even of the principal. It was not without reason that Christ spoke of this kind of loan because it is ordinarily neglected by us. Nor on this account should the word *dote* be substituted for *daneizete* since it seems to be pure benevolence, not a loan. In a loan, the obligation to return always remains in the receiver (although on the part of the giver there ought not to be a prosecution of his right); while he who receives alms is not bound to repay. Besides such a loan can properly be called not only a gift (*dōrēma*), but also a loan (*daneisma*) on account of the great reward which the Lord promises to him—he who gives to the poor, lends to the Lord. (4) Some explain it as if it were written *mēdena apelpizontes* ("making no one despair") referring to persons and not to things (drawn from the Syrian Interpreter who translates it "lend, and do not cut off the hope of a man"—which agrees with the parallel passage "from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away" [*ton thelonta apo sou daneisasthai mē apostraphēs*], Mt. 5:42), nor cut off him from the hope of a loan, whatever may be his circumstances, looking to the reward laid up for us with God. Others, not badly, explain according to the force of the word *apelpizein* ("despairing nothing") as if your kindness were lost or your money badly bestowed; as if you would receive nothing in return because great will always be your reward with God, if men do not neglect their duty.

XVII. Although money of itself seems to be barren, yet it can be made productive by use; as a field and a farm is rendered fertile not by itself, but under human industry. Nor by lawful usury is the same thing reckoned

twice or a double payment demanded, since the money loaned is one thing, the interest hoped for from it another; as a farm is something different from the emolument gained from the farm.

XVIII. Christ overthrew the tables of the moneychangers in the temple and cast them out, as also the buyers and sellers (Mt. 21:12), not so much because it is unlawful to buy and sell and to exchange money, as that the house of prayer ought not to be made a place of merchandise. However, they are blamed for having made the house of God a den of thieves and this is not said so much with respect to them, as that by bringing their wares into the temple (with the connivance of the priests), they ministered to the rapacity of the latter, since from that moneychanging and merchandise, they increased their own gains.

XIX. The axiom of canonists—"that every loan ought to be gratuitous"—cannot be simply admitted of a loan properly so called. A man's duty ought not to be injurious to anyone. Nor is it more fair to use gratuitously the money of another in an affair of our own than his house or carriage; so that he obtains no profit or emolument and your surplus (*perisseuma*) supplies his deficiency (*hysterēma*); so that to him there is oppression (*thlipsis*), while there is recreation (*anesis*) to you.

XX. The name of usurer has become infamous. The art is not only illiberal, but also dishonest when anyone professes the art of usury and opens a public establishment; or when he exacts immoderate interest, condemned by the civil laws; or when impatient of delay he follows up his right too rigidly towards the poor (for here the highest right often is the highest injustice, under which name the moneychangers are related to have been called deservedly "Jews" and "Long-beards," who gnaw the people and especially the poor with the most oppressive usury and gorge themselves with their blood by receiving from everyone promiscuously, by which they are not only secure concerning the principal but also of inordinate interest, even from those who beg bread from door to door, from servants without their master's knowledge, from children unknown to their parents). These professedly exercise the art of usury for the very purpose of enriching themselves by it (whom it could be wished were cast out of Christian states as public pests and plunderers of society). But this does not apply to those who by good arts and under equitable conditions established

by the civil law, endeavor to make the money which they have at home productive.

XXI. The crime unjustly charged by the papists and especially the Jesuits (as Baile, cf. "De l'usure," in Andre Rivet, *Sommaire de toutes les controverses touchant la religion* [1615], pp. 1240–46) upon our Calvin as a patron of usury because he did not absolutely disapprove of usury, is more justly laid upon themselves by the Jansenists. They permit and practice almost every kind of usury and these very dishonest (see [Pascal], *The Provincial Letters* [1657] and Amadeus Guimenius, "Tractatus de Usuris," *Opusculum singularia* [1664], pp. 158–73). But it is more wonderful that Lancelot Andrews, a great divine, should be so greatly excited because in a certain epistle and on Ezk. 23, he defends usury ("De Usuris, Theologica Determinatio," *Opuscula quaedam* [1629], pp. 109–38). Indeed we cannot but wish for equity in so great a man, who casts so unjust an accusation upon Calvin. For the latter spoke so sparingly and moderately about usury that he could not conceal his preferring to answer nothing on this subject and adds so many precautions that anyone can easily see how little he deserves the calumnies of his opponents. "I have not yet tried," he says, "what fit reply can be given to the question proposed, but from the peril of others I have learned, with how great a danger that thing is connected; for if we condemn usury altogether, we put a tighter noose upon conscience than the Lord himself wished; if we allow it in the smallest degree, forthwith under that pretext many will seize an unbridled license" (Epist. 383+; cf. "Quaestiones Iuridicae: De Iusuris," CR 38.245–49). And since he had said that usury was not condemned by any testimony of Scripture, he adds a little after, "It were desirable to banish from the world all usury, and so the very name itself." He confirms the same thing on chapter 18 of Ezekiel (*Commentaries on ... Ezekiel* [1948], 2:225–26 on Ezk. 18:5–9). If more is desired, consult the very celebrated Voetius (*Selectae Disputationes*, Pt. IV [1667], pp. 555–89).

XXII. The virtues commanded by this precept are (1) contentedness (*autarkeia*) or acquiescence in one's lot, so that each one attending to his calling should live by his own honest labor (Gen. 3:19) and, content with his own condition, should not covet that of another (1 Tim. 6:6; Heb. 13:5). (2) Economy and frugality. (3) Sincerity and justice in all dealings that we may live always without treachery and deceit (*aneu dolou kai apatēs*) and

give to each one his due. (4) Liberality towards the poor and needy, that we may not only not unjustly seize the goods of our neighbors, but also liberally bestow our own upon him as often as necessity and occasion demand.

Twentieth Question: The Ninth Commandment

Whether a lie under any pretext can be rendered virtuous and lawful. We deny against the Socinians

I. As our neighbor ought not to be injured by deed, so neither should he be injured by word. This injury is forbidden by the ninth precept, concerning "not bearing false witness against our neighbor." Testimony simply against our neighbor is not forbidden, since oftentimes trials demand it and we are bound to it from a regard to justice; but only "false testimony" is prohibited, by which injury is done in any way to the life, honor or property of a neighbor. Also whatever is repugnant to the veracity and sincerity which ought to prevail among men (which is usually expressed by the word "lie") is forbidden.

What is a lie?

II. A lie is defined by Augustine as "a voluntary enunciation of what is false for the purpose of deceiving" (*On Lying* 5 [NPNF1, 3:460; PL 40.491]); but more accurately by others "the testimony by which a man speaks differently from what he thinks." Although the intention to deceive constitutes a more perfect kind of lying, it is not always required in a lie, provided there is a will of enunciating what is false. Thomas Aquinas well explains, "The nature of a lie is taken from formal falsity (viz., according to this) that the person has the will of enunciating what is false" (ST, II–II, Q. 110, Art. 1, p. 1664). And a little afterwards: "That one, however, intends to establish a falsity in the opinion of another, by deceiving him, does not belong to the species of a lie, but to its perfection" (ibid.). Thus two things are always required in a lie: (1) that the enunciation be false, contrary to the truth of the thing; (2) that there be a will of enunciating what is false and so the speech be contrary to the thought. Hence they hold that the word *mentiri* is

equivalent to *contra mentem ire*. A person can speak what is false and yet not lie because through ignorance he believes it to be true and his speech does not contradict his thought.

Threefold lie.

Whether there can be any lawful lie.

III. The lie prohibited by the ninth precept is commonly distinguished as to its object into pernicious (which is told with the intention of injuring and tends to the injury of a neighbor); jocose (told for the purpose of amusement); and officious (intended to promote the benefit of others). Concerning the first, all agree that it is a grievous sin, but concerning the last two (and especially the last) a controversy is moved by the Socinians, who maintain that they are either venial or no sins (with whom agree some laxer casuists, who take them out of the category of sin). However although we recognize a distinction between these lies (as that the pernicious is more criminal, the other two more light), still we consider them true sins condemned by the law of God.

Scripture condemns all lies.

IV. First, lying without any exception is everywhere condemned in Scripture as a sin abominable to God (Ps. 5:6; Prov. 6:17, 19; 12:22; Eph. 4:25; Col. 3:9), as promoted by the instigation of the Devil, the father of lies (Jn. 8:44), injurious to the majesty of God, the author and such a lover of truth that he can neither lie, nor by any dispensation ever give the power of lying; yea, has expressly forbidden and decreed severely to punish it (Prov. 19:5, 9; 21:28).

Because it is evil in itself.

V. (2) What is evil according to itself in its own kind can in no way be made good and lawful. Now every lie is evil in itself, falling under undue matter. It is a disorder both of the liar in himself because it is against the order of nature of his speech (the interpreter of the mind plainly disagrees with the

mind) and against his neighbor because each one owes a regard for the truth to his neighbor, from natural obligation and that of divine right. "Words," says Thomas Aquinas, "are naturally signs of thought, it is therefore unnatural and undue for anyone to signify by words that which he has not in his mind." So Durandus, "Words were instituted, not that men might deceive each other by them, but to convey their opinions to others; therefore it is an undue act for anyone to use words to signify what he does not have in his mind" (*Sententias theologicas Petri Lombardi Commentariorum*, Bk. 3, Dist. 38, Q. 1.8 [1556], p. 244). The Philosopher (Aristotle) concludes that a lie is in itself wicked and to be avoided (*Nichomachean Ethics* 4.7.6 [Loeb, 19:240–41]). No lie therefore can be granted so officious as not to be inofficious to the liar, since it has both an intrinsic formal disorder (*ataxian*) and a deformity contrary to nature and the law of God. What however is in itself and intrinsically evil, cannot be rendered good by the consideration of any end, even the best. For good things are to be obtained properly and a good end is to be sought by good means; nor can any circumstances change a thing in itself evil.

VI. (3) If a pernicious lie only is sinful, its illegality (*anomia*) would be drawn only from its end. Which is false, because in itself the very deformity and disorder (*ataxia*) of the lie (viz., in the divorce of the mind and tongue, which ought to be the interpreter of the mind) makes up its illegality (*anomia*). (4) If a lie could be justified by its end (namely by the intention to benefit a neighbor), so also thefts which would be officious might be justified, when one would wish to benefit a neighbor by stealing. However no one would say this because the apostolic rule ought to obtain here: "Evil must not be done that good may come" (Rom. 3:8).

VII. Augustine frequently inculcates this. "All lying is sinful, although he does not sin so much who lies with the will of benefitting as he who lies with the will of injuring" (*Enchiridion* 6 [18] [FC 3:383; PL 40.240]), which he repeats (ibid., 7 [22], p. 389; PL 40.243). "To say that any lie is just is to say that there are some just sins, and consequently that there are some just things which are unjust" (*To Consentius: Against Lying* 15 [31] [NPNF1, 3:495; PL 40.539]). He more fully discusses this in the two books: *On Lying* (NPNF1, 3:457–77) and *To Consentius: Against Lying* (NPNF1, 3:481–500). Gregory says, "Every lie is iniquitous, because whatever is at variance with the truth, is at variance with equity. Nor may the life of

anyone be defended by the fallacy of lying, lest he injure his own soul, who strives to give life to another's body" (*Morals on the Book of Job* 18.3*.5 [1845], 2:320; PL 76.40–41 on Job 27:34).

Sources of explanation.

VIII. Although God commended the Egyptian midwives who lied to Pharaoh (Ex. 1:17–21), he did not on that account reward their lie, but their good feeling and pity towards the infants because they preferred to expose themselves to the indignation of the king than to obey his cruel command. "The deceit was not rewarded in them, but the benevolence; the kindness of mind, not the iniquity of lying," as Augustine says (*To Consentius: Against Lying* 15 [32] [NPNF1, 3:495; PL 40.540]). For two acts are here to be distinguished: the one by which they refused obedience to the tyrannical edict of the king, proceeding from the fear of God (which is commended); the other of the lie, by which they excused themselves and lied, proceeding rather from pusillanimity and a servile fear of the king than from the fear of God (which was sinful). God therefore in his benignity, by pardoning the sinful act, wished the good deed to be rewarded, to show how pleasing their piety and pity was to him, although it was not free from blemishes. It can also be said with some that these midwives did not lie because what they said might have been true—that the Hebrew women were lively and strong and were delivered ere the midwives came in unto them.

IX. Whatever we read of having been done by holy men is not forthwith to be imitated as if lawful. Although they were holy, it is evident that they did not live without sin. Hence neither the lie of Jacob, nor of the harlot Rahab, can render a lie lawful. If God blessed Jacob lying (Gen. 27:20), it does not follow that his lie was approved, because the blessing followed the faith which he gave to the word of God, that the elder should serve the younger (Gen. 25:23). It was not however given on account of the vice and fault clinging to the faith. Nor is the lie of Rahab ascribed by the apostle to faith (Heb. 11:31), but to a kind and honest act by which she took in and preserved the spies, although she employed wicked means to save them. Therefore the blessing she obtained from God was not a reward of the lie, but of the love towards the people of God and of her faith towards the men whom she hospitably received. Thus in similar deeds we must always

distinguish the virtue of the action from the spots and blemishes cleaving to it and the manner in which it is done; the weakness of man from the goodness of God. The former in the best actions always mixes something faulty from the latter, which by pardoning the fault graciously rewards the good. As therefore it pleased God that the son of Moses should be circumcised, without approving of the violent manner of doing it (which Zipporah adopted, Ex. 4:25), so it pleased-God that the midwives abstained from infanticide, that Rahab consulted the safety of her guests, that Michal preserved the life of her husband, David (1 S. 19:17), Jonathan the life of his friend (1 S. 20:6, 28), although the mode of doing these good works by falsehood was not free from criminality in his sight.

X. It is no more lawful to bear false testimony in favor of a neighbor than against him, as it is no more lawful to pervert justice in favor of a widow and orphan than against them (Lev. 19:15). As we are bound "to speak the truth in love" (*alētheuein en agapē*), so we are bound "to love in speaking the truth" (*agapan en alētheia*) and even to the altars. Yea, although no more specious pretext can be put forward for falsehood than the glory of God and the vindication of divine truth, still God rejects this and does not wish it to be employed in defending his cause: "Will ye speak wickedly for God? and talk deceitfully for him?" (Job 13:7). Since God is very truth itself, he ought not to be defended with a lie, nor arms be borrowed for him from the Devil.

XI. Although sometimes such difficulties lie in the way of men, that being in a great strait they prefer to sin against truth than against love; although in that case they are excused from so much, yet they cannot forthwith be excused from the whole, as if they were free from all blame. Whither pertain these words of Augustine: "A lie is not to be considered as no sin because we can sometimes benefit someone by lying. For we can also profit another by stealing" (*Enchiridion* 7 [22] [FC 3:389–90; PL 40.243–44]). Therefore if a lie benefits any, it is not on that account to be attributed to the nature of a lie, but to the goodness and providence of God, which frequently disabuses the sins of men to some good thing.

XII. Elisha did not lie to the Syrian soldiers, because he said nothing which was not true as to the eventuality of the thing (2 K. 6:19). To those inquiring the way in which they might find Elisha, he answers, "This is not the way" (since he was going to Samaria) "neither is this the city" (from

which he had already gone out). He promises indeed to bring them to the man whom they sought, which he really fulfilled by leading them to Samaria where they recognized the prophet.

XIII. When Micaiah persuades the king to go to war (1 K. 22:15), he does not speak so much affirmatively and prophetically as ironically and imitatingly (*mimētikōs*); not according to his own opinion, but that of the king and the false prophets; not to deceive them, but to teach them that they were deceived (for afterwards, when he was adjured by the king to tell him nothing but what was true in the name of the Lord [vv. 16, 17], he spoke far differently), which the king sufficiently perceived either from his greatness or manner of speaking. No lie can also be ascribed to Jeremiah in favor of the king (Jer. 38:27) because he related to the princes what was true (to wit, that the king had been asked by him not to thrust him again into the old prison in the house of Jonathan, which Jeremiah had really solicited from the king, as is evident from Jer. 37:15, 20 and 38:15, 16, that he might not be delivered into the hands of his enemies. However, it is one thing to pass over in silence an unnecessary part of the truth; another to tell what is false as if it were true. The former is lawful, not the latter.

XIV. Simulation is threefold: (1) of fraud and malice; (2) of caution and design; (3) of instruction and trial. The first, when a virtuous exterior is made to cover vice within; the second, employed in warlike stratagems and approved by God (concerning which cf. Jos. 8:5–7); the third, employed not to deceive, but to explore and teach, such as often occurs in the society of men. Such was the situation of the angels who pretended a purpose of passing the night in the streets in order to excite a desire in Lot to receive them under his roof. Such was true of Christ, who pretends that he wishes to go farther (Lk. 24:28). He did not do this to deceive his disciples, but to try them whether they ardently desired to have his company. Besides this pretense (*prospoiēsis*) is to be understood not so much formally as materially because Christ did that which one pretending to go farther is accustomed to do. He proceeds some steps beyond the destined place that he might excite their prayers and arouse a warmer desire for him (as parents when about to depart are accustomed to call forth the prayers of children, friends of friends). It can also be said that Christ intended to go farther and would have done so if he had not been detained by the prayers of his disciples.

XV. It is gratuitously supposed that God suggested a falsehood to Samuel, when he orders him to tell Saul that he had come to Bethlehem to sacrifice (1 S. 16:2). For although he was to come with another purpose in view (to wit, to anoint David), yet that did not hinder his coming there both for the purpose of sacrifice and of celebrating a feast. Now it is one thing not to set forth all the ends of anything; another to state a false end. The former was suggested to Samuel by the Lord, not the latter. Nor when one end is stated, are others denied.

XVI. When Paul says that he did not know that Ananias was the high priest (Acts 23:5), the sense can consist in the highest degree with his words without any mark of a lie. This is true whether he is said to have spoken ironically (as some hold, because from his furious manner of speaking, he saw nothing in him worthy of the high priest, nor did he conduct himself as such towards himself); or said this seriously (as others better) because he really was not the high priest, but had obtruded himself into the office of the true high priest (whether of Ishmael or of Joseph, as there was a great anarchy [*anarchia*] at that time, so that every day there were high priests or there were not); or because he had been absent so long from Jerusalem that the new high priest was unknown to him as yet. From his seat, he could not gather this because they were not in the temple or in the house of the high priest and were sitting in the ordinary place of the council (and perhaps in disorder and confusion).

XVII. Parables are falsely brought forward in support of lies. A parable is not introduced to signify that which is said, but to signify that is which is represented by what is said. Hence not on account of the material is it proposed, but on account of its formal, and (as Jerome well expresses it, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, CCSL 72.357 on Ecc. 12:9, 10) they have one thing in the marrow, they promise another on the exterior. It differs therefore in many ways from a lie. (1) As to origin, because every lie proceeds either from an evil mind or deviates from good to evil; a parable, however, from a good mind persisting in good. (2) As to form, because a lie has an intrinsic contrariety to the mind of the speaker; a parable has not. (3) As to end, because a lie is told to deceive; a parable to teach. (4) As to effects, because by a lie a false notion is produced in the mind of the hearer; by a parable, on the contrary, a true one. The same can be said concerning apologies in which not a history but a type is set forth; nor is anything

represented as a fact; nor is that which is set forth meant although false and invented, but another thing altogether and indeed true.

XVIII. We conclude with Augustine, "Whoever thinks there is any kind of lie which is not sinful, deceives himself grossly, when he thinks he is an honest deceiver of others" (*On Lying* 21 [42] [NPNF1, 3:477; PL 40.516]). And to the same: "Either therefore lies are to be shunned by doing rightly or to be confessed with repentance; not however since they abound by living unhappily, are they to be increased also by teaching" (*To Consentius: Against Lying* 21 [41] [NPNF1, 3:500; PL 40.547]).

Twenty-First Question: The Tenth Commandment

What concupiscence is prohibited by the tenth precept? Are the incipient motions sins? We affirm

Concupiscence threefold: natural, good and bad.

I. God has planted two principles in the mind of man: the avoidance of evil and the desire of good; the irascible (*to thymikon*) and concupiscible appetite (*to epithymētikon*). Viewed in the genus of being and physically, these are neither good nor bad, but mean and indifferent, drawing all their moral goodness and evil from the quality of the objects about which they are exercised. Hence concupiscence at one time is praised as good, when occupied with a good and lawful object (in which sense "the Spirit" is said "to lust against the flesh" [Gal. 5:17] and Paul wishes believers to covet spiritual gifts [1 Cor. 12:31]). At another time, it is condemned as inordinate and vicious, when it has an unjust and unlawful object. At yet another time, as middle and natural, it is neither praised nor blamed.

It is either original or actual.

II. Depraved and inordinate concupiscence (of which we now treat) can be viewed either as to source and habit (called original concupiscence, spoken of in Jam. 1:14, 15, as frequently original sin is termed concupiscence by Augustine). The Jews were accustomed to denote this by *ytsr hr'* ("evil deceit") and the Scholastics commonly call it "tinder." Or it can be viewed

as to depraved acts and motions and is called “actual.” This again is either determinate by a formal and settled consent of the will (as they call delectation) or indeterminate and titillating in its first motions, proceeding no further than a velleity and suggestion.

III. Since the precept about not coveting is general, it ought to be extended to all depraved and inordinate concupiscence, original and habitual as well as actual—whether this is determinate and voluntary or still indeterminate and only titillating. This is true in order that the perfect purity and holiness of the lawgiver may be noted (which will suffer not even the smallest taint of depraved concupiscence in man, but demands righteousness and holiness of every kind).

Whether original concupiscence is contained under the tenth precept.

IV. Two questions are here plied by the papists. The first concerns original and habitual concupiscence; the second concerns its incipient motions. As to the first, they deny that concupiscence or tinder is prohibited by the law of God because they do not consider it to be a sin. The Council of Trent asserts “that concupiscence remains in the baptized, yet that this concupiscence, which the apostle sometimes calls sin, is not so in itself and is so denominated not because it is truly and properly sin in the regenerated, but because it arises from sin and inclines to sin; and whoever thinks differently, let him be accursed” (Session 5, Canon 5, Schroeder, p. 23). But the orthodox think concupiscence is both properly sin and is prohibited by the law.

Proof that it is contained under it.

V. First, from the words of the law which expressly prohibit concupiscence, indeed in general and indefinitely, so that all inordinate concupiscence may be understood, not only in act, but also in habit and in root. Also we must not limit what the law does not limit. Second, the end of the law implies this, i.e., to exact from man perfect holiness, not only as to act, but also as to habit. For as it requires both kinds of holiness (habitual and actual), so it

ought to prohibit both kinds of concupiscence (actual and habitual). Third, depraved and evil concupiscence is not of God, but of the world (1 Jn. 2:16). It ought therefore to be interdicted by the law, which forbids every vice.

VI. Fourth, Paul expressly asserts that it is forbidden by the law and is sin. "I had not known sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, thou shalt not covet" (Rom. 7:7). He does not simply deny that lust was known to him, but that he knew it to be sin (which at length he did know by the law forbidding it). Thus he supposes lust to be sin because forbidden by the law; not only actual, but also habitual. For he immediately adds, "sin" (undoubtedly lust forbidden by the law) "taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence" (Rom. 7:8). He confirms this in Rom. 7:9, 11, 13, 17, 20 where he calls the same thing "sin," "indwelling sin" and "exceeding sinful"; also "a law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin" (Rom. 7:23). Now who can believe that Paul would so often and so expressly have called that sin, if it was not true sin and properly so called, but only because it flowed from sin and inclined to sin (as the Council falsely maintained)? On the contrary, who does not see that his intention was to ascribe to it a true relation of sin which he had known from the written law alone, the light of reason not reaching so far in the heathen? See above Topic IX, Question 11, Section 20 and 21.

Sources of explanation.

VII. Although the law proximately and immediately prohibits only acts and is enunciated by words signifying actions, this does not hinder the habits and principles of sins from being prohibited under them (such as original sin and habitual concupiscence). Yea, this ought to be intimated even necessarily because causes are included in their effects and principles in what flows from them. Thus the axe may be laid at the root of sin and perfect holiness be demanded of man.

VIII. Although original sin is indeed taken away in the renewed as to guilt by justification, so that there is no condemnation to them (Rom. 8:1), and as to dominion by sanctification, that it may no more reign in them; yet it always remains in them as long as they dwell in this mortality as to

presence and inhabitation. Thus it is to be continually crucified and mortified in them.

IX. When James says "lust brings forth sin" (1:15), he does not deny that it is sin because he does not here discuss when it begins to be (or to be considered sin in the sight of God), but when it emerges to the light and is consummated by a deed. He concerns himself only with this—to teach that the root of our destruction is in us. So far is it from being lawfully inferred from this that lust is not sin that by necessary consequence its sinfulness can thence be elicited. The effect ought to correspond with the cause; nor could lust bring forth actual sin unless it is itself sin.

Whether its first motions are sins.

X. The other question relates to the first motions of concupiscence (which the papists deny are prohibited here because they are not sinful). They call "first motions" those which arise stealthily, but without a deliberate judgment of the mind and a formal consent of the will. On that account, they are accustomed to call them *propatheian* since they differ from determinate and deliberate affections which are with the consent of the will and are on that account called "tarrying" because the mind and will rest in them with pleasure. They think that these only are prohibited by the law because they are voluntary and in our power; not the others, since they are neither free nor in our power and thus are not sins. Toletus speaks thus on Rom. 7 and others with him. On the contrary, as we think concupiscence is evil in its root and forbidden by the law, so also as to all the acts and motions springing from it, whether they follow or precede the formal consent of the will.

Proved to be sins.

XI. First, it condemns those motions of lust which a man could know only by the written law, as the apostle testifies. Now the voluntary motions of concupiscence were not unknown to the heathen themselves as depraved and inordinate. Hence that of Seneca: "A man becomes a brigand before he stains his hands with blood" (*De Beneficiis* 5.14.2 [Loeb, 3:328–29]). Also Juvenal: "For he who secretly meditates a crime within his breast has all the

guiltiness of the deed" (*Satires* 13.209–10 [Loeb, 260–61]). (2) Such motions are not consistent with the holiness and purity which God demands from us and the required perfection of loving God with the whole heart and all the strength; therefore they cannot but be depraved and lawless (*anomoi*). (3) Other motions are now forbidden by the other precepts in which the law so prohibits external acts that it also condemns internal acts because it is spiritual. So he is called an adulterer by Christ who looks on a woman to lust after her (Mt. 5:28); and according to John, "whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer" (1 Jn. 3:15). If therefore such motions only are forbidden, nothing new would be commanded or prohibited by this precept above the rest (which is absurd). For although we do not deny that this precept was added to the others by way of a general rule for declaring and applying them more expressly in the court of conscience, yet the distinction of the precepts necessarily demands something further to be designed, which can be nothing else than the habit of concupiscence with its first motions. Thus it may be shown how much the divine law differs from human laws (which regard only external acts and do not rise to the source of evil).

Sources of explanation.

XII. Although the involuntary (*to akousion*) (what is involuntary and a positive volition) is not sin, it does not follow that nothing can have the relation of sin which is not voluntary (*hekousion*) formally and strictly from a deliberate movement and consent of the will. For thus neither original sin, nor sins of ignorance, would be true sins. Rather it suffices that it be called voluntary broadly because it affects the will and inheres in it. Therefore although the first motions are not voluntary in the former sense, still they are properly so called in the latter because they affect the will and are placed under it.

XIII. Although such motions are not in our power, still they are not the less inordinate because neither is any good work in our power (whose omission, however, is nonetheless sinful and inordinate). Therefore the law does not attend to the ability of man, but to his duty; not what he can or cannot, but what he is bound to do in morals.

XIV. The motions of concupiscence cannot be called natural except with respect to the corrupt nature whence they flow; not however with respect to a sound and unimpaired nature. If Adam had never sinned, he would never have felt such motions (which cannot be free from vitiosity).

Twenty-Second Question: The Use of the Law

What and how many are the uses of the moral law according to the various states of man? Can it bind to obedience and punishment together? We make distinctions

I. We said that four things were to be considered principally concerning the law: its nature, parts, use and abrogation. Concerning the first two, we have already treated. Now we must speak of its use, without the knowledge and practice of which all speculation about the law would be in vain.

The use of the law twofold: absolute and relative. Absolute that it may be the rule of things to be done and avoided.

II. A twofold use of the law may be laid down—absolute and relative. The former regards the law in itself; the latter regards the law in relation to the various states of man. The absolute (which obtains in every state of man) is that it may be a unique, full and certain rule of things to be done and avoided by each of us as well towards God as his neighbor. Thus there is no work truly and properly good and acceptable to God which does not agree with the law and is not prescribed by it; and whatsoever is not commanded nor forbidden by it is to be considered in its own nature indifferent and left to the freedom of man, unless this freedom has been restricted by some positive law.

Proof of its perfection: (1) from the equity of the law.

III. That it is a most perfect rule of action, we gather from its various attributes. (1) From its equity, because the more equitable a law is, the more perfect it is; for equity is the mind of the law. Now so great is its equity that it is both the aim and rule and end of all laws; and the very nations most bitterly opposed to the Jews have not denied that their laws were derived from it. On this account, it has a wider extent because it stands in need of no correction, as human laws do. For none are so fair as not to need their own restrictions or exceptions (in certain cases) from the infinity of particular cases which occur. But there is no case so special, no circumstance so extraordinary, as not to come under some rule and determination (either general or particular) in the word of God. "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether" (Ps. 19:9).

(2) From its majesty.

IV. (2) From its regal majesty, which flows from its equity; for the greater the equity of a law, the greater its sway. On this account the law of nature (the fountain of all other laws, because it is most equitable) is also the most majestic. James calls it "royal" (*basilikēn*, 2:8) (a) because it belongs to the supreme king and lawgiver, who is able to save and destroy (Jam. 4:12), who has power to bind and loose the consciences of men; (b) because it is superior to the others, judging all other laws and being judged by none.

(3) From its universality.

V. (3) From its universality and extent, which is gathered both from its object, embracing all the duties of man (human laws enjoin external duties, but the law of God enjoins internal as well as external, so that there is no virtue which is not here commanded, no vice which is not forbidden); from its subject, which informs and directs (because it composes and regulates the whole man and all the human faculties and functions, by speaking to the soul no less than to the body); from its end (because it has no other object than to make man cleave to God and live happily).

(4) From its immutability.

VI. (4) From its immutability, because it remains forever nor ever will be destroyed (Ps. 119:89; Mt. 5:18). Human laws are often changeable on account of their excessive rigor or strictness. On this account, it was ingeniously said by the Philosopher (Aristotle) that the laws of kings had to be accommodated to the times like shoes to the feet because the slightest variation of circumstances or accidents sometimes requires a variation of laws. But this is not the case with God's law because he foresees all circumstances most contingent and all cases which can occur. On this account, he so arranges his laws as to embrace all cases and circumstances.

(5) From its holiness.

VII. (5) From its holiness, because it is a most clear image of God. God has so represented his own mind in his law that each one can contemplate (as in a mirror) the living and accurate reflection of the holiness of God. This further appears both from the end of the law, which is to make the internal principles and external operations of men to adhere to God by the bond of holiness, and from its effects, because the law of God inspired by the Holy Spirit and written upon the heart is the most efficacious instrument of holiness. Hence the word of God is said to be "very pure" (*tsrvphh m'dh*, Ps. 119:140) and "the commandment of Jehovah" is said to "be pure" (Ps. 19:8).

Relative use in the instituted state.

VIII. The relative use is manifold according to the different states of man. (1) In the instituted state of innocence, it was a contract of a covenant of works entered into with man and the means of obtaining life and happiness according to the promise added to the law. Although express mention is not made of a promise made to obedience (but only of a punishment), still it may be sufficiently inferred from the latter because it is not very probable that God would have threatened our first parent with punishment (if he should sin) and not have added any promise of a reward (if he should obey); or that he promised less in reference to a reward than he had threatened in reference to a punishment. Yea, the tree of life itself was a seal that there would be conferred upon him eternal life, which is opposed also to the

eternal together with temporal death denounced in Rom. 6:23. This has already been proved in Part I, Topic VIII, Question 5.

In the destitute state.

IX. (2) In the destitute state of sin, the use of the law cannot be "justification" because it was weak in the flesh. It is not said to have been given for life, but "because of transgressions" (Gal. 3:19). Still there is a threefold use of the law. (a) For conviction, when it brings man to a knowledge of sin and convinces him of his guilt—"by the law is the knowledge of sin" (Rom. 3:20). Thus it is like a mirror in which we see our blemishes. (b) For restraint, restraining and checking men by its commands and threatenings, so that they who feel no regard for justice and rectitude unless compelled (while they hear its direful sanctions) may be restrained at least by the fear of punishment. In this sense, it is like a bit, holding sinners within the bars of external discipline that the world may not become a den of robbers. In this respect, Paul says "the law is not made for a righteous man, but for lawless and disobedient [*ataktois*], for the ungodly and for sinners" (1 Tim. 1:9). Whither pertains another use of the law accidentally (viz., of provocation and of the increase of sin, inasmuch as the law by restraining sin like a bit not only does not reduce its rebellion and contumacy, but rather increases and irritates on account of the perversity of the sinner who strives after what is forbidden). Hence it is said to have been given "that sin might abound" (Rom. 5:20) and elsewhere sin is said to be made "exceeding sinful" by it (*kath' hyperbolēn hamartōlon*, Rom. 7:13). (c) For condemnation, when it denounces upon the convicted sinner the divine malediction by the dreadful sentence which it thunders in his ears: "Cursed is he who continues not." Hence the apostle calls it "the ministration of condemnation" (2 Cor. 3:9), and he says that "it worketh wrath" (Rom. 4:15) and then it is like a whip, tormenting and scourging the conscience guilty of sin.

In the restored state.

X. (3) In the restored state of grace, it has a varied use with respect to the elect, both before and after their conversions. Antecedently, it serves (a) to

convince and humble man so that (his own misery and weakness being felt) he despairs of himself and renounces confidence in his own righteousness and merit and rests upon the mercy of God alone. (b) To lead men to Christ, not indeed primarily and by itself (because the law does not know Christ), but by the accident of grace, inasmuch as it impels man (cast down and despairing of his own strength) to seek the remedy of saving grace. Under this relation (*schesei*), it is called by Paul "a schoolmaster" unto Christ (Gal. 3:24) and Christ is called "the end of the law" (Rom. 10:4). Not the end of destruction and abolition (because the law remains also in the gospel, as will be shown hereafter), but of perfection and of complement (because Christ was bound to fulfill it in himself and in us) and of intention (because he is the mark to which it is directed and on account of whom the law was given). Not indeed in its own nature and on the part of the thing, for the end of the law in this respect was the justification of the just man, but on the part of God giving the law to sinful man that he might be prepared for Christ; that his weakness (*astheneia*) being seen from the law, he might more clearly know the necessity of a mediator and also more ardently seek him.

XI. It not only antecedently prepares the elect man for Christ, but consequently also directs him already renewed through Christ in the ways of the Lord; serving him as a standard and rule of the most perfect life, to which he knows he is called by Christ and which he ought diligently to pursue (1 Tim. 1:5). Before, it was an instrument of the spirit of bondage to throw down and bruise man, but afterwards it becomes the instrument of the Spirit of adoption to promote sanctification. Thus the law leads to Christ and Christ leads us back to the law; it leads to Christ as the redeemer and Christ leads to the law, as the leader and director of life. In this way, man in his integrity and as just was under the blessing of the law; corrupt, he comes under its curse; regenerated, he comes under its direction. Concerning this latter use of the law, we will treat more fully in Question 23.

XII. Here belongs the question concerning the obligation of the law—whether it binds to obedience and punishment at the same time. It arose from the opinion of Cargius concerning the imputation to us of Christ's passive obedience only and not of his active obedience. For since the law did not bind sinners to obedience, but only to punishment, Christ (substituted in our place) owed only punishment for us and not obedience.

On the state of the question take notice: (1) that it is not inquired in general whether the law obliges to obedience and to punishment. For since it enjoins obedience under the promise of a reward and forbids disobedience under the threatening of punishment, it evidently binds man to both. Rather the question concerns the manner—whether at the same time or successively and in what order it binds. (2) The question is not whether in every state the law binds at the same time to both. In the innocent state, the law bound to obedience, but not to punishment because it would have been unjust to bind to punishment him who had not sinned. In the state of grace, it binds the believer only to obedience, not to punishment because there is no condemnation to those who are in Christ (Rom. 8:1), whose transgressions are forgiven (Ps. 32:1). Rather the question concerns the state of sin—whether in it the sinner is bound to both (which we assert).

XIII. First, from the twofold condition of sinful man, who is both a creature and a sinful creature. As a creature, he owes to God obedience forever and never can be discharged from it. As a sinner, he owes punishment. To the former he is bound on account of a present and future debt; to the latter he is bound on account of the past disobedience; to the former primarily and of itself, to the latter secondarily and accidentally on account of sin.

XIV. Second, if the law does not oblige the sinner to obedience, then God by the sin of man would be divested of his right to require obedience from him. Also man would not sin in disobeying because where there is no law there is no transgression.

Source of explanation.

XV. This is not the case with the state of integrity because in it there was only one relation (*schesis*) of man (to wit, inasmuch as he was a rational creature, owing obedience to his Creator), but in the corrupt state another relation was added to that first—guilt by sin. Hence although in the first state the law bound only to obedience (so that man obeying would be free from punishment), it does not equally follow that in the state of sin (in which man has become liable to punishment) he is freed from obedience. As both relations (*schesis*) are found in the sinner, both are here to be conjoined (as rebellious subjects, worthy of punishment on account of

rebellion, do not cease to remain bound to perpetual obedience to the ruler).

XVI. Although the law binds sinful man to punishment and obedience at the same time, it does not follow that man is held under obligation to pay the same thing twice. The law binds to present and future obedience; punishment, however, is demanded only for sin already committed and an act of obedience once violated.

XVII. When it is said that by the suffering of punishment, a sin of omission is expiated, it ought not to be understood in the sense that the sin had not been committed and that man had done whatever he was bound to do (which is repugnant to the truth). Rather inasmuch as by the penal endurance he is freed from the curse resting upon him on account of sin (nor can such punishment anymore be placed upon him to be undergone), the remission therefore granted to him takes away indeed actual guilt, but does not on this account give him a right to life.

XVIII. The obligation to obedience is either natural, which man owes to God as a rational creature (which is eternal and indissoluble and remains even in heaven); or federal, by which each one is not only bound to obey the law, but to fulfill it under the relation (*schesei*) of a covenant—to deserve eternal life, either for himself or for another one. Christ, by the former obligation, owed obedience to God for himself as man; but he was not bound by the latter (except for us) because he had no need through it to merit eternal life for himself (which he obtained in virtue of the hypostatical union). This will be shown in its place when we treat of the obedience of Christ.

Twenty-Third Question: The Abrogation of the Moral Law

Whether the moral law is abrogated entirely under the New Testament. Or whether in a certain respect it still pertains to Christians. The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Antinomians

I. From the third use of the law (which we called directive) arises the proposed question lying between us and the Antinomians, who maintain that there is no use of the law any longer under the New Testament. On this

account, they hold that the Scriptures of the Old Testament do not belong to Christians (concerning which we treated Part I, Topic II, Question 8).

II. In order to apprehend properly the state of the question, we must ascertain in what sense the law may be said to have been abrogated and in what sense not. First, the question does not concern the use of the law as to justification—whether we are still bound to the law in order to acquire life. Since this is impossible after sin, in this sense it may even be said to have been abrogated: "By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified" (Rom. 3:20) and "As many as are of the works of the law, are under the curse" (Gal. 3:10). Second, the question does not concern its curse because by Christ under this relation (*schesei*), it is abrogated with respect to believers: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us" (Gal. 3:13). Third, the question does not concern restraint and rigor (which was the case under the Old Testament) because we are no longer under that servile training and dispensation in which the spirit of bondage exercised its power. Rather we are under the gospel economy, in which the Spirit of adoption reigns (Rom. 8:15); by which the yoke of Christ is made easy (Mt. 11:30) and his commandments not grievous (1 Jn. 5:3). But the question only concerns its directive use—whether we are now freed from the direction and observance of the law. This the adversaries maintain; we deny.

Proof that the law is not abrogated as to direction.

III. First, Christ "did not come to destroy but to fulfill the law" (Mt. 5:17). Therefore as it was not abolished but fulfilled by Christ, neither is its use among us to be abolished. Luke wants us to hear Moses and the prophets: "They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them" (16:29). If they are to be heard, their commands must therefore be obeyed also. If this is said by Christ to the Jews of his time, it ought not forthwith to be understood of them to the exclusion of others. He does not give here a special, but a general precept to all who desire to escape the place of torment. Now what was the case with the Jews in reference to this, the same is the case with Christians. Also the practice of what is here proposed as a precept is by Peter commended generally to Christians (2 Pet. 1:19 and frequently elsewhere).

IV. Second, Christ and his apostles confirm and recommend it to be observed by all (Mt. 22:36–40). Paul says, "Owe no man anything, but to love one another: for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law" (Rom. 13:8, 9). Love is called by John the old and new commandment (1 Jn. 2:7, 8). Third, "faith does not make void but establishes the law" (Rom. 3:31). Hence the gospel is often designated by the name law: "the law of the Spirit of life" (Rom. 8:2); "the royal law of liberty" (Jam. 2:8, 12). "For I through the law am dead to the law, that I might live unto God" (Gal. 2:19) through the law of Christ, to the law of Moses. For it has the relation of a covenant, which is not only to be understood imitatively (*mimētikōs*) in relation to the mind of the Jews (because the gospel gives truly and perfectly to us what the Jews falsely sought in the law [viz., justification and safety], in which sense even faith is called "the work of God," Jn. 6:29), but also properly (because the gospel is not without the law, which is now set forth in a certain sweeter manner, but nevertheless always binds man to obedience). Fourth, the moral law is of natural and immutable right (as was proved above). On this account, it pertains equally to all men in whatever state so that they cannot be released from their subjection to it.

The necessity of the law proved. (1) With respect to the covenant of grace. (2) With respect to God, the Father. (3) With respect to Christ. (4) With respect to the Spirit.

V. Finally, the law is necessary in many ways to Christians. (1) With respect to the covenant of grace (under which believers live), which contains not only the promise of grace and salvation on God's part, but also carries with it the stipulation of obedience on man's part, so that just as God promises to be our God in love and protection, we in turn are his people by worshipping and obeying him (Jer. 31:33; 2 Cor. 6:16, 17). (2) With respect to God the Father, who receives us into his family and holds towards us the relation (*schesin*) of Father and Lord, to honor and worship whom we are indispensably bound (Mal. 1:6; 1 Pet. 1:15, 16). (3) With respect to Christ, who, as he sustains a twofold person towards us (of surety and priest, to

satisfy for us by fulfilling the law; and of head and king, to work and fulfill the law in us by his Spirit), so he demands a twofold virtue from believers to be united and conformed to him (faith, which embraces the promise of grace and the merit of the surety; and love, which imitates the holiness of the head by obeying his commands). Hence his death is not only the price of our redemption (*lytron*), by which he made a most full satisfaction for us, but also "the model for our imitation" (which is set before us) "that we should follow his steps" (1 Pet. 2:21). (4) With respect to the Holy Spirit, who consecrates us for temples to himself in which he may dwell (1 Cor. 3, 4); who has the name and office of Consoler and Sanctifier, that as by the office of Paraclete he consoles us against the curse of the law, so as the Spirit of sanctification, he confirms and sanctions the necessity of the obedience to the law.

5. With respect to grace.

6. With respect to glory.

VI. (5) With respect to grace (now conferred upon us here), which demands that obedience (Tit. 2:14) as the fruit of that seed; gratitude for benefits received (Pss. 116:12; 130:4; Lk. 1:74) and the mark at which it aims, as is evident in election (Eph. 1:4), in redemption, (Tit. 2:14), in calling (1 Pet. 1:15; 2:9), in justification (Ps. 85:9; Gal. 2:20; Ps. 130:4), in regeneration (2 Cor. 5:17; Rom. 6:14). (6) With respect to the glory which we expect, to which the obedience due to the law stands related as a means to the end, without which we cannot attain unto it (Jn. 3:5; Mt. 5:8; Heb. 12:14); the way to the goal (Eph. 2:10; Phil. 3:14); the seed to the harvest (Gal. 6:7, 8) and the firstfruits to the mass (Rom. 8:23)—yea, as the principle part of happiness. Hence arises the necessity of good works to glory; not of merit, but of means. No one can be glorified in heaven who has not been sanctified on earth by the pursuit of holiness and obedience to the law.

Sources of explanation.

VII. It is one thing to be under the law as a covenant to acquire life by it (as Adam was) or as a schoolmaster and a prison to guard men until the advent

of Christ; another to be under the law as a rule of life, to regulate our morals piously and holily. It is one thing to be under the law inasmuch as it is opposed to the gospel as to rigid and perfect exaction of obedience and the terrible curse with which it threatens sinners; another to be under the law inasmuch as it is subordinated to the gospel, as to sweet direction. In the former sense, Paul says "We are not under the law, but under grace" (Rom. 6:14) as to the federal relation and as to malediction and rigor because Christ by his merit has freed us from that and by his Spirit taken us away from this. But in the latter sense, we always remain bound to it, although for a different end. In the first covenant, man was bound to do this in order that he might live (to deserve life); but in this he is bound to do the same (not that he may live, but because he lives) to the possession of the life acquired by Christ and the testimony of a grateful mind (as the apostle in the same place exhorts believers to obedience).

VIII. The law is compared by Paul to "a dead husband" (Rom. 7:2, 3), not simply, but relatively with regard to the sway and rigorous dominion it obtained over us and the curse to which it subjected sinners; but not with regard to liberation from the duty to be performed to it. Thus the law threatening, compelling, condemning, is not "made for a righteous man" (1 Tim. 1:9) because he is impelled of his own accord to duty and is no longer influenced by the spirit of bondage and the fear of punishment (Rom. 8:15; Ps. 110:3), but the law directive and regulative of morals is always laid down for him and he ought to be under it. "If ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law" (Gal. 5:18, viz., compelling and cursing), but under it directing, inasmuch as the Spirit works that law upon our hearts (2 Cor. 3:2; Jer. 31:33). On this account, the law is called the Spirit of life (Rom. 8:2).

IX. It is one thing to speak of the duration of the legal economy, another to speak of the duration and use of the doctrine delivered in it. The former ought to have been changed and to cease (and has really ceased); not so, however, the latter. Christ speaks in the former sense in Lk. 16:16, when he says, "The law was until John," but not in the latter. Nor if the economy is taken away, ought the doctrine accommodated to that economy to be taken away entirely, but only according to the relation (according to which it was peculiar to that economy).

X. It is one thing for the law not to be imposed upon Christians, another for an intolerable yoke (*abastakton*) (viz., the observance of circumcision

and of legal ceremonies) not to be imposed on them. The former is not removed from Christians, but only the latter: "Why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear" (Acts 15:10)? It is evident from the occasion of these words (related in v. 5) that certain ones rose up who said "that it was needful to circumcise Christians, and to command them to keep the law of Moses" (to wit, the ceremonial, as we gather from vv. 20, 28, 29, elsewhere called the "yoke of bondage" [*zygos douleias*], Gal. 5:1; or the moral with an undue end, as if Christians must seek from it life either wholly or at least partly; thus it can well be called an "unbearable yoke" [*zygos abastaktos*] on account of the weakness of the flesh because no one can be justified by it, Rom. 8:3). So that yoke can be taken off as far as it was intolerable (*abastakton*) (to wit, as to the strict severity [*to akribodikaion*] of the law, the compulsion and curse annexed to it), although it remains as to the necessity of obedience.

XI. What is a cause of itself and in its own nature of the increase and multiplication of offenses, ought not to be retained in use among Christians. But the law does not increase sin (in this sense) because sin follows not from the laying down of the law as such, but only from its transgression. On this account, it is said to increase sin accidentally (Rom. 5:20) not only because it declaratively manifests it, but also occasionally inasmuch as sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought concupiscence (Rom. 7:8, to wit, by irritating it, so that it becomes more furious against the restraining commandment, like an ungovernable horse becoming the more enraged against his rider the tighter he draws the bit). Hence the violation of the known law draws after it a heavier guilt.

XII. When the law is called the "letter that killeth, and the ministration of death and condemnation" (2 Cor. 3:6–9), it is to be understood not of itself and in its own nature, but accidentally on account of man's corruption; not absolutely and simply, but relatively when viewed as a covenant of works, in opposition to the covenant of grace; or in respect to the legal economy and teaching considered precisely in itself, apart from the promises of grace and in contradistinction to the gospel ministration (compared with it there by the apostle). In this sense, it may well be called "the letter" because it indeed shows duty, but does not fulfill it; orders, but does not help; commands, but does not operate and is said to be "made

void" (*katargeisthai*) in respect to that economy, because that old covenant ought to be abrogated. Yet it cannot be called so absolutely (under the relation of a rule and a standard).

XIII. The liberty of Christ frees us from the yoke of the cursing law, from the tyranny of the Devil and from the bondage of sin. It does not release from the necessity of rendering obedience to God, which is indispensable from every creature as such and especially from redeemed sons. Yea, the chain of our duty binds so much the more strongly, as we are connected with God by more names. Thus liberty from sin implies necessarily the service of grace; being made free from sin, we become the servants of righteousness (Rom. 6:18). True liberty consists in this—that we be subject to God, for "to serve him is to reign." "The liberty of the spirit," therefore, differs from "the license of the flesh." The latter is in truth incompatible (*asystatos*) with the law, but the former is in the highest degree consistent with it and inseparable from it: "As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God" (1 Pet. 2:16); "Ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh" (Gal. 5:13).

XIV. What was given to the Jews as Jews can be for the use of the Jews alone; but what is given to the Jews as covenanted (or as the people of God simply) does not refer to them alone, but to all those who hold the same relation of people of God. The law was not given to the Jews in the first sense in every way, but in the latter; for now at this day it speaks to us (Rom. 7:7; 1 Cor. 9:8). Nor if it is said to have been given by Moses (Jn. 1:17) does it follow that under the gospel of Christ it has no place. Moses is not opposed to Christ, but subordinated (as a servant to a master and he who is in a house to him who has a right over the house as the builder and governor of it).

XV. Moses also can be viewed in two lights: either generally and indefinitely as a teacher of the whole church; or particularly and definitely as a leader of the people and legislator of Israel, having a regard for its interest. In the latter sense, the law (brought in by Moses) pertained to the Jews alone, but in the former is extended to all no less than the law of nature (of which it is a compend). And thus the diverse opinions of the orthodox about the use and obligation of the Mosaic law can be reconciled. Some hold that it belonged to the Jews exclusively (as Zanchius and

Musculus); others, however, assert that it referred to all (as Pareus and others). The latter consider Moses and the law under the first notion; the former, however, under the second.

Twenty-Fourth Question: The Ceremonial Law

What was the end and the use of the ceremonial law under the Old Testament?

The Mosaic law threefold: moral, ceremonial, forensic.

I. The law given by Moses is usually distinguished into three species: moral (treating of morals or of perpetual duties towards God and our neighbor); ceremonial (of the ceremonies or rites about the sacred things to be observed under the Old Testament); and civil, constituting the civil government of the Israelite people. The first is the foundation upon which rests the obligation of the others and these are its appendices and determinations. Ceremonial has respect to the first table determining its circumstances, especially as to external worship. Civil has respect to the second table in judicial things, although it lays down punishments for crimes committed against the first table.

Foundation of the distinction.

II. The truth of this distinction appears from the diversity of the names by which it is designated in the Scriptures. The moral law is for the most part expressed by *mtsvth* ("precepts"), the ceremonial by *chqym* ("statutes") and the judicial by *mshptym* ("judgments"), which the Septuagint renders by *entolas, dikaiōmata* and *krimata*. "I will speak unto thee all the commandments, and the statutes, and the judgments, which thou shalt teach them" (Dt. 5:31); so also in 6:1, 20; 7:11; and Lev. 26:46. Sometimes however these words are synonymous and used promiscuously (Ezk. 5:6; 20:11, 16, 18). But the distinction appears principally from the nature of the thing and the office of the law (whose it is to settle the order according to

which man is joined to God and his neighbor). Now man is joined to God first by a certain internal and external likeness—in love and justice, holiness and truth, whose rule the moral law delivers. Again by the external signification and testification of those acts of divine worship (marks and symbols being employed) whose use the ceremonial law prescribes. Finally, what duty man owes to man, the civil law (applied more distinctly to the Israelites) explains. The moral law regards the Israelite people as men; the ceremonial as the church of the Old Testament expecting the promised Messiah; the civil regards them as a peculiar people who in the land of Canaan ought to have a republic suiting their genius and disposition.

Difference between the moral law and others.

III. Hence arises a manifold difference between the moral law and others both in origin (because the moral is founded upon natural right and on this account is known by nature; but the others upon positive right and on this account are from free revelation) and in duration. The former is immutable and eternal; the latter mutable and temporary. In regard to object, the one is universal embracing all; the others particular applying only to the Jews (the civil, indeed, inasmuch as it regarded them as a distinct state dedicated to God; the ceremonial, however, referring to their ecclesiastical state and state of minority and infancy). In regard to use, the moral is the end of the others, while the others are subservient to the moral. Thus far we have spoken of the moral; now we must discuss the ceremonial.

What is the ceremonial law?

IV. The ceremonial law is the system of God's positive precepts concerning the external worship in sacred things, prescribed to the ancient church, either for the sake of order or of signification. It is so called from the object about which it is conversant (viz., the sacred ceremonies or rites that were formerly to be observed in the external worship of God). This is so whether the word ceremony is derived from the Etruscan *cerus*, meaning "holy," as *sanctimonia* from *sanctus* (according to Joseph Scaliger and Dionysius Gothofredus in *notis ad Festum*+); or from Ceres which (because the Gauls occupied Rome, they preserved the eternal fire and the vestal virgins) was

called the sanctuary of the Roman people and the receptacle of the Roman sacred vessels. The Romans, for the sake of renumeration, called their sacred rites *caeremoniae* from Ceres (according to Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium* 1.1.10 [ed. C. Kemp, 1966], p. 6; cf. Florus, lib. 1, cap. 13+). Or (what is more probable) from the Hebrew *chrm* which signifies a thing sacred and devoted to God.

V. It is marked by various names—now by *chqym* (as *mshptym* marks the judicial and *mtsvth* the moral); then by "the law of commandments in ordinances" (*nomon tōn entolōn en dogmasi*, Eph. 2:15) because its precepts are ordained (*dedogmena*) (sanctioned by the will of God) having no goodness except from the divine appointment; then by "carnal commandment" (*entolēn sarkikēn*, Heb. 7:16) and "carnal ordinances" (*dikaiōmata sarkos, Heb. 9:10*) *because they are* occupied with prescribing external and corruptible things (which are called carnal in the Scriptures); then by "weak and beggarly elements" (*stoicheia asthenē kai ptōcha tou kosmou*, Gal. 4:9) because they were the first rudiments and, as it were, the alphabet of the Jewish church. During her infantile state, she ought to have been instructed in them and able to do nothing by herself either for justification or for salvation.

Origin of ceremonies.

VI. Ceremonies are external rites and sacred accidents of the worship of God. They are not of themselves the worship of God, but concomitant adjuncts and assistants by signification, exercise, work and decorum. Their rise and foundation is drawn from the nature and condition of man, who, since he is a "ceremonial animal" (according to Melanchthon), cleaves to and is affected by external ceremonies and rites. Also since he consists of soul and body and in both ought to glorify God, he demands external rites by which he may compose the motions of his body to the worship of God and be carried from sensible and earthly things to spiritual and heavenly things. Hence in the state of integrity certain external symbols and ceremonial rites were not wanting: such as the tree of life set apart above the others for a sacrament of the covenant and of the promises; and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which alone was separated from the many as a symbol of trial; such also was the sanctification of the Sabbath.

But after sin, the necessity of these rites increased, not only for good order (*eutaxian*) and a bond of holy society and of pious communion under God (for the sealing of the covenant, both as to the presence and blessings of God and as to the testimonies of our gratitude and the marks of our duty to God), but especially to shadow forth the person and offices of the Mediator, without whom no approach can be made to God.

VII. Hence arose the institution of the ceremonial law, of which there are many very important reasons in which we should acquiesce besides God's most holy will. (1) The condition of the church, which, still constituted in its childhood and infancy (on account of the small portion of the Holy Spirit given to it, Gal. 4:1), was to be instructed by figures of this kind, since it was not ordinarily able to receive greater light. (2) The nature of the Israelite people, who, being a stiff-necked people and very prone to the idolatry and profane worship of the Gentiles, were to be guarded by ceremonies of this kind and restrained as it were within certain barriers, to prevent their falling into other worship. (3) The turpitude and heinousness of sin, which was to be shown in order that man (convicted of it) might be excited to seek a remedy which was found in purifications and sacrifices. (4) The necessity and efficacy of grace, which ought to be shadowed forth by various types.

The general end of the ceremonial law—good order; the special end with respect to the moral law.

With regard to the people.

VIII. Therefore a manifold end no less than use of the ceremonial law can be observed. (1) General (to wit, good order [*eutaxia*]), that in it the people might have an external form of public worship and religion of which God could approve. (2) Special, again various according to its different relations (*schesin*), either in relation to the moral law or to the Israelite people or to grace. For with respect to the moral law, its end was to subserve the former table by a prescription of legitimate external worship and will-worship (*ethelothrēskeiōn*) and to aid the moral law in convincing men of their impurity, weakness and guilt. (3) With regard to the people, it was to serve

for distinguishing them from other people and to bind them more strongly together among themselves. On this account, it is called a "middle wall of partitions" (*mesotoichon*, Eph. 2:14) by which the Israelites were separated from other nations, who moreover had no commerce with them; yea, exercised mutual hatred and enmity from this cause. Hence it is called by the apostle in the same place "hatred" (*echthra*) or "enmity" (i.e., the occasion of hatred and variance between them). Thus it was like a schoolmaster which led the people away from companionship with the Gentiles (from their idolatry and impurity) and conducted them to God and more strictly bound them to worship him as their own God peculiarly and so to be occupied with this laborious worship, that there might be no time or hour free for them either to invent new worships or accept such as were employed by others.

With regard to grace.

IX. With regard to the covenant of grace, there was a use of the law to show its necessity by a demonstration of sin and of human misery; of its truth and excellence by a shadowing forth of Christ and his offices and benefits; to seal his manifold grace by its figures and sacraments; to keep up the expectation and desire of him by that laborious worship and by the severity of its discipline to compel them to seek him; and to exhibit the righteousness and image of the spiritual worship required by him in that covenant. Undoubtedly three things are always to be specially inculcated upon man: (1) his misery; (2) God's mercy; (3) the duty of gratitude: what he is by nature; what he has received by grace; and what he owes by obedience. These three things the ceremonial law set before the eyes of the Israelites, since ceremonies included especially these three relations. The first inasmuch as they were appendices of the law and the two others as sacraments of evangelical grace. (a) There were confessions of sins, of human misery and of guilt contracted by sin (Col. 2:14; Heb. 10:1–3). (b) Symbols and shadows of God's mercy and of the grace to be bestowed by Christ (Col. 2:17; Heb. 9:13, 14). (c) Images and pictures of duty and of the worship to be paid to God in testimony of a grateful mind (Rom. 12:1). Misery engendered in their minds humility, mercy, solace and the duty of gratitude, sanctification. These three were expressly designated in the

sacrifices. For as they were a "handwriting" on the part of God (Col. 2:14) representing the debt contracted by sin, so they were a shadow of the ransom (*lytrou*) to be paid by Christ (Col. 2:17; Heb. 10:5, 10) and pictures of the reasonable (*latreias logikēs*) and gospel worship to be given to God by believers (Rom. 12:1; 1 Pet. 2:5).

X. Still it is certain that the first and most principal relation (*schesin*) of this law was to Christ. As he was the aim and foundation of all the promises and oracles (2 Cor. 1:20), so he was the body and truth of all the types and figures (Col. 2:17). These were "a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ" (*skia tōn mellontōn, to de sōma tou Christou*). They are called a "shadow" both physically (as it is opposed to the body because as a shadow is the sign of a body, so ceremonies were the shadows of Christ to be exhibited; as a body is the cause of the shadow, on the other hand Christ was not the cause of the institution of these rites; as the shadow of itself has and can have no force, but the power belongs to the body, so all the efficacy is from Christ—but ceremonies of themselves are vain and dead) and artificially for an obscure and rude delineation of a thing, opposed to the perfect image (*eikona*) of a thing (in which sense it is used by the apostle, Heb. 10:1). However, it was most wisely arranged by God that since for the most weighty reasons he willed to put off the advent of the Messiah for many ages, he might not only be promised and predicted in the oracles, but also represented in types, only until the time of the reformation (*diorthōseōs*) should come and the sun of righteousness arise. It was also arranged by God that his ancient people by these shadows and oracles might sustain themselves in the hope of the coming Messiah and so under these images might have a foretaste of the heavenly grace to be manifested in Christ; and that the believers of the Old Testament from these marks might more readily and certainly recognize the Messiah (as represented) and their faith be more confirmed by beholding the fulfillment of the shadows in the body and of the figures in the truth.

Whether the ceremonial law was given from wrath to wrath.

XI. And hence we may easily gather what we must decide concerning the question agitated by some in our day—whether the ceremonial law (prescribed after the making of the calf [*moschopoiian*]) had a use significative of and sealing the guilt and curse still binding believers and so was given from wrath to wrath, both for aggravating and sealing the bondage of the fathers under the guilt of wrath and of the curse (as some hold). Or—whether it principally respected Christ and was given as a type of good things to come, to raising up the minds of believers (as others think). For as there was a twofold relation (*schesis*) of that law which must be carefully attended to (the one legal, referring to the covenant of works and its violated law; the other evangelical, by which it was referred to the covenant of grace, and its Mediator), so we must reason concerning it in different ways according to that double relation (*schesin*). For with regard to the former, there is no doubt that it had the use of discovering sin, sealing its guilt and threatening the wrath and curse of God impending on account of sin. In this sense, Paul says that the "handwriting" was against us and by them was made a remembrance (*anamnēsin*) of sins. But when the latter is attended to, it is certain that even in it were symbols and seals of the grace of God in Christ by which believers could be supported in the hope of good things to come and be confirmed against the sense of sin and God's anger.

XII. However, these relations (*scheseis*) are so connected that whoever wishes rightly to understand the nature of the Old Testament economy and the use of the ceremonial law, ought always to join them together; nor can they be wrested asunder except at a heavy expense of the truth. For as he who would attend to the evangelical relation (*schesin*) alone (the rigor of the law as a schoolmaster being disregarded) would not understand the character of the Old Testament, which consisted principally in this; so he who would press the legal relation too much (the evangelical neglected and not sufficiently considered) would seem not a little to obscure the grace of God exercising itself under that dispensation and to depress and weaken too much the faith and consolation of the fathers. Hence the middle seems to be the safest way here—that we may always keep in view both these relations (*schesin*). Nevertheless the legal must be the inferior, subservient to the evangelical and constituting the less principal end of that whole dispensation; the evangelical, however, must be the primary, as containing the special and ultimate end of God in that economy.

XIII. Hence it cannot be absolutely said that the ceremonial law was given from wrath to wrath, to seal and aggravate the bondage of the fathers under guilt and the curse; and that sacrifices were not a remedy for sin, but a handwriting (*chirographum*); and like things of this kind by which the rigor of the legal pedagogy is set forth. For although these things can be said in a sound sense as to the legal relation (*schesin*) considered strictly in itself (nor do we think any controversy should be carried on among brethren on that account, if such were their meaning), they cannot, however, be received absolutely and simply, if the ceremonies are considered relative to the evangelical relation (*schesin*) from which they ought never to be separated. For if it is true (as cannot be denied) that God under these wished to adumbrate and seal to us gospel mysteries and the saving grace of Christ (which the apostle so often and so expressly inculcates in the epistle to the Hebrews, and the types and sacraments necessarily demand), how can that law be said to have been given from wrath to wrath and to seal and aggravate the guilt and bondage of the fathers? Or can we think that what had so grateful and sweet a use was given for so oppressive and severe an end? And if the sacrifices sealed Christ's future expiation itself to a freedom even then efficacious, how can they be said to have sealed guilt resting upon the fathers with a troublesome rebuke to their consciences?

XIV. The contrary opinion cannot be established from the law being called an "unbearable yoke" (*abastakton*, Acts 15:10). This is meant of the law of itself considered in opposition to the gospel. In this sense, it is a ministry of death and condemnation which loaded the conscience with laborious observances. Nor can this opinion be established from it in subordination to the gospel, in which sense it was a schoolmaster unto Christ (Gal. 3:24); or from its being described by the weak and beggarly elements of the world (Gal. 4:9), to which the apostle attributes weakness and unprofitableness (*to asthenes kai anōpheles*, Heb. 7:18). Paul does not speak of ceremonies in their legitimate use according to the institution of God under the Old Testament, but of them as now abrogated and deadened by Christ; or considered per se, aside from their typical relation, separated (namely, from Christ) as the Judaizers considered them; or from the law being said to have had a shadow of good things to come and not the very image of the things (Heb. 10:1). It is certain that the apostle speaks of the law in itself considered simply, apart from Christ the Mediator. In this

sense, no one denies that it had only the shadow of good things to come and could not expiate sin or appease the conscience. But this does not hinder it from being referred to Christ to shadow forth his grace; yea, the words of the apostle manifestly lead us to this.

XV. Nor is it gathered any better from Col. 2:14 where it is called the handwriting (*chirographum*) against us; which seems to mark the sealing and reproaching of the guilt still resting upon believers. This is said only in respect to the legal relation (*scheseōs*), which ought by no means to be so urged, as to blot out the evangelical. Otherwise Paul had falsely said, "Circumcision is a seal of the righteousness of faith" (Rom. 4:11). According to the former, it may well be said to have been a handwriting because in it was the confession of sin and of guilt; not abolished by the legal victims (as was evident in their repetition), but to be abolished by the death of Christ alone. According to the latter, it was a figure of the substitution of the Mediator in our place and of the guilt transferred to him and thus of the liberation to be received through him and of the remission already obtained in virtue of the sacrifice that was to be offered. Hence it is that Paul does not simply say that the handwriting is *enantion* ("contrary" to us), but *hypenantion* ("subcontrary," i.e., in a certain manner contrary). To wit, against the fathers under that legal relation and inasmuch as they were sinners, it was the handwriting of sin and of the guilt incurred by it and of the punishment deserved; still inasmuch as they were believers, it contained the favorable symbols and seals of the grace even then bestowed upon them according to the evangelical relation, which was the principal and ultimate and that by which the former was tempered to the consolation of believers that they might not be reckoned as still under guilt, who were made over to Christ in virtue of the agreement made and the future payment.

XVI. Moreover the multitude of ceremonies and figures was a proof of the imperfection under which they labored. At the same time, it brought before their minds and eyes the supreme perfection of Christ, to shadow forth which there was need of so great variety that what could not be fully represented by one picture might be brought out by many exhibiting the same object considered in different relations (*schesei*). The same Christ was adumbrated by the kings, prophets and priests with reference to his threefold office: by the priest offering, in reference to his eternal Spirit or divinity; by the victim offered, in reference to his human nature; by the altar

of whole burnt offerings, in reference to his satisfaction; by the altar of incense, in reference to his intercession, etc. The same Spirit by the water of purification, by the anointing oil, by the sacred fire was signified in reference to his various operations. Hence what were divided in the types were joined together in the antitype. Concerning this, judgment ought to be made not from one or another separately, but from all considered connectedly because there was no adequate type fully covering the antitype, but all were partial and inadequate.

XVII. As however the same mystery was often represented under various figures and ceremonies, so the same figure was often used to adumbrate different mysteries, especially when these mysteries were subordinated and had a mutual relation (*schesin*) to each other. Thus the tabernacle was a type of Christ (Jn. 1:14), of the church and of believers (Eph. 2:20) and of heaven (Rev. 11:1, 2). The sacrifices were figures of the expiatory sacrifice of Christ (Heb. 10:5, 6) and of the spiritual sacrifices and thanksgivings of believers (1 Pet. 2:5). The priests represented Christ, who is the chief high priest of the New Testament (Heb. 9, 10); the ministers of the gospel, who ought to minister (*leitourgein*) to God (Rom. 15:16), and believers, who are made a "royal priesthood" (1 Pet. 2:5; Rev. 1:6). The Passover was not only a memorial of the passage of the angel through Egypt and of deliverance from Egypt, but a symbol of the future redemption by Christ from the bondage of Satan and sin; and a figure of the passage of believers from slavery to liberty, from death to life (1 Cor. 5:7).

Inability of ceremonies to expiate sin.

XVIII. And hence we may clearly gather against the Jews that the use and end of the ceremonial law was not the justification and sanctification of sinful man (because "the law made [*eteleiōsen*] nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did; by the which we draw nigh unto God," Heb. 7:19) since it was concerned only with a carnal commandment and things earthly and corporeal, "which could not make the conscience perfect [*teleiōsai*]" (Heb. 9:9). It reached no further than to "the purifying of the flesh" (v. 13), i.e., the external and ceremonial, which the apostle shows at length (Heb. 10:1–4). It is easily proved: (1) generally from "the nature of that law, which had a shadow of things to come" (Heb. 10:1) and not the

very image of the things and so could not make the "comers thereunto perfect." (2) Specially, from the imperfection of the ceremonies, which had no proportion either to the sins (which, as moral, can be expiated and purged out only morally by a victim having a moral relation, i.e., from the highest love and most perfect obedience presenting itself to God, such as Christ alone is) or to God, to whom satisfaction ought to be made. Being a Spirit, he also demands a spiritual and rational victim to make satisfaction to him; nor would his wisdom or justice allow sins to be taken away by brute and material blood, but required a rational victim to take away the guilt contracted by a rational creature and that the rebellion against infinite majesty should be settled by an infinite price and satisfaction. The imperfections of the ceremonies had no proportion to man, for whom expiation ought to be made because sin ought to be punished in the same nature in which it was committed. Hence the apostle expressly asserts, "It is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins" (Heb. 10:4)—not only from the appointment of God, but from the nature of the thing (since in those sacrifices continually renewed there was rather a remembrance [*anamnēsis*] again made of sins every year, vv. 2, 3).

XIX. If expiation is somewhat frequently attributed to those sacrifices, it does not follow that they truly and properly expiated. This is to be referred only to a typical and ceremonial expiation by which the impurity of the flesh was taken away (i.e., sin committed against the law), not however to a real and spiritual expiation from the guilt and pollution of sin properly so called (which purged the conscience, as the apostle expresses it in Heb. 9:14). Therefore a twofold effect of that law must be attended to: the former (external and carnal), the taking away of carnal impurity by which one was kept away from the ecclesiastical assemblies, such as was contracted by the touching of things prohibited by the ceremonial law; the latter sacramental (to wit, the signifying and sealing of the grace and all the benefits to be obtained from the Mediator). With respect to the latter, cf. "Disputatio … De Satisfactionis Christi," Pt. VI, Section 4 in *Opera* (1848), 4:564.

Ceremonies are viewed either in regard to the persons, or etc.

XX. Now these ceremonies can be distributed into various classes: (1) in regard to the persons by whom the sacred rites were performed; (2) in regard to the sacred things themselves which ought to be done; (3) in regard to the places in which they ought to be celebrated; (4) in regard to the times in which they ought to be performed. The sacred persons were of two kinds: some called sacred commonly; others for a special reason. Of the former kind were all those initiated by the sacrament of circumcision (by which mark the people dedicated to God were separated and distinguished from profane nations). This rite prefigured the taking away of our native corruption, the restoration of the image of God to us, our implanting in Christ and the sealing of the divine covenant.

XXI. Of the latter kind are they whose ministry God used for the government of his church. They were both the ordinary and extraordinary ministers. The latter were those who, to build up the church and to establish order in it at first or to restore it when it had fallen and so predict future things, were immediately raised up (such as the prophets). Hence by visions, dreams and the internal inspiration of the Holy Spirit, they were prepared for prophesying. The ordinary were they who being mediately called were bound to preserve the order established in the church by performing the sacred rites (such as the priests and Levites). The former sprung by a perpetual series of succession from the family of Aaron, exercised their office in the tabernacle, placed their hands upon the people and blessed them invoking the name of God. Among them the chief high priest was pre-eminent, whose particular consecration, particular dress and particular office constituted him a peculiar type of Christ. They were specially called “Levites” who (employed for sacred things in place of the first-born, Num. 18) served the priests in cleaning the holy vessels, slaughtering and washing the animals, placing the bread and other similar duties.

Nazarites.

XXII. The Nazarites are also reckoned among the sacred persons, although they had nothing to do with sacred things. Some of them were such by a vow (referred to in Num. 6:2–8); others by birth and by divine command (as Samson, Samuel, John the Baptist). The latter’s peculiar sanctity

adumbrated the perfect purity of Christ, who was a true *nzyr* of God (antonomastically such), separated (*aphōrismenos*) from others. In him is truly found in a mystery what occurred in the Nazarites as to the letter since indeed he abstained from all defilement which could taint his most perfect holiness. He had no communication with the dead works of sin and his life was a continual example of sobriety and temperance and of all the other virtues. He devoted himself to his office with such zeal as to prefer it to all the duties of relationship.

Sacred things: offerings.

XXIII. Sacred things were those which were exempted from profane uses and (sanctified by the word of God) were destined to sacred uses, such as offerings or sacrifices. Those were the offering of inanimate things which (sprung from the earth) ministered to man either food for life or spice for cheerfulness or medicines for cure. Of the first kind, bread and wine; of the second, oil and salt; of the third, frankincense was presented, by which both Christ's benefits towards us and the gifts of the Spirit were designated as well as our duty towards God and the testimony of a grateful mind (Mal. 1:11).

Sacrifices.

XXIV. Sacrifices especially belong here for they constituted a great part of the ceremonial law. Not because they had been of free use which could either be offered or not without a neglect of due worship (as some maintain); for that they had been prescribed by God is sufficiently and more than sufficiently gathered even from this—that Abel is said to have offered by faith (Heb. 11:4). Now faith is founded upon the word of God and God is said to have borne witness to those sacrifices, thus testifying that they were pleasing to him. Now in the matter of religion, nothing pleases him except what he has himself commanded; thus all will-worship (*ethelothrēskeia*) is condemned (Col. 2:23). But their institution was more clearly and solemnly renewed by Moses. Sacrifices, too, were living victims, exhibited by the believer and offered by the priest to God, according to the rites prescribed by him. Their integrity and soundness

(*holoklēria*), as they signified Christ, the immaculate lamb and the mark of perfection at which in this life we must aim, so the offering of them designated first the sacrifice of Christ offered for us and then also our reasonable service (*logikēn latreian*). There were two principal species of them. For some were hilastic (*hilastica*) or propitiatory for sins committed (which adumbrated the expiatory sacrifice of Christ offered for us on the cross for a sweet-smelling savor [*eis osmēn euōdias*] to expiate our sins [Eph. 5:2] and the consecration of ourselves, body and soul, made in Christ to the Father, Rom. 12:1). Others were eucharistic for benefits either expected or received, which were the types of the spiritual sacrifices of prayers and praises to be offered every day to God and of the love to be exercised towards our neighbors (Heb. 13:15, 16).

XXV. Sacrifice is sometimes taken widely for any religious action instituted by God that we may offer our own to him for his glory and be joined in a closer fellowship with him. In this sense, it could exist even before sin, and the end was to testify, seal, preserve and increase communion with God, man returning thanks, acknowledging his indebtedness and taking all he has and placing it before God to testify a thankful soul and to obtain the blessings he still needs. But it strictly denotes the offering and slaying of a victim for the expiation of sin by the shedding of its blood (*haimatekchysian*) and death; thus only after sin could it take place. Since the evils of blame and of punishment, introduced by sin, were to be removed and the good things which man had lost to be procured by a satisfaction to divine justice and the appeasing of his wrath, the shedding of blood and the death of the victim in sacrifices was necessarily required to adumbrate more efficaciously the sacrifice of Christ by his accursed death and the shedding of his most precious blood.

Sacred places.

XXVI. Third, because place and time come under sacred things, on this account, they also pertain to the ceremonial law. A sacred place is one in which God exhibited his presence by some visible symbol and publicly commanded himself to be worshipped there. Even before the building of the tabernacle and the temple, this is called “the face of the visible God,” “the house of God” and “the gate of heaven” (Gen. 16:13; 28:17). For as the law

orders sacred assemblies, so also places of assembly were to be selected in which those things might be more conveniently and opportunely done for which the assemblies were convened. This choice depended not upon the pleasure of men (who often feign a divinity where there is no proof of it), but upon God, who selects and sets them apart both by a manifestation of himself (where, as it were, by a flash of lightning, he the most clear, yea, very light itself, turns the eyes of all upon himself) and by a declaration of his will. This local adhesion was necessary under the Old Testament where the external and ceremonial worship required a certain place also, to which it might be confined. But now under the gospel, where the knowledge of God is diffused throughout the whole world, it has become accidental and indifferent because our worship is restricted to no place. Neither on Mount Gerizim nor in Jerusalem only is he worshipped in spirit and in truth (Jn. 4:23). It is lawful to lift up holy hands to God everywhere (1 Tim. 2:8).

The tabernacle, the temple.

XXVII. That place was made known to Moses by the ordination of God. First, the movable tabernacle which he was commanded to build for this purpose. On this account, it was commonly called the "tabernacle of assembly" and "of testimony." Afterwards in the time of Solomon, it was changed to a fixed and immovable temple. It was a figure (1) of Christ, in whom dwells all the fulness (*plērōma*) of the Godhead bodily (*sōmatikōs*, Col. 2:9), in which alone God could rightly be recognized and worshipped, who by his humanity dwelt among (*eskēnōsen*) us as in a tabernacle (Jn. 1:14; Heb. 10:20; Jn. 2:19). (2) Of the church, out of which there is no salvation (Rev. 11:2), which is the tabernacle of God in the Spirit (Eph. 2:22) and the house of the living God (1 Tim. 3:15). (3) Of believers, who bear about with them the earthly tabernacle of the body made with hands, which is by degrees dissolved (2 Cor. 5:1; 2 Pet. 1:14). They are the temple of God (1 Cor. 3:16; 6:19) in whom Christ dwells by faith (Eph. 3:17). (4) Of heaven and of glory (Rev. 11:19; 21:3, 22).

XXVIII. Its unity signifies the unity both of Christ, the head, and of his mystical body or church. Its division into sanctuary, holy place and double court, in Christ can represent the body (answering to the court), the soul (answering to the holy place) and the deity (answering to the sanctuary); in

the church can represent its three conditions: the visible church, into which hypocrites and profane persons can enter (answering to the court); the invisible and church of the elect, still on earth, into which believers and the elect alone like the legal priesthood are admitted, that they may render reasonable service (*logikēn latreian*) to God, where they still need the light of the word for their direction, the food of the sacraments for their nourishment and the incense of prayers; and the church of the saints on high, who admitted into heaven as the sanctuary of God enjoy intimate communion with him (Heb. 9:24). Or it may represent the state of nature, grace and glory: in man, his three parts—the external senses, which apprehend the sensibles (*ta aisthēta*), which are in the court; the intellect and mind, which gains acquaintance with intelligibles (*ta noēta*), which are in the holy place; and the heart or conscience, which embraces the credibles (*ta pista*), which are in the holy of holies (which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard); in the revelation of God, the three degrees: by works, corresponding to the court because they lie open to all promiscuously; by the word, corresponding to the holy place because destined for the church alone; and by face, corresponding to the holy of holies and given to the beatified saints alone.

XXIX. The apt connection of the tabernacle by bands and fastening figured the body of the church fitly joined together (*synarmologoumenon*) and compacted (*symbibazomenon*) from Christ the head and believers, his members (Eph. 4:16). The change of it into the temple designated the mutable form of the Jewish polity, which was first movable and ambulatory in the desert, then under Solomon obtained rest. This the temple designated, analogous indeed to the tabernacle in its parts and furniture, but in stability, splendor and grandeur far surpassing it. Again in the tabernacle was rightly exhibited the image of the mutable state both of the ancient church and of the whole human life. In the temple, however, both the Christian and the triumphant church were exhibited. On this account, the Jews alone worked on the tabernacle, while Gentiles, Tyrians and Sidonians also worked on the temple.

Ark of the covenant.

XXX. The ark of the covenant (contained in the tabernacle and temple, in which the tables of the law were deposited—a mercy seat of golden work covered by the cherubim resting upon it) signified: (1) Christ, upon whom God has erected the throne of grace (Heb. 4:16); in whom he manifests himself as reconciled to us; whom he has set forth to be a propitiation for us in his blood (Rom. 3:25); in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (Col. 2:3) and the tables of the law are laid up, since the law of God is written upon his heart (Ps. 40:8); in whom the oracle (*logion*) of God is found because, as the Word (*Logos*) of the Father, he utters his oracles and reveals his will to us; unto whom the angels minister and to contemplate more closely his glory and mysteries the cherubim stoop (*parakyptousi*) and prostrate themselves (1 Pet. 1:12). (2) The church, in which God has set up his throne and wished the sacred tables to be kept; where he shows himself present in grace and appeased in Christ, the true propitiation; where he utters his oracles through the word; where angels, as ministering spirits, stand continually near believers and watch for their salvation; where the rod of discipline and of the cross, with which he exercises us, is joined with the manna of consolation and of life, with which he supports us.

The twofold altar.

XXXI. The twofold altar (of whole burnt offerings and of incense) represented the two parts of the priestly office of Christ, which ought to be fulfilled in his twofold state: satisfaction, in the offering of his body and the shedding of his blood in the state of humiliation; and his intercession in heaven, in the state of exaltation, by a living and continual representation of his sacrifice, adumbrated by the golden censer in which incense was burned upon the altar (Rev. 8:3). “We have an altar,” says the apostle, “whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle” (Heb. 13:10). A passage was made from one to the other: on the brazen altar, sacrifice ought first to be offered, before the incense could be offered; so the satisfaction must go before the intercession for without a satisfaction all prayers are useless. Christ is our altar: on the cross, by immolation; in heaven, by intercession; on the table, by commemoration.

The table, the candlestick, the altar of incense.

XXXII. In the holy place, three things were seen particularly: the table, where the showbread was placed; the candlestick, on which the candles were lighted; and the altar of incense, where incense was burned. To these correspond in the church, the light of the word by which he enlightens us; the bread of life with which he feeds us; and the sacred worship which he demands of us by the offering of prayers and other spiritual sacrifices. The light of faith shines on the candlestick; the life of hope is fed at the table; and the fire of love is supplied from the altar.

The brazen laver.

XXXIII. The brazen laver in which the priests were bound to wash their hands and feet before they approached the altar and performed the sacred rites was a sign of the special purification required in those who draw near to God, whether they hold the special office of ministers of God or the common office of believers. Thus it was evident that no one can rightly engage in the worship of God, unless by faith in Christ he has been purged entirely of the guilt of sins and in part at least from the pollution (Jn. 13:8; Heb. 10:22; Tit. 1:15, 16).

Sacred times, the continual sacrifice.

XXXIV. Finally, sacred times are those in which the blessings of God, whether past or future, are publicly spoken of and celebrated. To these belong: (1) the continual sacrifice, accustomed to be offered every day (morning and evening) with the attendant duty, which signified both the eternal power and efficacy of Christ's sacrifice and the daily prayers of the pious and the worship of the grateful to God through Christ.

Festivals.

XXXV. Second, festivals of a threefold kind: weekly, monthly and annual. The weekly was the festival of the seventh day, called the Sabbath, to put us in mind both of the creation of the world and of Christ redeeming and

sanctifying us as well as beginning his rest in us. The monthly were called "new moons" celebrated on the first of each month, yet without intermission of external works. This taught that all months and their changes were sanctified in us by Christ.

XXXVI. The annual were those which recurred either every year or only after a certain number of years. Of the anniversary festivals, the most solemn were those three in which every male was ordered to appear in the sight of the Lord, not without a gift (viz., the Passover, Pentecost and the Feast of Tabernacles). Although they were instituted for a recollection of past blessings (as the Passover in commemoration of their deliverance from Egypt; Pentecost for a calling to mind the blessing of the given law; and the Feast of Tabernacles in memory of the divine protection in the desert), still they had a conjoined adumbration and promise of the spiritual benefits to be conferred by Christ. The Passover adumbrated the liberation from Egypt and the liberation from the power of hell and the immolation of Christ (1 Cor. 5:7; 1 Pet. 1:18, 19). Pentecost adumbrated the mission of the Holy Spirit and the writing of the law upon the tables of the heart by the same Spirit (2 Cor. 3:2, 3; Jer. 31:33). The Feast of Tabernacles indicated the wandering of the pious man through this desert world to his heavenly country (Heb. 13:14).

XXXVII. The feasts recurring after an interval of certain years were the Sabbatical year, returning each seventh year, in which the intermission of cultivation was allowed; the Jubilee, on the fiftieth, in which there was besides a manumission of slaves, a remission of debts, and a restitution of goods sold. This is a symbol of the gospel Jubilee promulgated by the gospel of Christ which is truly the acceptable year of the Lord (Is. 61:1–3). All our spiritual debts (namely sins) are remitted through Christ (Rom. 8:1; Col. 2:14); freedom from sin, Satan and death given to us (Lk. 1:74; Rom. 6:13); and the goods lost through Adam restored. In a word, full deliverance from all evils and perfect and everlasting rest under Christ is granted.

XXXVIII. Let these things be said in passing and strictly concerning ceremonies and their use, especially the typical and ceremonial. For to discuss them fully and to explain the mysteries of all the ceremonies would be the subject not of a few pages but of a large treatise (which does not fall within our scope and belongs rather to didactic than to elenctic theology).

Twenty-Fifth Question: The Abrogation of the Ceremonial Law

Was the ceremonial law abrogated under the New Testament? When and how?

Statement of the question.

I. The ceremonial law can be viewed in two ways: either with regard to doctrine and signification; or with regard to obligation and observance. The question is not whether it was abrogated as to doctrine. We confess that it still remains and is useful in many ways among Christians; and that the mystical truth, hidden under this shell, is always the same and of perpetual necessity. Hence on account of that analogy, the names are always retained (the ancient state being changed) and circumcision, sacrifices, altars, incense are attributed to Christians, not because these rites ought to prevail under the gospel, but because the truth of these figures always remains (in which we have the things adumbrated by these signs). Rather the question is whether it was abrogated as to obligation and obedience and whether believers are still in subjection to the ceremonial law (as the Jews of old) and are bound to keep it (as the Jews maintain). This was the opinion not only of the Jews of old (and is of those in our time), but also of the Judaizing false apostles in the time of the apostles. They urged the observance of ceremonies as necessary, rashly confounding the law with the gospel, Moses with Christ. However we, with the apostles and the whole church, deny it.

The abrogation of the ceremonial law proved: (1) from Gen. 49:10.

II. The reasons are: (1) because the Mosaic economy (of which the ceremonial law was the principal part) ought to be changed, therefore the ceremonial law ought also to be abrogated. Now that the former was to be changed is demonstrably gathered against the Jews from the oracles of the Old Testament. (a) From Gen. 49:10, where it is said, “The sceptre shall not

depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come." In some measure, here is asserted the necessity of the legal economy, designated by the scepter and lawgiver, until the advent of the Messiah, who is expressed by *shylh* (as if it were *'shr lh*—"whose is" the kingdom). Thus, he being manifested, its abrogation is necessarily supposed. For if it was to remain until Christ, there ought to be no place for it after him. The objections of the Jews will be refuted when we treat of the advent of the Messiah.

(b) From Jer. 31:31, 32.*

III. (b) From Jer. 31:31, 32*, where a new covenant and a new law is promised in those last days (i.e., under the New Testament): "Behold, the days come, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that I made." Not only is the truth and certainty of the change marked because where a new covenant is said to be made by that very fact the former is made old (Heb. 8:13), but also the cause of the change is indicated, the violation (namely, of the former covenant), and the manner, by an internal writing of the law. And that no one might object with the Jews that it is called new by reason of the confirmation and coalition of the old (not as to the institution of a new), it is expressly asserted that "it will not be according to that which he had made with their fathers." This necessarily implies a diversity of covenants, if not as to substance, certainly as to economy.

(c) From Dan. 9:27.

IV. (c) From Dan. 9:27, where it is said, "The Messiah shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and seal up prophecy." This cannot be understood without the abrogation of the legal economy. And from Jer. 3:16, 17: "In those days, they shall say no more, the ark of the Lord, neither shall they visit it." If mention was no more to be made of the old ark, which was (as it were) the center of the old economy, then the whole of that economy was to become old. Nor does what is added in v. 17 concerning the glory of Jerusalem and the return to Canaan stand in the way of this opinion. This is to be understood spiritually and mystically concerning the

church, not literally concerning the earthly Jerusalem (which was to be destroyed).

(d) From Ps. 110:4.

V. (d) From Ps. 110:4, where a new priest is promised according to the order of Melchizedek, who was not only to spring from a different tribe, but also to perform his office in a different manner, without successor and substitute; not for a time, but forever. Hence the apostle infers, "The priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law" (Heb. 7:12, 13). "For if," says he, "perfection were by the Levitical priesthood, what further need was there that another priest should rise after the order of Melchizedek, and not be called after the order of Aaron?" (Heb. 7:11). The same thing is gathered from all those passages in which it is said that the worship of God will be spread through the whole world (Mal. 1:11; Is. 54:5* and elsewhere), which could not take place under the old economy.

(e) From the end of the legal economy.

VI. (e) From the end of that economy and of ceremonies. For the causes and reasons of the introduction of the law being changed, the laws also are changed. [1] That law was like a "schoolmaster" to lead unto Christ and keep believers in expectation of good things to come, until the time of the restoration (*diorthōseōs*) or the time appointed (*prothesmias*) of the Father (Gal. 4:2), in which the church should be adult and emancipated. Now when Christ, who is the father and head of the church, appeared and the church itself had been brought by him to adult age, there was no need of a schoolmaster, as the apostle proves in Gal. 4:1–3. [2] The law was a "middle wall" (*mesotoichon*) separating the Jews from the Gentiles, but the distinction of nations having been taken away by Christ, there is no more any use for that party wall and Paul expressly testifies that Christ broke it down (Eph. 2:14). [3] The law was a handwriting (*cheirographon*) against us, not only by unveiling sin, but by sealing both the guilt and condemnation of the sinner. But our debt having been paid and sins expiated by Christ, the handwriting is destroyed and taken away; yea,

affixed also to the cross, as the apostle elegantly expresses it (Col. 2:14). [4] That law had a shadow of future things (Heb. 10:1) because all its rites (as has been seen) had this special end, to adumbrate Christ and his offices and benefits. But shadows vanish before the rising sun; there is no room for figures when the truth is set forth; and there is no need of candles in the light of day. These are so incompatible (*asystata*) with each other that to wish to retain the shadows under the New Testament would be to deny that advent of Christ because they were employed as signs of his coming (which indeed could truly be done before his advent, but afterwards only falsely and uselessly). [5] The law was a guard (*phroura*) under which the people were detained that they might not turn aside to the profane worship of the Gentiles and be mixed with them (Gal. 3:23), by the spirit of bondage which obtained among them. But now believers, called to gospel liberty and gifted with the Spirit of adoption, as a willing people (Ps. 110:3) could no longer be held under that guard.

(f) From the change of things, persons and places.

VII. (f) Because the persons, things and places required for a strict observance of the ceremonial law should be changed and were actually changed. Therefore the law itself also should be abrogated, as it is abrogated. As to persons, the law was introduced only for the Israelites and had no reference to other nations. But now all peoples and nations are called to the economy of saving grace and that people is rejected. Here belong those various passages of the prophets which speak of the rejection of the Jewish nation and the calling of the Gentiles (Dt. 32; Lev. 26; Hos. 2; Is. 2; 49; 54; 60; 66). Formerly only one of the tribes (to wit, the Levitical) was admitted to the sacred ministry; but now another priesthood has arisen after the order of Melchizedek from the tribe of Judah. Priests are taken not only from the Jews, but also from the Gentiles themselves (Is. 66:21; 1 Pet. 2:5; Rev. 1:6). Formerly sacrifices were external and carnal, but now spiritual sacrifices are demanded (Rom. 12:1; Mal. 1) and God declares that he sometimes rejects and is opposed to the old sacrifices (Is. 1:12; Hos. 6:6; Mic. 6:7; Pss. 50 and 51; Is. 58 and 66). Yea, Ezk. 20:25 calls them “statutes that were not good,” whereby man cannot live, undoubtedly both in themselves as to the impossibility of justification and sanctification and

relatively to the abuse of the Jews, who separated ceremonies from moral worship. Formerly the sacred worship was confined to a certain part of the world and to one place, outside of which it was not lawful to perform sacred rites; but now the temple of God is everywhere. In the catholic church, it is lawful everywhere to lift up holy hands to God (1 Tim. 2:8) and true worshippers are no longer bound to appear in Jerusalem or on Mount Gerizim to worship because they can adore God everywhere in spirit and in truth (Jn. 4:21, 23). Hence it is said that an altar shall be erected in the midst of the land of Egypt (Is. 19:19), which would have been wrong under the Old Testament, under which religious worship is symbolized. It is predicted that incense shall be offered in every place unto God (Mal. 1:11), which could not be done under the law. Hence Eusebius proves conclusively that the observance of the ceremonial law has become impossible after the calling of the Gentiles (*Proof of the Gospel* 1.3.6 [trans. W.J. Ferrar, 1920], 1:20); nor can God, the most wise legislator, be conceived to have wished to impose such a law upon nations remote from the place chosen by the Lord (as if God wished the Indians, the Europeans, and the Britons, divided through the whole world, even now to go up to Jerusalem three times in each year). For what city (I will not say what temple); nay, what region could be capable of containing all these? What altars could be sufficient for receiving the victims? What region could furnish victims for so many worshippers?

(g) From the destruction of the temple.

VIII. (g) Nor only of right ought that law with the whole Mosaic economy to be abolished; but it has also actually been abolished. For indeed the temple being destroyed and Jerusalem levelled to the ground (which was the seat of worship), the whole nation miserably dispersed and scattered through the whole world, it is impossible for that law to be observed according to God's prescription. Neither an altar nor a temple occurs where worship is performed; nor is there a priest and sacrifices; nor any reason of the old polity and the distinction of the tribes and families; and indeed for so many ages, which divine providence would never have suffered if indeed those ceremonies ought to have continued. Nor can the Jews reply that these are indeed signs of an angry God which they experienced at other times (as

in the Babylonian and Egyptian captivity) and as they were delivered from these, so they can also be recalled from this, the last exile. The present dispersion of the Jews is vastly different from their other captivities. The time of them was fixed; but by no means is this fixed. So much has already flowed by as has surpassed the time appointed for the others not twofold or fourfold, but tenfold; not of 70 years or of one or two centuries, but of sixteen centuries already passed. In the others, the temple and Jerusalem (although corrupt) were still standing; but now they are totally destroyed. In the others, the distinction of tribes remained, but here no true distinction can be granted, whatever the circumcised may babble. In the others, there were prophets and priests; but now they are wholly wanting.

(h) From the synodical decree, Acts 15.

IX. (h) The synodical decree (Acts 15) openly confirms this abrogation when it maintains that nothing further should be imposed upon Christians beyond abstinence from things strangled and from blood and from meats offered to idols (vv. 28, 29). From this it is clearly gathered that with the exception of these three, all other ceremonies and the observance of the ceremonial law are abrogated (as the use of circumcision which the false apostles urged and gave occasion for the Council at Jerusalem). For what reason, however, that decision was made and how it is to be understood, will be spoken of hereafter.

The mode of abrogation is noted: de jure and de facto.

X. The manner and time of the abrogation must be inquired into. The manner is considered first when the force of the law and the foundation of obligation is taken away (which was done by the death of Christ, in which he destroyed—not only destroyed, but took wholly out of the way—the handwriting that was against us, a full payment of debts having been made, Col. 2:14). Second, *de facto*, when really and actually the law ceases to bind and is abrogated with respect to man. The former was done at the same time and once; the latter however successively and by degrees. In the former, the

abrogation was made meritoriously and causally; in the latter, formally and effectively.

XI. Hence three times (*tempora*) of the ceremonies must be accurately distinguished: first, in which they are alive; second, in which they are dead; third, in which they are deadly. The first, with regard to the divine institution, in which way they were not only lawful, but useful and necessary under the Old Testament. In this sense, circumcision is spoken of as a seal of the righteousness of faith (Rom. 4:11), and a great value is ascribed to it (Rom. 3:2), which can be applied to the other ceremonies from parity of reasoning. The second, with regard to accommodation (*synkatabaseōs*) and human tolerance, in which manner (now abrogated according to right by the death of Christ), they have become dead and indifferent. Nevertheless they could still sometimes be observed for the benefit of weak Jews, provided it was done from love only and not from necessity. The third, with respect to the abuses of the Jews and false apostles by whom they were pressed under the gospel as necessary to salvation (with the idea of merit), in which manner they were made pernicious and destructive. As to the first, they are observed as necessary according to the command of God. As to the second, they are suppressed as nothing and indifferent (1 Cor. 7:19; Rom. 14:3, 4). As to the third, they are condemned as deadly and noxious (Gal. 5:4). The first extends from the sanction of the law even to the time of correction (*diorthōseōs*) and the death of Christ; the second from the death of Christ even to the full manifestation of the gospel and of Christian liberty; the third from the promulgation of the gospel and the destruction of the temple unto the end of the world.

XII. However this abrogation was not a simple abolition by which something so ceases to be that nothing succeeds it. Rather it was a consummation of perfection (Heb. 8:6) by which something more perfect succeeds that which is imperfect (as the light of the sun, the daybreak, and the adult, the infantile age). Thus, undoubtedly, to circumcision in the letter (*en grammati*) succeeded circumcision in the spirit; to brute victims of bulls and of goats, the heavenly and rational victim (namely, the Lamb of God); to immolation made by mere man (and he a sinner) immolation by Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpō*) (and most holy); to earthly things, things heavenly; to a mortal priest, an immortal and celestial; to a sanctuary

worldly and made with hands, a sanctuary heavenly and not made with hands (*acheiropoiēton*); to purity of the flesh, purity of conscience; to a carnal and external worship, a reasonable (*latreia logikē*) and spiritual worship (Rom. 12:1; 1 Pet. 2:5).

Sources of explanation.

XIII. That which is of natural divine right is immutable, being founded upon the unchangeable holiness of God; but not equally that which is of positive divine right founded on the will of the legislator (who as he gave the law for his own reasons, can also change it, if he pleases). The ceremonial law is not of natural right, but only of positive; it is not commanded because just, but is just because commanded.

XIV. The abrogation of the ceremonial law is not repugnant to the constancy and immutability of God because he did not give it to remain forever, but only for a time. Thus the law was changed according to the immutable will of God, who neither began to will what he willed, nor left off willing what he willed, but fulfilled the counsel which he had taken of governing his minor church for a certain time by such a law, until Christ having appeared, the gospel economy should succeed to govern its adult age.

XV. Not more repugnant to it are the facts that circumcision is called an "eternal covenant" (Gen. 17:7) and that the law was to continue forever. A perpetuity, not absolute, but limited and periodic is meant; so designated because it ought to continue, not for some years only, but during the whole time of the Mosaic economy until the rectification (*diorthōsin*, Heb. 9*:10). The word *'lm* is often elsewhere used for a long duration, but still limited (as mention is made of the ministry of the Levites as perpetual [1 S. 1:22] which was only for 50 years; and the servant who bound himself to his master until the Jubilee was said to be about to serve him *l'lm* "forever," Ex. 21:6). It can also be said that ceremonies are spoken of as perpetual, not with respect to the signs in themselves, but with respect to the things signified and the spiritual truth adumbrated by them, which remains ever the same. Hence circumcision is said to be made in Christ (Col. 2:11) and the true passover is given to us in him (1 Cor. 5:7).

XVI. The prophetic oracles which seem to promise a restoration of the legal economy under the Messiah with a return to their native country and the rebuilding of Jerusalem and of the temple are not repugnant to it (Dt. 30:1–5; Ezk. 37:24, 25; 40; 41). Many of these can be referred to the return from the Babylonian captivity. Hence it is not surprising that the restoration of the temple, altar and other things pertaining to it should be spoken of. If they are understood of the state of the church under the Messiah (as they certainly ought to be so far extended in order that their full meaning may be gained), the expressions are not to be pressed literally because they are symbolical, not proper; typical, not literal; to be explained spiritually and not carnally. Israel is to be restored, not according to the flesh and letter, but according to the promise and spirit (Rom. 9); the holy city, not Jerusalem, but the church; the worship to be renewed, not carnal, but spiritual—designated, however, according to the state of the times and the comprehension of the nation by carnal, to which the Jews were specially attached. Just as the prophets call prayers incense, the conversion of the Gentiles the going up to Jerusalem, adoration the offering of incense, the knowledge of God visions and dreams. Therefore, as often as the prophets speak of the return of the people to their native country and of its restitution, this can be understood in part literally (for the return from captivity); in part mystically and symbolically (concerning the constitution of the church of the New Testament, described by legal terms). That they cannot be understood simply literally is sufficiently evident from this—that they have not been fulfilled thus far and cannot be fulfilled, the temple having once been destroyed, Jerusalem devastated and the nation scattered.

XVII. If the apostles observed ceremonies after the death and resurrection of Christ, they did not do so from necessity, but from charity, to accommodate themselves to the weakness of the Jews; partly that they might show that they were not opposed to the law of Moses (as the evilly-disposed wickedly calumniated Paul); partly that they might gain the Jews over to Christ (1 Cor. 9:20); partly to give the synagogue a decent burial. This is clearly evident even from the fact that although in dealing with weak brethren they wished to use ceremonies for a time, still when they were dealing with the obstinate false apostles and adversaries, they constantly repudiated them. Paul, who wished Timothy to be circumcised (Acts 16:3), still (disputing against the false brethren who plotted against his liberty)

was unwilling to circumcise Titus (Gal. 2:3, 4), that he might not give them an opportunity of cavilling. On this account, he severely reprimanded Peter because he had Judaized (cf. Augustine, Letter 82, "To Jerome" [FC 12:399]).

XVIII. Paul's vow about shaving his head (Acts 18:18) was not an act of religion (as if he had promised something to God according to the law as a part of necessary worship), but of charity, in order to accommodate himself to the weak showing that he was not a despiser of the law, but "was made all things to all men," 1 Cor. 9:22). "Not by deceitfully doing all the evil deeds of men, but diligently applying the medicine of mercy to all the evils of all others, as if they were his own," as Augustine says (Letter 82, "To Jerome" [FC 12:414; PL 33.288]).

XIX. It is one thing for some external rites to be granted in the church; another, however, to retain the ceremonial law. External rites are necessary in the church for the sake of good order because all things ought to be done in it "decently and in order" (1 Cor. 14:40). Yet they differ widely from the ceremonial law because that signified Christ as about to come, these not at all. This was a necessary part of the divine worship; those are only the supports and adjuncts of worship. In reference to them, these cautions should always be observed: (1) that no rites be prescribed with an opinion of their necessity and merit; (2) that they do not have an equal obligation upon the conscience with the divine laws, as if damnable guilt were incurred from any violation of them whatsoever (although that may happen without a contempt of the enjoiner and the scandal of others); (3) that these rites be not so multiplied as to press Christians by a servile yoke and bring them back as it were into Jewish bondage.

XX. The apostolic sentence concerning abstinence from things strangled and from blood (Acts 15:20) was not of perpetual, but of temporary right. This is proved: (1) from the end and aim which was the cause of the institution (which was temporary, viz., the peace of the church, by a tolerance of the weak among the Jews who, accustomed to ceremonies, should by degrees be weaned from them); (2) from the manner of decision by which they both gratified the Gentiles (absolving them from the ceremonies of the law) and desired to satisfy the Jews (enjoining certain ceremonies upon the Gentiles that for the sake of concord they might indulge them a little, until Christian liberty became better known, especially

because the Jews professed to be opposed to the Gentiles particularly on this account); (3) because all distinction of food was wholly abrogated under the New Testament (as appears from Rom. 14:14; 1 Cor. 8:8; 10:27; Col. 2:21; 1 Tim. 4:3). And so much the stronger does the argument bind that Paul himself, who was present at the synod and knew and explained its intention best, wrote these things after the synod. Now how could the apostle so clearly and expressly have taken away such distinction without any exception, if the apostolic sanction had been considered by him to be of perpetual right? Yea, since the latter law restricted the former, we ought not to doubt that that law was considered by him as already abrogated or as about to be abrogated. If this sanction is renewed after the epistle to the Corinthians was written (Acts 21:25), it is to be understood in no other way than from the apostolic institution and ordination for a certain time, not in perpetuity; (4) by the judgment and authority of the church which, under a fuller knowledge of Christian liberty, gradually changed and abrogated that law (concerning which see Augustine, *Reply to Faustus the Manichaean* 32.13 [NPNF1, 4:336]).

XXI. The following do not prove the perpetuity of that sentence: (1) that it was made by apostolic authority—because the things pertaining to good order (*eutaxian*) were also sanctioned by them (1 Cor. 14:33). (2) That it is sanctioned under the title of necessity because it is not a necessity absolute and simple, but relative and hypothetical (with reference to the time and for the sake of avoiding scandal). (3) That it is joined with the prohibition of fornication, which is altogether of perpetual right—because not fornication itself can be understood, but meretricious food; or the price of lust, so that the word pollution (*alisgēmatos*) should be repeated (*apo koinou*), denoting the pollution of meat and drink (from Dan. 1:8). And if it be referred to fornication itself, it does not follow that it belongs to the same class because often dissimilars are joined together and morals with ceremonials (as in Ezk. 18:6; Lk. 1:6; 1 Tim. 3:2). Here he speaks of "sacrifices to idols," abstinence from which is not of the same necessity with fornication because it is sometimes lawful to partake of things offered to idols, but to commit fornication is never lawful. Therefore, morals can be joined with positives, especially when such are considered to be of the same kind in the estimation of men (as fornication was considered by the pagans as almost an indifferent thing or at least as a very slight fault, especially among the

Greeks; among whom to commit fornication, as Comicus says, was not a disgrace). (4) That this law was enacted before Moses (Gen. 9:4)—because many ceremonial things prevailed before Moses, as sacrifices and circumcision. (5) That the reason of the law is moral and perpetual, that men, accustoming themselves to human blood, might not grow too cruel—because a moral reason does not always argue a moral law, as the observance of the seventh day has a moral reason from the rest of God, still it is not moral. Besides that reason had something forensic about it, accommodated to the hardness and sternness of the Jewish nation and in relation to that time, when before the flood they were wholly given up to violence and crime (Gen. 6:5).

XXII. (6) Nor finally that it was confirmed by the Synod of Gangra (Canon 2, NPNF2, 14:92) and the Council of Trullo* (Canon 67 [NPNF2, 14:395]) and by the emperor Leo in the fifth century and was for a long time observed in the Christian church. Hence Tertullian related among the trials of the Christians "the offering to them blood sausages" (*Apology* 9 [FC 10:33; PL 1.376]); as at this day the Armenians observe this law and there are some Protestants who think it should be retained. Human authority ought not to outweigh the divine, of which the ancients were destitute. The long continued observance of this law arises from the perverse explanation of the passage and its being agreeable to the ignorance and false zeal (*kakozēlia*) of those who know not how (or are unwilling) to distinguish between things (*kata ti*) instituted on account of another thing (and in a certain sense) and those which are to be observed simply and on their own account.

Twenty-Sixth Question

Whether the judicial law was abrogated under the New Testament. We make distinctions

Ends of the individual law.

I. The forensic or judicial law concerned the civil government of the people of God under the Old Testament and contained a body of precepts concerning the form of that political rule. There were various ends of it. (1)

The good order (*eutaxia*) and legitimate constitution of the Jewish polity, which should be a true theocracy (*theokratia*), as Josephus calls it. (2) The distinguishing of that state and nation from all other people and states and that that polity might be the seat of the church and the place for the manifestation of God. (3) The vindication of the moral and ceremonial law from contempt, and so the enforcer of respect and obligation towards both. (4) The adumbration of the spiritual kingdom of Christ.

Three opinions concerning its abrogation.

II. There are three opinions about its abrogation: the first in defect (of the Anabaptists and Antinomians, who think it is absolutely and simply abrogated as to all things). On this account, whatever reasons are drawn against them from the Old Testament for the right of the magistrate and of war; for the division of inheritances and the like, they are accustomed to resolve with this one answer—that these are judicial and pertain to the Israelite people and the Old Testament, but are now abrogated under the New. The second, in excess, of those who think that law is still in force and should be retained and that Christian states are to be governed like the Jewish (which was the opinion of Carlstadt and Castellio, with whom the Lutheran Brochmann agrees). Both wander from the truth. The former because thus many moral things would be abrogated which are contained in the forensic law. The latter because thus many typical things would have to be observed which are most foreign to the reason of our times. The third, of the orthodox, who, holding a middle ground, relieve the matter by a distinction, both according to what has been abrogated and according to what is still in force.

III. In that law various ends must be distinguished. For inasmuch as it was a distinction of the Jewish state from the Gentiles and a type of the kingdom of Christ, it is simply abrogated because there is no longer any distinction between the Jews and the Gentiles in Christ (Gal. 3:28; Eph. 2:14). As the Jewish state and polity has been destroyed, so there is no need of a type to adumbrate the future kingdom of Christ, since it has already come. But as to the good order (*eutaxian*) or form of government of the Israelite people, it cannot be said to have been abrogated, unless relatively. Undoubtedly those things are to be accurately distinguished which in the

law were of particular right (which peculiarly applied to the Jews in relation to time, place and Jewish nation: such was the law concerning a husband's brother, the writing of divorcement, the gleaning, etc.) from those which were of common and universal right, founded upon the law of nature common to all (such as the laws concerning trials and the punishment of crimes, widows, orphans, strangers and the like, which are of moral and common right). As to the former, they may well be said to have been abrogated because the Jewish polity having been taken away, whatever had a peculiar relation to it must also necessarily have ceased. But as to the latter, it still remains because it enters into the nature of the moral and perpetual law and was commanded to the Jews not as Jews simply, but as men subject with others to the law of nature. For distinguishing those things which are of common and particular right, a threefold criterion can be employed. (1) That what prevails not only among the Jews, but also among the Gentiles (following the light of right reason) is of common right. Thus the Greeks, Romans and others had their own laws in which are many things agreeing with the divine laws (which even a comparison of the Mosaic and Roman law alone, instituted by various persons, teaches). (2) What is found to be conformed to the precepts of the decalogue and serves to explain and conform it. This is easily gathered, if either the object and the matter of the laws or the causes of sanctioning them are attended to. (3) The things so repeated in the New Testament that their observance is commended to Christians.

Sources of explanation.

IV. In the laws founded upon the common right or the law of nature, the substance of the precept must be distinguished from its circumstances. Some, both as to substance and as to circumstances, are of common right; others, however, are as to substance of common right, but as to circumstances of particular right. The former are perpetual in all parts; the latter, on the other hand, only relatively. Thus in the laws concerning the punishment of crimes, the substance of the punishment is of natural right, but the manner and degree of punishment is of particular right and on that account mutable.

V. Whatever forensic laws are mixed with types are in their own nature changeable and so have been abrogated of right because their causes and foundations are temporary, not perpetual. Such are the laws concerning the right of primogeniture (Dt. 21:17), asylums (Dt. 19:2), the Jubilee, the not sowing of fields with different kinds of seed, the not wearing garments of wool and linen and the like. Although they might have had a political end also, they still (because they were typical) cease to bind on that very account.

VI. The forensic laws accommodated to the genius and reason of the Jewish polity were not only made useless to Christians living under a different polity, but neither can, nor ought to be observed any longer (such as the Levirate law, the law of jealousy, the law of the selling of a son [Ex. 21], the law concerning the rest of fields, dividing the land of Canaan between the tribes and the like). These had a peculiar relation (*schesin*) to the Israelite people and its government. This having been taken away, they can have no further use.

VII. The polity having been abolished, the laws must necessarily be abolished upon which that polity was founded. They are of positive right and referred simply to the Jewish state; but not forthwith the others founded in natural right and appendages to the decalogue. Therefore, the forensic law as to general determinations, founded upon the moral law, is not abrogated; but as to special determination, which concerned the state of the Jews, is abrogated.

VIII. The forensic law may be viewed either formally, as it was enacted for the Jews (and so is abrogated); or materially, inasmuch as it agrees with the natural law and is founded on it (and thus it still remains).

IX. Although the best and wisest laws (as far as the state of that people was concerned) were sanctioned by God, it does not follow that on this account they ought to be perpetual. God, from positive and free right, could give them for a certain time and for certain reasons, to some one nation, which would not have force with respect to others. What is good for one is not immediately so for another.

X. What is better than others in every way (in both the abstract and the concrete and both negatively and affirmatively) is to be preferred to the others. But the forensic law is better than other laws, not affirmatively, but negatively because it was determined to certain circumstances which do not

now exist. Then again it is better than human laws (simply as human), but not inasmuch as they are founded upon the natural law, whose source is God. Therefore, when the Roman laws are preferred to the Mosaic, they are not preferred simply as enacted by men, but as derived from natural and common right they can be more suitable to places, times and persons.

TWELFTH TOPIC

THE COVENANT OF GRACE AND ITS TWOFOLD ECONOMY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

FIRST QUESTION

The origin and meaning of the words bryth, diathēkēs, foedus, epangelias *and* evangelium *used here*

Necessity for treating the covenant.

I. The nature and use of the law (which goes before the covenant of grace) having been unfolded, we must now treat of the covenant itself. Since it is of the greatest importance in theology (being as it were the center and bond of all religion, consisting in the communion of God with man and embracing in its compass all the benefits of God towards man and his duties towards God), our highest interest lies in rightly knowing and observing it. Hence the discussion of it demands peculiar accuracy (*akribeian*), that the truth may be confirmed against the errors by which Satan has endeavored in almost every age to obscure and corrupt this saving doctrine.

Etymology of the word bryth.

II. That the nature of the covenant may be more easily understood, a few things must be premised concerning the origin and meaning of the words used in Scripture to designate it and commonly employed by theologians. By sifting these, not a little light can be thrown upon the various difficulties occurring here. By the Hebrews, covenant is expressed by the word *bryth*

(of uncertain etymology). Some derive it from the root *brh* either as signifying "to eat" (because in the making of covenants feasts were usual); or rather as denoting "to choose" (because the persons, things and conditions under which the covenant was made, were chosen). Hence the Jews are called "the children of the covenant" (Acts 3:25), "the people of God," "a chosen generation" (*genos eklekton*, 1 Pet. 2:9), for here there is a mutual election both on the part of God choosing men for a people and on the part of men choosing God for their God (as it is expressed in Jos. 24:22, 25). Others derive it from *brr* ("he has purified" and "declared") because by a covenant the faith and sincere friendship of the contracting parties is confirmed and declared. Others, with more propriety, deduce it from the root *br*' which in the Piel signifies "he cut in pieces"; or from the root *bthr* of the same meaning by a metathesis of the letters *th* and *r*. Scripture uses this word when it mentions confirmed covenants (Gen. 15:10; Jer. 34:18) because in making a covenant, the animal was cut in two and they passed between the parts of the slain victims, signifying that the violators of the covenant should be in like manner cut in pieces (as is evident from Gen. 15:10, 17). Among the Arabians, it is *'qsm* which signifies to divide into parts and "to cut in pieces." It also signifies "to swear" because covenants were ratified by victims cut in pieces (as Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Julianum* 10 [PG 76.1054] ascribes this custom to the Chaldeans). Hence "to strike" and "to cut a covenant," the Hebrews call *krth bryth*. This suits the gospel covenant very well. It is founded on Christ being dead (as is said in Gal. 3:17, "the covenant was confirmed in Christ" [*diathēkē kekyrōmenē eis Christon*])—the covenant begun in Christ wounded and smitten and even in that divided immaculate Lamb in whom God was reconciling the world unto himself (2 Cor. 5:19); and through whom passing (as it were), he confirmed and ratified that covenant.

Signification of diathēkē.

III. Among the Greeks, the word "covenant" is commonly expressed by *diathēkē*. This can indeed be referred to every covenant and agreement. It is frequently taken in this sense (Lk. 1:72; Acts 3:25; 7:8; Rom. 9:4; Gal. 3:15; 4:24; Eph. 2:12; Heb. 8:6, 8, 9). But it peculiarly denotes a testamentary disposition with a federal agreement. It bears this signification

in Mt. 26:28, in 1 Cor. 11:25 and especially in Heb. 9:15, 16, where Paul says, "Christ is the mediator of the new testament, that by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first testament, they which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance." However this was not done without authority as the Septuagint (which the apostle follows here) translates the word *bryth* by *diathēkē* rather than by *synthēkēn* (which denotes a simple agreement). The covenant of grace partakes both of a testament and of a covenant. Hence it is not improperly called "a covenant by a testament," "a testamentary covenant" and a "federal testament." It is a covenant because after the manner of a covenant there was an agreement between parties and conditions were laid down on both sides, both on the part of God and on the part of man, and there was a mediator to reconcile the discordant parties. But it is also a "testament" (1) because it is a covenant in which an inheritance is promised (which necessarily demands the antecedent death of the testator, since he only then is reckoned an heir who obtains the goods by an intervention of the will of the disposer). Since therefore the covenant (*diathēkē*) is a promise (*epangelia*) of this kind (in virtue of which the inheritance is discerned), it must necessarily be testamentary. On this account, the apostle adds, "For where a *diathēkē* is [to wit, by which an inheritance is promised, i.e., a testament], there must also of necessity be the death of the testator." (2) Because for our advantage only was this covenant made, as in a testament the advantage not of the testator but of the heirs is regarded; nor is God reconciled concerning mutual benefits, but concerning his own alone. (3) Because although conditions are set forth on both sides, they are entrusted for execution to the virtue and fidelity of only one party (namely, of God). Hence it is founded upon the mere grace of God and upon no disposition and merit of man (as will be fully proved in the proper place).

Whether the word **diathēkēs** *denotes only a "testament" in the New Testament. Whether it does not also mean a "covenant."*

IV. Hence it is easily gathered what must be determined on the question (agitated by some) concerning the use of the word *diathēkēs*—whether

according to the usage of the New Testament and especially of Paul, it signifies only a testament and not also a *synthēkēn* or covenant and agreement. For since the signification of *diathēkēs* is promiscuous in profane and sacred authors, as much for a testament as for a covenant, no solid reason can be adduced why the relation of testament alone ought to have place with Paul, to the exclusion of the relation of covenant. Henry Stephens (Estienne) defines *diatithemai* by *testari* and *pacisci* (*Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* [ed. K. Hasse, 1831–65], 2:1349). Budaeus agrees; he asserts that *diathēkēn* is used promiscuously for a testament and a covenant: *Diatithemai, anti tou syntithemai, paciscor* ("Commentarii linguae Graecae," *Opera Omnia* [1557/1969], 4:704–5). Hesychius explains *diathēkēn* by *synōmosian* (*Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* [1858], 1:487), which is used only in the making of a covenant. The Septuagint interprets the word *bryth* by *diathēkēn* where no other signification than that of an agreement and covenant can hold good (1 S. 11:1; Gen. 31:44).

V. If the passages in the New Testament where the word *diathēkēs* occurs are carefully examined, they not only do not exclude the signification of a covenant (*synthēkēs*), but also often necessarily demand it. In Lk. 1:72 and Acts 3:25 mention is made of a *diathēkēs* made with the fathers in Abraham. From Gen. 17:10, 11, it cannot be denied to have had the relation of a covenant. Hence the covenant sealed by that sacrament is called "the covenant of circumcision" (*diathēkē peritomēs*, Acts 7:8). In Rom. 9:4, *diathēkai* are said to belong to the Jews, surely not testaments (which were not many), but covenants (which are often renewed). In Gal. 4:24, "these are the two *diathēkai*" ("covenants," to wit, the legal and evangelical). The proof that it does treat of these will be given hereafter. And as often as Christ is called the Mediator *diathēkēs* in Hebrews (chaps. 8 and 9) and his blood the blood *diathēkēs*, although the testamental relation is connoted, the federal relation (*schesis*) cannot and ought not to be excluded because there are properly no sureties of testaments; but between adverse parties a mediator is appointed to reconcile them and to unite them with each other by a covenant.

VI. It must indeed be acknowledged that the testamentary notion is principally urged here by the apostle (Heb. 9:15), that the necessity of the death and satisfaction of Christ (as the testator) may be more clearly set forth and the efficacy of grace (to which all things must be ascribed in the

covenant of grace) more strongly demonstrated. But this is not to be understood exclusive of the federal relation which demands faith and obedience on man's part. Since this is clear of itself and is not denied by our brethren, the controversy waged concerning it appears useless and settles itself, if both relations (*schesis*) (the testamentary and federal) are attended to here; the former indeed as the principal and primary; and the latter as secondary and subservient to the former.

Why called foedus.

VII. Among the Latins, the word *foedus* is referred to various sources. Some, as Festus, think it comes from *feriendo* because in making a covenant the victim was struck and slain, a like destruction being imprecated upon him who should first violate the covenant (*Sexti Pompei Festi De Verborum Significatione* [1975], p. 84). Livy explains the manner of this when he gives the formula of the covenant entered into between the king of the Roman people and the dictator of the Albans (*Livy* 1.24 [Loeb, 1:82–83]). Virgil says, "And each with each made covenant over the sacrifice of swine" (*Aeneid* 8.641 [Loeb, 2:102–3]). Others more fitly supposed it is so called from *fides* (as Isidore holds because in a covenant faith intervened, cf. *Etymologiarum* 8.2 [PL 82.296]). Hence Ennius, according to Varro, said *fidus* for *foedus* (*On the Latin Language* 5.86 [Loeb, 1:82–83]); as indeed a covenant is entered into for no other reason than that faith may exist between the parties.

Its different meanings.

VIII. Now there is not the same signification attached to God's covenant in the Scriptures. It denotes properly a pact and agreement entered into between God and man, consisting partly in a stipulation of duty (or of the thing to be done) and partly in the promise of a reward (which is the meaning in Gen. 17:2 where God is said to wish to make a covenant with Abraham). At one time it is taken improperly for a simple promise (as the promise not to destroy the world again by a flood is called a covenant, Gen. 9:9). At another time, it is taken metonymically for the symbols and sacraments of a covenant: as circumcision is called a covenant (Gen. 17);

the eucharistic "cup" is said to be "the new testament in the blood of Christ" (Lk. 22:20), i.e., a sign and seal of it; then for "the tables of the covenant" laid up in the ark (1 K. 8:21); again for the "covenanted people," as the people of God are called "the holy covenant" (Dan. 11:28, 30); and for the Messiah, the foundation of that covenant, in whom it is made with us ("I will give thee for a covenant of the people," Is. 49:8). But we, dismissing the improper significations, attend here to the proper signification, when we dispute concerning the covenant.

IX. Now this covenant is called "the covenant of grace" both causally because it proceeds from grace strictly so called (such as had place towards the sinner, Lk. 1:54, 55, 72, 74; Eph. 1:6; Tit. 3:4) and materially because all things in this covenant are gratuitous and thus even the conditions (Jer. 31; Ezk. 36); and finally because by it God wished to manifest the riches of his grace (Eph. 2:7). It is also called "evangelical" because it is the object of evangelical doctrine (Rom. 1:16, 17); "new" not only because it succeeded the old covenant of works and because in a far more illustrious manner it was renewed in Christ under the New Testament, but also because it is eternal, immutable and never to be abrogated (Heb. 8; Jer. 31, 32).

Why the covenant is called a "promise."

X. Besides these words, the words *epangelias* and *euangeliou* also often occur to designate the covenant of grace. First, it is called *epangelia* (or "promise") indeed by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*); not only because it is of God and not of men, but also because it is the most excellent of all, as being alone saving. Thus it is distinguished from the promise given to Abraham concerning his fleshly seed in Isaac (Rom. 9:9; Gal. 4:23) and concerning the inheritance of the land of Canaan (on that account called "the land of promise," Heb. 11:9) and from all the other earthly promises given to the Israelite people. Yea, it is even distinguished from the promise added to the law concerning the giving of life to the doer (which, the laws having been once violated, became void through the fault of man). It peculiarly denotes the gospel promise concerning the Messiah and the spiritual and eternal benefits to be bestowed by him. "For the promise that he should be the heir of the world, was not through the law" (Rom. 4:13, 14); and "if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise" (Gal.

3:16–18) (to wit, the evangelical). Hence believers, to whom these benefits promised in Christ belong, are called "the sons of promise" (Rom. 9:8) and the Holy Spirit, who is given to us in virtue of that promise and who seals it in our hearts, is called "the Spirit of promise" (Eph. 1:13); yea, also "the promise of the Father" (Acts 1:4). Not only in the singular does the Scripture speak of the promise, but in the plural of "promises" (Gal. 3:16, 21), either to denote its excellency or because once made, it was frequently renewed to the fathers.

XI. Not without reason did the Holy Spirit wish to designate the covenant of grace under the name of "promise," because it rests entirely upon the divine promise. In this it wonderfully differs, not only from all human covenants (which consist of a mutual obligation and stipulation of the parties), but from the covenant of works (which although it also had its own promise on the part of God to the doers and so was founded on the goodness of God, still it required obedience on the part of man that it might be put into execution). But here God wished the whole of this covenant to depend upon his promise, not only with regard to the reward promised by him, but also with regard to the duty demanded from us. Thus God performs here not only his own part, but also ours; and if the covenant is given for the happiness of only the one party, it is guarded and fulfilled by the fidelity of only one party. Hence not only God's blessings fall under the promise, but also man's duty; not only the end, but also the means and conditions leading us to it (as will be shown in the proper place).

Why called evangelium.

XII. Any "good and joyful tidings" whatsoever are called by the Greeks *euangelion* and by the Hebrews *khshrh tvbhh*. Yet that is eminently (*kat' exochēn*) ascribed in Scripture to the news (the most pleasing of all) concerning the happy advent of Christ to the world, the covenant of grace made in him and the salvation obtained through him. It is not, however, used always with the same meaning. Sometimes it denotes (broadly and in general) the gratuitous covenant made in Christ. In this sense, Paul speaking of the ancient people, says, "They have not all obeyed the gospel" (Rom. 10:16); and it is said, "The gospel was preached to them that are dead" (1 Pet. 4:6). Sometimes it is put strictly and in particular either for the promise

and the doctrine concerning Christ about to come (in which sense, Paul says, "The gospel was preached before unto Abraham when the promises were given to him," Gal. 3:8); or more properly for the doctrine of Christ manifested and the fulfillment of all the promises (in which sense it is everywhere used in the New Testament for the doctrine of the mission of Christ or the completed gospel and is opposed to the *epangelia*, which denotes simply the doctrine of the promise of Christ in the Old Testament). It is called the "promised gospel" (Rom 1:1, 2), although this distinction is not perpetual. For as the doctrine of the Old Testament is called "gospel" as well as that of the New Testament (as we have already said), so the doctrine of the New Testament is called no less *epangelia* or "the promise" than that (Gal. 3:14; 2 Tim. 1:1).

XIII. There are many other very emphatic synonymous words used to express this covenant, as "the oath" (Lk. 1:73) because God interposed his oath in this covenant to represent its immutability (which had not been done in the former covenant, Heb. 6:17; 7:21); "the sure mercies promised to David" (Is. 55:3) because founded upon the mere mercy and grace of God and upon no merit in man; "the law of faith" (Rom. 3:27) because in it faith is prescribed to us as a condition of the covenant; "quickening spirit and the ministration of righteousness" (2 Cor. 3:6, 9) because in it the righteousness of ages in Christ is promised to us for justification and the quickening Spirit of Christ for sanctification.

Question Two: The Nature of the Covenant of Grace

Who were the contracting parties; who is the mediator; what are the clauses of the covenant—both on God's part and on man's?

I. As God wished in every age to have a church in which he might dwell and which might cherish communion with him for the fruition of happiness, so it pleased him to institute that communion in no other way than that of a covenant in which there is a mutual approach of the contracting parties to each other and a close and familiar union (which proves on the part of God his wonderful condescension [*synkatabasin*], through which he was willing to let himself down from the incomprehensible splendor of his majesty to

the most miserable state of his creatures; and on the part of man the extraordinary dignity to which the grace of God exalts them, that from the lowest depths of misery they should be admitted to the communion and glory of God blessed forever).

II. Although properly and strictly speaking, there can be no covenant between God and man because there is no room for a contract (which takes place between equals), nor any obligation of God, but a spontaneous communication of himself (as was proved in Part I, Topic VIII, Question 3), still God by singular grace willed to enter into a covenant with man, in the sense of what lawyers call a "quasi-contract."

III. He entered into a twofold covenant with men: first, a legal covenant (or one of works) with innocent man; another of faith and evangelical with fallen and sinful man. By the former, God promised eternal life to the man perfectly fulfilling the law and threatened the sinner with death according to the clauses, "do this and live" and "cursed is he who continueth not." By the latter, he promises to the believer safety in Christ and on account of Christ. The former was made with Adam before the fall and in him with all men (concerning which see Part I, Topic VIII, Question 3). The latter was entered into with the elect in Christ after the fall.

IV. That first covenant having been broken by the fall of man, God might (if he had wished to deal in strict justice with our first parents) immediately after their sin have delivered men over to death and no one could justly have expostulated with him on that account. But it did not please him to use that supreme justice towards the whole human race; rather moved with pity, he devised and instituted a remedy for such great misery by graciously sanctioning a new covenant in Christ, in which we have the method not only of escaping from that misery, but also of attaining unto most perfect happiness. This remedy (or method) justice demanded, wisdom found out and mercy and power procured in Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, our Mediator, the foundation of that covenant.

What is the covenant of grace?

V. This covenant of grace is a gratuitous pact entered into in Christ between God offended and man offending. In it God promises remission of sins and salvation to man gratuitously on account of Christ; man, however, relying

upon the same grace promises faith and obedience. Or it is a gratuitous agreement between God offended and man offending, concerning the bestowal of grace and glory in Christ upon the sinner upon condition of faith. In reference to this, two things must be attended to: (1) its nature; (2) its properties. To understand the nature, four things especially must be explained: (a) who is the author of the covenant; (b) who are the contracting parties; (c) who is the Mediator and what are his offices here; (d) what are the things covenanted or the clauses of the covenant, both on the part of God by the promise and on the part of man by the stipulation of duty.

God, the author of the covenant, moved by his mere good pleasure (eudokia).

VI. (1) The author and principal efficient of this covenant is God, influenced to make it by his mere goodness and free good will (*eudokia*). Hence in Scripture it is everywhere called the "covenant of God" and never the covenant of man for he alone thought about it (man not only not thinking about it, but intent upon everything else, being at enmity with God in mind and in works). He alone had the power, as the supreme Lord and prince, of contracting with the creature and dispensing with that supreme right by which (according to the covenant of works) he could have punished the sinner himself without any hope of pardon. He alone could raise up fallen, lost man and save him by substituting a new covenant in the place of the former. However he is so its author that the glory is to be ascribed wholly to himself alone, nor did any impelling cause out of himself move him to institute it—neither the merit nor the misery of man. For if innocent man could merit nothing with God, how much less the guilty sinner? And if the misery of fallen angels did not impel God to save them, why should the misery of fallen men have the rather impelled him to their redemption? Therefore the good will (*eudokia*) alone of a God of mercy and his gratuitous love was the leading cause (*proēgoumenē*) of that covenant (which Zachariah calls in his song "tender mercy" [*splanchna eleous*, Lk. 1:78] and Paul "the exceeding riches of his grace" [*hyperballonta plouton charitos*], Eph. 2:7).

VII. As this work is eternal, it is common and undivided to the whole Trinity with this distinction, however—that each person has his own proper and peculiar mode of operation here, agreeable to this saving economy (1 Pet. 1:2). God, the Father, concurs in it because he first instituted this method of communicating himself and gave his Son in virtue of that constitution (Jn. 3:16). He invites to communion with him, first by the prophets, then by his Son, finally by his apostles and ministers and sends the Holy Spirit to apply the covenant (Gal. 4:6). God, the Son, both as the cause and foundation of the covenant through his own blood (Mt. 26:28; Eph. 1:3, 4) and as the matter of it (because promised in this covenant and the angel of the same, Mal. 3:1); or internuncio and executor and thus as Mediator between God and men (1 Tim. 2:5; Heb. 9:15) and the surety for men (Heb. 7:22). God, the Spirit, as the cause together with the Father and the Son, and the matter (because promised, Gal. 3:14) and the witness (Rom. 8:16) and the earnest of the heavenly inheritance (Eph. 1:14; 2 Cor. 1:22).

VIII. The instrumental causes are both the word and sacraments and the ministers of each. The word, not of the moral law (to wit, directly and of itself) because it is the ministration of death and the letter killing the sinner (2 Cor. 3:6), but of the gospel, which thence also takes its name because in it is revealed both the grace of God and the righteousness of Christ (Rom. 1:16, 17). The sacraments because on the part of God they are signs representing the substance of the covenant and seals, sealing the same (Rom. 4:11), and moral instruments by which it is applied to us. On our part, however, they are restipulations by which we bind ourselves to God (1 Pet. 3:21) and external marks or symbols of confederation. The ministers are as ambassadors and servants by whom God addresses us and invites us to the covenant (Mt. 23:3; Heb. 1:1) and as legates by whom he authoritatively stipulates with us (2 Cor. 5:20).

The contracting parties: God offended.

IX. The contracting parties or the subject of the covenant are three: God offended, man offending and Christ, the Mediator, reconciling offending man to God offended and angry. God acts here not as in the covenant of nature (inasmuch as he is Creator and Lord) because sin abolished that

natural communion which joined the creature with the Creator; nor inasmuch as he holds a lofty and infinite preeminence (*hyperochēn*) over created things because man (guilty of sin and smitten with a feeling of it) could not have borne so great majesty, much less the angels who are compelled to cover their faces before it (Is. 6:2); nor as legislator and the rigid exactor of moral perfection from him because this could not be expected from a corrupt creature; nor can the sinner approach in any way a most just and holy God except as he is a merciful Father and Redeemer—as offended, indeed, but as to be appeased, who through his love of benevolence wished to reconcile offending men to himself (Rom. 5:8; Eph. 2:4).

Man offending.

X. Man is not viewed here simply as a creature or as an upright and just creature (as in the first covenant), but as an offending sinful creature; as man dead in sin, helpless, a child of wrath, alienated from God and his life; and indeed inasmuch as he is conscious of his own misery, smitten with a sense of it and so legally "heavy laden" (Mt. 11:28). Thus here the relation (*schesis*) of sinner is not simply to be considered, although it is the previous condition required in the object; otherwise this covenant should be extended to each and every sinner. That this cannot be said the thing itself cries out and the decree of reprobation sufficiently proves; but it must necessarily be joined with the relation (*schesei*) of the contrite sinner to believe in virtue of the free election of God.

The Mediator.

XI. Third, Christ, the Mediator, here comes in, reconciling offending man with his offended God. In the first covenant (because there was as yet no variance between God and man), there was also no need of a mediator; but in the latter, it was so necessary on account of the intervention of sin that without him no covenant could exist between God and man: God on account of his own justice not enduring guilty man and man on account of his unrighteousness being unable to approach God. In this the wonderful mercy of God towards man manifests itself, through which he not only

willed to think of entering into a covenant, but even gave a Mediator (without whom it could not have been made). Now this Mediator ought to be God and man, partaking of both: man indeed, that he might suffer and die, because only by suffering and a bloody death could sin be expiated and the sinner restored to favor (Col. 1:20, 22; Heb. 2:14, 15); but God, that his death might have an infinite value, surpassing the measure of a creature, and that having overcome death he might live forever with his people and, standing between both, he might first do in nature what he was bound to effect afterwards in grace.

XII. And it seems superfluous to inquire here whether this covenant was made with Christ as one of the contracting parties and in him with all his seed (as the first covenant had been made with Adam and in Adam with his whole posterity—which pleases many because the promises are said to have been made to him [Gal. 3:16] and because, as the head and prince of his people, he holds the first place among all, so that nothing can be obtained except in him and from him); or whether the covenant was made in Christ with all the seed so that he does not so much hold the relation of a contracting party as of Mediator, who stands between those at variance for the purpose of reconciling them (as seems to others more appropriate). It is superfluous, I say, to dispute about this because it amounts to the same thing. It is certain that a twofold pact must be attended to here or the two parts and degrees of one and the same pact. The former is the agreement between the Father and the Son to carry out the work of redemption. The latter is that which God makes with the elect in Christ, to save them by and on account of Christ under the conditions of faith and repentance. The former was made with the surety and head for the salvation of the members; the latter was made with the members in the head and surety.

The pact between the Father and the Son is proved.

XIII. The pact between the Father and the Son contains the will of the Father giving his Son as a *lytrōtēn* (Redeemer and head of his mystical body) and the will of the Son offering himself as a sponsor for his members to work out that redemption (*apolytrōsin*). For thus the Scriptures represent to us the Father in the economy of salvation as stipulating the obedience of his Son even unto death, and for it promising in return a name above every

name that he might be the head of the elect in glory; the Son as offering himself to do the Father's will, promising a faithful and constant performance of the duty required of him and restipulating the kingdom and glory promised to him. All these things are plainly gathered from the Scriptures.

XIV. Of this agreement express mention is made in Lk. 22:29: "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me." In it the Father is set forth as calling the Son and committing the work of our salvation to him: "Behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth" (Is. 42:1); "I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles" (v. 6). "I give thee for a covenant of the people, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth" (Is. 49:6, 8). This vocation is extended to the three parts of the mediatorial office: to the priesthood (Ps. 110:4); to prophecy (Is. 61:2); to the kingdom (Ps. 2:8). The law of the covenant is established by the Father that he should be a covenant of the people and a light of the Gentiles and lay down his life for the sheep: "This commandment have I received of my Father" (Jn. 10:18). A promise was added to that law by the Father, not only of perfection and help in the execution of duty (Is. 42:6, 7) and of a happy issue of his work by the approval of God (Is. 49:1–6, 8), but also of pay and a reward in spiritual seed and the exaltation granted to him: "When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand" (Is. 53:10). The acceptance on the part of the Son consists in this—that to this will of the Father and law of the covenant he voluntarily submitted himself by becoming surety for us: "A body hast thou prepared for me" (Heb. 10:5), i.e., thou hast devoted me as thy servant, giving me a body by incarnation. "Then said I, Lo, I come to do thy will, O God, it is a pleasure to me, and thy law is in my heart" (Heb. 10:7). Nor did the Son only take this upon himself, but also actually performed it, made of a woman, made under the law (Gal. 4:4). "I have kept my Father's commandments and abide in his love" (Jn. 15:10) and restipulates his own glory and the salvation of his body. "I have glorified thee on the earth: I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do. And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was" (Jn. 17:4, 5); "keep

through thine own name, those whom thou hast given me. Sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth" (vv. 11*, 17).

Three periods of that covenant: (1) In destination.

XV. Now that covenant can be considered in three periods. (1) With regard to destination, when from eternity in the counsel of the most holy Trinity he was given as a sponsor and Mediator to the church. To this those words of the supreme Wisdom refer, who, speaking of herself, says, "I was anointed from everlasting" (Prov. 8:23), i.e., by my own and my Father's will (which is one), I was appointed to perform the office of Mediator in time. Note also the words of Peter when he says that "Christ was foreordained before the foundation of the world" (1 Pet. 1:20); also "I will declare the decree; the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day I have begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for an inheritance" (Ps. 2:7*, 8). Here Christ describes the eternal destination (made in the decree of God) of himself, who is the eternally begotten Son of God and on that account alone capable of undertaking so great an office as King of the whole church.

2. In the promise.

(2) With respect to the promise, while immediately after the fall of man, God (being now offended on account of sin) offered himself for the actual performance of those things which he had promised from eternity; and thus was actually appointed Mediator and declared to be such in the word and according to that suretyship. He began to do many things pertaining to the office of Mediator, whether with regard to prophecy (acting as an interpreter of the divine will, both immediately by himself manifesting himself to the fathers as the angel of the covenant; or mediately by his ministers whom he influenced by his Spirit, 1 Pet. 1:10, 11; 3:19) or with regard to his kingdom (acting as the leader and chief of his people, 1 Cor. 10; Jos. 5:13) or with regard to the priesthood (interceding for his elect in virtue of his future ransom, Job 33:24).

3. In execution.

(3) With regard to the execution, in his incarnation by which he took upon himself our flesh that he might accomplish in it the work of our salvation. The writer of Hebrews refers to this when he institutes an antithesis between the legal sacrifices and the alone most perfect sacrifice of Christ: "Wherefore when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not. Then said I, Lo, I come to do thy will" (10:5, 7*).

XVI. However, as the Mediator stood between the parties at variance, he ought to act with both: on the part of man with God, by the encouragement of all those things which were owed by men; and on the part of God with men, by a solemn promise that all things promised by God would most assuredly be fulfilled. With the offended God, he ought to act for men by making satisfaction for their sins and interceding for them with the Father to obtain the Spirit with his gifts; engaging, as to the past, a full payment of all debts and in fact paying that ransom (*lytron*) by his obedience and death; and as to the future, a sincere and constant keeping of the covenant afterwards, perfecting virtue in them by his Spirit. With offending men, however, on the part of God, as the legate of the Father by declaring his good will concerning their salvation, signifying his mission to the work of redemption, demanding faith in the promises and obedience to his commands as the duties and conditions of the covenant (and in turn promising all the benefits of the covenant), engaging for the absolutely certain bestowal of all those things not only by the word of the gospel and the sacraments, but especially by the pouring out of his own blood, by which he sealed this new covenant before God and by the efficacy of the Holy Spirit, by which he ratified it in us. Thus a twofold obstacle to a covenant had to be removed. On the part of God, his enmity on account of man's sin and on the part of man, his enmity on account of the righteousness of God; God was to be reconciled to man and man to God. Christ effected the former by the merit of his blood, by which he satisfied for us and reconciled God to us; the latter by the efficacy of the Spirit, by which he sanctifies and converts us and by converting, reconciles us to God. And thus he perfectly fulfilled what had to be done either on God's part with us or on man's part with God, unto a full consummation of the covenant of grace.

The things covenanted: on the part of God that he would be our God.

XVII. The things covenanted are either on God's part or man's. On God's part, the promised blessings; on the part of men, the duties prescribed to them. Both are set forth in general or in particular. In general, they are contained in the formula of the covenant in which God promises to be our God and demands that we should be his people. They are expressed indeed in the fewest but weightiest words, embracing whatever is promised by God to man or demanded from man (as will clearly appear from a little more distinct consideration of that formula); as much with regard to the promise of blessing and the testimony of love as with regard to the exaction of worship and duty—two things included here. With regard to the promise, it is such and so great that it is deservedly called the soul and substance of the covenant, the foundation and compendium of all the other promises given to believers in the Scriptures; than which there is nothing higher, fuller, sweeter or more firm. On this account, it is proposed not only once or twice, but most frequently as often as the covenant was either instituted at first or renewed under the Old as well as under the New Testament. It was made at first with Abraham ("I will be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee," Gen. 17:7, 8); confirmed to the people of Israel (Ex. 20:2; 29:45; Dt. 5:2, 3, 6); repeated to the Jews in the Babylonian captivity (Jer. 24:7; 30:22; Ezk. 11:20); reiterated after the captivity (Zech. 13:9); renewed under the New Testament from the prophecy of Jer. 31:33 (cf. 2 Cor. 6:16; Heb. 8:10); which is also to be fulfilled in celestial glory ("Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God," Rev. 21:3). And thus it is the greatest of all the blessings of God to believers in grace as well as in glory. Hence not undeservedly does the psalmist say, "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord" (Ps. 33:12).

What is implied in the promise that God shall be our God.

XVIII. But that the genuine sense of this may be understood, it is not to be taken broadly inasmuch as it signifies the authority, care and dominion of God. For thus he is the God not only of believers, but also of men in general; yea, even of all creatures in respect to creation and government and nothing singular and extraordinary would be promised to his people above other nations. Rather it is to be taken strictly inasmuch as it implies a federal relation and that gracious communion by which God communicates himself to the sinner to bestow upon him immortal life and happiness (as that formula is wont to be explained everywhere). So if he is the God of all providence, he is the God of believers by grace; if the God of creatures in the world by authority and power, he is the God of his people in the church by benevolence and love and by the blessings he bestows upon them.

All saving benefits are included here, but four principally.

XIX. Now although these are innumerable, still they can be referred to these four principal ones. (1) Reconciliation and communion with God by which he is not only at peace with us, but also gives himself to us that ever after he may be ours as much essentially (*ousiōdōs*) (as to his nature and attributes) as hypostatically (*hypostatikōs*) (as to the persons and personal operations). (2) Communion of goods, that all the good things of God and whatever pertain to him may be ours. (3) Conformity to God by a participation of the divine nature and transformation into his image. (4) The constancy and eternity of the love of God and of our union with him. Since these are of great importance in this argument, they ought to be explained a little more fully.

1. Reconciliation and union with God that he may be our God in nature and attributes.

XX. I say that we ought first to mark reconciliation and communion with God because he cannot be called ours except as appeased; and from an angry judge is made a merciful Father who not only deigns liberally to bestow his goods upon us, but gives himself to us that we may be able

afterwards to glory in him as our God and portion (Ps. 16:5; 73:26; 119:57; Hos. 2:23). He gives himself to us as a husband who betrothed us unto himself in eternal mercies (Hos. 2:19; Cant. 2:16); as a father who adopts us into his family (2 Cor. 6:18); as a ruler and king who selects us for his chosen (*periousion*) people, with whom he makes an offensive and defensive covenant that he may protect us with his shield against the assaults of all our enemies. God so gives himself to us as to be ours as to all the attributes (conducing to our advantage and salvation). They are well said to be ours by fruition and use because their salutary effects flow unto us. Ours is the wisdom of God for direction; the power of God for protection; the mercy of God for the remission of sins; the grace of God for sanctification and consolation; the justice of God for the punishment of enemies; the faithfulness of God for the execution of promises; the sufficiency of God for the communication of all manner of happiness. And as sin brought innumerable evils upon us, we find a remedy for all in the divine properties: wisdom heals our ignorance and blindness, grace our guilt, power our weakness, mercy our misery, goodness our wickedness, justice our iniquity, the sufficiency and fulness of God our poverty and indigence, fidelity our inconstancy and fickleness, holiness our impurity and life our death.

In the persons.

XXI. God is ours personally, inasmuch as the individual persons are ours and give themselves to us for accomplishing the work of redemption: the Father electing, the Son redeeming, the Holy Spirit sanctifying. He becomes our Father by adoption when he receives us into his own family and regards, cherishes and loves us as sons (1 Jn. 3:1). The Son becomes ours by suretyship when he offers himself as the surety to make satisfaction for us and as the head, to rule over and quicken us. He becomes ours as a Prophet, revealing salvation by the light of his doctrine; our Priest, who purchases it by his merit; and our King, who applies it (when acquired) by the efficacy of the Spirit. The Holy Spirit becomes ours when he is sent to us and gives himself to us as a sanctifier and consoler that he may dwell in us as his temples and enrich us with his blessings, light, strength, joy, liberty, holiness and happiness. Thus our communion is with the Father and

the Son and the Holy Spirit (1 Jn. 1:3; 2 Cor. 13:14). Hence baptism, which is a seal of the covenant, is administered in their name so that we may be consecrated as sons of God, the Father, as members of the Son and as temples of the Holy Spirit and enjoy the blessings flowing from each person —the mercy of the Father, the grace of the Son and the power of the Holy Spirit.

2. The communication of goods.

XXII. (2) God is ours by reason of the communication of goods. He cannot be our God without all things belonging to him becoming ours; and as all things belong to God, ours also are all things in heaven and on earth: "All things are yours," says Paul, "and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's" (1 Cor. 3:21, 23*). Ours are God's creatures on the earth to serve us; the angels in heaven to guard us (heaven as our native land); the earth as a place of pilgrimage, the world as an inheritance given to us with Abraham (Rom. 4:13). Thus all God's promises are ours—of the present life as well as of the future; and the goods of God are ours—of grace as well as of glory: "The Lord God is a sun and shield: the Lord will give grace and glory: no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly" (Ps. 84:11). A sun of all manner of blessing for the communication of good things; a shield of invincible protection for the repelling of evils, so that we may rightly infer with Paul that nothing can hurt us because God is for us ("If God is for us, who can be against us?" Rom. 8:31); and with David that we shall want nothing because God is our shepherd ("The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want," Ps. 23:1)—because he denies nothing to those who fear him, but grants all things liberally and blesses us with all spiritual blessings (Eph. 1:3). "Christ is all in all" in grace (Col. 3:11); "God will be all in all" in glory (1 Cor. 15:28); "He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son" (Rev. 21:7).

3. Conformity to God.

XXIII. (3) God is ours in respect of conformity. Since he is not satisfied with pouring out upon us the salutary effects of his properties, but wishes further to impress upon us their mark and likeness (as far as a finite creature

can bear it) that we may be "partakers of the divine nature" (2 Pet. 1:4) and be like to it (which is the most perfect mode of communion). As the sun sending its rays into a crystal or any diaphanous body makes it lucent, so as to shine like the sun, thus the Father of lights irradiates us with his light, not only to scatter the darkness of error, vice and misery, but also to communicate his light to us and make us shine like so many suns. Hence it is said "the righteous shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father" (Mt. 13:43). The words of Paul refer to this when he says that "we, with open face beholding as in a glass" of the gospel "the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory" (2 Cor. 3:18); and "we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is" (1 Jn. 3:2), i.e., no communion can be held with God except on the basis of conformity to him. The latter is twofold, both in holiness and moral virtues (that we should be holy, just, patient, merciful and perfect as God is, Mt. 5:48; 1 Pet. 1:15); and in life and happiness (that we may enjoy his immortality and glory —"because I live, ye shall live also," Jn. 14:19); "Thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end. The children of thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before thee" (Ps. 102:27, 28). The invincible argument of Christ belongs here when he demonstrated from the formula of the covenant the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body against the Sadducees because he is called "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" (Mt. 22:32*), even after their death. "God however, is not the God of the dead, but of the living." Two things are necessarily supposed here: first, that this formula of the covenant implies a communication of life and immortality, so that as many as are received into communion of it should be made like to him in this particular—God living forever cannot hold communion with the dead. Hence it was necessary that the patriarchs should always live in some part of themselves, since God calls himself their God even after their death. Second, the covenant was not made with only one part of man, but with the whole man so that the benefits of the covenant ought to pertain to the whole man. Hence follows the necessity of the resurrection of the body, that believers may become partakers in soul and body of life and happiness.

4. Eternity of good things.

XXIV. Now because these good things (although excellent) could not make us perfectly happy (unless perpetuity was added to them), by this very promise God wished to commend the constancy of his love and the eternity of the blessings. Since Jehovah bespeaks eternity in its own conception when he promises to be our God, by that very thing he intimates that he will be ours forever. So that as long as God will be God (and he will be so forever), he will also be our God that we may forever enjoy his communion and happiness. The psalmist declares, "This God is our God for ever and ever" (Ps. 48:14). This is undoubtedly the strongest argument for the consolation and confidence of believers against all temptations and an inviolable support of faith. If God will be ours forever, what further can we fear of evil or expect of good since we shall be conquerors in him forever?

XXV. Moreover, in addition to that general promise contained in the formula of the covenant, many other special promises founded upon and flowing from it are included: such as the bestowal of the Holy Spirit (Ezk. 36:27); the remission of sins (Jer. 31:34); regeneration, designated by the inscription of the law (Jer. 31:33); adoption (2 Cor. 6:18); the taking away of a stony heart and the giving of a new and fleshly heart (Ezk. 36:26); perseverance (Jer. 32:40), the peculiar blessing of this covenant because it ought to be inviolable and eternal; all the spiritual blessings of grace and glory (Gen. 12:3; Gal. 3:8, 9, 14; Acts 3:26; Eph. 1:3). All these are usually designated by the word "salvation," which implies not only the possession of life (which had a place in the first covenant), but also deliverance from death (which had been introduced by sin). This is carried out in four parts, opposed to the same parts of death to which we had become liable by sin: (1) justification, which frees us from the impending curse; (2) sanctification, taking away the defilement and corruption in which we lay dead; (3) consolation and peace of conscience, sustaining us against the afflictions of life and the terrors of conscience (which in Scripture come under the term death); (4) eternal glorification, delivering us safe from eternal death and bringing us to complete happiness.

The duties required of man in the covenant.

XXVI. As that formula of the covenant is mutual with the blessings promised by God to the covenanted (including also the duties required of

man), we must see now what these are. They are set forth in the Scriptures in general and in particular: in general, when God wishes that inasmuch as he promises to be our God, we in turn should be his people—"I will be their God, and they shall be my people" (Jer. 31:33). Here the relation between God and us is designated, implying a mutual exchange of benefits and duties, so that if God is our husband, we should be his chaste and faithful spouse; if he is our Father, we should be sons; if a King and Redeemer, we should be his peculiar people who live as the ransomed of the Lord. However as all God's blessings towards us are comprehended in this one promise alone, so all man's duties towards God are prescribed in this single condition (which indicates together and at once both what they ought to be and what they are bound to do).

What it is to be the people of God: the duties—separation from the world and consecration to God.

XXVII. To be the people of God is not only to be subjected to his dominion and to depend upon and be governed by him (for thus all men universally are his people), but to cleave to him in worship and obedience, so as to be nothing, to have nothing, to be capable of and do nothing which is not of God, i.e., which may be referred to his glory. Thus is designated first, separation from the world and consecration to God—that inasmuch as we are not our own masters, but belong to him who created and redeemed us and gave himself for us, so we should no more live to ourselves, to Satan, to sin and the world, but to him alone. As from him we are what we are, so to him should be referred what we are and are capable of. As God chose us while other men were left, to make a covenant with us and take us to himself for a people, so we (all others being dismissed) are bound to select him alone as our God, to worship and follow him alone (which the Holy Spirit so often urges: Dt. 7:6, 7; 26:17, 18; 1 Cor. 6:19, 20; 2 Cor. 5:14, 15; 6:17, 18; Rom. 14:7–9). Now this consecration ought to be such that we should dedicate ourselves both in body and soul to God as temples and spiritual sacrifices (Rom. 12:1; 1 Cor. 3:16, 17), so that our minds should be God's (to know him), our wills to worship him, our affections to love him, our eyes to contemplate his wonders, our ears to hear his voice, our mouths

to celebrate his glory, our hands to do his work and all our members to be instruments of righteousness unto God for his glory (Rom. 6:13). Thus whatever we have either good or honorable or wise or virtuous ought to be devoted to the glory and worship of God.

Worship and obedience.

XXVIII. (2) Worship and obedience that we should be anxious in worshipping him religiously and alone, so as to do zealously whatever we can either to advance his kingdom or promulgate his truth or defend his good cause or fulfill his commands, that thus we may respond to his call and manifest our gratitude for his benefits. For these things are mutually connected with so indissoluble a bond that they neither can nor ought to be separated. In vain do we hope that God will be our God, unless in turn we are his people and bear witness to the love of the Father, unless we give the obedience of children to him. In vain do we hope that he will bestow the promised blessings, unless we perform the duties required of us.

In faith and repentance.

XXIX. Now these are the two principal duties demanded—faith and repentance. The former embraces the promises; the latter fulfills the commands; the one answers to the promise of grace—"Believe and thou shalt be saved"; the other is commanded by the evangelical law—"Walk before me, and be thou perfect" (Gen. 17:1). For as there are two special benefits of the covenant on God's part (the remission of sins and the writing of the law upon the heart), so on the part of man two duties ought to answer to them—faith, which applies the pardon of sins to itself; and repentance (or the desire of sanctification), which reduces the law written upon the heart to practice by walking in its statutes (which Christ intimates, "Repent ye, and believe the gospel," Mk. 1:15).

XXX. Although these two duties are commanded by God as works due from man, still they are also promised by him as his gifts. Thus they are here to be considered at the same time both as the duties of man and as the blessings of God: "I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes" (Ezk. 36:27). It is the singular privilege of this covenant above

the covenant of nature that the conditions themselves depend upon the grace of God and pass over into promises. This is the reason why it cannot be made void as the first covenant (which was founded upon man's strength), but remains efficacious and eternal. It depends entirely upon God and all things in the covenant are gratuitous (as also the very conditions). What these conditions are and what relation they bear, the following question will teach.

Third Question

Is the covenant of grace conditional and what are its conditions?

Occasion of the question.

I. This question was occasioned in a former age by the controversy about justification against the papists and was agitated among the evangelicals themselves, some of whom denied that the promises of the gospel (or of the covenant of grace) are conditional, while others affirmed that they are; those holding the former position that the law might not be confounded with the gospel and the promises of each; those holding the latter, however, that the necessity of faith and holiness might not be impaired and libertinism introduced. But it is easy to reconcile these views by laying down some distinctions.

Statement of the question.

II. (1) Condition is used either antecedently and *a priori*, for that which has the force of a meritorious and impulsive cause to obtain the benefits of the covenant (the performance of which gives man a right to the reward); or concomitantly and consequently *a posteriori*, for that which has the relation of means and disposition in the subject, required in the covenanted. (2) A condition is either natural, flowing from the strength belonging to nature; or supernatural and divine, depending upon grace. (3) The federal promise is twofold: either concerning the end or the means, i.e., either concerning salvation or concerning faith and repentance (because each is the gift of God). (4) The covenant can be considered either in relation to its institution

by God or in relation to its first application to the believer or in relation to its perfect consummation.

III. These things being laid down, we say first, if the condition is taken antecedently and *a priori* for the meritorious and impulsive cause and for a natural condition, the covenant of grace is rightly denied to be conditioned. It is wholly gratuitous, depending upon the sole good will (*eudokia*) of God and upon no merit of man. Nor can the right to life be founded upon any action of ours, but on the righteousness of Christ alone. But if it is taken consequently and *a posteriori* for the instrumental cause, receptive of the promises of the covenant and for the disposition of the subject, admitted into the fellowship of the covenant (which flows from grace itself), it cannot be denied that the covenant is conditional. (a) It is proposed with an express condition (Jn. 3:16, 36; Rom. 10:9; Acts 8:37; Mk. 16:16 and frequently elsewhere). (b) Unless it was conditional, there would be no place for threatenings in the gospel (which could not be denounced except against those who had neglected the prescribed condition)—for the neglect of faith and obedience cannot be culpable, if not required. (c) Otherwise it would follow that God is bound in this covenant to man and not man to God (which is perfectly absurd and contrary to the nature of all covenants, in which there always is a mutual agreement and a reciprocal obligation because the contracting parties are bound on both sides—as between a husband and wife, a king and his subjects, etc.).

IV. Second, if the promises of the covenant are understood concerning the end, no one can deny that they are conditional because they are always made under the condition of faith and repentance. But if they are taken for the promises concerning the means (to wit, concerning faith and regeneration or repentance), they certainly cannot be conditional, but are simple and absolute because otherwise there would be granted a progression into infinity and the condition of the condition would always be demanded (which is absurd).

V. Third, if the covenant be viewed in relation to the first sanction in Christ, it has no previous condition, but rests upon the grace of God and the merit of Christ alone. But if it is considered in relation to its acceptance and application to the believer, it has faith as a condition (uniting man to Christ and so bringing him into the fellowship of the covenant). If, however, in relation to its consummation with faith (obedience and the desire of

holiness), it has the relation of condition and means because without them no one shall see God.

Source of explanation.

VI. Although the covenant of grace be conditional, the promises of the law and the gospel are not therefore to be confounded. There always remains a manifold difference: (1) in the matter, because the legal condition is an entire and perfect obedience to the law (Rom. 10:5), but the evangelical is faith (Rom. 10:9; Jn. 3:16)—not perfect and free from all blemish, but living and sincere (1 Tim. 1:5; Jam. 2:14); (2) in origin, because the legal condition should be natural, flowing from the strength belonging to nature, but the evangelical is supernatural, depending upon grace. The former is only commanded, but not given or promised; but the latter is both commanded and promised and also given (Jer. 31:33; Jn. 6:45; Eph. 2:8). (3) In the end, the legal condition has the relation of a meritorious cause (at least congruously and improperly) of the promised thing (namely, of life)—"Do this and live." Thus life is granted to him because he has done and on account of his own obedience; but the evangelical condition cannot properly be called the cause of salvation, much less merit, because it is the pure gift (*charisma*) of God (Rom. 6:23). It may only be called an instrument by which the thing promised is apprehended (Acts 26:18; Rom. 5:17) and without which it cannot be obtained (Heb. 11:6).

VII. If the covenant of grace was said to depend upon an unstable human condition, its efficacy and immutability would be overthrown. But because the condition is supernatural and divine (produced by the efficacy of omnipotent grace), so far is it from being weakened by it that on the contrary it is more and more strengthened. According to Paul, "It is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed" (Rom. 4:16). The covenant does not rest upon a condition in us, but upon the mere grace of God and his inviolable faithfulness and the infinite merit of Christ.

VIII. When Christ answers the young man inquiring what he must do to inherit eternal life ("Keep the commandments," Mt. 19:17), he does not mean to teach that the same obedience is demanded in the same manner in both covenants. In his answer to the man, he did not act as an interpreter of

the covenant of grace, but of the Mosaic Law, that he might convict this boastful legalist (wishing to be saved by the law) of his own inability and thus bring him to the Mediator.

IX. Although the covenant of grace is set forth under the notion of a testament (which is suspended upon no condition, in respect to which all the duties of man which have the relation [*schesin*] of conditions are blessings of God, falling under his promises), still this is no reason why it should not also have a federal relation, according to which it is called "a covenant by a testament" (as was said before), and contain conditions on the part of man.

2. Question: What are the conditions in the covenant of grace?

X. Second, here arises the question—What are the conditions in this covenant and under what relation (*schesei*)? Is faith alone to be called the condition of the covenant of grace; or, with it, repentance and the obedience of a new life? And as to faith indeed, the question is not whether it is a condition of this covenant (Scripture so clearly asserting this, Jn. 3:16; Rom. 1:16, 17; 10:9), but (a) What relation does it here hold? (b) Does it alone perform this office?

How faith is a condition.

XI. As to the former, when we say that faith is a condition of the covenant, we do not mean it absolutely and according to its nature and essence. It is contained under obedience as being commanded by the law (just as the other virtues) and so it cannot be contradistinguished from it. Hence it cannot be accepted for righteousness or the obedience of the law because such a judgment would not be in accordance with the truth (since faith is only the smallest part of that righteousness). Rather it must be considered relatively and instrumentally, inasmuch as it embraces Christ and applies to him for righteousness and through him obtains the right to eternal life. First, it is distinguished from the works of the law (which could not be done if it were taken absolutely because thus it is a work of the law). Second, faith (taken instrumentally) can consist only (a) with the grace of God (for which

nothing but a reception is required, which is the proper action of faith, Rom. 5:17; Jn. 1:12); hence Paul says, "It is of faith that it might be by grace"; for all the other virtues seem to give something to God, but this alone is purely receptive—"for by grace are ye saved through faith" (Eph. 2:8); boasting is excluded by the law of faith (Rom. 3:27). (b) Faith can consist only with the condition of sinful man because in the first moment of justification there is nothing in him except faith which can please God. (c) Faith can consist only with the satisfaction and righteousness of the Mediator because he applies that to himself. (d) Faith can consist only with eternal life as the gift and inheritance of God because faith apprehends this in the gospel (Rom. 3:24, 25; 1 Cor. 1:30; Eph. 1:3, 4; 2:8). (e) Faith can consist only with the promises of the gospel, which sets life before man, not as to be acquired (like the law), but as already purchased. Third, Christ is our righteousness (1 Cor. 1:30; 2 Cor. 5:21), in whom we have redemption and life. Therefore it cannot be ascribed to faith materially (inasmuch as it is a work), but instrumentally (inasmuch as it is the hand apprehending).

XII. Now in this covenant faith is opposed to righteousness or obedience, not on this account that they cannot subsist together (since it alone is true faith which is efficacious through love or obedience), but that they cannot stand together causally (since the causality of each is distinguished in its total species—the one meritorious and principal, the other only organic and instrumental). Righteousness gives, faith receives; righteousness consists in the mutual love of God, faith in a persuasion of God's love. Hence what is taken away from the one is ascribed to the other, not by reason of the same causality, but by reason of the effect because faith in the covenant of grace is to us in the place of works, i.e., obtains for us (although in a different genus of cause) what works ought to have done in the covenant of nature.

XIII. That it may be known further how faith has the relation of a condition in this covenant, we must know that faith does not bear this relation except in reference to Christ (inasmuch as it is the means and instrument of our union with Christ which reconciles him to us: "I ascend to my Father and your Father; to my God and your God," Jn. 20:17). Thus we cannot be received into God's covenant except we are united to Christ, who is the foundation of the covenant and the bond of our union with God. However, because it is of great importance for us to know whether our faith

is truly a faith of union, this can be perceived not so much *a priori* as *a posteriori* (from its operations). If it excites in us a fervent love of Christ (Cant. 5:10, 16; Phil. 3:8; Jn. 1:14; 21:15); a burning desire to enjoy him (Pss. 42:1; 84:1, 2; Phil. 1:23); a separation from all things earthly and carnal hindering our union to Christ, such as "the love of sin and of the world" (Hos. 4:8; Rom. 6:2; Mt. 10:37; 1 Jn. 2:15, 16; Jam. 4:4). Hence the gospel merchant sells all things for that most precious union (Mt. 13:46); Moses prefers the reproach of Christ to the treasures and honors of Egypt (Heb. 11:25, 26); the disciples leave all things to follow Christ (Mt. 19:27). It produces a presumption of one's [un] righteousness because "they that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick; and Christ came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance" (Mt. 9:12, 13); unbelief, impenitency, other sins of this kind and works of the flesh are incompatible (*asystata*) with Christ (Rom. 8:1, 10). Especially if it produces two acts following together with that union immediately and necessarily. Hence, on the part of Christ, a sense of his love through the consolation of the Holy Spirit, who, by sealing adoption in our hearts, persuades us that we are the sons of God, heirs of God and fellow-heirs with Christ; that Christ dwells in us and has become ours (Rom. 8:15, 16; 1 Jn. 3:24). On our part, the mutual consent of our love through a desire of sanctification by which as Christ loves us, we in turn love him; as he gives himself for us, we give ourselves entirely to him, so that we no longer live to ourselves, but in the faith of the Son of God who loved us and gave himself for us (Gal. 2:20; 2 Cor. 5:15). The spouse pathetically describes this, "My beloved is mine, and I am his" (Cant. 2:16).

XIV. In order that this consent may be true, it ought not to be a consent concerning the future (such as that of those who put off their conversion from day to day), but concerning the present, so that if today we hear the voice of Christ, we harden not our hearts, but receive the offered grace; not distinguishing between Christ as Redeemer and Lord, as surety and head, between the blessings and duties (as is done by those who willingly embrace the merit of Christ, but are unwilling to be in subjection to his dominion; are willing to enjoy the blessings, but not to be bound to the duties), but joining the whole Christ with his duties and benefits and receiving him not only as a surety, but also as a head; not only for righteousness, but also for sanctification; for a Savior to redeem, but also

for a Lord to govern (and whom we are bound to obey in all things); not exceptive and conditional (such as theirs who consent to Christ and his gospel, but when the cross and persecution come recede and are scandalized), but total and absolute, so that without any limitation we follow Christ in every condition (not only triumphant and glorious in heaven, but also suffering and nailed to the cross on earth) wherever he may lead us, prepared both to live and to die with him. Thus our communion with Christ will be true and saving and with all the blessings of Christ: fellowship in the same Spirit (Rom. 8:9; 1 Cor. 6*:17); "in the same life" (Gal. 2:20); "in the same righteousness" (2 Cor. 5:21; Jer. 23:6); "in the same glory and inheritance" (Jn. 17:21, 24; Rom. 6:8; 8:17). And as we receive the good things of Christ in communion with him, so in turn Christ expects from us love (Jn. 21:17; 1 Pet. 1:8) and subjection (Eph. 5:24; Mt. 11:29; Ps. 2:11; 110:3)—sincere, full and constant.

XV. Thus we have demonstrated how faith is a condition in this covenant. Now we must see whether it performs this office alone or whether other virtues are with it, particularly repentance. Concerning this, the orthodox dispute among themselves—some denying and others affirming. We think the matter may be readily settled by a distinction, if we bear in mind the different senses of a condition. It may be taken either broadly and improperly (for all that man is bound to afford in the covenant of grace) or strictly and properly (for that which has some causality in reference to life and on which not only antecedently, but also causally, eternal life in its own manner depends). If in the latter sense, faith is the sole condition of the covenant because under this condition alone pardon of sins and salvation as well as eternal life are promised (Jn. 3:16, 36; Rom. 10:9). There is no other which could perform that office because there is no other which is receptive of Christ and capable of applying his righteousness. But in the former, there is nothing to hinder repentance and the obedience of the new life from being called a condition because they are reckoned among the duties of the covenant (Jn. 13:17; 2 Cor. 5:17; Rom. 8:13).

XVI. Second, the condition is either antecedent to the acceptance of the covenant (which holds the relation of the cause why we are received into it) or subsequent (holding relation of means and the way by which we go forward to its consummation). In the former sense, faith is the sole

condition of the covenant because it alone embraces Christ with his benefits. But in the latter sense, holiness and obedience can have the relation of a condition because they are the mean and the way by which we arrive at the full possession of the blessings of the covenant. If they do not have causality either with respect to justification (or eternal life flowing from it), still in other respects they pertain to this covenant both as inseparable attendants of true and sincere faith because "faith ought to be effectual through love" (Gal. 5:6), as the qualities of those to be saved (Mt. 5:8; 25:35, 36; Heb. 12:14), as fruits of the Spirit in Christ (Rom. 8:2, 9, 10) and marks of our conformity with Christ (Rom. 6:4, 5; Col. 3:1; Eph. 2:4, 5), as proofs of our gratitude towards God (Tit. 2:14), as testimonies of our sonship (1 Jn. 3:3; Rom. 8:15) and as duties which the rational creature owes to God (Lk. 17:10).

XVII. There is not the same relation of justification and of the covenant through all things. To the former, faith alone concurs, but to the observance of the latter other virtues also are required besides faith. These conduce not only to the acceptance of the covenant, but also to its observance. For these two things ought always to be connected—the acceptance of the covenant and the keeping of it when accepted. Faith accepts by a reception of the promises; obedience keeps by a fulfillment of the commands. "Be ye holy, for I am holy." And yet in this way legal and evangelical obedience are not confounded because the legal is prescribed for the meriting of life, the evangelical, however, only for the possession of it. The former precedes as the cause of life ("Do this and thou shalt live"); the latter follows as its fruit, not that you may live but because you live. The former is not admitted unless it is perfect and absolute; the latter is admitted even if imperfect, provided it be sincere. That is only commanded as man's duty; this is also promised and given as the gift of God.

Fourth Question

How do the covenants of works and of grace agree with and differ from each other?

The covenants of works and of grace agree.

I. The covenants of works and of grace agree in various particulars: (1) in their author, who in each case is God, to whom alone belongs the right of making a covenant with the creature; (2) in the contracting parties, God and man; (3) in the general end, the glory of God; (4) in the extrinsic form, because a restipulation is annexed to each; (5) in the promise, which is life and happiness, heavenly and eternal.

And differ: (1) in the author.

II. But they differ in many more particulars. (1) As to the author, for although God is the author of both covenants, still he must be viewed in different relations (*schesei*): in the first as Creator and Lord, in the second as Redeemer and Father; in the first, he was impelled by love and benevolence towards an innocent creature; in the latter, by special mercy and grace towards a miserable creature.

2. In the contracting parties.

III. (2) As to the contracting parties between whom the covenant was made. For in the first, they were only two (God and man), nor was there any need of a mediator because as yet they were not at variance with each other. In the other (entered into after the fall), a mediator was necessarily required to make peace and reconcile men to God and God to men. On this account, that is called the "covenant of friendship" and this the "covenant of reconciliation" (which supposes a preceding disagreement which ought to be settled).

3. In the foundation.

IV. (3) As to the foundation, the former rested upon man's own obedience and the strength of nature or free will, since man was placed in the hand of his own counsel. But the latter is built upon Christ and his obedience. Hence he is called a "covenant of the people" (Is. 49:8). Nor is man any longer in the hand of his own counsel (placed in which he immediately fell), but in the hand of God, by whose power he is most effectually guarded forever (1 Pet. 1:5).

4. In the promise.

V. (4) As to the promise, not in this—that the former promised only perpetual happiness (but to be enjoyed in paradise) as some hold, not sufficiently considering the nature of that covenant, for heavenly happiness and life was promised no less in the first than in the second covenant (as has been proved in Volume I, Topic VIII, Question 6). Rather the difference consisted in this—that in the first only life was promised, i.e., a state perfected by an accumulation of all blessings; but in this, salvation was promised which (together with life) brings a deliverance from sin and death. The first promised life as a due reward (Rom. 4:4); the other as the gift of God (Rom. 6:23).

5. In the condition.

VI. (5) As to the prescribed condition—in the former, works ("do this and live"); in the latter, faith ("believe and thou shalt be saved"). The former consisted in man's giving a perfect righteousness; the latter in his receiving the infinite righteousness of God. The one was carried out in the court of justice, in which either a sentence of acquittal was pronounced upon the just or a sentence of condemnation upon the sinner (because there was no hope of pardon); the other in the court of mercy, where a sentence of absolution is pronounced upon sinners (but believing and penitent).

VII. Nor can it be objected here that faith was required also in the first covenant and works are not excluded in the second (as was said before). They stand in a far different relation. For in the first covenant, faith was required as a work and a part of the inherent righteousness to which life was promised. But in the second, it is demanded—not as a work on account of which life is given, but as a mere instrument apprehending the righteousness of Christ (on account of which alone salvation is granted to us). In the one, faith was a theological virtue from the strength of nature, terminating on God, the Creator; in the other, faith is an evangelical condition after the manner of supernatural grace, terminating on God, the Redeemer. As to works, they were required in the first as an antecedent condition by way of a cause for acquiring life; but in the second, they are only the subsequent condition as the fruit and effect of the life already

acquired. In the first, they ought to precede the act of justification; in the second, they follow it.

6. In the end.

VIII. (6) As to the end—for the end of the first was the declaration of justice; but of the second, the manifestation of the mercy and exceeding love of God. In that, the strict severity (*to akribodikaion*) of the lawgiver and Judge played its part, by which there was no room for repentance or for pardon. But in this, the forbearance (*epieikeia*) of the Father appears—he opened the way to grace and the salvation of the sinner.

7. In manifestation.

IX. (7) As to manifestation—for as the former was made in the state of nature, so it was known by nature and impressed upon the consciences of men (in which the work of the law was written, Rom. 2:14, 15). But the second, a mystery, is entirely hidden, which reason cannot discover, unless it is made known to us by a supernatural revelation (because it depends upon God's good will [*eudokia*] alone and his most free purpose). Therefore it could become known to no one except by a revelation from God himself. Hence Christ says that flesh and blood could not reveal it, but only the Father who is in heaven (Mt. 16:17). The mysteries of the gospel are said to be "such as eye hath not seen" (1 Cor. 2:9).

8. In order.

X. (8) As to order, the covenant of works precedes and the covenant of grace follows. From this to that, there is granted an appeal from the throne of justice to the throne of mercy. Hence the violator of the covenant of nature has a remedy in the covenant of grace, but the violator of the covenant of grace has no further remedy or hope of pardon because there is no other covenant by which he can be reconciled to God. On this account, the sin against the Holy Ghost is unpardonable because it is committed against the covenant of grace.

9. In extent.

XI. (9) As to extent, the first was universal, made with all men in Adam. Hence there is no mortal who is not by nature under the covenant of works (as each individual bears the work of the law, which is the contract of that covenant, written on his conscience, Rom. 2:14). But the latter is particular, made with the elect alone and those to be saved in Christ (as will hereafter be proved).

10. In effects.

XII. (10) As to effects, the first gave matter for glorying to man when he observed it; but the second excludes all glorying of man because it is founded upon the grace of God alone—"boasting is excluded, not by the law of works, but by the law of faith" (Rom. 3:27). The first after the fall became terrible, striking terror into the conscience; but the latter is gracious and saving. The first genders to bondage, the other to freedom. In the first, God from Mount Ebal thunders curses in the ears of sinners, but in the second as it were from Mount Gerizim blessings are promulgated. The first drives men away from God because by it no one can approach him; but the latter calls men back to God and opens a way to the throne of mercy, coming to which with confidence we can find help in every time of need.

Fifth Question: The Unity of the Covenant of Grace

Was the covenant of grace one and the same as to substance under each dispensation? We affirm against the Socinians, Anabaptists and Remonstrants

I. This most important controversy is waged by us with the ancient and modern Pelagians (to wit, the Socinians, Remonstrants, Anabaptists and others who deny the identity of the gratuitous covenant). They hold that the fathers of the Old Testament were not saved by the gratuitous mercy of God in Christ, the Mediator (God-man, *theanthrōpō*) through faith in him about to come.

Opinion of the Socinians.

II. The Socinians express their opinion in the Racovian Catechism where they assert that in the law of Christ two promises are contained (which were not contained in the law of Moses)—eternal life and the Holy Spirit, "Nowhere will you discover in the law of Moses, either eternal life or the gift of the Spirit promised to those obeying the precepts of the law, as it is evident they are promised in the law given by Christ" (*Racovian Catechism* 5 [1652], p. 113). Socinus clearly confirms this: "We say, therefore, that the new covenant brought most openly to us the promise of eternal life; moreover the promise of remission of sins. Finally the promise to be obtained by all believers, of the Holy Spirit. Since that old covenant wants and wanted all these and proposed earthly happiness, it is easy to recognize the superiority of the new covenant in this respect" (*de Officio Christi*+). Volkelius labors to prove the same thing by various arguments (*De vera Religione* 3.11 [1630], pp. 56–72) and also Smaltzius (*De Divinitate Jesu Christi* 2 and 7 [1608], pp. 3–7 and 25–29). Still they do not deny that the fathers of the Old Testament were saved or would be saved in eternal happiness. "Not to be guilty of dissimulation," says Smaltzius, "we firmly maintain, even if no open promise occurs of eternal life in the old covenant, that it would be given at some time or other to all those, who ever trusted in God and obeyed him" (ibid., 7, p. 27). Volkelius agrees with him (ibid.). Nor do they deny that God pardoned their sins, although he had not promised it nor signified his intention to do so (Socinus, *De Iesu Christo Servatore*, Pt. III. 2 [1594], pp. 228–50; "Tractatus de Justificatione," 3* *Opera Omnia* [1656], 1:604–9), and that the fathers had some knowledge and hope of eternal life, although not promised to them (Smaltzius, *De Divinitate Jesu Christi* 7 [1608], pp. 25–29); that Christ and grace and salvation in Christ had been preached under the Old Testament. Socinus in his *Praelect*.+: "Now it is certain, that Christ not only really was and is our savior, but it was also predicted by the prophets, as we learn, among other passages, from chap. 23 and 33 of Jeremiah." But on this account, they do not hold either that the ancients looked to Christ or were saved in the hope of his coming. The same one: "In this I disagree with you, that you seem to concede, that the pious under the Old Testament, looked to Christ in those ceremonies and sacrifices in which he was typified, and were saved in the

hope of his coming, a thing of which I can in no way persuade myself" (Socinus, "Ad amicos epistolae: ad Matthaeum Radecium," *Opera Omnia* [1656], 1:377). Hence they distinguish between the faith of those times and ours, so that that was a faith in God simply and this a faith also in Christ. Smaltzius: "Nor was that faith in Jesus Christ, but in God and his promises" (*Refutatio Thesium D. Wolfgangi Frantzii*, Disp. 12 [1614], p. 459); and Volkelius holds that the faith of the ancients and ours differs in three things and especially "that now we are commanded to believe as much in Christ as in God; but that formerly such a faith by no means was exercised is evident even from the fact that Christ was not then manifested" (*De vera Religione* 4.3 [1630], p. 176).

Of the Remonstrants.

III. The Remonstrants do not differ from the Socinians. Arminius indeed properly places the agreement of both testaments in the one and same matter of both (to wit, the obedience of faith required in both and the inheritance of eternal life promised through the imputation of the righteousness of faith, and the gracious adoption in Christ) ("Disputation XIII: On the Comparison of the Law and the Gospel," *Works* [1956], 1:539–48). The one object is Christ. The difference is in some accidentals which detract nothing from the substantial unity. But his followers speak differently. The apologists call the question concerning faith in Jesus Christ ("whether and how it had a place under the Old Testament") "absurd, ambiguous and useless and there is certainly no passage where it appears that that faith was commanded or flourished under the Old Testament" ("Apologia pro confessione sive declaratione … Remonstrantes," 7 in Episcopius, *Operum theologicorum* [1665], Pt. II, p. 155). At length they distinguish the manner of revelation (clear or obscure) and say that faith in Jesus Christ was taught in the Old Testament neither openly and directly, but yet indirectly and obscurely comprehended and involved in the faith of the general favor and grace of God. They say the same thing concerning the promise of eternal life: "From this it is easy to gather what must be determined concerning the famous question, did the promise of eternal life have a place in the old covenant or rather was it comprehended in the covenant itself? For if special promises seem to be expressed in that old

covenant, we must confess that no clear promise of eternal life can be found in them. If anyone thinks differently, it is his place to point out where it can be found, which I think cannot be done. But if there seem to be general promises, it must be confessed on the other part that they are such that the promise of eternal life should not only seem to come under, but also by the intention it ought to be believed to have come under them" (Episcopius, "Institutiones theologicae," 3.4.1 *Opera theologica* [1678], p. 156).

Of the Anabaptists.

IV. Many Anabaptists fall into the same error, as is evident from the Frankenthal Colloquy where they speak of the Israelite people as if they were a herd of swine, whom they jestingly say were fattened on this earth by the Lord without any hope of heavenly immortality (*Protocoll ... Frankenthal*, Art. 15, 16 [J. Meier, 1573], pp. 292–335). They maintain that only temporal goods and earthly promises were granted to them. This was also the impious notion of Servetus, against whom Calvin solidly disputes (ICR, 2.10 pp. 428–49).

Statement of the question.

V. From these things the state of the question can clearly be gathered. The question is not: (1) whether the covenant of grace was various as to accidentals and the different modes and degrees of dispensation and manifestation (for we confess that under this relation [*schesei*] there is a multiple difference between the Old and New Testament or the old and new economy, as will be proved in its proper place). Rather the question is whether it was the same as to substance and the essential parts of the covenant, i.e., both as to the covenanted themselves and as to the federal pact consisting in the mutual obligation of the parties. Whether the same Mediator (Christ) in both; the same faith in Christ; promises of the same spiritual and heavenly blessings; the same way of reconciliation and salvation—the economy and administration only of the covenant varying. This our opponents deny; we affirm.

VI. The question is not whether the fathers of the Old Testament were saved, whether their sins were pardoned, whether they had any hope of

eternal life, whether Christ was predicted to them. Most of our adversaries do not dare deny this. Rather the question is whether they looked to Christ and were saved in the hope of his coming. Whether promises not only temporal, but also spiritual and heavenly concerning eternal life and the Holy Spirit were given to them. And whether the same covenant entered into with us in Christ had already been contracted with them, although more obscurely and reservedly. This they deny; we assert. We maintain that Christ was not only predicted but also promised to the fathers and by his grace they were saved under the Old Testament no less than we are saved under the New; nor was any other name given under heaven even from the beginning from which salvation could be hoped for (Acts 4:12) and that too according to the inviolable promise of the gratuitous covenant.

The identity of the covenant is proved: (1) from the Scriptures.

VII. The reasons are: First, in general, the Scriptures teach that the covenant of grace (which God contracted with us in the New Testament) is the same with the covenant previously made with Abraham. Hence Zachariah says in his song, "God visited and redeemed his people, as he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began: to perform the mercy promised to our fathers, and to remember his holy covenant; the oath which he sware to our father Abraham" (Lk. 1:68, 70, 72, 73). And Peter addressing the Jews concerning the days of Christ (which had been predicted by all the prophets) says, "Ye are the children of the prophets, and of the covenant which God made with our fathers, saying unto Abraham, And in thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed" (Acts 3:25). Paul mentions by name the promise of the gospel: "The Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed" (Gal. 3:8). Hence he brings forward the justification of Abraham by faith as an example for us (Rom. 4:3) and exhibits him as "the father of the faithful" to the Jews as well as the Gentiles (which could not have been done if the covenant was not identical). This is confirmed by the fact that he calls the promise given to Abraham "the covenant that was before

confirmed of God in Christ" (*diathēkēn prokekyrōmenēn hypo tou Theou eis Christon*, Gal. 3:17).

2. From the identity of the covenant of grace.

VIII. Second, in particular, from all the parts of the covenant of grace which were the same in both cases. Such is the clause of the covenant that God will be our God and the God of our seed; for as it had already been proposed to Abraham (Gen. 17:7) and renewed to Moses in a vision (Ex. 3:15) and frequently in legislation, confirmed in the captivity and after it (Ezk. 36:28), so no other was proposed in the covenant of grace as the foundation of all blessings, spiritual as well as celestial (Mt. 22:32; 2 Cor. 6:16; Rev. 21:3).

3. From the identity of the Mediator.

IX. Third, the identity of the Mediator (given in the Old and New Testament), the foundation of the covenant. He is the blessed seed of the woman who would bruise the serpent's head (Gen. 3:15 compared with Heb. 2:14 and Rom. 16:20), the seed of Abraham in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed (Gen. 22:18, viz., Christ—cf. Gal. 3:16); in the Old Testament "the angel of Jehovah's presence" (Is. 63:9), "the angel of the covenant" (Mal. 3:1), "a covenant of the people and of the Gentiles," i.e., its Mediator (Is. 42:6; 49:8), who bore the griefs of his people and was smitten for their sins (Is. 53:5, 6). In the New Testament, he is the Mediator between God and men (1 Tim. 2:5); the Mediator of the New Testament and of a better covenant (Heb. 8:6; 9:15); "the same yesterday, today and forever" (Heb. 13:8); by whose grace the fathers, no less than we, were saved (Acts 15:10, 11); to whom all the prophets bore testimony (Acts 10:43); the one sole name given under heaven by which we can be saved (Acts 4:12); the Way, the Truth and the Life, so that no one can come to the Father except by him (Jn. 14:6).

X. The objection to Heb. 13:8 is vain. Christ is said to be "the same yesterday, today and forever," and it is supposed either that it treats of his doctrine, not concerning his person and the covenant made in it. If a doctrine is eternal, therefore also the person who delivers it and the

covenant proposed in it is eternal. Or it is supposed that "yesterday" denotes the day of his flesh before his ascension and "today" the time after his ascension. This is repugnant to the aim of Paul, which is to exhort to constancy of faith, the argument being drawn from the identity and perpetuity of the gospel doctrine, of which Christ as Mediator is the object. Or that by "today" and "yesterday" is denoted a thing new and recent which commenced not very long ago (as men are said to be of "yesterday" in Job 8:9 and among the Greeks *ephēmeroi* ["beings of a day"] on account of the shortness of their lives). The expressions are very dissimilar. To be *mthmvl* ("from yesterday and the day before") depresses human nature. But here Christ is said to have been yesterday and to be today and forever through all the differences of time, to denote his glory and eternity. Nor is he only said to be yesterday, today and forever, but the same, i.e., not different, either now or then or afterwards; but always and everywhere the same Jesus Christ. This could not be said if Christ had not even from the beginning been the Mediator of the covenant of grace and the Prophet and teacher of the church.

XI. Acts 15:11 cannot be understood of the apostles compared with the converted Gentile believers and not with the fathers of the Old Testament (as they maintain). For Peter had spoken proximately of the fathers and so the following words are fitly referred to them—"But we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, we shall be saved, even as they (*kath' hon tropon kakeinoi*)." (2) The design of Peter demands this. He wishes to prove that the yoke of the ceremonial law is not to be placed on the necks of the Gentiles for this reason—that the fathers themselves could not bear it, but were saved by the same grace of Christ as we. (3) If the apostles had wished to join themselves with the Gentiles in the manner of salvation, they would not have said we believe that we are saved even as they; but rather vice versa, they even as we. It did not become the apostles to follow the Gentiles and to set these before themselves as an example in the manner of salvation, but the contrary. (4) Nor is it absurd for Peter (discoursing concerning the manner in which the Gentiles should obtain salvation) to end with an argument taken from the fathers, because there is one method of salvation for all. If the yoke of the law was insufferable (*abastakton*) to the fathers, it is rightly inferred that the Gentiles are not to be subjected to that yoke.

XII. It is also falsely alleged that the words "There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved" (Acts 4:12) refer only to the time in which Christ was manifested and cannot be extended to the past. The words themselves disprove this interpretation. They do not assert that there is now no name given to men whereby they can be saved, but that no name is given among men (*en anthrōpois*) in all time. The thing itself demands this. For since no salvation can be granted to the sinner without a mediator (and there is no mediator except Christ), it follows either that the fathers had no salvation or that they were saved by Christ. Nor if the words are used in the present, are the past or the future excluded; but this is done that the truth of the mediation of Christ may be predicated of all time.

XIII. The words "from the foundation of the world" (*apo katabolēs kosmou*, Rev. 13:8) are not to be separated from those which immediately precede ("the Lamb slain") and to be joined with "the book of life" by transposition (as is the case in Rev. 17:8). (1) There is no necessity for such a transposition doing violence to the series of the discourse, which flows far more smoothly when we thus read—"whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world"—than according to the wish of our opponents—"whose names are written from the foundation of the world in the book of life of the Lamb slain." For as the book of life is said "to be the book of life of the Lamb" (Rev. 21:27), it ought not to be torn away from the words "of the Lamb slain" (*arniou esphagmenou*). (2) "The Lamb slain" is nowhere put by itself, but mention is always made either of the time from which or of the persons for whom (or for what causes) he was slain. (3) It is most properly said "slain from the foundation of the world"; not in himself, but intentionally, in the decree of God; objectively, in the promises of the word and the faith of the fathers; typically, in sacraments and sacrifices. (4) Even granting that the words are to be so explained, the force of the argument is not destroyed because no one can be written in the book of life, except in Christ slain (or in his death).

4. From the identity of condition.

XIV. Fourth, there is in each case the same condition of the covenant (to wit, faith) by which they obtained salvation. It is evident in Abraham, whose faith is said to have been imputed for righteousness (Gen. 15:6) and is proposed to us for an example (Rom. 4:11; Gal. 3:6–8); in David (Ps. 116:10 compared with 2 Cor. 4:13); in the ancient worthies whose faith is celebrated throughout Heb. 11. Here belongs what is said in Hab. 2:4, "The just shall live by faith," where mention is made not only of faith, but also of justification, suspended on faith (Rom. 1:17). Hence Peter testifies, "To Christ give all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins" (Acts 10:43). Nor can it be objected that the faith of the ancients was general in God, not special in Christ (the Savior), because the opposite is evident from many considerations. (a) No faith can be saving unless founded upon Christ. (b) He speaks of the faith by which they looked to God as their God (Heb. 11:16) and to heaven as their native country. Now this cannot be done without Christ. (c) Of the faith by which they looked to Christ himself and preferred his reproach to all treasures (Heb. 11:26). (d) Not only a general but also a special command of faith in Christ is found in the Old Testament (Ex. 23:20, 21; Dt. 18:18, 19; Ps. 2:12; Is. 53:1, 5). If the faith of the ancients were not the same as ours, it would be improperly proposed to us for imitation (Heb. 12:1, 2; Rom. 4:12). Paul could not argue with sufficient strength from the faith of the father of believers and his justification to ours (Gal. 3:6, 7; Rom. 4:16).

5. From the identity of the promises.

XV. Fifth, the same spiritual promises were given to them with us, although often under the shell and veil of temporal things. This is evident (a) in general, as to the promises from Acts 13:32—"we declare unto you glad tidings," says Paul, "the promise made unto the fathers." Hence it is evident that the gospel preached by Paul did not differ from the promises made unto the fathers and on this account the more that Paul (the most faithful herald of the promises) taught nothing other than what Moses and the prophets had taught (Acts 26:22). In particular, certain spiritual blessings are conferred upon believers under the New Testament which had already been promised and given to Abraham (Acts 3:25, 26; Gal. 3:8, 9): as the gift of the Holy

Spirit (Gal. 3:14; Ezk. 36:26, 27); justification and remission of sins (Gen. 15:6; Ps. 32:1; Is. 43:25; Jer. 31:33; Acts 10:43); sanctification (Dt. 30:6; Ezk. 36:26; Ps. 51:12); eternal life, both from the federal promise, in which Christ clearly teaches that eternal life and the resurrection are included (Mt. 22:31, 32), and from the inheritance given to Abraham and his seed, which is no other than eternal life (Gal. 3:18; Heb. 9:15); from the "city which has foundations" and the heavenly country which the fathers waited for (Heb. 11:10); from the life promised to believers (Is. 55:3). Hence Job knows that his Redeemer lives (Job 19:25); David is persuaded of his own resurrection and life (Pss. 16:10; 22:26); Daniel awaits the resurrection to eternal life (12:1, 2).

XVI. It cannot be objected: (1) as to the promises concerning Christ in the Old Testament that they were indeed given to the fathers, but not for the fathers; rather for the believers of the New Testament, as the promises of the calling of the Gentiles were given to the ancients, but only for the times of the New Testament. (a) It is absurd that the prophets should have given such promises to believers and that believers heard them and did not apply them to themselves. For they were oppressed by the same evils as others for whom they are supposed to have been made and equally needed the same remedy. Since they were sent to the ancient people in order to sustain them in the hope of a Messiah about to come and of the salvation to be obtained through him, who does not see that such promises were given to the fathers for their consolation? (b) The promises belonged to them in the same manner as the adoption, glory, the covenants, the giving of the law and the service of God (Rom. 9:4). Now these latter belonged properly to the ancients. (c) If the promises did not pertain to them, they could not and ought not to have applied them to themselves, as was done by Abraham (Gen. 15:6), who also was justified in this way (Rom. 4:4); by Jacob (Gen. 49:18); by David (Pss. 16, 23, 40, 110, 118 and frequently elsewhere); by Isaiah (Is. 9:6—"Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given") and by the whole Israelite church (Is. 53:11); throughout, by Jeremiah (Jer. 23:5, 6; Mic. 5:2). Peter could not have said all the prophets give witness that whosoever "believeth in him shall receive remission of sins" (Acts 10:43), no one either of Old Testament or New Testament believers being excepted; nor Paul that Christ is made a Mediator for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first testament that they which are called

might receive the promise of eternal inheritance. (d) The relation of the calling of the Gentiles (which evidently conduced in no way to the salvation of the Jews) differs from that of the advent of the Messiah and of grace in Christ (without whom no hope of salvation could have shone upon them).

XVII. (2) No better is the objection that the prophecy adduced by Christ in Mt. 22:32 was too obscure to be perceived by believers; or that it is not a general promise of a future life, but a special promise referring to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob by name (as Volkelius says, *De vera Religione* 3.11 [1630], pp. 56–72). Although the promise of eternal life is somewhat obscurely set forth in that prophecy (when compared with the clearness of the New Testament promises), it does not follow that it could not be perceived by the fathers, as far as it could minister to their consolation. Yea, unless it had been an evident and clear proof, the Sadducees would not have held their tongues (which they did not do on account of the authority of the speaker, but from the evidence of reason). Nor can it be called a special grace to the patriarchs, because it is extended to their seed (Gen. 17:7). Otherwise the proof of Christ against the Sadducees would neither have been sufficiently firm, nor could the psalmist call that nation blessed whose God is the Lord (Ps. 33:12).

XVIII. (3) It is added falsely that the fathers are said to have looked for a city having foundations (Heb. 11:16); not because promised to them, but because accommodated to their wishes and suitable to their deeds and because it was credible that God would give it to his worshippers (as the same Volkelius says and the *Racovian Catechism*, "Of Christ's Prophetic Office" [1652], p. 114). For what can be the hope founded upon no word? Yea, since it is proposed as an act of faith, it necessarily supposes and has regard to a promise. Hence they are said to have "died in faith," "to seek and desire a country" (Heb. 11:13, 14, 16). And how can that be sought and desired which is not known, since there is no desire of a thing unknown? Nor is the evanescent and doubtful opinion which the Gentiles (not having hope, Eph. 2:12) could conceive of immortality to be confounded with the sure and infallible hope of eternal life which the fathers had from the word.

XIX. (4) In vain is Job 19:25 said to treat of a temporal deliverance from the troubles which the man of God suffers; and concerning the vision or clearer knowledge of God's power, wisdom and providence (as in Job. 42:5, "Now mine eye seeth thee")—although this is the opinion of the Jews and

also of some Christians. For many things prove that Job looked farther and consoled himself (against his troubles and the preposterous judgments of men about him) by his belief in the resurrection and in eternal life. (a) He expects this benefit from *g'l* (his Redeemer). Now *g'l* is no other than Christ. (b) He expects it at the time of the last judgment for he says, "I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth." (c) He expects it only after his death, after his body had been gnawed and destroyed by worms, since indeed after his skin has been laid aside and his body destroyed by worms, he should be restored entire and in his flesh see God. (d) This vision cannot be referred simply to the knowledge of the power and providence of God (of which he speaks in 42:5). Here Job hears God addressing him directly and experiences his presence nearer than before, exciting in him serious compunction. This would not have consoled him much, nor could it certainly persuade him of his restoration. Nor if it could have persuaded him, could it have begotten in him so much joy and fulness (*plērophorian*) of faith. Therefore it is more properly understood of the beatific vision, by the hope of which he consoled himself in his troubles and through which (secure of eternal salvation) he expected with the utmost certainty his own resurrection.

XX. Not more truly is it contended that Daniel does not treat of the universal resurrection of the dead (Dan. 12:2) because it is referred only to "many." Rather it concerns the restoration of the Jewish people from the terrible calamity they were on the point of suffering under Antiochus, denoted by "that time" (namely concerning which he had spoken thus far, which was the time of Antiochus). (1) The words themselves prove the opposite since they treat of a resurrection properly so called from the dust of the earth and such as will be to everlasting life or to everlasting shame; but a temporal deliverance cannot be said to be to eternal life, since believers are still exposed to death; nor to everlasting shame, since men can repent. (2) It is not necessary that that time mentioned in Dan. 12:1 should be understood of the time in which Antiochus was about to persecute the church most severely. That phrase is often taken without any reference to the preceding (as in Mt. 3:1; 4:1) and the *beth* can mean "after" (as in Jos. 5:5). Thus the meaning is, after that deliverance of the people through the death of Antiochus, another far more illustrious will succeed through Michael (i.e., Christ) so nevertheless that terrible calamities will precede

and then happy resurrection will follow. That time, therefore, which followed the death of Antiochus was the gospel time in which Christ should perform the work of the church's redemption. This is so because first, it is contained in the two advents of Christ; and second, the whole is here comprehended by the Holy Spirit (because he does not give a continuous series of things and times, but only mentions the remarkable changes in the state of the church). Therefore there is denoted here: (a) the time of Christ's first advent and what he would do in favor of his church; (b) the time of the second advent in the resurrection or the completion of happiness (12:2). Now it ought not to seem surprising if a transition is here made from the first to the second coming of Christ and times far distant from each other are connected together on account of their similarity (as in Mt. 24 the destruction of the temple and the world are joined together). Thus the salvation of the church is most properly connected with the last resurrection because in the world all things are confused; nor does the matter of salvation occur anywhere unless we raise our minds there. Moreover the "many" are here put for "all" (as frequently elsewhere).

6. From the identity of the sacraments.

XXI. Sixth, the sacraments (the seals of the covenant) were the same in both testaments as to substance, signifying and sealing Christ and his benefits. It is evident both with respect to the ordinary (to wit, circumcision, which is called a seal of the righteousness of faith [Rom. 4:11] and the Passover, which is fulfilled in Christ [1 Cor. 5:7]); and with respect to the extraordinary (the passage of the sea and the deluge which answer to our baptism [1 Cor. 10:1, 2; 1 Pet. 3:20]; the manna and the water from the rock, answering to the Eucharist [1 Cor. 10:3, 4]). And hence arises the change of names (often occurring here) by which the names of the New are given to the sacraments of the Old Testament and vice versa. To the fathers is ascribed baptism and the feast (1 Cor. 10:1–4); to us circumcision (Col. 2:11, 12), the Passover (1 Cor. 5:7), sacrifices (Heb. 9). This, however, could not be done by enallage (*enallagē*) unless there was a certain identity. Now it cannot be with respect to the sign because the signs are diverse. Therefore it ought to be with respect to the thing signified, which in all the sacraments was always the same (namely Christ with his benefits; in whom

the types and sacraments, no less than the promises, are yea and amen, i.e., obtain their realization and fulfillment).

XXII. Nor is the objection of our opponents to be entertained—that the ancients eat the same food with each other and not with us. This is repugnant to the design of Paul, which is to compare the ancients with Christians and from the examples (both of the sacraments and the benefits bestowed upon them and of the sins and punishment of the Israelites) to argue to a parity of punishments, if they had an equality of sins. Still (1) this argument would have no force if the Israelites were compared only with each other and not with us. (2) It is repugnant to the words of Paul by which he teaches that Christ was even then known to the ancients when he says that the rock which followed them was Christ and that they tempted Christ in the desert (1 Cor. 10:9). (3) In vain would the apostle speak of baptism if it was not true that the sacraments of the Old and New Testaments were the same at least analogically and as to substance.

7. From the use of the law.

XXIII. Seventh, the very law of Moses (under which the fathers were) instructed them concerning the covenant of grace and prepared and stimulated them to embrace it (which could not have been done if the covenant of grace had not already gone into effect). On this account, the law is called a "schoolmaster unto Christ" (Gal. 3:24) and Christ the end of the law (Rom. 10:4). This is readily demonstrated from its three parts: (a) from the moral, because by convincing the fathers of sins committed against the law (Rom. 3:19, 20; Gal. 3:19) and on account of them subjecting them to the divine curse (Gal. 3:10), it excited and stimulated them to seek and embrace the expiation and pardon of sins in Christ (Gal. 3:24); (b) from the forensic, inasmuch as it constituted the polity of the Israelites until Christ (Gen. 49:10) and sealed (as it were) by an impressed mark the nation from which the Messiah was to spring; (c) from the ceremonial, because the ceremonies of the law were types and figures of Christ who was to come, adumbrating his sacrifice for sins and confirming the minds of believers concerning the enjoyment of it (Col. 2:17; Heb. 9 and 10).

Sources of explanation.

XXIV. The gospel (meaning the doctrine of the grace of God in Christ) is used in two ways: either for the gospel promised or *epangelia*; or for *euangelismō* or the gospel completed and manifested. In the former sense, it was under the Old Testament; in the latter only in the New. In this respect, it is said to have been "kept" secret in preceding ages (Rom. 16:25), not absolutely and simply, since in the same book it is said to have been promised and manifested by the prophetic Scripture (Rom. 1:2), but relatively: (1) as to natural knowledge because flesh and blood does not reveal this; (2) as to its promulgation among the Gentiles because God permitted them to walk in their own ways and made known to them nothing about Christ; (3) as to its fulfillment among the Jews because he reserved its fulfillment not for their times, but for ours. The apostle, therefore, does not mean that the gospel was altogether unknown under the Old Testament, but when compared with the light of the New Testament, by which he made it more clearly known and to more persons (Eph. 3:5).

XXV. The "beginning of the gospel," inasmuch as it denotes the gospel history concerning the ministry of John the Baptist and the birth of Christ (in which sense it is spoken of in Mk. 1:1) is one thing. Another is the beginning of the doctrine concerning the grace of God in Christ. In this sense, it did not just then begin in the New Testament, but in the Old Testament it was declared by Moses and the prophets (as in the same place it is confirmed by prophetic testimonies, Mk. 1:2, 3).

XXVI. The Law and the Prophets are said to have "prophesied until John" (Mt. 11:13) as to the manner of dispensation, not as to federal substance, as if the legal covenant only had been in the Old Testament. For the Law and the Prophets with the promulgation of the law always had the promises of grace, but they treat only of the legal and prophetic ministry in opposition to the evangelical, especially as to clearness of manifestation. The ministering persons or things administered are not opposed, but only the different modes in which the same things were administered—before by prophecy (*prophēteian*) or a somewhat obscure mode of teaching, symbolically (namely) and enigmatically; afterwards by the gospel (*euangelismon*), a clear and open mode of teaching. Therefore the thing and

the mode of the thing (*to hon kai to poion*) ought not to be confounded here.

XXVII. It is one thing for the covenant of grace to be renewed and to be set forth in a clearer manner; another for it to be made anew, since it was not before. The former is said (Jer. 31:33), not the latter because the same clause of the covenant had already existed in the covenant with Abraham. Nor is it unusual in Scripture style to speak of a certain thing being made when it is more clearly and efficaciously manifested (as the commandment of love is called "new" [Jn. 13:34; 1 Jn. 2:8], not absolutely, because it had already been proposed in the law, but relatively because inculcated anew, based upon new promises and sanctioned by a new example). Thus "the strength of God is said to be made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor. 12:9), i.e., to be demonstrated as perfect and a friend to be borne in adversity; and the stars are said to rise at the setting of the sun, i.e., to become apparent.

XXVIII. It is one thing not to see Christ exhibited in the flesh; another not to perceive the benefits and fruits of his mediation. Peter says the former was denied to the fathers when he says, Unto them it was revealed that not unto themselves, but unto us they did minister those mysteries (1 Pet. 1:12), because Christ was to be manifested at length in our times, not in theirs. But on that account, the latter was not denied to them because the power of Christ's death, however far distant, could exert its efficacy over them for the expiation of sins and in producing peace of conscience (as moral causes are wont to act before they are).

XXIX. Although God has provided some better thing for us than for the Old Testament fathers (Heb. 11:39, 40), as to the complement of the promises and the manifestation of the Messiah (in which sense the eyes of the disciples are said to be blessed who saw those things which kings desired to see and did not see, Lk. 10:23, 24), it does not follow that they did not have the same substance of the covenant with us since God willed to be their God no less than ours. Therefore it is said "they without us" (i.e., separated from us, *chōris hēmōn*) "should not be made perfect," because they were saved by the same merit, the same righteousness and grace of Christ. But they could be made perfect "before us" in the way of order and of time.

XXX. Although Christ brought life and immortality to light by the gospel (2 Tim. 1:10), it does not follow that it was not absolutely known

under the Old Testament. (1) Paul does not speak of an absolute and simple manifestation among all, but "among the Gentiles." Hence he immediately adds, Whereunto I am appointed a preacher and a teacher of the Gentiles. (2) He teaches (v. 9) that that grace was not new when he says it was given before the world began (*pro chronōn aiōniōn*), both by eternal destination and by temporal promise. (3) He does not speak properly of the promise of eternal life, but of the procurement of it by the actual merit of Christ, which was peculiar to the New Testament.

XXXI. When the apostle says, "The law made nothing perfect" (Heb. 7:19), he does not take the law broadly for the Mosaic economy, as if the ancients were not made perfect under the Old Testament as to the possession of grace and glory. Rather he views the law strictly and in opposition to the gospel because the moral law could neither justify nor sanctify, since it was weak in the flesh (much less ceremonial law).

XXXII. If the same one asserts "that the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing" (Heb. 9:8), he does not mean to deny that the fathers under the Old Testament were received into heaven, which the example of Enoch and the reasoning of Christ (Mt. 22:32) abundantly prove. Rather he wishes to intimate two things: (1) that the ceremonies such as were before appointed by the tabernacle, could not of themselves open a way to heaven on account of their weakness and inefficacy; (2) as long as these ceremonies existed, that approach to heaven (or the method and mode of it) was more obscure and was not so clearly set forth, as was done when Christ appeared and the ceremonies were abolished. Now the consequence does not hold good from a negation of the mode to a negation of the thing. It is one thing not to be in any manner laid open; another not to be clearly and fully revealed. The apostle says this, not that—for to *pephanerōsthai* indicates the full manifestation of a thing (which was denied under the Old Testament).

XXXIII. The old covenant is taken in two ways: either for the covenant of works or the legal covenant strictly understood, made with our first parents before their fall and afterwards renewed in the desert; or for the second covenant, of grace, made with our first parents after the fall and confirmed in the Mosaic economy. The new is taken either in general for the covenant of grace or for the covenant of grace illustrated in the New Testament. Hence a double opposition of the Old and New covenants must

be accurately distinguished: the one by reason of substance, if they are taken in the first sense; the other as to the accidents or the accidental mode of dispensation, if taken with the second meaning. For although as to the shell of the letter, the Mosaic covenant would seem to be legal because only under the condition of one's own obedience (and that too perfect, without any forbearance [*epieikeia*]) did it promise life, still as to the intention of the lawgiver and as to the end of the law again promulgated, it led to the coming Messiah—and so it is rightly said to belong to the covenant of grace. In this sense, the old covenant is called "antiquated" only as to the mode of administration, not as to the thing administered; as to the accidents of the covenant, not as to its substance; as to the external observance of the additions annexed to the covenant, not as to the internal form of the covenant itself.

XXXIV. The "promises of the new covenant" are said to be "more excellent" (Heb. 8:6), relatively, not simply. Not with regard to the substance of the promises, but with regard to the mode both of setting them forth more clearly, of enlarging them and more efficaciously impressing them and of extending them to the Gentiles also. Therefore that preeminence (*hyperochē*) of the New Testament is wholly in the mode, not in the thing, and has relation to the nonessentials (*ta epousiōdē*) and not to the essentials (*ousiōdē*) of the covenant. For more excellent promises as to matter cannot be granted than were made to Abraham, Isaac and the other fathers.

XXXV. It is one thing for "the righteousness of faith now" (i.e., under the gospel economy) to be simply manifested (*phanerōtheisan haplōs*); another to be manifested without law (*phanerōtheisan chōris nomou*) (i.e., by another word than that of the law, namely the word of the gospel). The former is not asserted by Paul (Rom. 3:21), but the latter. He says that righteousness was "witnessed" (*martyroumenēn*) by the law and the prophets. Nor can it be said to be witnessed (*martyroumenēn*) as future, not as present (as destined for the believers under the New Testament) and not for the fathers. Thus it would follow either that no one of the fathers was justified (which the examples of Abraham, David and others prove to be false) or that they were justified in a different way than by the righteousness of faith (as Paul asserts, Rom. 4).

XXXVI. Although Moses was the mediator of the old covenant, Christ is not excluded from this office even in the Old Testament, because Moses was only a typical mediator and a mere messenger between God and his people; but Christ is a real and true peacemaker (*eirēnopoios*), reconciling the Father to us by his merit; the same yesterday, today and forever; in the Old Testament indeed without flesh (*asarkos*), but in the New incarnate (*ensarkos*).

XXXVII. The faith of the fathers was not only "the believing that Christ was to come," but "the believing in Christ who was to come" (Acts 19:4, 5). They could not, however, believe in him except as he was promised (namely as the Messiah and only Savior, out of whom there can be no salvation). Now although Christ did not as yet exist physically as incarnate, still he existed from the beginning morally (with regard to destination and promise as to be incarnate). On that account, by the efficacy of his divinity, he could even then bestow his benefits upon believers. The faith which was to be revealed under the New Testament (Gal. 3:23) was an objective faith. It is believed by reason of clearer manifestation, not subjective by which it is believed.

XXXVIII. As faith and the word are related, the faith in Christ ought to have been such as was the word of the Old Testament concerning Christ. Now the word of the Old Testament teaches Christ and testifies of him (Jn. 5:39), yet it does so somewhat obscurely. On account of the promises and types of him who was about to come, their faith therefore was also in him, but more obscurely and less enlightened. The same thing, therefore, was always known and proposed as the object of faith, but the mode was less clearly discovered before the advent of Christ than after it (as the knowledge of all future things is less evident than the knowledge of the past and the intuition of the present; but the greater degree of light being denied, the lesser is not therefore denied).

XXXIX. The mode of redemption by the death of the Messiah could not have been wholly unknown to the fathers, since it was so often indicated both by verbal oracles and types (real as well as personal); consult the following passages—Pss. 22, 69; Is. 53, 63; Dan. 9:27; Zech. 12:10. Christ himself teaches from the Old Testament that he ought to be manifested and thus to enter into his glory (Lk. 24:26). The same was beheld in the paschal lamb, in each of the two goats (Lev. 16:5ff.) and everywhere in the

sacrifices: all which the fathers must have received without faith and have believed that sins could be expiated by the blood of bulls. Then their faith would have been lower than the light of the pagans themselves, who had no such belief. Or we must maintain that they perceived in these spiritual meaning and that all referred to the Messiah.

XL. If the two disciples at Emmaus were still fascinated with the opinion of a worldly kingdom to be established by Christ on earth (Lk. 24:21) and did not think of the cross on which Christ was to suffer, it does not follow that all believers thought the same or that nothing concerning the death of Christ had been revealed to the fathers. For this was a fault in the subject, not a defect in the object. It had been with sufficient clearness predicted in the Old Testament and taught by Christ, if they had wished to attend to it. Their faith, therefore, could be true as to the object, but still mixed with error; derived not from the Scriptures (according to which he convinces them, Lk. 24:27), but from the erroneous opinion of the Jews concerning an earthly kingdom of Christ (Mt. 20:21).

XLI. If the apostles sometimes imagined for themselves an earthly and carnal kingdom of Christ, it did not proceed so much from ignorance as from blindness (*ablepsias*) and rashness (*propeteias*). On account of this, they either did not always think of this mystery or by various carnal affections were drawn to incorrect views or sometimes said what was far different from what they really knew. In many other cases (from the same cause), they often transgressed what they knew to be their plain duty; as when they wished to repel men asking help from Christ and wanted fire to be sent from heaven upon the Samaritans; when they did not wish to go up to Jerusalem and the like.

XLII. If Peter reprehends Christ speaking of the cross (Mt. 16:22), the cause of this reproof (*epitimēseōs*) was not an absolute ignorance of the mystery of redemption or of his death. For they had heard John testifying that he was the Lamb of God taking away the sin of the world. Christ himself most expressly predicted the destruction of the temple of his body and his remaining until the third day in the sepulcher (Jn. 2:19; Mt. 12:39, 40, besides the oracles of the prophets). Rather it was the ordinary impetuosity (*propeteia*) and zeal (*thermotēs*) of Peter which often impels a man to utter what is foreign to what he has most clearly discovered because at the moment he does not recall it to mind.

XLIII. The amazement and consternation of the disciples is not prejudicial either to the revelation or to the faith and knowledge of others. They did not understand what they could and ought to understand and what the pious before and near them well understood according to the measure of faith (Mt. 26:12). And if the mystery could not then in any way be understood, the disciples did not sin in not understanding it (since no one is bound to such an impossibility, of which nevertheless they were guilty); yet they were frequently severely rebuked by Christ (Mt. 16:23; Lk. 24:25, 26). Nor was there a need for believers to know those mysteries with other eyes than those of faith (with which they saw the body in the shadows, the nucleus and the truth in the prophecies).

XLIV. Although God promised corporeal goods by Moses in the Old Testament, still he did not promise them to the exclusion of spiritual (which are frequently promised—Ex. 34:6, 7; Lev. 26:12, 41, 42, 44; Dt. 18:15ff.; 30:2, 3, 6, 11, 12). Yea, they are embraced with sufficient clearness in the formula of the covenant. Indeed these corporeal goods themselves were the evidences and symbols of the spiritual (Rom. 4:12ff.; 1 Cor. 10:1–3; Heb. 11:8–10). Express mention is made of eternal life (Is. 45:17; Dan. 12:2; Ps. 16:11), although it was neither so clearly revealed, nor to so many as now.

XLV. The gift of the Holy Spirit is promised under the New Testament; not simply, as if it was absolutely wanting in the old church (against the declaration of these passages, Pss. 51:11, 12; 143:10; Is. 44:3; 59:21; Ezk. 36:27; 39:29; Hag. 2:5), but relatively, inasmuch as it was dispensed both more sparingly and to fewer persons and, as it were, drop by drop. Now it flows in great abundance and like a river inundates the whole church (Jn. 7:39). What was visibly begun on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:17, 18) ought to be continued invisibly under the kingdom of Christ even until the consummation of the ages.

Sixth Question: The Extent of the Covenant of Grace

Was the covenant of grace ever universal, either as to presentation or acceptance? We deny

Occasion of the question.

I. This question relates to the object of the covenant of grace, agitated with us by the patrons of universal grace (although in different ways and for a different end). For in order that they may sustain (*diaphylattein*) their thesis (*thesin*) concerning the universality of grace, they are bound to maintain the universality of the covenant by which grace is dispensed. Thus there is no mortal who does not come under that covenant in his measure and with whom it is not made. They draw an argument from the universality of Christ's death, which they place as a foundation under the covenant of grace. For they think Christ died for all that God might obtain the power of contracting a new covenant with the human race.

Opinion of the Remonstrants.

II. The Remonstrants in the declaration of their opinion about this set forth their opinion thus: "Christ by the merit of his death thus far reconciled God, the Father, to the whole human race, that the Father on account of that merit, without injury to his own justice and truth, could and willed to enter into and sanction a new covenant of grace with sinners and men exposed to damnation" (cf. *Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti* (1620), Pt. I, pp. 115–16, on Article 2, "Concerning the Death of Christ"). Now this new covenant, they maintain, was so made with the whole human race that no nation and no individual ought to be said to be excluded from it. "The nations living under the Old Testament, although the covenant was not revealed to them in the same manner as to the Jews, ought not forthwith to be considered as having been absolutely excluded from the covenant, who in some way at least are called that they may seek God. Yea, to them, equally with the Jews, the spiritual gifts of the covenant were exposed, if they would only fulfil the conditions—that they would turn themselves to the God of Israel" (Corvinus, *Defensio Sententiae D. Iacobi Arminii ... adversus ... Tileno* 3 [1615], p. 98). And afterwards: "Although many nations are destitute of the ordinary preaching of the gospel, and, indeed, according to the will of God, still such are not absolutely cut off from the grace of the gospel" (ibid., pp. 105–6). Also: "We willingly grant that no

one as to himself is born absolutely a stranger to the covenant" (Corvinus, *Petri Molinaei novi anatomici* [1632], p. 440).

And of the universalists.

III. Not only the Lutherans agree with them on this point, but also some of our men who hold to universal grace. Testard says, "That covenant God first made with Adam after his fall, and in him with the whole human race to be propagated, then after the flood he renewed with Noah, and in him with the whole human race to be restored, afterwards permitting the nations to walk in their own ways, with Abraham and his family until the kingdom of Christ, when, the distinction between Jews and Greeks being taken away, in the third place, he established it with the whole human race" (*Eirenikon*, Th. 112 [1633], pp. 82–83). On this account, he had said, "God entirely concealed the grace of the new covenant neither from any nation nor indeed from any individual" (ibid., Th. 111, p. 82). And he adds there are three species of calling: the first real, by works, treated of in Ps. 19:1; Mt. 5:45; Acts 14:17; 17:26; the second verbal, by the gospel; the third internal, by the Spirit (ibid., Th. 113, pp. 83–84). No different is Amyrald: "The degree of love and mercy by which God was induced to make such a covenant with sinners, bears upon them all equally. The consequent, therefore, is that it should be considered to have been made with all men" ("Theses Theologicae de Tribus Foederibus Divinis," 34 *Syntagma Thesium Theologicarum* [1664], p. 220).

IV. Now because that covenant can be viewed in two ways (either with regard to its promulgation or external presentation in objective grace; or with regard to its bestowal or internal reception in subjective grace), some maintain that this covenant is universal in both respects. They assert that sufficient objective and subjective grace is given to each and all that they may be saved if they will (as the Socinians and Remonstrants and others who fight along with Pelagianism). However others extend the universality of the covenant only to objective and not to subjective grace (such are some among us who embrace universal grace).

Common opinion of the Reformed.

V. But the common and received opinion among the Reformed is different. They hold to a particularity of the covenant (no less than of saving grace) that although what is extended to many may be called general (especially under the New Testament, the distinction of nations being taken away), still it never was universal with each and all, but particular only with the true elect members of Christ. Further they think that covenant may be regarded in two ways: either as to internal essence; or as to external dispensation. The former answers to the internal calling and the invisible church of the elect (which is constituted by it). The latter, however, answers to the external calling and the visible church of the called. In the latter respect the covenant is regarded only as to promulgation and presentation by the external call; and as to external benefits, which flow from that presentation, in the preaching of the word; the administration of the sacraments and the participation in sacred things (of which as many as in the people or in the church retain the same profession, become partakers; and thus it is extended even to many reprobates who remain in the visible church). In the former respect, it is further extended to the acceptation and conferring and reception of all federal benefits and internal communion with Christ by faith. In this sense, it pertains to none other than the elect, who are really partakers of the covenant according to God's intention, in whom he fulfills the very conditions of the covenant and to whom he not only offers but actually confers the benefits of the covenant. In whatever manner this covenant is regarded, they deny it to be universal, not only as to acceptation and bestowal, but as to promulgation or presentation (which although at one time wider and more general, still never was absolutely universal, nor can be so called).

Statement of the question.

VI. Hence the statement of the question is clearly gathered. (1) The question does not concern the event and the saving fruit of the covenant; whether all will be saved in virtue of the covenant of grace (for they with whom we argue confess that innumerable persons perish and are without the benefits of the covenant). But the question concerns the purpose and intention of God in sanctioning the covenant of grace—whether he regarded each and all (as they hold) or only certain persons (which we maintain). (2)

The question is not whether the call to faith, made by the word, is universal (for our opponents [*hoi ex enantias*] cannot deny that it was particular at least under the Old Testament). But the question is whether there is a real call through the works of nature by which all are summoned to the covenant of grace. This they assert and we deny. (3) The question is not whether without Christ men may ever either be saved or could be saved. For they acknowledge that there is no other means of salvation. Rather the question is whether without a knowledge of Christ adults could obtain salvation. This we deny and they affirm. (4) Finally, the question is not whether God is every day bestowing upon individuals various blessings by which he testifies his goodness and grace to miserable sinners. For this is agreed upon by all. But the question is whether these blessings are saving, flowing from the covenant of grace and the merit of Christ, and are dispensed by God, as Father and Redeemer, with the intention of their salvation. This they assert; we deny. Thus the question returns to this—Is the covenant (made by God in Christ with men) universal and entered into with each and all—first in Adam, then in Noah and lastly in Christ; if not as to the event of the thing, at least as to the destination and intention of God; if not as to the reception and use of objective and subjective grace, at least as to its presentation? They affirm; we deny.

The particularity of the covenant of grace is established: (1) From its destination.

VII. The particularity of the covenant of grace appears from various considerations. (1) From its destination because there was no universal purpose and will in God to pity the whole human race, but a particular will to select and appoint unto salvation a certain number from the common corrupt mass (as has been proved in full, Volume I, Topic IV, Question 17). Therefore, as no such covenant was decided upon in the counsel of God, so neither was it made in time.

2. From its procurement.

VIII. Second, from the procurement because the satisfaction of Christ (which procures this covenant for us and on which as a foundation it rests) was particular, to be made only for those in whose place (according to the ordination of God) he was bound to substitute himself as surety. They were given by the Father to be redeemed as his (the Son's) seed, people and body, sons of promise. He was given by God (as Mediator and head) to obtain redemption for them and according to the ordination of God, he merited not only salvation and glory for them, but also the grace of the Spirit, regeneration and faith (as will be proved in the proper place).

3. From the promises of the covenant.

IX. Third, from the promises of the covenant because to them alone the covenant of grace belongs to whom the promises expressed in it belong. Now they belong not to each and all, but only to the elect and believers, upon whom the blessings comprehended under those promises are conferred. For those promises are absolute, not conditional, springing from the mere grace of God, not depending on any condition in man. This not only the notion of a testament given to that covenant indicates, but also the nature of the promises, which not only concern the end, but also the means and conditions themselves (which thus exclude every condition). And although the promise of the covenant is conditionally proposed and applied to individuals, it does not follow that the promise itself depends upon man's will and so is not absolute. That conditional promise is a consectary of an absolute promise and it is thus commanded as the duty of man that it may be produced at the same time and at once in the elect as the gift of God.

X. To no purpose is the objection made here that the covenant of grace ought to be considered either as absolute upon the performance of the condition or as conditional (i.e., that it regards those from whom a condition not as yet fulfilled is demanded). It is taken for granted that the covenant of grace was also entered into with those from whom God only wishes to demand the condition annexed to it and not to effect it in them. This is repugnant to the nature of the covenant of grace, which differs from the legal; the latter promises life under a condition which it exacts from man, but does not effect in him. The former promises salvation upon condition of faith which it both demands from and works in man (as clearly appears

even from Jer. 31:31–33 where remission of sins and regeneration [or the writing of the law upon the heart] are reckoned as blessings of the covenant). Now although it may be called conditional in a certain sense (inasmuch as it has a condition subordinated to it, although to be absolutely fulfilled by God, by whose intervention the thing promised is granted), still it is properly absolute, both *a priori* (because it has no cause except the perfectly free will of God) and *a posteriori* (because God determined to give to all the elect certainly and infallibly the condition itself without another condition). No one (except absurdly) will say that this can be extended to those whom God hated from eternity and decreed to pass by (by granting them neither his word nor faith, the two means of salvation).

4. From the promulgation of the covenant.

XI. Fourth, from the promulgation of the covenant because that never has been universal (as it ought to have been if the covenant had been universal). How can the covenant be said to have been made with those to whom a knowledge of it has never reached and to whom it was never revealed? Now that not only innumerable persons, but also nations have been without that knowledge, under the Old Testament as under the New Testament is clearer than the noonday sun, since they were destitute of the word, the sole herald of the covenant of grace. As to the Old Testament, who does not know that God restricted this covenant only to the family of Abraham and the Israelite people, all other peoples of the world being excluded (who on that account are called "Lo-ammi, not my people" [Hos. 1:9; Rom. 9:25]; "strangers to the covenants" [Eph. 2:12]; to whom he did not give his statutes as unto Jacob [Ps. 147:19, 20], but whom "he suffered to walk in their own ways" [Acts 14:16]). Now who will say that to such belonged the covenant of grace, which was the peculiar property of the people of Israel? Or that God would have left for so many ages all nations (with the exception of one people) in that thickest darkness in which they lay without any preaching of the word (the only object of faith and means of salvation) if he had willed them to be included under the covenant of grace? On the contrary, does not this dispensation strongly prove that this covenant was so particular to the people of God, as that other nations were excluded from it? And as to the times of the New Testament, although we grant that it has a far greater

extension, being indiscriminately extended to all nations, Gentiles as well as Jews; still it is certain that it never has been universal, so that all without exception are called to the covenant of grace. Innumerable men and peoples exist at the present day who are shrouded in the darkness of paganism, who have never heard anything of Christ and of the covenant of grace: "How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him who has not been preached to them?" (Rom. 10:14).

XII. Futile is the objection to Ps. 147:19, 20 that the words are to be understood, not absolutely (as if the nations were deprived of all revelation from God, since he did not leave himself without witness [*amartyron*] with respect to them, Acts. 14:17), but comparatively because it was not such and so great as he had given to the Jews. Thus the comparison and the antithesis is with respect to the mode rather than the thing; or because to the Jews was given a revelation, attended by the power of the Spirit, which was denied the Gentiles. For (1) whatsoever the revelation of nature may be, it differs not only in degree but in species from the revelation of the word, since it leads to the Creator, but not to the Redeemer. It testifies of the existence, power, wisdom, providence and beneficence of God towards living creatures (*ta biōtika*); but not of saving grace and the good will of God in Christ (which is a mystery hidden from all the past ages). (2) It is taken for granted that a comparison is made between the revelation accompanied by the Spirit and that destitute of him. For it treats of the external revelation of God's statutes made to Israel and absolutely denied to other nations. Thus the distinction is not between the denying or conferring of the Spirit, but in the conferring and denying of an external revelation of objective grace.

XIII. With no greater show of reason is it said that Paul speaks of the Gentiles not absolutely, but as compared with the Jews (Eph. 2:12) and regards them not as they were by nature (guilty of having violated the first or natural covenant alone), but as they are after impenitence, guilty of having despised and most contemptuously rejected kindness. It is clear that the apostle's design is not to compare them with the Jews, but to set forth only what they were absolutely and considered in themselves before the preaching of the gospel. Otherwise what is said in the beginning of the chapter (that they are dead in sins) must also be understood comparatively (which no one will say). It is also gratuitously supposed that before the

gospel was heard, they had contracted the guilt of having violated another covenant than that of nature because as many as are not under grace are under the law and thus under the covenant of works.

XIV. Nor does what is added have any force—if the gospel is not preached everywhere, it is owing to the negligence of men who are wanting in their duty or to the righteous judgment of God, punishing in this way the unbelief of parents who formerly (when it was offered to them) made themselves unworthy of it. For from whatever source the deficiency may arise, it is a fact that the gospel has never been preached to multitudes who, therefore, have no knowledge either of Christ or of the covenant of grace. Now if God seriously intended their salvation, if he willed to extend the covenant of grace to them, why was he unwilling that it should be revealed to them? Why did he not correct the negligence of men, which he undoubtedly foresaw? Again when it is said that God deprives people of the light of the gospel because their parents rendered themselves unworthy of it by their unbelief, two things are assumed which need proof. First, that the gospel has already been offered to all people without exception (which no one would readily say of the inhabitants of the New World). Second, that God willed in this way to punish in the children unbelief of their parents (which can hardly be admitted by those who deny the imputation of sin).

5. From the knowledge of Christ.

XV. Fifth, from the knowledge of Christ because the covenant of grace cannot be extended to those to whom a knowledge of Christ, as Mediator (in whom it was made), has never reached. Such are all those who are destitute of the gospel word, who therefore cannot have faith in Christ, excited by the hearing of the word alone (Rom. 10:17). Nor can it be replied that no one indeed can be saved without Christ; but it does not immediately follow that a knowledge of Christ (at least a distinct knowledge) is necessary to all for salvation. These two things are so connected that they cannot be separated with respect to adults. Christ does not save except as known and apprehended by faith (Is. 53:11; Jn. 6:29, 40; 17:3). Otherwise what need would there be of the gospel, if salvation could reach us without a knowledge of Christ? Nor is this crude doctrine confirmed either by the example of infants, who are saved by Christ without a knowledge of him. It

is clear that they are not capable of having it on account of their age (which cannot be said of adults); or of the believers of the Old Testament, who were saved without at least a distinct knowledge of Christ. Besides being a gratuitous supposition that they were without the knowledge of Christ (the opposite of which was proved in the previous question), the divines with whom we treat do not deny that at least under the New Testament a distinct knowledge of Christ is necessary. And since multitudes still at this day are without it, it cannot be said that they were included in the covenant of grace, which is founded upon Christ.

6. From the sealing of the covenant.

XVI. Sixth, from the sealing of the covenant, which is particular; whether the external by the sacraments (which are the peculiar property of the church) or the internal by the Spirit (Eph. 1:13), given only to the members of Christ. Nor thence can you properly infer—therefore also the covenant belongs to the called who are in the church and not only to the elect. For the offering of the sealing is one thing, the real application of it another. The former is common to all the called; the latter special to believers. So far is the covenant from being sealed for salvation unto unbelievers that on the contrary their own condemnation is sealed because they pronounce judgment upon themselves.

7. From the absurdity of confounding nature with grace.

XVII. Seventh, if each and all are invited to the covenant of grace by a universal call, nature is confounded with grace; knowledge (*to gnōston*) with faith (*tō pistō*); and we must ascribe to the voice of nature and of creatures, the preaching of the divine mercy manifested in Christ alone by the Scriptures. And since universal objective grace is vain and illusory without subjective grace, we must either say that sufficient strength is restored to each and all, by which they can (if they will) obey God and be received into the covenant (which is nothing else than to sacrifice to the idol of free will and wholly to abolish discriminating grace, against Paul; as if

something is or can be in us which is our own [according to Pelagius] and does not proceed from the unmerited grace of God, 1 Cor. 4:7; or that God intends something under an impossible condition which neither man can have of himself, nor does God, who alone can, will to bestow upon him).

Sources of explanation.

XVIII. So far is the first gospel promise (Gen. 3:15) from being universal, that its particularity can be clearly gathered from various considerations. (1) It treats of the "seed of the woman," not simply and in its whole extent (in which sense it denotes men as such), but comparatively and in contradistinction to the seed of the serpent (to wit, those between whom, with the serpent and his seed, there should be enmity), which should bruise the head of the serpent (i.e., would destroy the kingdom and works of the Devil and free us from his power), whose heel only the serpent injures. Now this pertains only to Christ and those "who are Christ's" (Heb. 2:14, 15), to wit, to the seed taken individually and antonomastically, to whom this primarily belongs; secondarily, to the seed taken collectively for his mystical body or believers, "for whom," "in whom" and "by whom" the head of the serpent and after the head, the seed, is bruised or trampled upon by his power. (2) In the New Testament, this is explained of believers to the exclusion of others (Rom. 16:20; 1 Jn. 2:14; 5:4, 18; 2 Cor. 2:14; Heb. 2:14, 15; Rev. 12:11). (3) The wicked are called the seed of the serpent. Therefore they cannot be contained under the seed of the woman. Hence everywhere Scripture calls them "children of the wicked one" (*hyious ponērou*, Jn. 8:44; 1 Jn. 3:8; Acts 13:10); "generation of vipers" (Mt. 3:7); not indeed properly and physically (which does not apply even to the evil spirits themselves, who have no seed), but figuratively and morally, by way of imitation and likeness because they do the works of the Devil and obey him, in whom he powerfully and effectually works (Eph. 2:2), making them like himself both by instilling wickedness and impiety and by inheriting destruction. Now who will say that they are the seed of the woman between whom and him there is a perpetual enmity; who watch for and bruise his heel; and who not only do not bruise the head of the serpent, but in whom the serpent thrusts forth both head and venom?

XIX. Nor can it be replied here: (1) that either all men are the seed of the woman (for although this could be said in a broad sense and physically, still not morally and strictly in contradistinction to the seed of the serpent, as it is here taken); (2) or that the wicked cannot be called the seed of the serpent or the children of the Devil (because from serpents only serpents are procreated)—this is to be understood only figuratively and morally, so that here a conformity, not of species but of wickedness and malediction, is to be attended to; (3) or that it is contrary to the command of Christ and the duty of Christians to exercise enmity against men. This does not terminate upon their persons, but upon the venom; and therefore so far is it from being abhorrent to the disposition of Christians and the command of Christ, that no one can maintain the name of believer and regulate himself by the commands of Christ without hating the evil in the wicked and those in whom it is reduplicatively (as it is in them and as they are such). (4) Or that a victory was indeed prepared by Christ for all, but the incredulity of men prevents their obtaining the fruit of it (namely that all might be united to Christ and enjoy his victory, if they would exercise faith in God, rather than in their enemy). It is absurd to say that a victory is prepared for those who have never heard anything either about the victor or the victory; or its fruit or of the manner of gaining possession of it; yea, could not even hear on account of age. Again, what is it for a victory to be prepared for them under the condition of believing (i.e., of now conquering), since faith is our victory (1 Jn. 5:4)? Third, a victory cannot be said to be prepared for those who do not perceive its fruit, since it has this reference—not only that Christ bruises the head of the serpent for them, but also in them (i.e., that he works faith in them to conquer the Devil). Fourth, it cannot be said that it was permitted them to enjoy the victory, if they had believed. Whatever was about to be depended upon the antecedent decree of God, according to which he selected some from unmerited love and reprobated others by just hatred. Hence they did not make themselves the seed of the serpent through unbelief; but since they already belonged to the seed of the serpent by sin and the decree of reprobation, they made themselves still further such by their actual sins.

XX. Although the promise made to Noah (or the covenant entered into with him, Gen. 6:18) as to the preservation of the world from a flood was universal (extending even to the brutes, Gen. 9:10, 11), it does not follow

that the covenant of grace (renewed with him as to eternal salvation) was of the same extent, since it is expressly limited to the seed, with whom at length Japheth (or his posterity) was to be associated (Gen. 9:26). Ham and Canaan were excluded from it and devoted to destruction (Gen. 9:25). Yea the nations who were to spring from the sons and grandsons of Noah are so separated from each other that many also depart from the church (Gen. 10:11, 12). Nor if the covenant of grace was included and shadowed forth in that general promise, ought it immediately to be universal. Nothing is more frequent than to adumbrate something particular by a universal; for instance, the waters of the flood are the symbol of baptism (1 Pet. 3:21); the first creation, the type of the second.

XXI. All men coming into the world are illuminated by Christ by reason of his divinity (inasmuch as he is the Word and the Son of God) by the light of nature, through the common notions (*koinas ennoias*) and indistinct conceptions (*prolēpseis*), impressed upon them. But the same thing cannot be said of Christ economically considered (inasmuch as he is Mediator and God-man [*theanthrōpos*]) as if he illuminated all by the light of grace. This is the privilege of believers, who are in the church and rejoice in the light of the word and Spirit. Jn. 1:9 treats concerning the former and not the latter relation (*schesei*).

XXII. That is always true which can be affirmed, whether affirmed concerning a fact or not, but only in that sense in which it can be affirmed. But what cannot be affirmed, except on the positing of some condition (which, being denied), is not true. For example, it can indeed be affirmed that the pagans are commanded and bound to believe the gospel, if it were announced to them; but it is not true that they are commanded and bound to believe the gospel, although not announced to them. It can indeed be affirmed that Christ died for them, if the gospel should be announced to them and if on hearing the gospel they would repent and believe, because then they would belong to the elect and the covenanted. But it cannot be affirmed (nor is it true) that Christ died for them, even if they do not believe or repent, or hear the gospel; for then the argument is drawn from the conditional to the absolute.

XXIII. Although he has given various testimonies of his goodness and patience to the pagans (by which they ought to have been excited to glorify him continually as their Creator and to give thanks to him for so many

benefits received), it does not follow that the mercy and placability of God were revealed to them. If any generic and confused knowledge of the divine placability could be held, it is not immediately to be inferred that a distinct and specific knowledge is possessed by them (by which the mind of the sinner can be elevated to a certain and true confidence of the pardon of his sins and of eternal salvation). For without Christ and his satisfaction (which cannot be gathered from the light of nature), it cannot possibly be held. Besides the covenant of grace does not consist only in a revelation of placability, but of actual reconciliation (*katallagēs*) whether made or to be made. Nor is it sufficient for salvation to know that God is placable, unless we know that he had really been appeased or certainly will be.

XXIV. Although God did not leave himself among the Gentiles entirely without proof of his existence, providence and beneficence through the temporal blessings he has bestowed upon them (Acts 14:17), it cannot be lawfully concluded that the knowledge of saving grace was given to them (unless we wish to confound nature with grace and to make fruitful showers and seasons heralds of the gospel, against the testimony of the apostle —"God suffered them to walk in their own ways," to wit, by depriving them of the light of his word and saving knowledge of Christ). Now it is one thing to testify his beneficence and forbearance (*anochēn*) towards men by the giving of bodily goods or by a suspension and delay of merited punishment (arising from the goodness and wisdom of God, the Creator and governor, in the order of nature); another to show his mercy in the remission of sins and the communication of spiritual and eternal goods (which cannot be done without Christ). The former was granted to the Gentiles and not the latter. Our Calvin excellently teaches this on the passage: "We must see," says he, "how these two things agree with each other. For if God testified of himself, he did not suffer, as far as was in his power, the world to err. I answer: this kind of testimony, of which mention is made, was such as could deprive men of excuse, but was not sufficient for salvation. For the expression of the apostle is true, that by faith they understood the world was made by the word of God; and yet a faith derived not from the mere sight of heaven and earth, but from the hearing of the word. Hence it follows that men cannot be brought to a saving knowledge of God, except by guidance of the word. Nor yet does this prevent them from being inexcusable even without the words, who although naturally

deprived of light, still have blinded themselves by their own wickedness" (*Acts of the Apostles* [trans. J.W. Fraser, 1966], 2:13, on Acts 14:17), as Paul teaches in Rom. 1.

XXV. When Paul says, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men … that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him" (Acts 17:26, 27), he intimates indeed that God had so manifested himself in nature by creation and providence and by the various blessings which he continually conferred upon them, that they ought to have been incited to seek (i.e., to know and worship him as their author). But it cannot be concluded that God did this with the design and end that men should seek him savingly (i.e., to fly to him and seek his grace). (1) Such a seeking supposes faith in the seeker (Heb. 11:6), which is not given without the word (Rom. 10:17). (2) It treats of such a seeking which can be made as if by feeling (i.e., in the midst of darkness), which cannot be said of that which is made either by invocation and prayers or with the desire of living holily and uprightly (which is done by the light of faith and of the divine word). (3) Paul accommodates his discourse to those whom he addresses (to wit, the Gentile philosophers—the Stoics and Epicureans—whose questions for the most part concerned the existence and providence of God; nor did they proceed further). He shows therefore that there are so many proofs of the existence and providence of God that he might even be felt by the blind; nor should they any longer refer either to fate or fortune, but regard God alone, the Creator and preserver of the world. (4) The apostle calls that dispensation with respect to the Gentiles "the times of ignorance" (Acts 17:30), which he opposes to the external revelation of the word made in the New Testament (in which he commands all to repent), which could not be said if he had given to them a revelation sufficient for salvation. Nor if he says "God commandeth all men everywhere to repent" does it follow that the call is universal under the New Testament with respect to each and all; no more than when Paul says, "The gospel was preached to every creature which is under heaven" (Col. 1:23) can it be inferred that even then in the time of Paul the gospel was preached to each and all. Thus is intimated only the generality of the call to all people and persons indiscriminately, in opposition to the Old Testament (under which it was restricted to a single nation).

XXVI. The passages of Paul urged here (Rom. 1:19, 20; 2:4) were examined in Volume I, Topic I, Question 4; cf. also Topic IV, "Of Predestination," Question 17, where the various objections belonging here are answered.

XXVII. The covenant of grace ought not to extend as widely as the covenant of nature (although its blessings are enlarged) because grace ought to be compared with the fall; not in extent, as if they were of equal breadth (in which sense all would be saved in Christ even as many as perished in Adam), but in intensity and efficacy. Thus it is true that where sin abounded, there grace much more abounded because it is more to save one than to lose a thousand.

XXVIII. If Adam represented all in the covenant of nature and in his fall, it does not follow that it was equally the case in the restitution and the covenant of grace. The force of the representation ceased in the fall, when he precipitated himself and his posterity into destruction. Hence he does not sustain anymore a public, but a private character and thus the covenant was made with him and his posterity; not all, but with those who belong to Christ and are included under the seed of the woman.

XXIX. The promises of the covenant of grace are not absolutely and simply universal because in the Old Testament they were not promulgated to all (Dt. 7:7, 8; Ps. 147:19, 20; Acts 14:16; 17:30). Nor are they promulgated in the New Testament, since it is plain that the gospel was preached successively and there are still many nations to whom that preaching neither formerly, nor at this day, has reached. Rather the promises are only relatively and limitedly universal from the twofold manner of the divine dispensation; the one external as to obligation (which is extended indiscriminately to classes of individuals, although not to individuals of classes); the other internal (as to application and fruit) with respect to all and each believer, without distinction of nation, sex or age and condition. Hence frequently that universality is restricted to believers from the Jews and Gentiles (Rom. 3:22, 23; 10:12; Acts 10:43; 13:43; Jn. 3:16). And the nature of the promises (which can only be received by faith) demands this (Gal. 3:14; Rom. 4:13). Now all men have not faith (2 Thess. 3:2), but only the elect (Tit. 1:1, 2). And these are the true and proper object of them, who on that account are called "the children of promise" (Rom. 9:6, 7).

XXX. Nor can it be said that the promises are universal of themselves and from the intention of God, inasmuch as God seriously wishes all to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth; but that all do not obtain it, is accidental on account of the wickedness and unbelief of men, who obstinately resist the Holy Spirit and hinder his operation. For it is falsely supposed that God seriously intends the salvation of all; this cannot be said of those whom he reprobated from eternity and to whom he wishes to give neither the gospel nor faith, without which the promise can neither be known nor received. (2) Although it is true that men resist the Holy Spirit and hinder his work, it is no less true that God does not furnish to all that grace by which the resistance of the heart may be taken away; that this is the special gift of God (Mt. 13:11; Rom. 11:7), which destroys the universality of the promise.

XXXI. Although the federal promises are not absolutely universal, the foundation of consolation (and certainty of salvation) is not on that account overthrown as no sure inference can be drawn from a particular. They always have their own universality with respect to all believers. In this respect, an argument can solidly be drawn for the consolation of believers by a practical syllogism (whose major is founded on Scripture and minor is built upon the testimony of the believer's heart) in this way: the gospel promises pertain to each and all believers; now I believe; therefore they pertain to me also. (2) So far is consolation from being strengthened by the absolute universality of promises that it is the rather weakened and diminished. Since on that hypothesis, the promises pertain to believers and unbelievers promiscuously (to those to be saved and to be damned), no solid consolation and assurance of salvation can exist here. For what foundation of consolation can be in that which is common to those who will be saved and to those who will be lost?

XXXII. That Calvin's opinion did not differ from the common and received is most clearly gathered from his various writings. "Now Pighius may vaunt that God willed all to be saved, since not even the external preaching of the doctrine, which is far inferior to the illumination of the Spirit, is common to all" (*Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God* [trans. J.K.S. Reid, 1961], p. 109). "If he wished his will to be known to all, why has he not published his law to the nations; why did he keep the light of life shut up in a narrow place" (ibid., p. 108)? "While I say that

reconciliation is offered to all, I do not mean as if that grace, by which God reconciles the world to himself, has reached all" (ibid., p. 149). And a little after: "Why did he not will the gospel to be preached to all indifferently from the beginning of the world? Why for so many ages has he suffered so many nations to wander in the shades of death?" (ibid.). This then is confirmed: "Now 'God wishes all to be saved' is not to be anxiously disputed because these two things mutually cohere, salvation and the knowledge of the truth; now answer, if God willed to make known his truth to all, why has his pure truth never reached to so many nations from the time that the gospel began to be published? Again why has he not opened the eyes of all equally, when the interior illumination of the Spirit, vouchsafed only to a few, is necessary to faith?" (*Calumniae Nebulonis*, CR 37.293; cf. also ICR, 3.22.2, p. 934 and 3.24.15, pp. 982–83; *The Second Epistle of Paul ... to the Corinthians and ... Timothy* [trans. T.A. Smail, 1964], pp. 205–20 on 1 Tim. 2).

Seventh Question: The Twofold Economy of the Covenant of Grace

Why did God will to dispense the single covenant of grace in different ways? In how many ways was it dispensed? And what was its economy?

I. The substantial unity of the covenant of grace has been proved before. Now its economical diversity is to be explained. For as the manifold (*polypoikilos*) wisdom of God shines forth wonderfully in the works of nature and in their extensive variety, disposition and diverse government; no less (yea, more clearly) does it shine forth in the works of grace and especially in the varied dispensation of the new covenant. It had various forms and as it were faces, on account of the varied economy of the mystery of Christ (who is its foundation), which God so willed to administer as to propose it at first somewhat obscurely and then more clearly; first in the promise and then in the fulfillment. Hence a twofold economy of it was instituted—the one old, which is usually termed that of the Old Testament, which promised Christ about to come; the other, the new, called the New Testament, which announces Christ as manifested and incarnate and dead. In the former, God spoke to the fathers at sundry times and in divers

manners (*polymerōs kai polytropōs*). In the latter, however, he hath spoken unto us by his Son (Heb. 1:2).

Why God dispensed the covenant of grace in divers manners. (1) His mode of acting demanded it.

II. If it is asked, Why did God will to institute such a dispensation of the covenant, the sole will of God can here be abundantly sufficient to bridle curiosity. In the meantime, there are not wanting various wise reasons for this counsel. (1) God's mode of acting seems to demand this. He does not accomplish great things together and at once (which however he might easily do), but successively and by various steps that thus his wisdom and power may be the more clearly perceived. So the covenant of grace (deservedly called the greatest work of God and worthy of the highest admiration) he willed to perfect and promulgate by degrees in order that it might have its beginning and increments before its full consummation should follow. Nor was it agreeable to the wisdom of God that so great light (as is in the gospel) should be poured out together and at once and by one impulse as it were, but by degrees and by strictures; like the sun, which not in one moment, but gradually ascends to the meridian. The apostle teaches this in a few but expressive words when he says, "God at sundry times (*polytropōs*) and in divers manners (*polymerōs*) spake in time past unto the fathers" (Heb. 1:1). The former denotes "the various modes of revelation" under the Old Testament; the latter the different degrees by which he manifested himself unto the fathers.

2. The condition of the church.

III. (2) The condition of the church demanded it. For as he willed to lead it along through various ages, so he determined to deal with it in diverse ways. Therefore while it was in infancy and had not reached maturity, it was to be treated as an infant (Gal. 4:1). Thus God, as it were lisping, gave it the smallest measure of revelation, and kept it under the first elements and rude figures which were afterwards to make way for a fuller revelation, when it had advanced and arrived at adult age.

3. The dignity of the Messiah.

IV. (3) The dignity of the Messiah and the excellence of the work to be accomplished by him. As he (not immediately from the beginning for the weightiest reasons, but at length in the fulness of time) was to be manifested, it was suitable to propose his image beforehand to excite a desire for him and to keep their minds in the desire and expectation of him, lest they might grow weary by too long a delay. It was just to reserve the open declaration of so great a mystery for Christ (the chief Prophet) that he might more clearly explain the distinction between Moses (the servant) and Christ (the Master); between the symbolic teacher (teaching the first elements) and the heavenly teacher (revealing all secrets). Finally, a conviction of man's weakness ought to precede that the necessity of grace and a more ardent desire for the Savior (by whom it was to be brought) might be more clearly known and excited.

4. The nature of things.

V. (4) The nature of the things, for since they were still future and prophecies before their fulfillment are wont to be somewhat obscure (at least as to the manner of fulfillment), it is not to be wondered at that at first they were set forth more obscurely and then more clearly, the nearer the time of fulfillment approached. Thus the light increased more and more. There was a progress in revelation: prophet handed on to prophet, and he received the lamp of the gospel by which the church might be illuminated, adding a new measure of light. The same promises are repeated and illustrated. The more the time of fulfillment presses on, the clearer and fuller they become. Before the law given by Moses, the promise was somewhat obscure; from the giving of the law until the times of the prophets less obscure; from the times of the prophets until John the Baptist, clearer; after the preaching of John clear; after the coming of Christ most clear. Thus from the beginning, the Messiah was promised only as the seed of the woman (Gen. 3:15); afterwards as the son of Abraham (Gen. 12:2); to spring from Judah (Gen. 49:10); and in the tribe of Judah from the family of David (2 S. 7:13, 14). Afterwards various circumstances concerning the condition of his mother were added, that she would be a virgin (Is. 7:14);

concerning the place of his nativity (Mic. 5:2); concerning the time (Dan. 9:24–27); his twofold state of suffering and glory (Is. 53); his forerunner (Mal. 3:1); and other adjuncts which shed more and more light upon the promise.

VI. Nor without a weighty reason was it that this mystery was so much the more obscurely set forth as the times were farther distant from the coming of Christ. (1) It was fitting that the times should be the darker, the farther they were from the rising of the sun of righteousness. (2) The nearer the coming of Christ approached, the more earnestly ought the minds of men to be excited in expectation of him. (3) The nearer the church was to her commencement, the more uninstructed she was and therefore needed to be taught by the ruder elements.

The Old Testament stretches from Adam to Christ.

VII. Further the diversity of that economy is wont to be comprehended in two parts called the Old and New Testament (as was said before). The former extends from Adam to Christ; the latter extends from Christ to the end of the world. Whatever in the dispensation of that covenant was typical (connoting imperfection and the confession of a ransom [*lytrou*] not as yet paid) pertains to the Old Testament. Whatever indicates redemption actually purchased by Christ, that is peculiar to the New. I am aware that a threefold division (*trichotomian*) is more acceptable to some so the administration of the covenant of grace may be considered: (1) under the promise before the law, from the first gospel until Moses (which they hold to have been a promise of mere grace and freedom without any yoke and burden of the accusing law); (2) under the law, from Moses to Christ (where they wish the Old Testament at length to begin whose inheritance was the land of Canaan); (3) under the gospel, where the New begins. But we do not think that the received opinion (which retains the twofold [*dichotomian*] division and designates the first economy before Christ under the notion of the Old Testament) ought to be discarded. In accordance with Scripture usage, the promise is not only referred to the time before the law, but is extended to all the ages following under the law until Christ. This is gathered from the following passages: Acts 2:39; 7:17; 13:32; Lk. 1:72; Rom. 9:4; Eph. 2:12. And the term “Old Testament” is not restricted to the Mosaic economy, but

is extended to the whole dispensation which preceded Christ from the fall of man and the promise given to him (2 Cor. 3:14). Hence Christ is called the Mediator "appointed for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first testament" (Heb. 9:15); not only under the law, but even from the beginning of the world. In Heb. 8:13, the Old Testament is called whatever has "waxed old," not only the ceremonies first introduced by Moses, but sacrifices and circumcision, which prevailed before the law was written.

VIII. If for a peculiar reason the covenant of the Old Testament is sometimes attributed to the Mosaic economy, it does not follow that the Old Testament had then at length begun. The same religion prevailed in both, before and after the law, sacrifices, circumcision and many other things—which constitute the Old Testament. But it was done for the purpose of great confirmation because then the confirmation of the ancient together with the new rites approached a certain form of sacred things. The period was so enriched with that solemn renewal of the covenant (and by many additions) that it was far more perfect and seemed as it were to absorb all that went before. In this sense, circumcision (which was long before Moses) is said to have been given by Moses (Jn. 7:22). Often in Scripture that is said to be made which is renewed and proposed in a more illustrious manner, as was said before concerning the making of a new covenant in the last days. Hence the explanation of the passages Dt. 5:2, 3; Jer. 31:32; Gal. 4:24 is easy. In these texts, the beginning of the covenant (or Old Testament) seems to be made from Moses and the covenant made by him with the Israelites in Horeb. There the reference is not to the thing itself, but only to the mode of the thing; not that it should be denied that God made a covenant with the fathers (which is so often asserted elsewhere; yea, whatever God did to Israel, he did in virtue of the covenant given to the fathers, Ex. 2:24); but only to intimate that it had not as yet been made in this manner and form; and with such an apparatus (by speaking to them from the midst of thunderings and lightnings) giving them a law written with his own hand, with the addition of so many rites.

IX. When Paul says the Old Testament was "dedicated with blood" (Heb. 9:18, 20), he does not wish that its origin should be referred only to the shedding of blood (*haimatekchysian*) spoken of in Ex. 24:6 (as if it was as yet recent). Besides the fact that this consecration could have been

already made by the shedding of blood (*haimatekchysian*) in the patriarchal sacrifices, if it be referred to Ex. 24, it will denote only a solemn dedication, not the first institution, as that also can be said to be *enkainizesthai*, which at length is solemnly dedicated, although the thing itself had existed long before. *Enkainia* can therefore be understood of any dedication, whether the first or repeated (1 Mac. 4*:56*, 59*; Jn. 10:22; Heb. 10:20).

X. If the covenant of grace (contained under the bare promise made to Adam) is said by theologians to have received more federal relation (*schesin*) in the time of Abraham and a more perfect character of a testamentary disposition in the time of Moses, it does not follow from this that the fathers before the law were excluded from the embrace of the Old Testament; or that the Old Testament should be restricted only to the typical promise of the land of Canaan. Rather it means that the progress of the revelation of the covenant of grace may be marked and the infancy and rudiments of that economy (which were before the law) may be distinguished from its more perfect constitution. Although under the Old Testament in a certain period of it the inheritance of the land of Canaan was given to Israel, this does not impair the complete nature of the Old Testament, which embraces whatever was typical and ceremonial in that dispensation even from the very beginning of the world.

The first age of the church from Adam to Abraham.

XI. However, that we may speak distinctly of that twofold economy, the former (that of the Old Testament) may be considered under three periods or stages: from Adam to Abraham; from Abraham to Moses; from Moses to Christ. The first period extends from Adam to Abraham. In this time, the sum of the covenant of grace was contained in the briefest, but still most clear words of the first gospel (*protevangelii*) or first promise: “The seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent” (Gen. 3:15). By this, the faith of the first parents was supported, the substance of the oracle being this—A certain one will at some time arise who will snatch from perdition those with whom God had made a covenant, that he will be bruised by the one through whose deceit they had fallen into this calamity. In this the

wonderful mercy of God shines forth, which willed to propose on the spot the remedy of grace to Adam for healing the wound received from Satan. Thus where the poison of sin grew, there he might meet the antidote (*alexipharmakon*) of grace (which physicians tell us is often observed in nature, especially in a poisonous flower and its antidote placed near each other).

XII. The thing itself strongly proves that this prophecy referred to Christ. Nor will we here waste time on the Vulgate version, which substitutes the feminine pronoun for the masculine, so as by a manifest corruption the passage may be applied to the blessed virgin. Instead of *hv'*, they suggest we should read *hy'* (as with wicked fraud Guido Fabricius Boderianus endeavored to corrupt the passage in the Antwerp interlinear royal copies). The sounder papists themselves pressed by the force of truth have acknowledged it (as Pagninus, Arias Montanus, Vatablus, Isidore Clarius, [Franciscus] Lucas Brugensis and innumerable others). It is evident that this is contrary to the authority of all the approved manuscripts; to the most ancient versions of the Chaldee Paraphrase; of the Septuagint; to grammatical analogy, which cannot allow a feminine relative to be referred to a masculine noun (*zr'*) and to a verb (*thshvphnv*) of the same gender; contrary to the nature of the thing ascribed to this subject, which is such that it altogether surpasses human strength (to wit, the bruising of the serpent's head, i.e., the destruction of Satan's empire), everywhere in Scripture claimed by Christ.

XIII. Therefore by the "seed of the woman" we infer that Christ is antonomastically and principally meant. (1) To him is not opposed another seed as before, but a particular antagonist (namely the serpent) whose head was to be bruised by that seed to intimate a certain particular single combat. (2) The manner of the fight and of the victory is such as can belong to no one except God; a victory over the Devil, who could be overcome neither by man himself (already overcome), nor by an equal angel, but by God alone. (3) The Scriptures refer to Christ the same promise of the blessed seed made to Abraham: "He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ" (Gal. 3:16). (4) The fulfillment of this prophecy is everywhere in the New Testament claimed for Christ (Jn. 12:31; 14:30; Lk. 10:18; Col. 2:15; Heb. 2:14, 15; Rom. 16:20; 1 Jn. 3:8; Rev. 12:8, 9).

XIV. Now Christ is said to be about to bruise "the head of the serpent" inasmuch as he ought to abolish the tyranny and entire power of the Devil given to him through sin (designated by the head of the serpent, as the venom of the serpent is principally in the head and this being wounded and bruised it can injure no more). A symbol of this bruising was that wonderful power granted to the disciples of Christ, of which Luke speaks: "Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall by any means hurt you" (10:19); cf. what is attributed to the pious, "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder" (Ps. 91:13). This however is not accomplished together and at once, but by various degrees. First, "in himself" for us. Then "in us" and by his power through us. "In himself" (1) by his incarnation and death, by which he so most fully satisfied divine justice and expiated our sins as to take away from Satan all right of accusing men afterwards: "Through death he destroyed him that had the power of death" (Heb. 2:14, 15); "He made a show of principalities and powers openly, triumphing over them in the cross" (Col. 2:15); (2) by his resurrection and ascension, in which (as the conqueror of death and the sepulcher) "he led captivity captive" (Eph. 4:8); (3) by the preaching of the gospel, concerning which he says, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven" (Lk. 10:18, 19); (4) by his final advent when Satan and the false prophet are to be cast into the lake of fire and brimstone (Rev. 20:10). "In us" by the operation of the Spirit, by which believers are said to "overcome the wicked one" (1 Jn. 2:14; Rev. 12:11): (a) in calling, by which they are turned from Satan to God, from the power of darkness to the kingdom of light (Acts 26:17, 18; Col. 1:13); (b) in justification and sanctification, which frees us from the guilt and dominion of sin, by which Satan exercised his tyranny over us (Rom. 8:1, 31–33; 1 Jn. 5:18); (c) in the final resurrection and last judgment, by which Satan will be bruised under our feet (Rom. 16:20) and thrown headlong into eternal fire (1 Cor. 15:54, 55; Rev. 20:10, 14; Mt. 25:41).

XV. However, this victory to be gained by Christ over Satan ought not to be bloodless and without a struggle, for his heel was to be bruised by the serpent ("thou shalt bruise his heel"). On both sides, there must be a fight, but very dissimilar. Christ seeks and bruises the head of the serpent, namely overthrows the kingdom of Satan. But the serpent can only reach and bite the heel (i.e., prostrate the humanity and flesh of Christ, by which he trod

the earth, through temptations, persecutions and death); still not with destruction because he soon arose and came forth victorious; so that here the sufferings must necessarily be joined together with the glory about to follow. The same thing is also beheld in believers. God indeed permits that old serpent to bite the heel of believers (i.e., to vex them in body and in the goods of the body by temptations, when he sifts them [Lk. 22:31], by afflictions and crosses [Rev. 2:10; 12:13–15] and by death, as he is a murderer from the beginning); but the heart and head he cannot strike because he has no power over the soul and salvation.

XVI. Although, indeed, it cannot be doubted that Christ is primarily and by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*) to be understood here by "the seed of the woman," yet since the word "seed" is collective, usually embracing not one, but more individuals (and ought to be so taken when referring to the seed of the serpent), we are not to reject the opinion of those who maintain that in the former case it should be taken collectively, so as to be extended to all believers who are Christ's and who have a part in that promise; but nevertheless that in the collection some one may be prominent who is the author of so great a work. Thus the whole church is here included (the head with the members), but with this difference—that to Christ it is attributed primarily and principally; to the others secondarily and dependently; to him primitively and eminently; to the rest participatively and in an inferior degree; to him as the conqueror and leader, by whose power all things are performed; to the rest as soldiers who fight under his standard and whom he called to receive the fruit of victory. This was the opinion of our Calvin with many others who on this account are most unjustly traduced by the Lutherans (as if he Judaized on this subject and overturned that first gospel promise because he takes the seed of the woman, not individually, but collectively). He expressly states that "it is necessary to come to the one Head, that we may discover to whom the victory belongs" (*Commentaries ... on Genesis* [trans. J. King, repr. 1946], 1:170–71 on Gen. 3:15), which he frequently confirms in his *Institutes* (ICR, 1.14.18, pp. 176–78 and 2.13.2, pp. 476–78).

XVII. From all this, we readily gather that the primeval promise given to our first parents (although somewhat obscurely) contained as in a compendium the principal parts of the covenant of grace and of the gospel. Although in those words is not expressly set forth the answer or

restipulation of believers; still they contain a manifestation of the obligation of the worship and obedience to be rendered by them to God, which it also appears was rendered when the name of the Lord is said to have been called upon (Gen. 4:26). Besides, the promise on God's part necessarily demands faith on man's part; hence the faith of Abel, Enoch and Noah is celebrated by Paul (Heb. 11:4–7). Nor did the propitiatory (*hilastika*) sacrifices in those first times offered to God by the pious (not without God's command) have a different reference, since they were offered in faith (which is founded upon the word of God) that they might sustain themselves in the hope of a redemption to come.

The second age, from Abraham to Moses.

XVIII. The second age stretches from Abraham up to Moses, the deliverer of the people and promulgator of the law. In this era, since the recollection of the divine promise was almost obliterated in the minds of men and the contagion of idolatry had contaminated even the holy race of Shem and the family of Terah (Jos. 24:2), God (having selected and called Abraham) renewed the covenant with him and his seed, engaging that the Messiah should be born of his posterity and demanding faith and obedience in turn from him (Gen. 22*:18; 17:1, 2).

XIX. The promise was not only of temporal and earthly blessings, the multiplication of his seed and the rendering his name illustrious and the possession of the land of Canaan; but principally of spiritual and heavenly blessings, included in the benediction pronounced upon Abraham—"In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed" (Gen. 12:3). "In thee," i.e., "in thy seed," as it is explained in Gen. 22:18 and 26:4. Now this benediction embraces all kinds of salutary goods (Eph. 1:3) (as the malediction opposed to it included every kind of evil). That it is evangelical, both the nature of the thing itself proves and the voice of the apostle teaches, when he refers it (1) to justification—"The Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed" (Gal. 3:8*); and "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ" (Gal. 3:13, 14); (2) to adoption—"If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs

according to the promise" (Gal. 3:29) and "We, as Isaac was, are the children of promise" (Gal. 4:28); (3) to conversion—"Ye are the children of the prophets, and of the covenant which God made with our fathers, saying unto Abraham, And in thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed. Unto you first God, having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities" (Acts 3:25, 26*); (4) to the promise of the Spirit (Gal. 3:14); (5) to glorification; hence it is said the Gentiles will sit down with Abraham in the kingdom of heaven (Mt. 8:11; Lk. 16:23) and the elect are called "blessed of the Father" (Mt. 25:34).

XX. The seed on whom that blessing should be conferred is not the natural only, but the mystical and blessed seed (namely, Christ) according to the apostle: "To Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ" (Gal. 3:16). And the thing itself necessarily demands this because the seed is such as that in it all the families of the earth should be blessed and Abraham become the father of many nations (which cannot be said of Isaac, but only of Christ). Such a seed that "faith in it should be imputed for righteousness" (Gen. 15:6), i.e., bring with it justification, which is fulfilled only in Christ ("in whom the promises are yea and Amen," 2 Cor. 1:20). In Christ, therefore, the nations were to be blessed both "by and on account of him" who acquired that blessing by his merit; and "in him and with him," i.e., in virtue of the mystical union which believers have with him, so that the unity of the seed may be marked, not strictly of the person, but of a certain mystical body, united by faith under Christ, the head, from whom the remaining members are denominated.

XXI. Finally the federal promise (in which all the rest are contained) is that "God would be a God unto him, and to his seed after him" (Gen. 17:7), concerning the meaning and extent of which we have already spoken. Moreover God was not content with expressing that promise in words, but wished to give it additional confirmation in multiple ways, so that its immutability might be declared (Gal. 3:15, 17). Now there was a threefold ratification (*kyrōsis*). The first by the solemn rites of those entering into covenant in the dissection of animals and the passing between them (Gen. 15:10–18), which we are taught was the customary manner of making covenants (Jer. 34:18). The second, by the sacrament of circumcision added

to the promise (Gen. 17:9–14). The third, by a solemn oath "wherein God, willing more abundantly to show unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath" (Heb. 6:17, 18 with Gen. 22:16).

XXII. Conditions of the covenant are also proposed. First, faith by which he is said to have "believed in the Lord" (Gen. 15:6). Second, conversion and the desire of sanctification: "Walk before me and be thou perfect" (Gen. 17:1). Both of these is sealed and taught in the sacrament of circumcision and wonderfully exerted their power in the father of believers. (a) Faith, when he embraced the promise concerning the seed (Gen. 12:4–6); expected from him all good times, not only temporal, but especially spiritual and eternal (which therefore was justifying faith). Its virtue was increased by the circumstances that he believed things so difficult and almost incredible: the possession of a land held by a most powerful nation, while he was a single individual; offspring, himself and Sarah being now stricken in years; the blessing of all nations in his seed, yet never seen by him; the strength of this faith Paul graphically describes (Rom. 4:18–21). (b) His obedience was remarkable in two things: [1] in going out from the house of his father and from his own country, not knowing whither he went (Heb. 11:8); this is the highest glory of obedience to follow God calling and leading, to go whither you know not and when you are ignorant as to whether it will be well or evil with you. [2] In the "offering up of his son" (Heb. 11:17; Gen. 22:2), the greatest and most grievous trial of all; not only to lose an innocent, beloved and only son, but to kill and butcher him with his own hands, so that he who had been a father in giving life, should become a murderer (*homicida*) to take it away. And that promptly and without delay, the knife being passed through each member, to tear him to pieces after the manner of a sacrifice and to offer him as a whole burnt offering, so that he might be entirely consumed; and that too after the thing had been premeditated, three whole days being occupied with such thoughts. It seemed a sacrilege rather than a sacred thing, contrary to all divine and human law, against the light and influence of nature itself, against the promise given concerning the blessed and blessing seed, and thus against the eternal faith and salvation of Abraham and all the covenanted. And yet he obeyed and was prepared from faith in the resurrection of the dead to offer even such a son (Heb. 11:19), which

remarkable obedience obtained for him the name of "friend of God" (Is. 41:8; Jam. 2:23).

XXIII. There was a manifold difference between the economy of this age and the preceding. The former is more properly called by the name of promise, the subsequent by the name of covenant. For in this the condition of obedience is perspicuously and expressly set forth, which in that was only implicitly contained. The one had indeed sacrificial rites, but the other was sealed by the sacrament of circumcision as by a peculiar seal. The former was proposed to the human race in common and indefinitely; the latter was particularly restricted to Abraham and his posterity. In the former, the promises were not so clear, nor was there such an express mention made of the calling of the Gentiles, nor anyone proposed as the father of the covenanted (who moreover is called the heir of the world [Rom. 4:13*, 16, 17] because he had as his own sons the world, i.e., all nations, to whom the blessing was to come).

The third age, from Moses to Christ.

XXIV. The third age of the church and of the Old Testament economy extends from Moses to Christ or from the promulgation of the law in the desert until the manifestation of the Messiah. In this interval of time, the appearance of things was far different. Then was the Israelite republic reared by Moses for whose benefit the covenant of grace had not only the relation of promise and covenant, but a more perfect and testamentary form which was ratified by the blood of victims (Ex. 24:6–8), as the symbol of the blood of Christ (Mt. 26:28). Before, the covenant had been restricted to certain persons and families only; but by Moses it was enlarged both objectively (since it was established with an entire and numerous nation) and subjectively, on the part of the covenant itself ratified by many solemnities, not only with the Passover and other sacraments, but with very many other things—especially with sacrifices (figures of the death of Christ) and new prophecies coming in concerning Christ to be revealed in his own time. Thus after the seed of Abraham grew up into an entire nation, God most clearly manifested himself to it in the deliverance from Egypt; not only as *'l shdy* (Gen. 17:1, i.e., as omnipotent and self-sufficient) that no one might doubt concerning the fulfillment of his promises; but also as *yhvh*

(Ex. 6:2, 3), who, with eternity and immutability of essence, would maintain constancy and fidelity in carrying out his promise concerning the deliverance of the people from the Egyptian captivity (which subsisted with the fulfillment itself).

The author of the promulgation of the law.

XXV. In this interval, the law was promulgated. Its author was God, that one lawgiver, who can save and destroy (Jam. 4:12), who has the right of dominion over the conscience and who by taking Israel for a people to himself, in a special manner proved himself to be their God; and indeed the whole sacred Trinity in the one Godhead of which we are bound to acknowledge and worship an equal majesty and glory; but in a peculiar manner the Son, as the leader and governor of the people. For the same angel who appeared to Moses in the burning bush, afterwards gave him the law (Acts 7:38). That he was not a created angel clearly appears from his speaking in the person of Jehovah (which belongs to no angel or delegate) when he calls himself the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. And such things are ascribed to him as cannot be said of a created angel (as that he should not be provoked, for he will not pardon) since the name of God is in him (Ex. 23:20, 21). Hence he is elsewhere called "the angel of his presence" by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*, Is. 63:9), and "of the covenant" (Mal. 3:1) and for this cause the Israelites are said to have tempted Christ (1 Cor. 10:9, to wit, that angel in the pillar of cloud and fire).

Angel ministers.

XXVI. The less principal or instrumental causes were created angels (as stipulators) who attended the supreme lawgiver for his greater glory as witnesses of all the things done and as ministers, by whose intervention not only the thunders and lightnings and those terrible signs which attended the promulgation of the law were produced, but also the voice of God speaking was put into an intelligible form. In this sense, the law is called "the word spoken by angels" (*logos lalētheis di' angelōn*, Heb. 2:2). It is said to have been "ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator" (*diatageis di' angelōn*

en cheiri mesitou, Gal. 3:19), i.e., commanded, digested, enacted and promulgated by the ministry of angels. To this the words of Stephen refer where he asserts that the Israelites received the law "by the disposition of angels" (*eis diatagas angelōn*, Acts 7:53) whether by *diatagas* are understood (with some) bands disposed in military order of angels attending their commander (which seems to be meant when it is said, "Jehovah came from Sinai, he came with ten thousand of saints," Dt. 33:2); or (as others hold) *diatagē* is put here for a "command," "ordination" and "sanction" (as in Rom. 13:2). Thus the sense is, the law was received at the regulations of angels, to whom, as ministers and heralds, the Son of God had committed its promulgation. To these, however, Moses (an external and visible minister) was added, who as to the external dispensation could bear the relation of mediator, but such as would be only typical, as the redemption (*lytrōtēs*) was typical (Acts 7:35), as a servant in the house of God (Heb. 3:2, 5) and a mere ambassador between God and the people (Dt. 5:31).

Manner of giving the law.

XXVII. The manner of giving the law was majestic and terrible, not only on account of the barriers placed around the mountain (that free access should be given to no one)—the punishment of death was denounced upon him who should attempt to ascend the mountain or to touch it (Ex. 19:13)—but also from the horrible signs and prodigies which attended the presence of God on the mount (Ex. 19:16–19; Heb. 12:18, 19), by which not only the people but Moses himself trembled all over and openly acknowledged that he exceedingly feared and quaked (*ekphobon kai entromon*, Heb. 12:21). This intended nothing else than to indicate the tremendous majesty of the lawgiver and to designate the nature of the law, by which no approach unto God can be given to the sinner; yea, it is nothing else from itself than a minister of death and condemnation.

Whether the decalogue is the covenant of grace.

XXVIII. And hence we can clearly gather what is to be determined about a question here agitated by some—whether the decalogue promulgated on Mount Sinai contained nothing except the covenant of grace and its pure

stipulation. For since from what has already been said, it is evident that the manner of this lawgiving (*nomothesias*) was terrific, smiting with fear their consciences and by the severity of its threatenings removing them from the sight of God, everyone sees that this was not the manner (*schēma*) or the genius of the covenant of grace (which exhibits God to us as appeased and recalls sinners to itself by the sweetness of its promises). Besides, the law (contained in the decalogue) is of natural right, founded on the justice of God; while the covenant of grace is of positive and free right, founded on his good pleasure (*eudokia*) and mercy. The latter sets forth a surety, promises remission of sins and salvation in his satisfaction; not only demands but also effects obedience. But in the decalogue, no mention either of a surety or promise of salvation to be given to sinners occurs; but a bare promise of life to those doing and a threatening of death to transgressors. Hence the law of works (comprised in the decalogue) is everywhere contradistinguished by Paul from the law of faith and the promise of grace (Rom. 3:27; Gal. 3:17, 18) for as the law is not of faith (Gal. 3:12), so neither is faith of the law. So great is the contrariety between these two means that they are wholly incompatible (*asystata*) with each other.

XXIX. This we do not say, as if we wished either to deny that the covenant of grace had then been made with the Israelites (which is expressly taught in Dt. 5:2 and is easily inferred, both from its sanction given in Ex. 19:5 and from its solemn confirmation and ratification alluded to in Ex. 24:8, 9 where mention is made of the sprinkling of the blood of victims and the approach of the elders to God). Or as if we supposed the decalogue had nothing in common with the covenant of grace and was nothing else than the covenant of works itself, renewed for the purpose of recalling the people to it, that they might seek life from it. For since the law was made weak in the flesh after sin (Rom. 8:3), the way to life by it became altogether impossible for man. Hence Paul testifies that the law was not given that it might give life (Gal. 3:21) or that the promise first given might be abrogated (Gal. 3:17), but "on account of transgressions," that sin being uncovered by it, the necessity of grace might be the more clearly seen.

XXX. Thus it is rightly said that the decalogue belonged to the covenant of grace; yea, in a measure flowed from it inasmuch as it was promulgated from the counsel of God that it might serve him—both antecedently as a

schoolmaster, by convincing of sin, bringing to it men smitten with fear of death and despairing of themselves; and consequently as a rule, prescribing the measure of obedience and holiness demanded by God in the covenant of grace. Thus God willed that there should be in the decalogue various connections with the covenant of grace to recall the people to it, in order that from a knowledge of their own weakness and the terrible denunciation of death, they might not wholly despair of the grace of God. Even the preface (in which he professes himself to be the God of his people, who led them out of Egyptian bondage) and the promises annexed to the second and fifth precept, teach this with sufficient clearness.

XXXI. Meanwhile it pleased God to administer the covenant of grace in this period under a rigid legal economy—both on account of the condition of the people still in infancy and on account of the putting off of the advent of Christ and the satisfaction to be rendered by him. A twofold relation (*schesis*) ought always to obtain: the one legal, more severe, through which by a new promulgation of the law and of the covenant of works, with an intolerable yoke of ceremonies, he wished to set forth what men owed and what was to be expected by them on account of duty unperformed. In this respect, the law is called the letter that kills (2 Cor. 3:6) and the handwriting which was contrary to us (Col. 2:14), because by it men professed themselves guilty and children of death, the declaration being written by their own blood in circumcision and by the blood of victims. The other relation was evangelical, sweeter, inasmuch as "the law was a schoolmaster unto Christ" (Gal. 3:24) and contained "the shadow of things to come" (Heb. 10:1), whose body and express image is in Christ. Hence, as much of trouble and vexation as that economy brought in its former relation (*schesin*), so much of consolation and of joy it conferred in the latter upon pious men attending to it and seeking under that bark and veil the spiritual and evangelical truth (which the Holy Spirit taught them by a clearer revelation). God supplied more and greater helps according to the time, not only by promises and oracles often repeated, but also by more expressive types and more perfect shadows and figures, in which they had a more exact delineation of the thing itself and a more accurate picture (*programma*) of Christ crucified before their eyes as it were in types.

The twofold economy of the covenant under the Old Testament: (1) external, its matter and form.

XXXII. According to that twofold relation, the administration can be viewed either as to the external economy of legal teaching or as to the internal truth of the gospel promise lying under it. The matter of that external economy was the threefold law—moral, ceremonial and forensic. The first was fundamental; the remaining appendices of it. The form was the pact added to that external dispensation, which on the part of God was the promise of the land of Canaan and of rest and happiness in it; and, under the image of each, of heaven and the rest (*sabbatismou*) in him (Heb. 4:3, 9); or of eternal life according to the clause, "Do this and live." On the part of the people, it was a stipulation of obedience to the whole law or righteousness both perfect (Dt. 27:26; Gal. 3:10) and personal and justification by it (Rom. 2:13). But this stipulation in the Israelite covenant was only accidental, since it was added only in order that man by its weakness (*adynamian*) might be led to reject his own righteousness and to embrace another's, latent under the law.

The end.

XXXIII. The end of that economy (by way of negation [*kat' arsin*]) was not the justification of man. By reason of the moral law, they could easily know their own sins, by which they became guilty (Rom. 3:20); the irritation of their lusts (Rom. 7:7); the impossibility of fulfilling the moral law (Rom. 8:3); the curse of the law, which it denounced against the least transgression (Gal. 3:10). By reason of the ceremonial law, they knew that the end of that economy was not the justification of man (1) from the nature of the ceremonies, which was wholly worldly and carnal, having nothing in common with the conscience; (2) from their repetition and iteration, such as the justification which consists in not remembering of sins (Heb. 8:12); (3) from their condition, both because they were mutable, which would not have been the case if sinful man could have been made perfect by them, and because they were as figures and shadows (*hypodeigmata*) of good things to come (Heb. 10:1; Col. 2:17). But affirmatively (*kata thesin*), it was: (1) in

order that by it the people might have an external form of religion approved of God; (2) that it might be a servant to the covenant of grace and Moses to Christ (Rom. 10:5, 6), that by that economy the spiritual economy might be presented, which should have solitary place in the New Testament (God here acting after the manner of illustrious artists, who before putting their hand to the work, are accustomed first to draw a rude outline with the pencil of the idea [*skiagraphian*] of it conceived in the mind [*hōs en typō*]); (3) to render the gospel or yoke of Christ more easy by its burdensomeness (Mt. 11:28, 29).

Marks and effects: (a) the promise of Messiah's coming.

XXXIV. The marks and effects of that economy were external: (a) the promise of the Messiah about to come, and the delaying of the satisfaction to be made for us. For although he was promised in oracles and graphically shadowed forth in various types, yet neither was he to be incarnate during that whole period nor was he to pay the ransom (*lytron*) required for our redemption. In this sense, Peter says it was revealed unto the prophets that not unto themselves, but unto us they did minister the things which are now reported unto us concerning the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow (1 Pet. 1:10–12). And hence it is rightly said that everlasting righteousness had not as yet been brought (Dan. 9:24), that sins remained without a true expiation, until they should be destroyed by the satisfaction of Christ. Not that they still rested upon believers (from whom they were transferred to Christ, the surety), but because they existed in their relations to the surety, upon whom they rested for expiation; nor were they taken away until the payment was made.

(b) Obscurity.

XXXV. (b) Obscurity because the sun of righteousness not having as yet arisen, only a prophetic word was given like a candle shining in a dark place (2 Pet. 1:19). The time of the Old Testament was a time of night, but the time of the New, the day (which dawned upon us). Hence the

ceremonies were like a veil covering the mysteries, which the apostle teaches us was adumbrated by the veil over the face of Moses (2 Cor. 3:13) because Moses there allegorically denotes the whole economy of the Old Testament. This was also signified by the veil of the tabernacle and of the temple, preventing the Israelites from entering and beholding the most holy place.

(c) Bondage.

XXXVI. (c) Bondage or servile condition, by which the ancient church was in subjection to the law, the pact of slaves (Gal. 4:24, 25), which (with respect to those who sought salvation by the law) was absolute and total; but to those who beheld Christ in it, only relative (as in Egypt the Israelites, who did not think of deliverance, were altogether slaves; those, however, who accepted it in faith were indeed slaves in body, but not in soul). Hence Paul says, "A child differeth nothing from a servant" (Gal. 4:1) and Christ calls them "laboring and heavy ladened" (*pephortismenous kai kopiōntas*, Mt. 11:28)—the words indicating a servile labor and yoke, such as formerly belonged to the Israelites in Egypt. The bondage was on this account the more grievous both because (like Pharaoh's taskmasters), it exacted fulfillment and yet did not supply the strength for it, and because it threatened the least transgression with punishment and indeed with the divine malediction itself. Now this servitude was confirmed by the elements of the world (*stoicheia tou kosmou*), i.e., ceremonies (so called on account of their rudeness and imperfection) under which they were ordained and which (on account of that immense multitude of rites, which they were bound to perform under severe threatenings) oppressed the worshippers. In this respect, they are called "the yoke of bondage" (Gal. 5:1) and an intolerable burden (*abastakton*, Acts 15:10).

And the spirit of bondage, Rom. 8:15.

XXXVII. This bondage, the spirit of bondage attended (adjusted to the servile economy, Rom. 8:15), which commonly wrought a servile fear of God, the judge, and a dread of punishment. From this a continual anxiety and solicitude as it were by the law and its threats sounded daily in their

ears (more than alacrity) by the doctrine of grace preached sparingly and somewhat obscurely; not that believers were absolutely destitute of the spirit of adoption (as is afterwards said), but because it excited emotions suitable to that condition, in which the heir being still a child did not differ much from a servant.

(d) Rigor and severity.

XXXVIII. Hence (d) rigor and severity arose from the legal discourses frequently mingled and the promises of grace repeated somewhat rarely and obscurely; also through compulsion, by which they were impelled to duty through fear of punishment rather than from the love of God and of righteousness; Moses continually like a hard master with his rod, not so much persuading as extorting obedience. Here belongs the terrible apparatus under which the law was given, by which not only the people, but Moses himself also is said to have been terrified (Heb. 12:21). That rigor was not without purpose; the wantonness of Israel could hardly otherwise be thoroughly tamed, whom Moses and the other prophets so often reproached for its hard neck and adamantine heart.

(e) Purity of flesh.

XXXIX. (e) To that economy belonged eternal purity of the flesh or immunity from carnal guilt, purged of which (from the institution of the law) they could freely mingle in public assemblies and perform public worship together with others, such as consisted in the observance of ceremonies (Heb. 9:13); in contradistinction to this is purity of conscience and immunity from the spiritual guilt of sin. Here comes in the immunity from temporal punishments in the court of earth which (as to sins not committed with uplifted hand) was granted through the sacrifices, which (without relation either to repentance or faith) restored men to their rank and rendered them free from all forensic punishment. As to spiritual punishment in the court of heaven, freedom from it could not be obtained by the sacrifices of beasts as such; for between the guilt (which was moral) and the satisfaction, there had been no proportion, but only by them as figures and types.

Adjuncts: (1) weakness.

XL. Finally, the adjuncts were various: first, weakness and imperfection because this economy had no true ransom (*lytron*) for sin (but only a type of it), nor the accompanying power of the Spirit to subdue the flesh and furnish strength to fulfill the law. Thus by it as such no one could be saved causally, i.e., either be justified (Acts 13:39; Heb. 10:1, 2) or be sanctified (Heb. 9:14, 15) or obtain life, because it was a ministry of condemnation and death (2 Cor. 3:6, 7; Heb. 7:18). Under this name Paul testifies that this economy was not "faultless" (*amempton*, Heb. 8:7), to wit, "on account of its weakness and unprofitableness" (*dia to autēs asthenes kai anōpheles*, Heb. 7:18).

(2) Mutability.

XLI. Second, mutability and abrogation because it embraced things earthly, carnal, perishable and in their very nature corruptible—consisting only in meats and drinks and divers washings and carnal ordinances (*dikaiōmasi sarkos*), which could not sanctify the conscience, and were not to continue forever; but were imposed until the time of reformation (*mechri kairou diorthōseōs*, Heb. 9:9, 10). Hence an abrogation (*athetēsis*) must take place on account of its imperfection (Heb. 7:18), especially a more perfect economy succeeding; as when the sun rises, there is not more need of candles or lighted torches.

(3) Glory and splendor.

XLII. Third, the glory and splendor with which this economy was instituted, which shone forth most of all in the magnificent apparatus and illustrious miracles which God willed should attend the promulgation of the law. Hence Paul calls this a "glorious ministration" (2 Cor. 3:7, 9). But that glory was both terrifying, inspiring with fear, not only the people, but also Moses himself, who is said to have trembled (*entromos*) on account of it (Heb. 12:21); and mutable and transient, as being worn out (*katargoumenē*) and antiquated (2 Cor. 3:11). This appeared in the glory of the countenance of Moses, which was to be done away (2 Cor. 3:7).

2. The internal dispensation. It contained Christ and promises temporal and spiritual.

XLIII. Such was the external dispensation of the Old Testament. The internal, latent under it, pertains to the substance of the covenant of grace and of the gospel promise. This was also administered in different ways and by various degrees. On God's part, it contained both Christ himself (the foundation of the covenant promised in the oracles and lying under the types of ceremonies) and his sufferings, crucifixion, death and glory (obscurely indeed and hidden). Hence the gospel is said to have been formerly a hidden mystery (Rom. 16:25) because obscurely proposed under the various veils of figures, but still so that through them it could be seen (as was done by Moses, Heb. 11:26); and promises (temporal as well as spiritual), which the formula of the covenant ("I am thy God") includes in itself. Temporal, as the inheritance of the land of Canaan and the earthly blessings (given in detail, Dt. 28) which were promised in it to the faithful worshippers of God; less principally and secondarily on account of the disposition of the Israelite people (still children and more affected by carnal than spiritual things); but spiritual primarily and principally, as absolutely necessary to salvation.

XLIV. Now although that revelation of grace was somewhat obscure and sparing as to mode (being wholly enigmatical and specular, and such that Christ could be beheld in it only under a veil—as formerly Moses, 2 Cor. 3:7), still it was sufficient as to substance. Hence the knowledge of the ancients and their faith was founded upon it (although it varied as to circumstances and mode and might be called implicit in this sense and confused), by which the thing indeed is known, but not in such a way that it is also known as to all (which distinguishes it from other things). We wish this to be understood of the state of the church of the Old Testament and not of particular persons (as Abraham, Moses, David and others who enjoyed a richer knowledge of the divine mysteries). Still it did not differ as to substance and no less saved them, than faith under the New Testament saves us. For Christ saves, not as perfectly known and according to all circumstances, but as truly and seriously apprehended.

What it was: (1) remission of sins; (2) adoption; (3) sanctification; (4) the gift of the Spirit (Ezk. 36; Jer. 31; Is. 43); (5) resurrection; (6) eternal life.

XLV. To these spiritual promises pertain (1) remission of sins and justification. As this derogated the law causally in itself considered, so it is ascribed to faith in Christ (Acts 13:39; Rom. 4:7) and was claimed by the fathers (as Abraham, David and others, Ps. 32; Rom. 4); although it would be less felt on account of the interposed cloud of the law and the payment not as yet actually made. (2) Adoption, attributed to the Israelites, not only as external (Rom. 9:4), but also internal, without which the former would have been useless (Gal. 4:2); although it was connected with a servile condition on account of the minority of children. They were children who could and were bound to invoke God as their Father (Job. 34:36; Is. 63:16), but minors subjected by their Father to the ferule and rods of schoolmasters (Gal. 4:2, 3); who were not admitted to so great familiarity with the Father as to penetrate into his intimate counsels. (3) Sanctification, which is everywhere commanded and promised under the Old Testament (Lev. 26; Is. 1). (4) The gift of the Spirit, included in the promise made to Abraham (Gal. 3:13, 14) and found to have been promised frequently elsewhere (Is. 44:3; Ezk. 36:26, 27; Zech. 12:10). However this was not in the same manner as under the New Testament (speaking commonly of the state of the whole church) whether intensively as to degree or extensively as to gifts (either ordinary or extraordinary), which with respect to the church are peculiar to the New Testament. The effusion of the Spirit was due to the glory of Christ after he entered into heaven (Jn. 7:39). Such was the Spirit as was the nature of the covenant: (a) the Spirit of illumination, but not so clear and distinct as in the New Testament, and moreover joined with ignorance of the various circumstances of the mode, as it appeared in believers and in the apostles themselves in the time of Christ before the outpouring of the Holy Spirit; (b) the Spirit of adoption or sonship (because otherwise the believers of the Old Testament could not have known infallibly that they were children of God, which however they did know, when they invoked God as their Father, Is. 63:16); yet it was not purely such, but mixed with slavery and moreover not of full emancipation, who

on account is called “the spirit of bondage” (Rom. 8:15), not absolutely, but relatively (inasmuch as by it believers were made certain of their own adoption, but not fully as to feeling and use); (c) the Spirit of consolation and of hope, but in the same manner (inasmuch as each was connected with some fear and the terror of death and of the curse which the law threatened); (5) the resurrection of the dead, which Christ deduced from the formula of the covenant; (6) eternal life, also included in that formula as the apostle gathers from the same (Heb. 11:10), not to mention the various prophetic oracles by which it was promised, of which we have spoken before in the question concerning the unity of the covenant.

What is the new dispensation?

XLVI. Thus far the old dispensation; the new succeeds, the administration of the covenant without the law and ceremonies after the appearance of Christ. It is called “new” not as to the substance of the covenant (which is the same in both) but: (1) as to the circumstances and mode, being manifested without a veil and the law (in which way that covenant appeared as if new or renewed), also because it sets forth Christ not to be exhibited but as exhibited, in which way it can be called new both intensively as to degree of light and extensively as to amplitude, extending itself indiscriminately to all nations; (2) as to the excellence and glory of this dispensation which far surpasses the old (2 Cor. 3:9, 10), as new is elsewhere taken for what is remarkable and superior (Rev. 5:9; Ps. 33:3); (3) as to perpetual duration, by which it happens that it is as it were always new, while those things which ought to cease are called old.

It consists: (1) in the incarnation of the Messiah; (2) in the abrogation of the ceremonial law; (3) in the outpouring of the Spirit; (4) etc.

XLVII. It consists (1) in the advent of the Messiah, his manifestation in the flesh and the fulfillment of the whole law by him (namely, of its ceremonies, prophecies and the entire righteousness prescribed by God in the law). (2) In the abrogation of all the ceremonies and of the whole legal

dispensation by which the covenant of grace was veiled. (3) In the effusion of the Holy Spirit, both visible (as to extraordinary gifts) and invisible and perpetual (as to the ordinary gifts necessary for salvation to every believer, which is stated as a peculiar benefit of the New Testament in Joel 2:28–32). First, with respect to the extraordinary gifts: although enjoyed by certain persons under the Old Testament, yet as they were very few did not belong to the church. With respect to the ordinary gifts, which are both greater intensively (as to degree of light, trust, consolation) and extensively (as to parts because it teaches all things [Jn. 16:13; 1 Jn. 2:20] and as to object because it teaches all from the greatest to the least [Heb. 8:11]).

XLVIII. (4) In the calling of all nations, which is peculiar to the New Testament as to the full knowledge of circumstance and of mode. This was not attended to by the ancients who thought that the Gentiles would be brought into the old dispensation; and as to actual execution which could take place while the former worship stood. (5) In adoption, which in the New Testament not only as to the thing is such as it was in the Old, but also as to mode, condition and effects because: (a) in the New Testament it is proposed as having been acquired through Christ (Jn. 1:12); (b) it is purely such without the schooling, servitude and fear, and thus not of childhood, but of adult age and of emancipation, conjoined with the highest boldness (*parrēsia*) and confidence (Rom. 8:15). (6) In liberty, not only spiritual (which also existed in the Old Testament), but also external, by which we are free from the legal ceremonies (Col. 2:20–22) and besides are become the servants of Christ alone and not of men (Gal. 5:1). (7) In sanctification, which is greater in the New Testament as to higher illumination of the intellect (as to mode), which is not external and ceremonial (which even a hypocrite may have), but internal (as to efficacy), which is greater on account of the greater measure and virtue of the Spirit and as to the motives, which are far stronger, being drawn from the example of Christ. (8) In eternal life, which belongs to the New Testament: (a) as to actual aquisition obtained by the blood of Christ (which in the Old Testament was only moral); (b) as to the actual entrance of Christ as man into heaven, as the true sanctuary, into which he entered as a forerunner, not only for himself, but also for us (Heb. 6:20); (c) as to a far more illustrious manifestation (2 Tim. 1:10), which in the Old Testament was more obscure (Heb. 9:8)—hence confidence and hope is far greater, all fear of death being removed,

entering now within the veil (Heb. 6:19); (d) as to the more frequent promises, which regard solely eternal life, those being removed which have reference to this life and its prolongation (which were far more frequent under the Old Testament).

The adjuncts are: (1) posteriority of time; (2) dignity and perfection; (3) perpetuity.

XLIX. The adjuncts of this dispensation are: (1) posteriority of time, not indeed as to substance (which was the same from the beginning) but as to circumstances and mode; (2) dignity and perfection by which in comparison with the old, it is far more worthy and perfect and such as becomes the manly age; (3) perpetuity because this economy is the last until the final advent of Christ, when it will be changed into the immediate and direct communion with God by which God will be all in all.

Eighth Question: The Difference Between the Old and the New Covenants

How the old and new covenants differ from each other: whether essentially (as to substance of doctrine) or accidentally (as to the manner of dispensation). We make distinctions

I. As the Old and New Testaments have a multiple signification, so the proposed question ought to be answered in different ways, and the varying opinions (even of the orthodox) on both sides be reconciled.

II. Sometimes the Old and New Testaments are considered in relation to the writing and by this name the prophetic and apostolical writings are designated (delivered to the church by men of God either before or after the coming of Christ, 2 Cor. 3:14). In this sense, the New Testament is said to have been veiled in the Old and the Old Testament unveiled in the New. But we do not now treat of them under this relation (*schesei*), but with regard to the doctrine delivered.

How the Old Testament is taken broadly.

III. In this sense, the Old Testament is taken most especially in two ways, either broadly or strictly. Broadly, it denotes in general the whole dispensation under which the fathers lived from the beginning of the world until Christ. It contained the doctrine of grace delivered to the ancients, promising salvation and life to the people openly (indeed, under the condition of perfect obedience rendered to the moral law and the threatening of transgressors with death, together with the intolerable burden of ceremonies and the yoke of the most restricted Mosaic polity); reservedly, however, under the condition of repentance and faith in the Messiah about to come. In this respect, the Old Testament embraces three things most especially: (1) old doctrine, partly legal and partly evangelical; (2) an old servile form of worship and ecclesiastical service, laborious and shadowy; (3) the old method of external polity bound to one people and place.

Strictly.

IV. Strictly, however, it denotes the covenant of works or the moral law given by Moses—the unbearable burden (*abastaktō*) of legal ceremonies being added, absolutely and apart from the promise of grace. The former was signified properly and of itself (if the scope and intention of the lawgiver be considered) because in that first economy he joined together these three things by giving the old covenant or legal dispensation, not to abolish the promises, but to lead unto Christ. The latter is accessory and accidental, springing from an ignoring of the true end and the devising of a false. The true end was Christ for righteousness to every believer (Rom. 10:4), but the self-righteous Jews did not obtain this end because it was proposed under a veil (2 Cor. 3:14), i.e., under a wrappage of types and of figures because the promise of grace on account of Christ was clothed with legal rites. Hence they invented a false end, maintaining that the law was given in order that by its observance they might be justified before God and be saved (Rom. 10:3–5). Against this error the apostle everywhere disputes from that hypothesis which takes the law strictly and opposes it to the promise.

The new covenant is taken either broadly or strictly.

V. The new covenant is also taken in a twofold manner either broadly, inasmuch as it stands for the covenant of grace in general made with sinners, which existed under the Old Testament as well before Christ appeared as under the New after he had been manifested; or strictly, for the covenant of grace promulgated after the manifestation of Christ in the flesh, which should continue to the end of the world.

VI. Those of our party (as Rollock, Piscator, Trelcatius and others) who make two covenants diverse in substance, take the old covenant strictly, not only separating the promise of grace from it, but opposing the one to the other. In this sense, Paul seems to take it frequently (as 2 Cor. 3; Gal. 4), so that the old covenant is the covenant of works and the new the covenant of the gospel and of faith. On the other hand, they who maintain only one (as Calvin, Martyr, Ursinus) take the word covenant more broadly, as embracing also the promise of grace (although somewhat obscurely). Because that promise was dispensed in different ways before and after Christ, they distinguish it into two—the old and new—by a distribution not of genus into species (as the former), but of subject according to accidents (which the others do not deny); thus they differ only as to the different use of terms, but not as to the thing itself (as Calvin observes, ICR, 2.7.2, pp. 350–51).

Opinion of the Lutherans concerning the difference between the old and new covenants.

VII. In assigning the difference between the Old and New Testaments the Lutherans differ also from our men and a question was agitated by them on this subject growing out of the sacramental controversy. They maintain that these two covenants are not only to be distinguished in substance, but also that the promise of grace is to be excluded from the old covenant. They accuse our party of error in setting forth the nature of the old covenant. Brochmann says, “Lutheran theologians unanimously teach that by the name of Old Testament is properly and in Scripture phrase signified that legal covenant which God made with the Israelites under the ministry of

Moses" ("De Veteri et Novo Testamento," 2, Q. 4 *Universae theologicae systema* [1638], 2:283). He adds also that the question between us is "whether that gratuitous covenant entered into with the believing fathers in the first time of the fall, is the very same in substance with the New Testament" (ibid., p. 284). This, he says, is asserted by us, but denied by them.

VIII. However, we readily grant that the Old Testament and the Mosaic covenant taken strictly and absolutely as to the legal relation (*schesin*) differ in entire substance from the New. Hence the law and Moses are opposed to grace and to Christ (Jn. 1:17) and by Paul the letter and the Spirit, the ministration of condemnation and of righteousness (2 Cor. 3:6, 7). So we maintain that taken broadly and with the other evangelical relation (*schesei*) (clothed, namely, with its pedagogical circumstances), it did not differ as to substance, but only as to manner of dispensation.

IX. They take for granted that the old Mosaic covenant is so restricted to the moral law and its ceremonies and polity that the promise of grace is neither open nor impliedly contained under it. The contrary is evident from various considerations: (1) from the author of the covenant itself, who was the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (i.e., as joined with the people by the Abrahamic covenant) and indeed acting from the gratuitous adoption and love of the people (Dt. 4:6–8; 7:6–8)—which is not of the legal, but of the evangelical covenant; (2) from the threefold matter, both the kind of doctrine (which was so legal in the commands of morals, as to be also evangelical in the promises of Christ and his grace) and the form of worship (which was wholly shadowy and typical referring to Christ) and the mode of polity (which was subordinate both to the doctrine and the worship, inasmuch as it ought to distinguish the people from whom Christ was to spring, and among whom he was to be preached and suffer); (3) from its twofold form, external, which was the legal obligation both of the people to keep the law and of God to give life (if the law was obeyed) and internal, in the gratuitous promise according to which God would be to the people for a God and the people in turn would be to him for a people (Lev. 26:11, 12; 2 Cor. 6:16); (4) from three effects: (a) the preparation of the sinner for seeking Christ by the moral law (Rom. 10:4; Gal. 3:24); (b) the showing of him by the ceremonial law (Heb. 10:12; Col. 2:16, 17); and (c) the offering of the same by the promise of grace connected with both.

X. Nor can they deny this if they wish to be consistent. As Brochmann in the same place confesses, they acknowledge that before Christ appeared in the flesh, there existed already in the church of God the doctrine concerning Christ, gratuitous reconciliation by Christ and that the fathers of the Old Testament were saved in no other way than by the grace of Christ alone. Nor do they deny that both covenants under the Old and New Testaments treated of Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpō*); but they hold that this was in a different manner. Now this being posited, who does not see that the difference is only in the mode of dispensation, not in the very substance of the doctrine?

XI. To no purpose, however, does the author add in the same place: "There is as great a difference between the old covenant of grace and the New Testament, as there is between a promise and the fulfilment of a promise; between signification and exhibition; between a figure and the body itself; between an image and the thing designated by it (to wit, the old exhibited Christ only in promise and various types; but the new exhibits the body itself, the thing promised to the fathers and represented by types)" (Brochmann, "De Veteri et Novo Testamento," 2, Q. 4 *Universae theologicae systema* [1638], 2:284). Although we concede that this is true with respect to the complement of the promise (which referred to the manifestation of Christ in the flesh, the actual expiation of sin and the acquisition of salvation, which was to be made only under the New Testament), we deny that it can be said with respect to the application of salvation and the participation of the benefits of Christ and the fruit of his death and satisfaction, which were not withheld from the fathers. In this sense, they are rightly said to have had the thing signified and promised, the body itself and the living image of the legal shadows; not in virtue of the law, but of the promise. This he voluntarily acknowledges when he says, "The fathers did not stop in these signs, but lifted their hearts to the thing adumbrated in the signs, as Abraham who saw the day of Christ (Jn. 8:56) and Moses who preferred the reproach of Christ to the treasures of Egypt (Heb. 11:26)" (ibid., p. 285).

Sources of explanation.

XII. It is one thing for the old covenant strictly taken to differ essentially from the new. The apostle had this in mind in the allegory of Sarah and Hagar (Gal. 4:24), the former generating to freedom, the latter to bondage. He disputes against the false apostles who confounded the law and the gospel, which is referred to also in 2 Cor. 3:6, 7, in the antithesis between "the letter" and "the Spirit," "the ministration of condemnation" and "of righteousness." It is however another thing (when broadly considered as to economy) to be opposed as to substance, which we deny.

XIII. That which is grown old does not forthwith differ essentially from that which endures, if the growing old is only as to the mode and circumstances of the dispensation, not as to the thing itself. The Old Testament even broadly taken had become old as to the gospel relation (*schesin*), not with respect to what was essential to it (since Christ is the same "yesterday, today, forever," Heb. 13:8), but with respect to the circumstances and mode of dispensation, which was more obscure and harsher on account of the infancy of the church. To this also belongs the carnal worship prevailing under the Old Testament (which was to be abrogated).

XIV. What was established only by the blood of animals differs essentially from that which was established by the blood of Christ. But although the Old Testament is said to have been dedicated by the blood of calves and goats (Ex. 24:3, 4; Heb. 9:18, 19), this must be understood only as to the letter. As to the mystical sense, it was also dedicated by the blood of Christ, since by that typical blood the true blood of Christ (by whose efficacy and merit alone the ancients could be saved) was adumbrated (Mt. 26:28).

XV. There is not the same opposition throughout between the Old and New Testaments as there is between the law and the gospel. The opposition of the law and the gospel (in as far as they are taken properly and strictly for the covenant of works and of grace and are considered in their absolute being) is contrary. They are opposed as the letter killing and the Spirit quickening; as Hagar gendering to bondage and Sarah gendering to freedom, although the law more broadly taken and in its relative being is subordinated to the gospel. But the opposition of the Old and New Testaments broadly viewed is relative, inasmuch as the Old contained the

shadows of things to come (Heb. 10:1) and the New the very image (*tēn eikona*).

XVI. Those do not agree in substance. Some of their sacraments are significative and exhibitive at the same time; others only significative. In the Old Testament, the sacraments were not only significative, but in their way also exhibitive of the thing signified. In this sense, circumcision is called a "seal of the righteousness of faith" to Abraham (Rom. 4:11*) and the fathers are said to have drunk Christ (1 Cor. 10:4). Nor is it an objection that Christ was not as yet incarnate and therefore could not be exhibited. Although he was not physically exhibited by incarnation, still he was morally exhibited in the promise by the reception of faith (which is "the substance of things hoped for" [*tōn elpizomenōn hypostasis*]).

XVII. Moses and Christ can be compared with each other in three ways: (1) relatively, as type and prototype because Moses prefigured Christ in various particulars, whom on that account he predicts would be a prophet like unto himself (Dt. 18:15); (2) comparatively, as the lesser is compared with the greater and the servant with his master (Heb. 3:4–6); (3) by way of dissimilarity and opposition, inasmuch as the law was given by Moses and grace and truth by Jesus Christ (Jn. 1:17). Grace is opposed to the curse of the moral law and the truth to the shadows and figures of the ceremonial law; or it is called true grace as not concealed under typical and carnal figures.

Opinions of the Reformed concerning the difference between the Old and New Testaments. They differ: (1) as to time.

XVIII. The orthodox maintain that the difference between the Old and New Testaments (broadly considered) is only accidental, not essential (as to the circumstance and manner and degree of the thing); not as to the thing itself, which was the same in each. This was proved before and is shown further: (1) as to time because the Old preceded Christ, while the New follows him. The former referred to Christ to be manifested and to come, while the latter refers to Christ already manifested and exhibited. Hence Christ pronounces

the eyes of the apostles happy because they saw those things which the prophets and kings desired to see and yet did not see (Lk. 10:23, 24).

(2) As to clarity.

XIX. (2) As to clearness and obscurity because in the New the mysteries are far more clearly set forth, the veils and shadows of ceremonies and types being taken away. Hence the apostle says of the gospel that "we with unveiled face [*anakekalymmenō prosōpō*, by antithesis to Moses, who veiled his face (v. 7), a symbol of legal obscurity] behold the glory of the Lord in a mirror" (2 Cor. 3:18). The Old Testament was wholly symbolic and figurative. It had a shadow of things to come and not the very image of the things (Heb. 10:1). But the New (in which grace "has appeared [*epephanē*] to us," Tit. 2:11) is plain and open. Hence the time of the Old Testament is compared to the night (on account of the Sun of righteousness not as yet having arisen) and the time of the New to the day (in which the dayspring from on high has arisen). Here we must remark that although the same heavenly inheritance and promise of eternal life occurs in each, still it is differently set forth in the Old and New Testaments. In the New Testament, it is set forth clearly, openly and simply (*nude*) without any wrappings. But in the Old, it is rolled up in types and earthly pledges (among which, after the covenant was made with Abraham, the inheritance of the land of Canaan was most prominent). That this was typical, both reason itself dictates (since the possession of no earthly and finite good however excellent can satisfy and make the soul happy, but only the fruition of the eternal and infinite God himself) and Paul expressly testifies (Heb. 4).

3. As to easiness.

XX. (3) As to easiness because administration and service (*latreia*) was far more burdensome in the Old than in the New Testament (whose sacraments are few in number, august in signification, very easy of observance). Here belong the words of Augustine: "The first sacraments observed in accordance with the law were prophetical of Christ about to come which, when fulfilled by the advent of Christ, were done away with and on this

account done away with, because fulfilled … and others were instituted greater in efficacy, more useful, easier to be performed, fewer in number, revealed as it were by the righteousness of faith and to the sons of God called into liberty, the yoke of bondage being removed, which suited a people hard and given to the flesh" (*Reply to Faustus the Manichaean*, 19.13 [NPNF1, 4:244; PL 42.355]). For indeed the signs added to the word carried with them the genius of the word. The word was not so much of the gospel, as of the promise (*epangelias*); not announcing Christ manifested, but foretelling him to be manifested. Thus the sacraments were types of things to come, not memorials of things past (as are ours, 1 Cor. 11:24); handwritings, not mere receipts; a commemoration of sin, not a commemoration of a sacrifice already offered for sin. Nor is the objection of any force that the blood of victims far more clearly and easily adumbrated the death of Christ than the symbols of bread and wine in the Eucharist; and that there is a greater analogy between flesh and flesh than between flesh and bread. That signification is not to be drawn simply from a physical analogy or as to the physical being of things, but especially as to the moral being and from the divine institution (which is far clearer in the New Testament than in the Old). Before, the death of victims and the blood of lambs were required to prefigure the death of Christ still future; but after it happened in the New Testament, it was unnecessary. It neither ought any more to be adumbrated by the blood of victims as future, but it is sufficient that its commemoration be made in the communion with and application of it (which are better represented by the symbols of bread and wine).

4. As to sweetness.

XXI. (4) As to sweetness because in the Old Testament the law and its perfect obedience was more frequently urged (not indeed to the simple exclusion of gospel promises, but still with this intention—that by that rigorous exaction of obedience, the people still in infancy might be held under guardianship as it were and be compelled to seek Christ), while in the New, the gospel promises are more frequent (still not to the exclusion of the law impelling to offer new obedience by the grace of regeneration). Nor ought the severe burden of the cross (imposed by Christ upon his people in the New Testament) to be brought as an objection here. Besides not being

wanting to the pious of the Old Testament (as this is the lot of believers in this world), still it ought not to be so much a burden as an honor to the disciples of Christ (Gal. 6:14), the yoke of Christ being easy and light (Mt. 11:30). Here belongs the gift of the Holy Spirit, who, although not denied even under the Old Testament to the fathers, yet exercised his power more sparingly and less fully then, in accordance with the time and mode of revelation. Now, however, he exercises it far more richly and with greater fulness. As the revelation of grace is greater and more extended, he ought to be communicated under the New Testament according to the prophecy of Joel (2:28), whose fulfillment Peter claims for the first Pentecost (Acts 2:17, 18).

5. As to perfection.

XXII. (5) As to perfection, for although the Old Testament had an essential perfection as to the substance of the covenant of grace, still it did not have an accidental perfection as to degree. The whole of that economy was typical and shadowy, differing from the New not less than a shadow from the very image (*skia tē eikoni*); a thin shadow and rude outline from a living and express image. Hence the apostle attributes weakness to it (*astheneian*, Heb. 7:8–10), while treating of the imperfection of the Levitical priesthood. The latter having been abrogated, another according to the order of Melchizedek was to be raised up, since perfection was not in the former (whose weakness and unprofitableness [*anōpheles kai asthenes*] the apostle proves both from the infirmity and morality of the high priest and the pollution of sin [from which he was not free] and from the imperfection of the sacrifices and ablutions, which did not reach the conscience and soul, only of legal holiness and of outward operation; nor could the sacrifices of themselves expiate sin with God, Ps. 40:7, 8). And so it was necessary that all these with the tabernacle and the earthly sanctuary should be abrogated, that the way might be opened to the heavenly sanctuary. This also is the case with respect to the worship which flourished under the Old Testament. It was altogether shadowy and carnal, if compared with the worship predicated by Christ and instituted by the apostles (Jn. 4:23) and is no longer confined only to one place as before, but must be performed with

"the Spirit" (without carnal types, Heb. 9:10) and "in truth" (without the Mosaic shadows, Col. 2:17; Heb. 10:1).

6. As to freedom.

XXIII. (6) As to freedom because under the Old Testament the spirit of bondage unto fear prevailed (Rom. 8:15). For although the fathers were sons of God and under that name masters and heirs, still they did not differ from servants (as to the external dispensation). As infants and minors, they were held under the severe and rigid schooling of the law (as under tutors and governors by whom they were driven to duty through fear of punishment and by threatenings and stripes, rather than by promises and the love of virtue, Gal. 4:1, 2). Hence although the right of freedom belonged to them in virtue of the covenant of grace and the gospel promises, still they obtained a very small sense and use of it, the threatenings and intolerable (*abastaktō*) yoke of the law bringing them into bondage and filling them with terror (which caused them to be terrified at the appearances of God and to hold as a common saying, "We shall die because we have seen God"). But in the New Testament, it is a time of freedom because the covenant of grace which genders to freedom is fully revealed (Gal. 4:26). In it is proclaimed through the gospel Jubilee liberty to the captives (Is. 61:1, 2). The spirit of bondage unto fear is no longer given unto us, but the Spirit of adoption and so of liberty unto confidence, by which we cry, "Abba, Father" (Rom. 8:15). "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty" (2 Cor. 3:17)—not only of internal communion, which the fathers possessed, but also of external dispensation; not only the liberty of filiation, which belongs also to infants, but also of emancipation, which belongs only to adults (not only as to its right and use and inchoate and imperfect sense, but total and full as to full sense and use, by which, as they are put in possession of the goods, so they have a full knowledge and enjoyment of them for their consolation and the fulness [*plērophorian*] of faith).

7. As to amplitude.

XXIV. (7) As to amplitude because the Old Testament was restricted to one nation—salvation was then only of the Jews (Jn. 4:22); "he hath not dealt so

with any nation" (Ps. 147:19, 20). But the New is extended to all indiscriminately, so that in every nation he that "feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him" (Acts 10:34, 35). It is restricted within no limits, nor is the worship of God any longer bound to a certain place, but in every place is equally acceptable to him (provided it be sincere and pure). Before, the Gentiles were said to be "afar off" and "aliens from the covenant" (Eph. 2:12). But now, the wall of separation having been broken down, a union has been made of two (to wit, of the Jews and Gentiles in one body) so that they are no longer two, but one (v. 14). Thus in Christ there is no more "Greek nor Jew, Scythian nor barbarian, male or female, but Christ is all, and in all" (Col. 3:11).

8. As to duration.

XXV. (8) As to duration because the Old had become antiquated and should continue only until the time of reformation (*diorthōseōs*, Heb. 9:10; Jer. 31:31). The overthrow of the Jewish republic, the confusion (*confusio*) of the tribes and the irreparable destruction through so many ages of the temple (in which that worship was performed) evinces this even openly. However, the New Testament is immutable and will perpetually endure until the consummation of the ages (*heōs synteleias tou aiōnos*). As perfection is characteristic of its administration, another revelation is not again to be expected, nor any other priesthood and sacrifice in addition to that of Christ, who was made a Priest and confirmed by a solemn oath in virtue of an "endless life" (Heb. 7:16). Hence the gospel is called "everlasting" (Rev. 14:6).

Ninth Question: The Surety of the Covenant of Grace

Whether Christ under the Old Testament had only the relation of a surety giving security or also of a surety promising it. The former we deny; the latter we affirm

I. In order that the nature of the covenant of grace may be more fully understood, the nature and mode of the suretyship upon which it is founded

must be examined more closely. Not that we may inquire into the mediatorial office of Christ (which we will treat about afterwards in its proper place), but only that the manner of the suretyship made by him under the Old Testament may be more thoroughly examined (concerning which the question may be agitated).

II. Moreover, here at the outset, we ought to come back to what we before observed—that this covenant of grace (instituted between an offended God and sinful, guilty man) could not have been ratified except by the intervention of a mediator, to reconcile the parties at variance with each other and perform the office of a surety, not only in the name of God (promising that he would fulfill the promises of the covenant, if we would fulfill its conditions—as, following Socinus, Curcellaeus falsely quibbles); but also to God for us—that he will fulfill all those conditions for us, which being performed, the inheritance according to the testament will come to us (most especially as to the fullest satisfaction to be given to divine justice for our sins). Nor does any controversy exist here among the orthodox, but only with the Socinians and their associates (against whom we will argue when we treat of the satisfaction).

Statement of the question.

III. Thus, the question agitated here properly respects the manner of the sponsion made by Christ under the Old Testament—whether it has only the relation of actual security or also of the promise of it. For there are some who make this another among other differences between the Old and New Testament—that Christ was indeed under that a giver of security, but not a promisor of it, i.e., he actually gave security indeed for the elect, but in such a way that there was not an actual transference of the debt to him; nor were the fathers freed from the guilt of sin, but God retained for himself the right of inflicting punishment upon them, if Christ should desert his bail and not make satisfaction to him. Just as in the civil law a difference is wont to be made between the one actually giving security and promising it: “He is the fidejussor who is so under obligation for another that the other nonetheless remains obligated even until the fidejussor or surety shall have made payment.” Hence Justinian observes: “The obligation of the Fidejussors is an addition to the principal obligation” (*Institutes* 3.20* [trans. P. Birks and

G. McLeod, 1987], pp. 110, 113). Now he is called an expromissor "who takes upon himself another's obligation, the guilty being set free or in that name not being bound, since he deserved to be bound."

IV. But the common opinion of the orthodox (with whom we agree) is that the sponsion of Christ from the time it was made, had not only the relation of fidejussion (*fidejussionis*) but of expromission (*expromissionis*), by which for that very reason the fathers were truly freed from the punishments due to them. Nor do we think that we should anxiously distinguish here between a fidejussor and expromissor. For the use of these words is not so different as to prevent their being often used promiscuously among lawyers, so that fidejussio has the same meaning as expromission. Cujacius says, "An expromissor is said as if a Fidejussor." "And in the Velleian decree *expromissio* is contained in the word *fidejussio*." "These have the same meaning: *fide jubere, judicium pro alio suscipere, expromittere*" ("Observationum et Emendationum," 13.35 *Opera* [1609], 4:327). Hence it ought not to appear surprising if, in describing the sponsion of Christ, the words *fidejussio* and *expromissio* are interchanged. Although this difference ought to have place in the civil law strictly speaking, still we do not think in this argument it is fitting to have recourse to political tribunals, that the nature of Christ's suretyship may be explained according to legal formulas. It is evident that there is a very wide difference between the court of earth and the court of heaven, and we here treat not of the human, but of the divine judgment, not of pecuniary debt and a mortal creditor, but of a penal debt and of God, the Judge and ruler of the world. Nor do we treat of an ordinary sponsor and mere man but of an extraordinary and the God-man (*theanthrōpō*), who, as a giver of his own life (*antipsychos*), substituted himself in our place and took upon himself the punishment due to us (a surety which the civil laws do not describe). Hence neither by *fidejussio* nor by *expromissio* (such as occur in human courts) do we think the surety of Christ can be sufficiently explained since its perfection is greater than both. Meanwhile, if we must conform to their usage and employ their words (since others do not occur), we say that it comes nearer to *expromissio* than to *fidejussio*, as it comprehends eminently and most perfectly whatever of perfection and efficacy *expromissio* has. Nor are various reasons wanting.

V. First, from the nature of the suretyship of Christ. Since that sponsion is nothing else than the perfectly absolute and immutable will of Christ, of substituting himself according to the eternal counsel of the Father in the place of the elect, and of making satisfaction for their sins, it necessarily implies by that very thing a real transference of the debts to him and the full deliverance and immunity of those for whom he agreed. Thus *fidejussio* as distinguished from *expromissio* cannot have place here simply, but *expromissio*. For the fidejussor is appointed only to insure confidence concerning the payment (not precisely his own) so as to promise that he will pay absolutely, but that the creditor may be made sure of the payment, where the principal debtor can be supplied still for paying it or at least where he still remains obligated and can and should first be applied to before the fidejussor. But here the case is evidently different. For as the elect were not so absolutely by paying, satisfaction could never be demanded of them. Thus by the suretyship and substitution of Christ in their place, they were freed according to the counsel of God, so that the payment could no longer be demanded of them (which Christ by his agreement took upon himself). In this he truly performed the office of an expromissor, who takes another's obligation upon himself so that the payment is demanded and expected from him alone, the original debtor no longer remaining bound. He so bound himself to the payment by his agreement that from him alone it could be demanded. The elect, who were the original debtors, were freed from all personal obligation and on that account no longer bound, so that if they should wish to pay for themselves, they would deservedly incur the crime of despisers of the Messiah, endeavoring to establish their own righteousness in addition to the acquired righteousness of God. This was the crime of the Jews (Rom. 9:31, 32; 10:3).

VI. Now that such is the sponsion of Christ, Scripture itself not obscurely demonstrates when it testifies that God "laid on him the iniquity of us all, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed" (Is. 53:5, 6). But how can the sins of men be said to have been cast upon Christ, if his sponsion was not absolute by a true transference of the debt upon him and the liberation of the guilty? Nor should it be said that "Jesus only took on him the sins, when he prepared himself for the sacrifice; and that God laid sins on him because they were actually exacted from him." It is one thing to demand of Christ a debt for

present payment; another to lay iniquities upon him, and impute them to him. A debt can be imputed to the surety long before it is demanded for present payment. Isaiah does not teach that sins were then laid on him when they were actually demanded of him; but on this account sins were exacted of Christ by the endurance of punishment because they had already been imputed to him as surety in the counsel of God.

VII. Ps. 40:7, 8 has a reference to this. Christ declares that he came to do the will of his father, i.e., to offer the sacrifice of his own body in place of the legal victims which God rejected as useless. Why then did he manifest so great alacrity and promptness in fulfilling this office, unless even then his sponsion was absolute and simple, implying a true translation of our debts upon him? Nor does it help the matter to reply "that these words are by Paul referred to Christ's coming into the world" (Heb. 10:5). Although Christ could use these words of himself when coming into the world this does not hinder them from being applicable to himself at the time in which the psalmist speaks. Yea, this is necessarily supposed because he is speaking of the eternal and immutable will of God by which Christ (all the legal sacrifices being rejected) was constituted a surety and his satisfaction alone decreed and promised even from the very beginning—as it is written in the volume of the book (to wit, of the Scriptures). To this is added the reply of Christ himself by which he received the call of God and testifies that he is prepared to execute his will. The expression "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" (Rev. 13:8), has the same reference, designating the efficacy and certainty of his sponsion. Thus a sacrifice to be made only after many ages is considered as already offered.

VIII. Second, the nature of the thing itself demands this, whether God (to whom the sponsion ought to be made) is considered or the surety (who was bound to make it) or the elect themselves (for whom he agreed) or the nature of the security itself is attended to. As to God, his justice demanded a true expromissor and not a mere fidejussor. As it could not look for payment from the first debtors, so it could only acquiesce in the absolute sponsion of the Son, nor was it agreeable to him that Christ at the same time with the elect should remain bound by the same decree, since for this very reason he was given as a surety to them that on this very account they might be set free. Nor could his wisdom (foreknowing the sure payment to be made by Christ alone) hold under obligation as debtors and regard as still

chargeable those from whom the payment had never been sought. Yea, since the works of God are known to him from eternity (Acts 15:18) by the light of omniscience that sponsion was observed by God not only as future, but even as present, yea, as actually performed; and its efficacy gave the same benefits to the fathers which we enjoy, which a mere *fidejussio* could not have conferred.

IX. The quality of the sponsor implies this. As he is God, infinite and most perfect, his sponsion ought to be most perfect and to involve whatever perfection can be conceived to be contained in an expromissor for the liberation of debtors. In addition, since he is such a sponsor as was neither invented nor given by men, but by God himself (yea, who from eternity offered himself to the Father and substituted himself in the place of sinners without their consciousness and desire; who was alone about to give payment according to the immutable decree of God, whose certainty was confirmed by various promises and sealed by many types), he could not have accomplished this unless even then he had fulfilled the functions of an expromissor and not only those of a fidejussor. Hence such was the efficacy and effect of that sponsion that in virtue of it the fathers were wholly freed from all punishments so that the payment could no longer be demanded of them. The learned men with whom we argue have not been able to deny this. Hence the very celebrated Cocceius: "The effect of the sponsion was that sin, after it was committed, was not imputed to the heirs written in the testament, whether there could not be in God the will to punish sin in them, since what had been laid on the surety ought both to rest upon and be demanded from him, Is. 53:6, 7" ("Summa Theologicae," 35.2 *Opera omnia* [1701–06], 7:239). "For he became the surety of those for whom he was substituted; their sins were laid upon him" (s. 134+).

X. Third, the elect themselves for whom the sponsion was made demanded an expromissor and not only a fidejussor. Their surety ought to be given for life (*antipsychos*) (as was said before) who would substitute himself for the guilty to endure the punishment they deserved and in this way deliver them (which a mere fidejussor could not do, who promises only to assure the creditor that he will receive the payment, but not exactly his own). Again, as the elect were not more by paying, so neither could a payment be expected from them forever; yea, neither according to the decree of God was it ever to be demanded. On this account, the surety was

bound to take the payment absolutely upon himself and thus actually to bear the relation of expromissor. Finally, since they were not only about to be saved by Christ, but are in reality saved and received into heaven in virtue of the suretyship of Christ, it does not suffice for Christ to have been a fidejussor (who does not draw after himself the personal liberation of the original debtors); but he ought necessarily to have the relation of expromissor, who acquires absolute deliverance for those for whom he provides security. Otherwise it would be said that they had been freed and yet remained under obligation; that they were esteemed just before God and yet were always under guilt (which is absurd [*asystaton*]).

XI. Fourth, the nature of that suretyship implies this. The absoluteness and immutability contained in an expromission is far more perfectly and eminently apprehended in the sponsion of Christ. For if in the former the surety alone is bound for the payment (the primary debt no longer remaining under obligation) and if from him alone the debt is demanded and the payment expected, here equally the suretyship of Christ excludes the proper payment of the elect because he bound himself so absolutely to the payment that in virtue of it they are freed from all personal obligation and from him alone the payment could be sought and expected. This is further confirmed by the end of the sponsion itself (which was no other than the absolute deliverance of the elect) and since this could not fail to take place, it ought necessarily to put on the nature of an expromission and not only of a fidejussion.

Sources of solution.

XII. Nor can it be said that God has always reserved to himself the liberty or right of exacting the payment from the elect or the original debtors. Since the sponsion of Christ was absolute from the immutable decree of God (by which he was substituted in the place of the sinner and alone was bound to bear the punishment they deserved), it cannot be conceived how (that decree concerning the requiring of punishment from the sponsor alone standing) men can still remain bound and God reserve to himself the liberty of exacting the payment from them. It is true indeed in the civil court that a creditor has the right of seeking a debt from two joint criminals; either from the original debtor or from his surety. But when after the debt is contracted

and one becomes a debtor by not paying, a sponsor intervenes (who takes upon himself all the burden of discharging the debt and whose faith the creditor follows), by that very thing the first debtor is relieved of all demands. Otherwise the creditor would act against the admission of a sponsion and would seem to call in question the honesty of the sponsor. So here, because Christ by his sponsion took upon himself the burden of paying for sinners, God by that very thing laid aside the will of exacting the debt from them. This neither the divine equity could endure (that two should remain bound), when content with the satisfaction of one and in absolute obligation to it, he had fully acquiesced in it. Nor could his wisdom and truth endure that the debt should be demanded from those for whom (by an absolute decree) a sponsor had been constituted and in whom they are justified and exempted from all punishment. Nor could his goodness and mercy endure, holding as guilty and debtors those for whose deliverance he placed himself as sponsor at the bar of God.

XIII. To no purpose is it replied that "he could always have demanded payment from the elect (the satisfaction not having been made as yet) on the supposition that Christ would not stand to his suretyship and promises, but might desert his bail." This is to imagine what is evidently absurd (*asystaton*). Indeed when the sponsion or appearance of deceitful and inconstant man is concerned, his desertion is not feared without reason. And hence creditors so admit the fidejussion as not to relinquish their own right against the debtors, but retain it and in default of the payment promised by the sponsor, require that. But what danger of the desertion of bail can be conceived in Christ—most true, most powerful and the best? Yea, what possibility of it? How could his absolute promise made in the eternal decree of God and after it in the oracles of the Old Testament ("Behold I come to do thy will," i.e., to make satisfaction for those whom thou gavest to me) be recalled without by that very thing the immutable decree of God being rescinded and election to salvation being changed or being consistent with the punishment of the elect? Since this is plainly impossible (*adynaton*), the hypothesis whence it is deduced must necessarily be absurd also.

XIV. Although under the Old Testament, the payment had not as yet been made, it does not follow that the fathers were still so bound to it that it could be demanded from them. The payment was to be made only by the sponsor, from whom alone it must be sought and expected, according to

God's eternal decree and covenant. However, on account of the union subsisting between us and Christ (while Christ has satisfied for us) it is just the same as if we ourselves had made satisfaction by him (2 Cor. 5:15, 21); still less accurately could the faithful under the Old Testament be said to have been bound to the payment to be made by the Mediator. But Christ, on the contrary (as from eternity constituted the sinner's sponsor), was bound to satisfy for them in virtue of his sponsion. Indeed what one does by another, he is considered to have done by himself if he substitutes him by whom he is said to act (in his own place) and gives to him the authority and power of doing something by himself. But here the case is evidently different. For neither did we put Christ in our own place; yea, we did not even form any such idea, but he was freely given to us. Nor could we give to him any power or ability to do what he did for us.

XV. As it is not derogatory to Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpō*), to be called "sin" and "a curse" in time, so it is not repugnant that from eternity he was bound to the actual endurance of that curse in the nature to be assumed (which is to take upon himself the vicarious guilt of the elect). If it was not unbecoming for Christ to become our Mediator, neither (by parity of reasoning) could it be unbecoming for him to perform all those things which the reason of his office and of the salvation of men (for whom he undertook these functions) demanded. Nor is Christ to be regarded here as simply the *Logos*, but economically as the future God-man (*theanthrōpos*).

XVI. There is not the same reason for the transference of a pecuniary debt to a sponsor as of a penal debt. The former can be absolute and full as to every relation of debt because it does not matter who pays, but only what is paid; not the persons, but the money is considered. While in criminal actions where the person is regarded, the obligation cannot be transferred as to all its parts to the surety, but only as to some part (to wit, as to the certain punishment to be inflicted upon the surety in place of the accused, not however as to the personal obligation or punishment to be borne in his own person). Our sins are said to have been laid upon Christ in the former sense, not however in the latter; nor was our personal obligation transferred to Christ, but graciously dissolved. Hence although our sins may be called Christ's, as to the imputation of guilt, they do not cease to be ours as to ownership and commission. And as he substituted himself in our place, so whatever he paid he is properly said to have paid for us and in our name.

For when anyone binds himself as a substitute (*antipsychos*) to suffer for the sins of another, it is always necessary that he should suffer in that one's place to satisfaction; nor can any other be here conceived than a vicarious payment by a gracious acceptation.

XVII. Although we call Christ an expromissor, we do not on that account hold that he was a mere expromissor or that a judicial transference was made here. This differs in various particulars from the sponsion of Christ and especially in this—that by it the obligation can become another's as to all its parts because pecuniary debts can be entirely transferred to another; nor is it necessary that the payment of them should be said to be made in the place of another (which does not have place in criminal actions, as has already been said). Also in this—that where by transference the delegated debtor is bound for the payment, no remission is made, the obligation remaining to the payment of the same thing which is due. This is not the case in this business where a vicarious punishment only and not a proper and personal punishment is paid for us. But this only we urge in order to explain the perfection and efficacy of Christ's suretyship (which cannot be sufficiently understood by fidejussion alone), so that here the suretyship of Christ is always to be considered as far more perfect and excellent than any civil expromission.

XVIII. When Christ is called the "surety" (*enguos*) of the new covenant (Heb. 7:22), his suretyship is not to be restricted to fidejussion alone. Besides the fact that the words of Paul are referred no less to the time of the New Testament (when no one denies that he was an expromissor), the word itself (according to the received use) denotes not only a mere fidejussor, but also an expromissor. *Enguos, anadochos*, but *anadechesthai* is the proper act of an expromissor (Hesychius, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* [1860], 2:6), who receives upon himself and acknowledges as his own a debt, according to Budaeus ("Commentarii linguae Graecae," *Opera omnia* [1557/1969], 4:3); cf. Martinius in his *Lexicon Philologicum* [1697], p. 24 on the words *engyē, sponsio, expromissio, anadochē*.

XIX. There is a difference between the legal and irrational (*alogōn*) victims and the heavenly and divine victim. Guilt could not be placed upon the former before they were offered because the transference was made by sinners according to God's appointment (without any consent of theirs) for the expiation of his sin. But there was nothing to hinder the transference

being made to Christ before he was actually offered, since he voluntarily undertook that office by the decree of God. Yea, it was necessary that his voluntary promise and sponsion should precede the oblation that the fruit of it might flow out to the Old Testament believers, who by faith should apply to themselves the power of Christ's merit, even then effectual for their deliverance.

XX. Although the ceremonial law with its sacrifices in its legal relation (*schesei*) was like a handwriting which inculcated the right of the violated covenant of works, on that account however it did not intimate that the suretyship of Christ was a mere fidejussion and that believers still remained bound under guilt. In its evangelical relation (*schesei*) (insomuch as it was a type of Christ), it shadowed forth the deliverance from guilt and the justification given in Christ, the surety. Hence circumcision is called the seal of the righteousness of faith (Rom. 4:11) and the Rock was Christ (1 Cor. 10:4). Whoever wishes to examine the subject further should consult the very celebrated Leydecker, an Utrecht theologian and professor, who pursues this argument fully and solidly (*Vis Veritatis*, Cont. 1, 2 [1679], pp. 72–120).

Tenth Question: The State of the Fathers Under the Old Testament

Whether the fathers under the Old Testament can be said to have been still under the wrath of God and the curse of the law, and to have remained under the guilt of sin even until the death of Christ; nor had aphesin *or a full and properly so-called remission of sins been made, but only a* paresin. *We make distinctions*

I. As the preceding question about the surety of the covenant of grace under the Old Testament was occasioned by the present (which refers to the state of the fathers under the Old Testament), the decision of that will also conduce greatly to the elucidation of this.

Statement of the question.

II. However, that we may not wander from the question and that our men may not fall into error (either in defect by depressing too much their privileges or in excess by extolling them unduly, as is frequently done), it must be observed: (1) that the inquiry does not concern the actual obtainment of reconciliation and of the remission of sins by the payment of a ransom (*lytron*) made in the death of Christ. It is agreed on both sides that this should only then be made and was made under the New Testament in the fulness of times. Rather the question concerns the moral application of that payment to be made at the time appointed of God, in the true and full remission of all the sins of believers, so that the debt could not any more be demanded of them.

III. (2) The inquiry does not concern the virtue and efficacy of the law considered in itself (as to justification)—whether remission was enjoyed by the fathers through the legal victims regarded in their absolute being or in their legal relation (*schesei*). All agree that this could not be, on account of the weakness (*adynamian*) of the law (Heb. 7:18, 19; 10:1–3). And in this sense, it is true that believers considered in themselves (and inasmuch as they were under the law) were under guilt and could have a conscience of sin. Rather the question concerns the efficacy of grace and of Christ's sacrifice shadowed forth by the legal victims—whether they obtained in the internal dispensation of the covenant of grace a full remission of all sins in virtue of the future death of Christ.

IV. (3) The inquiry does not concern the sense of remission of sins and the peace and consolation flowing thence as to degree—whether it was less under the Old Testament and greater under the New. No one denies this gradual distinction. As the light was obscure and the measure of the Spirit more sparing, so there was less sense of remission and less consolation. Yea, there was also the fear of death and the spirit of bondage from the severity of the legal economy (as has been fully shown before, Question 7). Rather the question is—whether (this difference being acknowledged) it ought on that account to be said that the fathers were still under guilt and the curse of the law and had not a true taking away (*aphesin*) of sins or a full remission of them, but only a letting-go (*paresin*) and passing by (in which they could be still bound to the handwriting and to the payment of the debt).

V. (4) The inquiry is not—whether they had the remission of sins and justification, which results from a payment actually made and which has connected with it absolute freedom from the handwriting, the annunciation of righteousness brought in and of the death of Christ for the destruction of sin. For no one can deny that this is the privilege peculiar to believers of the New Testament (in whose times the payment was actually made by Christ) and the handwriting (which was against us) blotted out on the cross. But the question is—whether such a justification alone deserves the name remission (*apheseōs*) and not that also which was granted to the fathers on account of the payment to be certainly made by Christ. This we maintain.

VI. Therefore, the question returns to this—whether under the Old Testament the sins of the fathers were so translated to Christ, the surety, that in virtue of the payment to be made in his own time, they obtained a true and full remission of all their sins and from a sense of it (if not full and perfect, still true and real), they could have a tranquilized conscience and enjoy solid consolation. Or whether (notwithstanding the suretyship of Christ) the fathers still remained under the curse of the law and the conscience of sin and were accused of it and the payment could always be demanded from them. And if any remission was granted to them, it had the relation of a passing by (*pareseōs*) rather than of removal (*apheseōs*). The former we assert; the latter, however, the learned men with whom we deal assert.

VII. For as they hold that Christ, the surety, was only a fidejussor, not an expromissor (as we have said before), who underwent security for the elect that they always remained bound, until the payment should be made; so they maintain that the fathers were still under guilt and the wrath of God on account of the delay of the expiatory sacrifice and remained (even up to the satisfying death of Christ) under the malediction of the law and the conscience of sin. Nor had they *aphesin* (i.e., a full and properly so-called remission of sins), but lived under a *paresei* (to wit, a connivance, dissimulation and pretermission, rather than under a full remission). Hence they determine that no sin was properly remitted under the Old Testament; that remission belongs to the New Testament and is promised, as a thing not of the older time, but of these latter times; and their justification on account of a certain imputation of sin and the wrath (which is wrought) had the relation only of passing by *pareseōs*.

VIII. We do not deny that an important distinction comes between the state of the believers of the Old and of the New Testament: such as exists between infants and minors, who are retained and strictly treated under tutors and schoolmasters; the same with adults and the emancipated, who both know their own goods and are admitted to a free use and enjoyment of them. We also concede that the law (by its threatenings) terrified the consciences of sinners and held them under a slavish yoke. Still we do not think that it can be truly said that the fathers were still under the wrath of God and the guilt of sin and could not have a tranquilized conscience from a full remission of sins.

Proof that the fathers were not under guilt: (1) from the suretyship of Christ.

IX. First, this is repugnant to the suretyship of Christ, which denotes the true transference of sins upon himself (as was proved in the former question) and consequently the true and absolute deliverance of the elect from all guilt and personal obligation. For these also mutually follow each other, so that when he is made sin for them, they are made the righteousness of God in him; when he is burdened, they are freed; when sins are laid upon him for his condemnation, they are taken away from them for their justification.

2. From the nature of the covenant of grace.

X. Second, it is repugnant to the nature of the covenant of grace under which the fathers lived. For since it implies the communion of the covenanted with God and the communication of all spiritual goods required to full felicity (and so of salvation itself) either we must say that the fathers were excluded from it or if they were received into it (as cannot be doubted), they must necessarily by that very thing have been freed from the curse of the law (and so of God) and from the guilt and sense of sin and admitted to the favor of God and a participation of salvation. Otherwise reconciliation can consist with wrath, blessing with cursing and a state of justification with the guilt of sin (which everyone sees to be absurd

[*asystaton*] in the highest degree). If the curse of the law still sounded in the ear of those ancients, it does not at once follow that they were still under it because it was not set before them on this account that they might remain under it, but that by its threatenings they might be impelled to seek the remedy of grace in Christ, who by the intervention of his suretyship and in virtue of his future death, "which profited before it took place" (as Bernard aptly says), freed them from the curse of the law.

3. From the guilt of sin.

XI. Third, it is repugnant to the guilt of sin, under which they maintain the fathers still were. For since it involves a twofold obligation—either to a personal punishment to be endured by the sinner himself or to a punishment due to sin in general—if they were under guilt, it had reference either to one or to the other or to both. Yet neither can be said. They were not under it as to personal obligation because such an obligation is incompatible (*asystatos*) with the redemption and salvation of believers, which delivers man from all personal punishment. For although it was not transferred properly to the surety because it was a personal and proper punishment (which cannot be transferred to another) still it was so relaxed and dissolved by the sponsion of Christ that it cannot bind believers anymore. Nor can it be said that they were under guilt as to obligation to punishment in general because that was laid upon the surety and by it Christ was so bound to a vicarious payment that a full immunity of them followed from his obligation.

4. From the justification and salvation of the fathers.

XII. Fourth, it is repugnant to the justification and salvation of the fathers. For if they were justified and saved (as is acknowledged on both sides), how can they be said to have been still under guilt and the sense of sin? Now that justification and remission of sins was granted to them, not only do the clear promises of God given to them concerning it plainly prove (Ex. 34:7; Pss. 32:1; 51:3, 4; 65:3; 85:2, 3; 103:3; 130:4; Is. 1:18; 44:22; Mic.

7:18, 19), but also the examples of Abraham, David, Daniel and others (on whom this grace was bestowed) indubitably demonstrate. Nor should we here have recourse to prophecy, as if Pss. 32, 51 and 103 were prophetic, referring to the time and believers of the New Testament. It is evident that David applies them to himself and to believers in his own time. Yet no consolation could return to them, if these blessings only after many ages were to be bestowed upon the pious, who were to live under the New Testament. To no purpose is it also added that it is not denied that justification was given to the fathers, but only that justification which results from a payment actually made. No one denies that such an absolution was reserved for the New Testament. And if nothing else is meant, the whole controversy could easily be settled. But besides the fact that it is at variance with Scripture usage to take the word "justification" in this sense, the question will always recur—whether the remission granted to them was not plenary and *aphesis* properly so called. Or whether it only had the relation of a pretermission (*pareseōs*).

5. From justifying faith.

XIII. Fifth, it is repugnant to the nature of the justifying faith which the fathers had. For since it consists most especially in the fiducial apprehension and application of the righteousness of Christ and of his most perfect satisfaction (whether as already made or as infallibly to be made), followed by peace with God, boldness (*parrēsia*) in approaching him, tranquility of conscience and solid consolation in life and death, it cannot be conceived how one possessed of such faith can be said to have been still under guilt and a sense of sin and under the curse of the law. And it seems harsh and little consistent with the grace of God bestowed upon them (in which they so often glory and exult) to think so of them. Consider carefully here the examples of Abraham, Jacob, Job, David, Hezekiah and others, who frequently testify their confidence in God and the joy and consolation flowing from it; yea, and are proposed as an example to the believers of the New Testament (Rom. 4:3–5; Gal. 3:6; Heb. 11:2; 2 Cor. 4:13). For although it is true that this confidence and consolation was less in them as to degree (on account of the more rigorous economy under which they

lived), still it cannot be doubted that their faith was the same as to species (with the effects inseparable from it).

6. From their sanctification.

XIV. Sixth, it is repugnant to their sanctification. For if by sanctification, they were delivered from the dominion of sin in virtue of the death of Christ working retroactively (as it did), they ought also to have been freed from its guilt by justification, since guilt and the dominion of sin mutually follow each other and establish and take away each other in turn. For as no one can be freed from guilt by justification without being immediately freed from its dominion by sanctification (which necessarily follows justification and cannot be torn asunder from it), thus he who is freed from its dominion ought first to have been freed from guilt, the cause of dominion.

7. From the distinction between pareseōs *and* apheseōs.

XV. Seventh, the distinction urged between *paresin* and *aphesin* (that *paresis* was only under the Old Testament but *aphesis* peculiar to the New) is without a solid foundation. (1) It is certain that these two words (although differing in sound; yea and obtain sometimes a diverse signification) are still promiscuously used by approved authors when they treat of the remission of sins. Buddaeus says *parienai* means "to indulge," "to permit," "to pardon" ("Commentarii linguae Graecae," *Opera omnia* [1557/1969], 4:762). Hesychius interprets *pariēmi synchrōnō, aphiēmi* and *paresin* by *aphesin* and *synchōrēsin* (*Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* [1861], 3:286 and 283). (2) In this affair, *aphesis* is everywhere ascribed to the fathers of the Old Testament, for the verb *aphienai* and the noun *aphesis* answer to the verb *ns', kphr, slch* and the nouns *slychh* and *kphrh*, by which the remission granted to them is expressed. "Blessed are they whose transgressions are forgiven" (*hōn aphethēsan hai anomiai*, Ps. 32:1); "and forgave the iniquity of my sin" (*kai su aphēkas tēn asebeian tēs kardias mou*, v. 5). Thus, "forgavedst the iniquity of thy people" (*aphēkas tas anomias tō laō sou*, Ps. 85:2); "for he will abundantly pardon" (*hoti epi poly aphēsei tas hamartias*

hymōn, Is. 55:7). Nor can the very many other passages be understood differently which everywhere promise remission of sins to believers (Ex. 34:7; Pss. 65:3; 130:3; 103:3; Mic. 7:18, 19).

XVI. (3) If this distinction held good, neither could John the Baptist (before the actual expiation made by the death of Christ, which *aphesis* is said to follow) have baptized *eis aphesin hamartiōn* (Mk. 1:4). Nor could Christ have said with propriety to the paralytic and to the sinful woman "Your sins are forgiven" (*apheōntai soi hai hamartiai*, Lk. 5:20; 7:47), or have commanded the disciples to pray for *aphesei* of sins, adding his promise (Mt. 6:12, 14). Nor could Peter have rightly asserted that all the prophets gave witness to Christ, that every believer in Christ would receive *aphesin hamartiōn* (Acts 10:43) in his name. For that these things are to be understood of believers of the New Testament (who were to believe when Christ had come) not of those who lived under the Old Testament (as the Remonstrants hold) is at variance with all reason. Yea, it is repugnant to the scope of the prophets' testimony concerning Christ, who did not say this only for our sake, but also for the believers of the Old Testament to whom they wrote and to whom no less than to us it belonged to believe in the Messiah and to be saved by him. Hence Peter does not speak of those "who would believe," but of "believers"; indeed of all—"whosoever believeth on him" (*panta ton pisteuonta eis auton*). Finally, Paul ought not to have ascribed *aphesin* to the justification of the ancients (as he does however, Rom. 4). If there is any difference between *aphesin* and *paresin* it ought to have been shown there (if there is any). He is so far from doing this that by the very same words he sets forth their justification and ours.

XVII. (4) *Aphesis* ought to be granted where there is a plenary remission from every obligation, penal and personal, for remission can be nothing else than a pardoning and not punishing, that no one may be called to trial or the punishment due be demanded of him. Now it cannot be denied that such a remission was granted to the fathers, since they were made partakers of salvation. To no purpose is it objected that a plenary and emphatic remission supposes the payment made. It suffices for remission that liberation be granted from all punishment on account of the payment, whether made or still to be made. For although a real expiation cannot be made except by a payment actually made, nothing hinders remission (its

fruit) from being granted to the believer in virtue of a payment still future, which before God (on account of its certainty) is considered as made.

Sources of explanation.

XVIII. The passage of Paul (urged above all others in confirmation of the *paresin* where he says, "Whom [Christ] God hath set forth to be a propitation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness" *dia tēn paresin tōn progegonotōn hamartiōn tē anochē tou Theou*, Rom. 3:25) is not well brought forward here, however it may be explained. Whether the preposition *dia* is understood causally with some and signifies "on account of," indicating the impulsive cause of the propitiation instituted by God, and set forth in the gospel, and *paresis* being referred to the time to which the forbearance (*anochē*) of God is assigned: or is understood finally with others and as meaning the same as *eis* ("to"); so that *paresis* is the end why Christ is set forth to be a propitiation, or that *dia tēn paresin* is put for *dia tēs pareseōs*, "through the remission." If we follow this latter sense (which is the more common and more in accordance with the words and scope of Paul), *paresis* will be the same as *aphesis*; as if you said a relaxation, the metaphor being taken from the bonds by which sins, as it were, have bound us under the power of Satan, should be unloosed by the propitiation of Christ. Thus many versions, the French, the Dutch, the English, the Italian have it, and orthodox interpreters have thus far explained it (as Calvin, Martyr, Bullinger, Piscator, Pareus and others). The meaning will be that God set forth Christ to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, for this purpose—to declare his righteousness by or on account of the remission of preceding sins (i.e., which had been committed before under the Old Testament in the time of the patience of God). He mentions indeed especially preceding sins, not to the exclusion of present and future, but in order to amplify the power of Christ's redemption (which was efficacious not only to the expiation of present, but of preceding sins also). As to the present, it was sufficiently clear. But it was a difficult and a momentous question—What was the case with the fathers before the advent of Christ? It seemed almost incredible that the effect of remission existed before the cause and that sins were remitted before they were expiated. Therefore Paul asserts that the propitiation of Christ did thus extend backwards. He

testifies: “Christ is the mediator of the New Testament, that by means of death he might expiate the transgressions that were under the first testament” (Heb. 9:15). Although Christ is said to have been set forth as a propitiation for the remission of preceding sins, it does not follow that they were not as yet remitted to the believers of that time because although it was only then obtained, it could be applied before.

XIX. If the former sense be retained, *paresis* will denote indeed a passing by and a dissimulation of sins, whose punishment he willed not to exact under the Old Testament, but deferred to the advent of Christ, in the meantime *en tē anochē*, bearing with the sins in forbearance and, as it were, overlooking them (*hyperidōn*, Acts 17:30). But then it will have reference not so much to the fathers, as to Christ, the sponsor, from whom he willed not to exact punishment from the beginning but left unpunished the sins laid upon him until the fulness of time. That *paresis*, however, did not prevent the fathers even then from rejoicing *aphesei*, obtaining a full remission of their sins in virtue of the future expiation. Thus the sense flows along clearly (to wit, that God set forth Christ to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness, on account of the passing by [*paresin*] and deferring of the punishment of preceding sins, committed in the time of the forbearance of God, which he on this account deferred, not that he might leave them altogether unpunished, but that in his own time he might punish them in Christ, and show his righteousness against sin, which had not been so clearly shown under the forbearance [*anochē*], sin not having been as yet punished).

XX. The promise of the remission of sins is so ascribed to the days of the New Testament (Jer. 31:34), as the remaining promises of the covenant are ascribed to them; for example, that “God will be our God” (v. 33), which evidently was granted to the ancient people. Nor can it be denied that remission was already under the Old Testament because it is promised under the New, any more than the covenant of grace itself, which is said to have been established only in these last days. These promises, therefore, are not to be understood absolutely and simply (as if they were in no manner), but relatively and comparatively because they were to be far more clearly and efficaciously set forth under the New Testament, not as to substance, but as to mode and degree. Since remission was given under the Old Testament through Christ about to die, now it is given through him dead

(i.e., the actual expiation having been made). (2) Remission under the Old Testament was dispensed through sacraments and sacrifices (which designated an expiation still to be made), but now under the New Testament, sacrifices having been abrogated, it is sealed by the sacraments as having been made. (3) It was formerly given ordinarily with less consolation, joy and certainty than now under the New Testament, on account of the clearness of the gospel, the removal of the legal yoke and the power and abundance of the consoling and joy-inspiring Spirit poured out after the exaltation of Christ. (4) Formerly it was given more sparingly and to fewer persons, but now it is more copiously dispensed and poured out indiscriminately upon all of every nation and rank. Thus far therefore this blessing is rightly promised, as peculiar to the New Testament. But the argument is badly drawn from the distinction of economy and manner of dispensation to an essential and intrinsic diversity, such as is here made between *paresin* and *aphesin*.

XXI. It is one thing to be justified by the grace of Christ from all things (from which men could not be justified by the law); another for that justification to be conferred at length only upon us under the New Testament. The former is mentioned in Acts 13:39, but not the latter because there is not here an opposition of the Old Testament (widely taken) to the New, but of the external ceremonies of the law to the internal communion of Christ (partakers of which the ancients were, beyond controversy). Thus nothing else is meant than that believers have the verity in the grace of Christ, only the shadow of which occurred in the external economy of the Mosaic Law (as Paul elsewhere testifies that ceremonies were a shadow of things to come and that the body is in Christ, Col. 2:17).

XXII. When Paul says, "Where remission of sins [*aphesis hamartiōn*] is, there is no more offering for sin" (Heb. 10:18), it is rightly argued from the position of the remission of sins to the position of the sole sacrifice of Christ, promised in the covenant of grace (by the intervention of which such a remission was acquired even to the exclusion of any other sacrifice of the same order or the repetition of it). For to no other end was it instituted than to acquire remission and to no purpose is it applied where sin has already been remitted. But falsely would anyone thence gather that remission had not been given for the sins under the Old Testament as long as the legal obligations were repeated somewhat frequently. It is evident that by such

obligations remission could not be gained and therefore they were repeated to show that by them the expiation of sin was impossible (or as long as the oblation of Christ had not been made, because it is certain that its moral efficacy went before its actual existence). Again, *aphesis* can be taken metonymically for its foundation or meritorious cause (to wit, the actual expiation through the blood of Christ) since (this having been made), the sacrifices of the Old Testament (shadowing it) ought really to have ceased (as also all other expiatory sacrifices of that kind, which are incompatible [*asystata*] with the sacrifice of Christ).

XXIII. Although the payment ought not to be made under the Old Testament (and so neither was sin sealed up, nor iniquity actually expiated, nor the righteousness of ages yet brought in), still these things derogate nothing from the truth and certainty of the justification of the believers of that time. The payment was most certainly to be made by the surety (according to God's decree) in virtue of which they could obtain remission of sins, as moral causes are accustomed to act before they are actualized. Thus, the actual obtainment of remission of sins is one thing; the application of it as certainly and infallibly about to be, another thing. The former took place only under the New Testament, but the latter obtained already under the Old Testament. Christ was bound to take away sins meritoriously by a satisfaction, but God had already taken them away efficaciously from the believers of the Old Testament by remission.

XXIV. If remission of sins was gained by no one under the Old Testament by the Levitical sacrifices in their absolute being (considered under the legal aspect), it does not follow on this account that it was not obtained by the fathers through the sacrifice that was to be offered in its time (which was signified and sealed by those sacrifices). And if Paul says that perfection (*teleiōsin*) could not come by the law (which had only a shadow of good things to come, Heb. 10:1), as a consequence he denies it to the fathers, who were under the law; not in virtue of the law, which was weak in the flesh (Rom. 8:3), but by the grace and merit of Christ, of which they also were partakers.

XXV. Although the ceremonial law with its often repeated sacrifices was like a handwriting (which taught in a legal form [*schesei*] what believers were by nature and what sin deserved, by inculcating the right of the violated covenant of works, so that it was made in this respect a

remembrance [*anamnēsis*] of sins, Heb. 10:3), still this did not hinder it (in its evangelical form [*schesei*]) from shadowing forth to them the future expiation of their sins by the blood of Christ and from sealing justification in him. In this respect, to the fathers rightly observing it, it could be in the place of a receipt which they would use for themselves to confirm the account of the handwriting against them. Thus while from one side it rebuked the guilt of sinners and threatened the deserved death to strike them with terror; from the other, it shadowed forth the death of the Mediator and sealed his grace for the consolation of the pious. The victims were therefore the remembrancers (*anamnēsis*) not only of sins, but of the remission of sins. They reminded them not only that they were sinners (and therefore worthy of death from the legal aspect [*schesei*]), but also that they have remission of sins in Christ.

XXVI. The "conscience of sins" of which Paul speaks (Heb. 10:2) cannot be of sin still resting upon the fathers and keeping them from all communion with God. For the suretyship of Christ, apprehended by faith, would prevent this from being the case. Rather it is the conscience of sin not as yet actually expiated, or capable of being expiated by the legal sacrifices, which on that account were repeated that believers might testify that they used them indeed as symbols of God's appointment. Yet they did not have true remission except from the suretyship of Christ and his future sacrifice, so that what the law could not do, that they obtained by the grace of Christ. Thus they did not indeed have that tranquility of conscience which arises from the ransom (*lytrō*) fully paid by the surety; nor was such a receipt given to them as is in the rising of Christ from the dead. But nevertheless they had as much as was sufficient to really tranquilize the conscience in the suretyship of Christ received by faith. For by it they could be certain that all their sins were blotted out of the account and carried to the account of Christ because he had taken these also upon himself and for them had constituted himself a debtor to suffer punishment; indeed so that they should be free from all personal obligation and the debt never be demanded of them. The conscience certainly cannot acquiesce unless it be actually expiated by a worthy sacrifice. There suffices for its acquiescence and enjoyment of its tranquility, the divine and unrepentable (*ametamelētos*) promise of the grace of God and the irrevocable substitution

of a most sufficient surety accepted in the court of God, whether the ransom (*lytron*) is still to be paid by the surety or has already been paid.

XXVII. The actual expiation of sin is not necessary to its remission. It suffices that it be promised and will certainly be accomplished. I confess that where we treat of the proper and personal payment of pecuniary debt, there is not a cancelling of the debt, unless the payment is made. But it is different with a vicarious satisfaction in a penal debt, in which the sponsion alone (provided it be infallible) is sufficient for the liberation of the accused.

XXVIII. It is one thing for sin not to have been expiated as yet under the Old Testament; another for believers to have been still under the guilt of it. Sin indeed was as yet unexpiated and was to be expiated. But believers nevertheless were not under its guilt, which had been transferred to Christ. They therefore lived under guilt still existing, but not under guilt resting upon them. Rather it was transferred to Christ by God's appointment and by him taken upon himself (from which, in consequence, the pious were delivered). And as guilt no longer touched believers, so neither the curse, the consequent of guilt. The obtainment of deliverance from the curse of the law took place only by Christ, who redeems us from the curse of the law, being himself made a curse (*katara*, Gal. 3:13). But the fruit and application had already been granted to the fathers in virtue of his future death.

XXIX. It is one thing to live under a legal economy; another, however, to be under the law as a covenant or to be of the works of the law. The fathers are rightly said to have been under the legal economy, but not in like manner can they be said to have been under the law as under a covenant for seeking righteousness and life under it (or to be of the works of the law). As many as are under the law in this manner are under the curse (Gal. 3:10), which cannot be said of believers.

XXX. The time of the New Testament is called "a time of favor" and "a year of favor" (Is. 49:8; 61:2), not absolutely and simply, as if the fathers were under the wrath of God, since they lived under the same covenant of grace and were saved by the same grace of Christ with us; but relatively and comparatively, as to the clearer, fuller and more efficacious manifestation of grace. The legal pedagogy being abrogated (which was somewhat rigid) and the intolerable (*abastaktō*) yoke of ceremonies having been removed (by

which they were pressed as to external dispensation), we experience far more excellently the grace and benevolence of God in Christ.

XXXI. Since the Devil has no power over man except from sin, either as to its guilt (by accusing him before God) or as to its dominion (by tempting him and holding him under a state of sin) or as to its punishments (afflicting and tormenting him, in accordance with the avenging justice of God), it cannot be truly asserted that the fathers were still under the power of the Devil. They were delivered both from the guilt of sin by justification and from its dominion by sanctification and from the punishments following it by the redemption of Christ and the power of the covenant of grace. Now although sin was not as yet abolished (i.e., expiated by an actual expiation through Christ), still it was abolished with respect to believers by remission (already granted in virtue of the transference of it to the surety and of the satisfaction to be made by him). Hence although he might throw up to believers their sin and tempt their consciences by this scruple (as he does still every day), yet he could not moreover obtain the rule over them, because they could easily overcome that temptation and repel the accusation from faith in the Redeemer promised to them and the grace to be obtained through him. This can be gathered from the notable example of Joshua representing the whole people (Zech. 3:1, 2). In the justification of Joshua, Satan is said to have stood at his right hand that he might oppose him as an accuser; yet the Son of God, our Redeemer, the true Jehovah, intercedes powerfully for him and pleads his cause against the unjust Accuser. Yea, he sharply rebukes him and teaches that he has no right over him anymore on account of God's election and redemption (by which he had become as "a brand plucked out of the fire," not only of the Babylonian captivity, but also of the infernal, of which that was a type). "The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan; even the Lord that hath chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee: is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?" (Zech. 3:2). And so far from the divine justice favoring his power in accusing believers of the Old Testament, he earned the severest rebuke from the Father, the Judge, and from the Son, the surety (as the very celebrated Leydecker fully demonstrates in the above cited book; cf. *Vis Veritatis* [1679]). To this volume we refer the reader who desires to gain a deeper knowledge of the whole of the controversy and others pertaining to it (which that most learned author distinctly and solidly handles).

XXXII. Now from these things (without adding more), it is sufficiently evident what is to be held as to the state of the fathers of the Old Testament (to wit, that they were sons, partakers equally with us of the same covenant of grace and of all its benefits and of salvation, but sons still in their minority [Gal. 4:2], having neither a full knowledge and feeling nor use of their goods; but held strictly like slaves under the legal bondage so that thus their state differs from ours, not as to the thing itself and the essence of saving doctrine [which in each case is the same], but as to degree and the different mode of dispensation). In this simplicity (which is abundantly sufficient for salvation), we think we ought to acquiesce. Thus there is no necessity for giving ourselves any further trouble in solving the various less necessary questions usually agitated here. These can break the bonds of peace and divide the souls of brethren in contrary pursuits (with great offense to the pious and injury to faith).

Eleventh Question: The Limbus of the Fathers

Whether the souls of the fathers of the Old Testament were immediately received into heaven after death or were cast into limbo. The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the papists

Statement of the question.

I. This question lies between us and the papists who (the more easily to defend their hypothesis concerning the imperfection of the Old Testament) maintain that the fathers who lived under it were not immediately admitted into heaven, but were detained in limbo until the coming of Christ. Now by the term *limbus*, they mean the upper part of hell and as it were the extremity; the metaphor being taken from a garment whose extremity or border (which runs along the extreme part) is called *limbus*, according to Virgil: “Clad in a Sidonian robe with embroidered border” (*Aeneid* 4.137 [Loeb, 1:404–5]).

II. The papists make a fourfold hell. They assign the first to the eternal punishment of sense and loss of the wicked, which is called by them hell by way of eminence (*kat’ exochēn*). They make the second of temporal punishment of sense and loss, which they call purgatory. To the other two

they give the common name of limbo. They hold the one to be eternal for the mere punishment of loss (for infants dying before baptism), which they call the "limbus of infants" (*Limbus Infantum*). The other is assigned to the temporal punishment of loss (for the fathers who died before the death of Christ), called by them the "limbus of the fathers" (*Limbus Patrum*). Thus Altenstaig says on this word: "Limbus according to Gerson, is the upper part of hell, in which they were kept to be saved as far as the debt of the first parent should be paid by the death of Christ" (*Lexicon theologicum* [1619/1974], p. 498; cf. Gerson, "De Articulis Fidei," Exp. 5 *Opera Omnia* [1987, repr.], 1:238; Thomas Aquinas, cf. *Innocentii Quinti ... in IV Libros Sententiarum Commentaria ex Manuscriptis ... Thomae Aquinatis*, Dist. 45, Q. 1*, Art. 2 [1652/1964], 4:432–33; and Bellarmine, "De Purgatorio," 2.6* *Opera* [1857], 2:396–97).

III. On the contrary, the orthodox assert that the souls of the fathers were immediately received into heaven after death, where they enjoy happiness and are free from both kinds of punishment, both that of loss and that of sense.

Reasons against limbo: (1) from the formula of the covenant.

IV. The reasons are: (1) the formula of the covenant of grace under which the fathers lived does not suffer them to be hurled into a limbo, but demands that they should be admitted into heaven. For since God promised that he would be their God, not temporarily, but eternally (nor is he the God of the dead, but of the living)—the fathers must necessarily still live even after death, at least as to some part of them (i.e., as to the soul), not with any kind of life, but with a happy and heavenly life, necessarily included in this promise (as has been proved before, Question 2). Christ expressly teaches this. When speaking of the dead fathers he says "All live unto him" (*pantes autō zōsi*, Lk. 20:38), not only in the mind and power of God because he can recall them to life and was really about to do this according to his decree; but they live because they are before him always and enjoy a divine life. This is both "from him" (as the beginning) and terminates "on him" (as its object and end). Now who would say that they live in God who

being thrust into hell are without the vision of God and feel the punishment of loss (at least the temporal).

2. From the example of Lazarus.

V. Second, the ancients immediately after death were received into the bosom of Abraham, as appears from the example of Lazarus (Lk. 16:22, 23). Therefore they were also received into heavenly joy. For "the bosom of Abraham" can be referred to no other thing than to eternal life; this is shadowed forth under the symbol of a sumptuous feast, in allusion to a custom of the ancients in which they were accustomed so to recline at their feasts that the one rested his head on the bosom of the other. This is said of John, because Christ reclining upon the higher part of the couch had John next to him, who is therefore said to have leaned upon his bosom (Jn. 13:23). Thus nothing is more natural than that it should be said here that Lazarus was to Abraham what John was to the Lord; in the heavenly feast especially since Christ elsewhere clearly unfolds this mystery when he says, "Many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven" (Mt. 8:11), i.e., shall enjoy with him the celestial banquet. "To sit down with Abraham" and "to be in the bosom of Abraham" are the same except that to be in the bosom is a mark of greater love because not all shall recline upon his bosom, as Maldonatus aptly remarks on this passage (*Commentaria in quatuor evangelistas* [1863], 2:287–88 on Lk. 16:22). Now mention is made of Abraham rather than of Jacob or any other saint; both because he was the father of believers in whose bosom (i.e., most loving embrace) they are collected who partake of the fruit of the same faith with him, as sons come together in the bosom of their father when they are graciously received by him; and also on account of his liberal hospitality during life, so that the hospitality of the good but wealthy Abraham may be opposed to the inhospitality of the wealthy provider of the feast.

VI. Hence it is evident that to no purpose does Bellarmine maintain that the bosom of Abraham is nothing else than limbo and that the souls of Abraham and of Lazarus were in the same abyss with the soul of the provider of the feast, distinct indeed from each other, but having nothing solid interposed, but only a great gulf (*mega chasma*) ("De Purgatorio,"

2.6* in *Opera* [1857], 2:396). For first, our interpretation concerning the reclining in the heavenly banquet being established, this figment falls to the ground. Hence, after mention of this sitting down, it is added that others shall be cast out "into outer darkness" (*eis to skotos exōteron*, Mt. 8*:12)—the similitude being taken from a magnificent banquet in which on the inside the ceiling glitters with lamps, but outside there is nothing but the blackness of night. Thus whatever is outside the kingdom of heaven (where the eternal light shines) will be darkness. Again, in the bosom of Abraham good things are received and consolation is given to Lazarus for the torture he had suffered. Thus "the alternate changes of evil and good things are compensated by an ample retribution" (Tertullian, *De Idolatria* 13.14–15 [trans. J. H. Waszink and J. C. M. van Winden, 1987], pp. 46–47). But in limbo neither can this good be possessed, nor any place for consolation be had because there is the punishment of loss and exclusion from the face of God. Third, if Abraham was in hell, how can it be said that the abyss was so profound that there could be no passage from one to the other? How could Lazarus be said to have been carried away (*apenechtheis*) to a different place from hell, where the rich man is said to have been? Fourth, the Roman Ritual itself favors our opinion. For among other things which the clergy ought to sing, as soon as the funeral enters the church, they sing, "May Christ who called receive thee and angels carry thee into the bosom of Abraham" ("Caput 8: De Exspiratione*," *Rituale Romanum* [1944], p. 141). In reality the whole of this discourse (whether it be a history or a parable or a history parabolically described) must be understood not according to the letter (*kata to rhēton*) and historically, but parabolically, for neither tongues nor speech nor fingers can belong to souls.

3. From the thief.

VII. Third, the thief is admitted into paradise before the ascension of Christ according to his promise, "Today shalt thou be with me in paradise" (Lk. 23:43). Nor should it be said here that "today" must be construed with the preceding verb ("I say") and not with what follows ("shalt thou be with me") so that the meaning is "today I say unto thee, thou shalt be with me in paradise" (to wit, at the last judgment) because the construction will not suffer this. In vain would this be added because no one speaks except in the

present time and it is clear that Christ refers to the words of the thief, "Remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom" (v. 42). Nor should it be said that paradise is limbo (as Maldonatus holds), because it appears from Scripture that paradise is located in heaven as a place of delight and of eternal happiness (2 Cor. 12:2, 4; Rev. 2:7). Nor should it be said that the thief requested only this—that Christ should remember him in paradise—because it is not absurd to say that Christ gave more to him than he asked, as the most kind Father is accustomed to do above what we seek. Nor is this a privilege peculiar to the thief and not common to others since faith and repentance (to whom this is given by Christ) is common to all true believers. Hence Bellarmine rightly proves from this passage that the saints immediately after death enjoy the vision of God ("De Sanctorum Beatitudine," 1.7 *Opera* [1857], 2:437–38).

4. From Enoch and Elijah.

VIII. Fourth, Enoch and Elijah were translated to heaven (Heb. 11:5; 2 K. 2:11). For although this was peculiar to them that they were bodily whirled into heaven, it was not singular that they were spiritually admitted into it; yea, they were the solemn pledges to the pious of the heavenly glory to be at length obtained. Nor if the letter said to have been written from Elijah to Jehoram (2 Ch. 21:12) was handed to the king only after Elijah's death, does it follow that it was written after his translation. It is one thing for it to have been written after his translation; another to have been given only then. The emptiness of the figment concerning the translation of Enoch and Elijah to a terrestrial paradise, also concerning their return to war against Antichrist has been elsewhere exposed (Volume I, Topic VIII, Question 7, Section 9).

5. From the consolation of the ancients.

IX. Fifth, the ancient believers waited for a heavenly city (Heb. 11:10) and had a great consolation and certain hope of glory in death (which would not have been the case if they had as yet to be hurled into hell). How could Jacob have testified that he waited with such earnestness the salvation of the Lord (Gen. 49:18) and David that he committed his spirit into the hand

of the Lord (Ps. 31:5), if they should still be far off from the face of God and were to be glorified only after many ages? Nor can it be said that David thus commended to God the perfection of life because the words can bear no other meaning according to the style of Scripture than to deliver the soul to God (as is evident from the example of Stephen, Acts 7:59).

Sources of explanation.

X. What is said of "the sepulcher" and "death" (Gen. 37:35; 42:38)—that Jacob was about to go down with sadness (*lsh'vl*) ("into the grave") is falsely drawn to limbo. *Sh'vl* or *hadēs* is the grave into which men descend after death.

XI. "The pit wherein is no water," from which the ancients were to be sent forth by the blood of the covenant (Zech. 9:11), ought not to be drawn to limbo since this may be said partly literally concerning deliverance from the Babylonian captivity and the miseries accompanying it (from which the Jews were not yet entirely freed); partly mystically, concerning the spiritual captivity under sin from which Christ frees us by the efficacy of his blood, by which the covenant of grace is ratified (as it was the foundation of all deliverances even temporal).

XII. It was not the real Samuel who was seen by the woman (1 S. 28:12), but only his apparition (*spectrum*) (to wit, a demon personating the prophet), who came out of the earth to terrify Saul, as Satan himself often transfigures himself into an angel of light. For no right or dominion belongs to demons over the souls of the pious whom God has received into the eternal tabernacle that they may rest from their labors (otherwise their condition after death would be worse than in life, in which, armed with faith, they are safe from all the assaults of Satan). Besides, if it was Samuel himself, he would not have suffered Saul to worship him; nor could it be said that God had not answered Saul consulting him—neither by priests nor by prophets, because he had answered then by the prophets. Nor is there anything important as to the mistake in the name of Samuel given to that apparition; it could be so called on account of similitude, as images are usually called by the names of the things themselves of which they are images (as Augustine fully proves *ad Simplicianum*). Nor is there any importance in this that it predicted future things because this could be done

by divine revelation for the punishment of men (as the same Augustine and after him Lyranus observe; cf. *De diversis questionibus ad Simplicianum* [PL 40:101–48]).

XIII. It is said that no one ascended into heaven before the Son of man descended from heaven (Jn. 3:13), not as to local ascension to the beatific vision because Enoch and Elijah had already been translated even bodily, but as to a mystical ascension (i.e., a knowledge of heavenly things to be made manifest to men). As "to ascend into heaven" (Rom. 10:6) is to know divine mysteries (cf. Prov. 30:4). In this sense, it is said that no one has ever seen God, but the Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has revealed him to us (Jn. 1:18); and "neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him" (Mt. 11:27).

XIV. "The way into the holiest of all" is said not to have been manifested before the ascension of Christ (Heb. 9:8); not that it was entirely concealed, but (1) that it was not so clearly made known. Therefore the fathers went into heaven through Christ (in whom they believed) because he is the way of entrance into heaven, but who was not yet clearly known because he had not yet come. (2) Again, it was not known to any of the Gentiles, as in the New Testament. (3) It was not as yet manifested by the actual ransom (*lytrō*) of Christ (which had not yet been paid), but only as to efficacy of merit. (4) Time is not compared with time here, but rather the Mosaic sacrifices with the sacrifice of Christ, to intimate that they could not open heaven to us, which was granted to the blood of Christ alone. (5) If Christ is said to have been the first who entered into heaven, this is to be understood not as to time, but as to causality because the entrance of Christ was the true cause of the fathers' no less than of our entrance into heaven.

XV. The "prison" (*phylakē*) mentioned in 1 Pet. 3:19 ("by which [Spirit] also Christ went and preached unto the spirits in prison" [*tois en phylakē*]) cannot mean the limbo of the fathers. He speaks of those which "sometime were disobedient" (*apeithēsasi pote*), while Christ by his prophetic Spirit through Noah preached repentance to them. Rather it denotes the infernal prison (as in Rev. 20:7) in which (in the time of Peter) they were held shut up on account of their resistance to the preaching of Christ by Noah (to wit, to those who are in prison now [*tois en phylakē ousi*], not who were formerly there).

XVI. Although it can be said that the ancients received some increase of knowledge and consolation after the exhibition of Christ in the flesh and his ascension unto heaven (as is said of the angels, Eph. 3:10), it does not follow that they had been altogether excluded from heaven and from beholding the face of God; but only that their beatitude was not yet fully consummated. To this some refer the words of the apostle: "God having provided some better things for us, that they without us should not be made perfect" (Heb. 11:40). And to this Calvin seems to have had respect by the mirror or act of watching in which he says the fathers were said from a desire of Christ not to exclude them from the fruition of beatitude and the vision of God, but to mark the desire and earnest expectation (*apokaradokian*) of the advent of Christ, to which also the angels are said to have looked (1 Pet. 1:12) (*Epistle of Paul ... to the Hebrews and the First and Second Epistles of St. Peter* [trans. W. B. Johnston, 1963], p. 293 on 1 Pet. 3:19).

XVII. The promise sometimes denotes the first advent of Christ in the flesh promised in the Old Testament; sometimes the second in glory promised in the New. The ancients died without "receiving the promise" (Heb. 11:39)—namely, concerning the former advent of Christ, which was reserved for us without them. But believers still wait for the promise (*epangelian*)—namely, to be brought in the latter advent of the Lord (Heb. 10:36, 37)—which they also themselves are about to receive; but not without us for what we now expect will be common to us with them. Thus God has set before us "something better" (*kreitton ti*) with regard to the former advent, in which we alone rejoice.

Twelfth Question

Whether the Sinaitic legal covenant, made by Moses with the people of Israel on Mount Sinai, was a certain third covenant distinct in species from the covenant of nature and the covenant of grace. We deny

Various opinions concerning the Sinaitic covenant.

I. The opinions of theologians vary on this subject. Some maintain that the Sinaitic covenant was a covenant of works; others that it was a mixture of

the covenant of works and the covenant of grace; others that it was properly neither a covenant of nature nor of grace, but a third covenant distinct from both in its whole species and was instituted to minister to the covenant of grace (and for this reason properly called "subservient"). Finally others (with whom we agree) say that it was a covenant of grace, but promulgated with the law and lying under it (which was sanctioned in the unusual manner of terror and servitude, in accordance with the state of the Israelite people and the age of the church at that time).

Opinion of Cameron on the threefold covenant.

II. That celebrated man, John Cameron, seems to have been the first among our men to introduce an opinion concerning a threefold covenant ("De Triplici Dei cum homine foedere theses," *Opera* [1642], pp. 544–51). The most learned Amyrald embraced this and laboriously endeavors to prove it in "Theses Theologicae de Tribus Foederibus Divinis" (in *Syntagma Thesium Theologicarum* [1664], pp. 212–31). Their followers agree with them maintaining that there are three covenants (properly so called) which God has made with man: the first natural, made with innocent Adam in the earthly paradise; the second, of grace, entered into with fallen men in the gospel; the third, the legal covenant, confirmed through Moses with the Israelites on Mount Sinai. The latter is called the "ancient" or "subservient" covenant because God made it with them to prepare them for the covenant and inflame them with a desire of the promise and of the gospel covenant and at the same time of restraining them from wickedness by throwing (as it were) a rein over them, to the time in which he was to send the Spirit of adoption and govern them by the law of liberty.

III. Now they hold that such was the nature of this covenant that in various particulars it agrees with and differs from the covenant of nature and the covenant of grace. It agrees with the covenant of nature: (1) as to the contracting parties because in both they are God and man; (2) as to the stipulation which is annexed to both; (3) as to the promise which is the same in kind. It differs: (1) as to the object because the covenant of nature was entered into with all men, the legal with the Israelites alone (the former with man in a state of innocence; the latter with a part of the fallen human race); (2) as to the promise, which in the first was life to be passed in the

earthly paradise, in the latter a happy life in Canaan; (3) as to the stipulation, the former binds to obedience due to the law of nature, the latter to ceremonies also; (4) as to foundation, the covenant of nature rests upon creation and general conservation, but the legal covenant rests upon the election of the Israelite people and their deliverance from Egypt; (5) as to end, the end of the former was more properly the exaction of duty from man; of the latter, preparation for Christ from a conviction of man's weakness; (6) as to the mediator, the former was without one, the latter could not be entered into without a mediator.

IV. It agrees with the covenant of grace: (1) in the author because the author of both is God; (2) in the object (to wit, man—a sinner); (3) in the mediator, who is found in both; (4) in the end—the end of both is to show sin and to lead to Christ. It differs: (1) as to the relation (*schesin*) of the author, for in the legal God is considered simply as rebuking sin and approving righteousness alone, but in the evangelic, as pardoning sin and renewing righteousness in man; (2) as to stipulation—for that of the former is "Do this and live"; of the latter, "Believe and thou shalt be saved"; (3) as to the mediator, who in the former was Moses a mere man; in the latter Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpos*); (4) as to the object, man stupefied by sin was the object of the former; the conscience terrified by sin was the object of the latter; (5) as to the effects, the former gendered to bondage, the latter to liberty; that led to Christ indirectly, this directly. That was a handwriting (*syngraphē*) against us, this a disburdener (*seisachtheia*); the one restrains from sin, but with compulsion, while the other restrains with spontaneous inclination (cf. Cameron, "De Triplici Dei cum homine foedere theses," *Opera* [1642], pp. 544–51).

Common opinion of the orthodox concerning the threefold covenant.

V. However, we recognize only two covenants mutually distinct in species (to wit, the covenant of works, which promises life to the doer; and the covenant of grace, which promises salvation to believers). Although we confess that the Sinaitic covenant as to mode of dispensation was different from both, still as to substance and species we deny that it is constituted a

third covenant and hold that it was nothing else than a new economy of the covenant of grace. It was really the same with the covenant made with Abraham, but different as to accidents and circumstances (to wit, clothed as to external dispensation with the form of a covenant of works through the harsh promulgation of the law; not indeed with that design, so that a covenant of works might again be demanded with the sinner [for this was impossible], but that a daily recollection and reproaching of the violated covenant of works might be made; thus the Israelites felt their sin and the curse of God besides hanging over them and acknowledged the impossibility of a legal righteousness; driven away from that hope, they so much the more ardently thirsted for the righteousness of redemption and were led along by the hand to Christ). Hence in it there was a mixture of the law and the gospel: the former to strike terror into sinners and press upon the neck of the stiff-necked (*schlērotragēlou*) people; the latter to lift up and console the conscience contrite and overpowered by a sense of sin.

Statement of the question.

VI. The question is not whether the cause of salvation was different under the Old and New Testament. They with whom we argue confess that it was the same in both and that the fathers were saved in no other way than by Christ. The question is not even whether a multiple diversity occurs between this legal and evangelical covenant as to economy. This we acknowledge on both sides and have proved before. Rather the question is whether the diversity was essential and such that it may be called, besides a new covenant strictly, distinct in species as much from the covenant of nature as of grace (which they hold and we deny).

Reasons against a threefold covenant: (1) from Scripture, which mentions only two covenants.

VII. The reasons are: (1) the Scripture tells us of only two covenants, nowhere however of three. Now we are not to distinguish where the Scripture does not. In Gal. 4:24, under the allegory of Sarah and Hagar, Paul points out two covenants: the legal which genders to bondage; the

evangelical, which leads to freedom. In Heb. 8 (from Jer. 31), two covenants are in like manner enumerated: the old which was violated and made void; the new which is eternal and immutable. Thereupon the apostle institutes an antithesis between the law of works and the law of faith; the letter that killeth and the Spirit that maketh alive (which he could not have done with sufficient accuracy, if there was a certain third covenant distinct from both).

2. From the modes of obtaining happiness, either by works or by faith.

VIII. (2) There can be so many and no more covenants as there are ways and modes of obtaining happiness and communion with God (which is the proper end of the institution of a covenant). Now there are only two such modes: either by personal and inherent or by imputed obedience; either by works or by faith. The former by the law, whose formula is "Do this and live"; the latter by the gospel, whose voice says, "Believe and thou shalt be saved." Nor can there be any middle way of happiness. Therefore in vain is a third covenant feigned which belongs neither to works nor to faith.

3. Because the Sinaitic covenant was a covenant of grace. This is proved: (a) from Dt. 7 and 29.

IX. (3) The Sinaitic covenant is no other than the covenant of grace entered into before with the fathers. This appears (a) from Dt. 7:11, 12 where Moses promises to the keeping of the covenant made with the fathers. Also from Dt. 29:10–13 where he renews the covenant made in Horeb, that he would be a God of the people according to the oath sworn unto the fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. This teaches most clearly that for no other end was this Sinaitic covenant made than to confirm the preceding covenant.

b. On the part of God.

X. (b) The parties to this covenant prove the same thing. There is here no other formula on the part of God than that which is found in the covenant of

grace. He covenants with the Israelites as their God and also as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Ex. 3:6; Acts 3:13). This is the very substance of the covenant of grace on God's part, embracing in itself the whole communication of God towards the perfecting and glorifying of sinful man (Lev. 26; Jer. 31; Mt. 22; 2 Cor. 6). Hence he is set forth not only as the God of his people, but also as their Redeemer (Ex. 20:2); as the merciful pardoner of sins (Ex. 34:6, 7); as a sanctifier, promising circumcision of the heart (Dt. 30:6, 8); as a faithful husband, having a marital care for his people (Ezk. 16:8, 9; Jer. 3:14; Hos. 2:20); as a kind father, who begets sons, nourishes and cherishes them with paternal affection (Dt. 32:6, 8–10; Is. 1:2, 3; Hos. 11:1); as a gracious king, who placed his sanctuary in the midst of the people that he might dwell and walk with them (Ex. 25:8; 29:45, 46; Lev. 26:11, 12), i.e., might hold communion with them, deeming them worthy of his gracious presence for direction in difficulties, protection in dangers, blessing in adversity and consolation in griefs. Now since so many and so great blessings could not be obtained from God except in virtue of a covenant of grace, the Sinaitic covenant (in which he so exhibited himself) can be no other than a covenant of grace.

c. On the part of the Israelites.

XI. (c) The Israelites, who were the other contracting part, sustained no other relation than what pertains to the covenant of grace, while they are considered both antecedently in themselves as sinners and exposed to death in a most miserable state (which is described by a virgin recently born lying in her own blood, Ezk. 16:4–6); and consequently from grace, as "the seed of Abraham" to whom the promises in Christ were made (Gal. 3:16)—as "the people of God" who obtained mercy (Hos. 2:1; Rom. 9:25; 1 Pet. 2:10); as *sglh* and *laos periousios* a peculiar treasure, above all people (Ex. 19:5), i.e., beloved of God above others, whom he claims as peculiar to him and whom, with great zeal, he cares for and guards like treasures of the most precious things. It is evident that all these relations (*scheseis*) pertain to the covenant of grace per se.

XII. It is confirmed by this—that the Israelites with whom God stipulates were already under the Abrahamic covenant (which was a covenant of grace). By it, they were saved in Christ. Therefore they could not be under a

legal covenant. For no one can be at the same time under two covenants distinct in their whole species. Nor is it of any account to say that the legal subserved the covenant of grace, because it could do this by reason of economy, but not by reason of the covenant because it is opposed to and incompatible (*asystaton*) with grace.

d. From the circumstances of the covenant.

XIII. (d) There are very many circumstances in that giving of the law (*nomothesia*) which are purely evangelical—as that Moses having read the book of the covenant took the blood of the victims with which he sprinkled the people saying, "Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you" (Ex. 24:8). The apostle teaches this was not free from mystery (Heb. 9:20), to denote the blood of sprinkling (Heb. 12:24) and the sprinkling of the blood of Christ (both upon the altar for the satisfaction of justice and the expiation of sin; and upon the people for the application of his merit, the remission of sin and justification). An indubitable proof of this was the approach of the elders (who represented the whole people) to God (Ex. 24:10, 11), whom they not only "saw," but "did eat and drink before" (i.e., were admitted into communion with him [which had before been so strictly forbidden them] and enjoyed his good things). This could not have been done by the legal covenant (which keeps the sinner off), but must necessarily have been done by the gospel in virtue of the blood of Christ. And further, the twofold manner of legislation (which God wished to enter upon) must here be especially observed: the first terrible, related in Ex. 19, where barriers were placed around the mountain and Moses alone permitted to approach God; the other sweet, in which the covenant is made with the blood of victims and the elders with Moses are called up the mount that they may enjoy the sight and communion of God (Ex. 24:10, 11). The former has a legal relation (*schesin*); the latter an evangelical. These two relations (*scheseis*) are always conjoined in that dispensation. The latter is the more important and principal; the former accessory and ministerial.

XIV. Here belongs the fact that Paul describes the gospel righteousness of faith (Rom. 10:6–8) in the same words by which Moses had set forth the doctrine delivered to the people in the Sinaitic covenant (Dt. 30:11, 12, 14). Not only allusively and by way of imitation (*mimēsin*) transferring and

adapting to the righteousness of faith what was said of the legal, but properly and by direct proof, both because he had designated the righteousness of the law in another manner that "the man which doeth those things shall live by them" and because the facility of observation of that word does not pertain to the law (which is a dead letter) but to the gospel (whose word is not only imperative, but also operative by the power of the vivifying Spirit). Here is meant the word not so much of the law as of the gospel, by which God (in the same place) promises pardon to penitents and circumcision of heart, i.e., "word of faith which we preach" (as the apostle explains in the same place). "But the righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? [for] the word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart" (i.e., the whole doctrine of salvation, which is in the heart by faith, but in the mouth by confession). Now how could Paul have said this unless he had recognized that covenant, by virtue of which such promises were given, to be not so much legal as evangelical?

4. From the ceremonial law, which was wholly typical.

XV. (4) The ceremonial law (which made a part of that covenant) shows that all things in this covenant were mystical, typical, representative and symbolical of the covenant of grace and of all its parts (which accordingly were contained under them, as the truth under figures, Col. 2:17). This appeared most of all in the sacrifices which (for no other reason than as types of the sacrifices of Christ) expiated sins. Hence, "an offering made by fire is said to be of a savour of rest (*rych nychvch*) unto the Lord" (Lev. 1:9, 13, 17), i.e., most acceptable, which makes God (provoked by sins) rest and pleases him. Since however that expiation could not be made by the victim's own virtue (Heb. 9:9, 10), it must necessarily be made by another, namely by Christ prefigured. Nor does it help the matter to say that this worship belonged to external purity and immunity from temporal punishments in the court of earth. Although this was a use of ceremonies (inasmuch as they are considered absolutely and in themselves), they ought to have another (inasmuch as they were as figures and images). For thus

they were as moral instruments by which (perceived by faith) the believers of the Old Testament perceived the thing at the same time as the apostle ascribes to them (1 Cor. 10:2–4).

5. From the sacraments of the Old Testament.

XVI. (5) The two sacraments of the covenant of grace already made with the fathers were conjoined to the Sinaitic covenant (to wit, circumcision and the Passover, which prevailed under that dispensation until Christ and were added as seals to confirm it, Jn. 7:22, 23; Dt. 16:1, 2). This could not have been done if it had been a third new covenant, distinct in entire species from the covenant of grace. For it is absurd to add the sacraments of the covenant of grace to a certain different covenant, whether it be called one of works or subservient.

6. From absurdity because it would derogate from the Abrahamic covenant.

XVII. (6) If the Sinaitic covenant was purely legal, it follows that God by this covenant derogated from the Abrahamic covenant because a posterior covenant derogates from a prior. Nor could place have been given for another covenant if that former had always stood. Now so far from derogating from the former covenant, it was rather made for its confirmation. Hence the apostle shows that the law (given four hundred and thirty years after the promise was given to Abraham, Gal. 3:17) could not make it of none effect. It was added only on account of transgressions, until the seed should come to whom the promise was made (v. 19). This proves that the law pointed away to Christ as the end to which it looked; if not by itself and in its own nature, at least in the intention and design of the lawgiver. To say that this covenant subserved the covenant of grace is really to say that it was not a covenant, but only a dispensation. A covenant properly so called has the power of binding by itself the contracting parties, nor is it directed to another. If therefore that dispensation had respect to another (as it really did), it is a proof that it was not a different covenant in

species, but only a different mode of economy, adapted to the time, place and state of the persons.

Sources of explanation.

XVIII. The Mosaic covenant may be viewed in two aspects: either according to the intention and design of God and in order to Christ; or separately and abstracted from him. In the latter way, it is really distinct from the covenant of grace because it coincides with the covenant of works and in this sense is called the letter that killeth and the ministration of condemnation, when its nature is spoken of (2 Cor. 3:6, 7). But it is unwarrantably abstracted here because it must always be considered with the intention of God, which was, not that man might have life from the law or as a sinner might be simply condemned, but that from a sense of his own misery and weakness he might fly for refuge to Christ.

XIX. Although the Sinaitic and the legal covenants are opposed in Jer. 31 to the new covenant, it is not necessary that this opposition should be as to essence, but it can be as to accidents or diversity of economy (as a man is opposed to himself, as standing and sitting). If remission is promised under the new covenant, it does not follow that the fathers under the old were without it, no more than from the fact that God promises to be the God of future believers under the New Testament, it can lawfully be inferred that he was not the God of the fathers. These promises are not to be understood absolutely and simply, but relatively and comparatively with regard to greater clearness and efficacy. Again, if a specific opposition be urged, then the covenant is viewed, not in its whole latitude, but only as to the legal relation (*schesin*) and in contradistinction to the gospel—so as to designate what the law can or cannot do absolutely and in itself, separated from the gospel.

XX. The Sinaitic covenant was not without Christ because (1) Moses testified of him (Jn. 5:45, 46; Lk. 24:44; Acts 3:22, 23; 26:22, 23); (2) he is contained implicitly under the promise of a peculiar treasure, royal priesthood and holy nation (Ex. 19:5, 6 compared with 1 Pet. 2:9, 10)—for without Christ, sinners cannot obtain these privileges (as was said before); (3) in the preface to the decalogue, God is set forth as the God of the people and the deliverer from Egypt (which could be done only through Christ);

(4) the ratification of the covenant by the blood of victims typified the blood of Christ; (5) the legal types and shadows chiefly pointed to no other than Christ; (6) the principal scope and spirit of the law was Christ, without whom it is nothing else than a corpse and a letter that kills (Rom. 10:4; Gal. 3:24).

XXI. The law is said "to be not of faith" (Gal. 3:12), not as taken broadly and denoting the Mosaic economy, but strictly as taken for the moral law abstractly and apart from the promises of grace (as the legalists regarded it who sought life from it). For it is proved that faith was taught even in the Sinaitic covenant: (1) because Christ, its object, was contained in it; (2) because God cannot be worshipped, as required in the first commandment, without faith, which purifies the heart, works through love and makes us acceptable to God (Acts 15:9; Heb. 11:6); (3) because the Sinaitic covenant by convincing man of his sin and weakness impelled him to seek Christ by faith, since by the law "God hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe" (Gal. 3:22); and "the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith" (v. 24); (4) because Paul describes the righteousness of faith (Rom. 10:6, 7) in the same words as Moses declared the precepts of the law (Dt. 30:11–13), to teach that they are not simply legal, but also evangelical. Nor if it is said in Gal. 3:23 that "faith" should be revealed (to wit, comparatively), as to clearer manifestation, does it follow that it was not revealed absolutely under the Old Testament.

XXII. The specific difference of a covenant cannot make a diversity of condition, expressed by the law and gospel—of the former imperfect obedience; of the latter in faith. It was not required in the same way, nor for the same end. For faith in Christ is demanded primarily and intended chiefly, but perfect obedience (under punishment of death and the curse) only subordinately and relatively to faith and the righteousness of faith. By convincing man of his sin and weakness, it forced him to seek a remedy in Christ by faith (as we have already said). Again, these two conditions are proposed because they are necessary to the salvation of the sinner: perfect obedience in Christ to fulfill the righteousness of the law (*to dikaiōma tou nomou*), without which the justice of God did not permit life to be given to us; faith however in us that the perfect obedience and satisfaction of Christ might be applied to us and become ours by imputation. Thus what was

demanded of us in the covenant of works is fulfilled by Christ in the covenant of grace. Nor is it absurd that in this way justification takes place by works and by faith—by the works of Christ and by our faith. And thus in sweet harmony the law and the gospel meet together in this covenant. The law is not administered without the gospel, nor the gospel without the law. So that it is as it were a legal-gospel and an evanglical-law; a gospel full of obedience and a law full of faith. So the gospel does not destroy the law, but establishes it (Rom. 3:31) by giving us Christ, who perfectly fulfilled it. And the law is not against the gospel, since it refers and leads us to it as its end.

XXIII. Although Moses can in a measure be called a mediator in the Sinaitic covenant (because he acted the part of an internuncius by standing between Jehovah and the people [Dt. 5:1] who however could not reconcile the people to God), it does not follow that the covenant of which he is called the mediator was different in species from the covenant of grace, in which such a reconciliation is brought about. He was only a typical and external mediator, not a primary and true one from whom alone (his sponsion made and accepted by God) he had his whole power and efficacy to the reconciliation of sinners and their deliverance from the eternal curse and reception of heavenly life. Moses could (according to the relation [*schesin*] of internuncius which he sustained) in his manner give the covenant effect to a certain point by acting as the interpreter of the will of the parties so that by the intervention of their consent the covenant itself might be entered into. But he could not institute further reconciliation per se (which pertained only to Christ, who should be the peacemaker [*eirēnopoios*]).

XXIV. The promise of the land of Canaan given to the people was not primary and principal, but only secondary and less principal (added by way of proposition [*prothēkēs*]; of addition to the primary concerning God about to be their God and indeed as a pledge and symbol of the heavenly Canaan [of which it was a type, Heb. 4], to which the fathers looked [Heb. 11:15, 16]). Therefore, a specific diversity of covenant cannot (except falsely) be inferred from the diversity of that promise from the one given to us in the gospel. Rather only a diversity of dispensation may be inferred which even the other differences between the Old and New Testaments here adduced concerning the spirit of bondage (of which we have spoken before) imply.

XXV. It is one thing to speak of the law in itself (which had the form of a covenant of works and was enacted not with the end of making alive, but to convict of transgression, extort the confession of debt and lead to Christ); another concerning the Sinaitic covenant itself, in which the law was enacted. In the former sense, the law is called a handwriting against us and the minister of condemnation (2 Cor. 3:9; Col. 2:14); but in the latter sense, that covenant had the lively oracles (*logia zōnta*, Acts 7:38) and contained the saving promises of the grace of Christ.

THIRTEENTH TOPIC

THE PERSON AND STATE OF CHRIST

FIRST QUESTION

Has the promised Messiah already come? We affirm against the Jews

I. Since Christ is the Mediator of the New Testament and the cause and fountain of all the blessings which flow to us from the covenant of grace, the doctrine concerning the covenant could never be rightly understood without a knowledge of Christ. Since two things in him should be most especially attended to (his person and office), we must speak first of his person before we pass to his office.

The first question, concerning the advent of the Messiah.

II. Now that we may the more easily inquire into the person of Christ, two questions must be premised: the first concerns the advent of the Messiah *in thesi*, from which it will appear that the Messiah, who was to come, has already come; the second concerns his person in *hypothesi*, or who he is, that we may know he is no other than Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Mary.

***Who was promised from the beginning, but not immediately sent for a twofold cause: (1) both with respect to Christ*;**

III. We take for granted here that in which all agree: first, that the Messiah was promised immediately after the fall from the very beginning of the world as the only means of salvation; second, that although promised from

the beginning, he was not to be sent immediately, but only after a long interval of time, for which most wise dispensation a multiple reason can be rendered, whether we regard Christ himself or men themselves. With respect to Christ: first, this conduced to his dignity, that before he came into the world, various heralds should announce beforehand his coming as of a supreme ruler—"The greater the judge approaching, the longer the line of heralds preceded" (Augustine, Tractate 31, *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:190; PL 35.1638]). Thus faith might rest beforehand upon him and the way be prepared not only by various types, but also by concordant testimonies of prophets. Second, the long expectation of so great an event should render this benefit the more acceptable among men that the nativity (which was to surpass all miracles and all measure of intelligence) might produce by so much a more constant faith in us, as its declaration had preceded the more ancient and richer (as Leo says, *Sermon XXIII*, "On the Feast of the Nativity, III" [NPNF2, 12:133–34; PL 54.202]).

2. And with respect to men.

IV. With respect to men, the magnitude of evil required this, that the conscience (convicted of the multitude and heinousness of sins and of the inability of nature and the uselessness of all human means which could be devised), the necessity of a remedy might appear and the patient, feeling his weakness, might cry out to the physician and seek the aid of grace, as Augustine expresses it. God left men to a long expectation of himself that he might see whether he would fall by his own fault or could raise himself up by his own strength. On this account, God, during that whole time of his forbearance (*anochēs*), suffered sin to increase and in a measure to abound that the abundance of grace might thus be more illustrious. Still he did not wish that advent to be put off until the end of the world, lest by so long a delay the knowledge and reverence of God might fade away from the minds of men and desperation swallow up faith. Besides the dispensation of grace was to be distinguished from that of glory, nor ought the work of reparation to be contiguous to that of perfection. Its own age and time (*kairos*) or season was to be assigned to each work; and the first advent of Christ was not to be confounded with the second.

Statement of the question.

V. The question here concerns the time of the first advent. With regard to this, it is not only to institute a permissible inquiry but also necessary for the safety (*asphaleian*) of our faith. For this cause the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament wished to indicate it by certain unmistakable marks that believers might recognize him coming and no one could urge the pretext of ignorance in their rejection of him. Nor are the modern rabbis to be listened to who (the more easily to extricate themselves from the arguments with which we invincibly demonstrate from Scripture that this time has already gone by) have sought the following refuge: that no certain time for the advent of the Messiah is defined beforehand in Scripture, but that God kept that as a secret for himself alone that he might send the Messiah whenever he chose. Hence they severely prohibit inquiries into the time of the Messiah and anathematize any who attempt to compute the time of the Messiah—"Let their inflated bones be broken, who compute the periods of times" ("Sanhedrin," 97b, BT, p. 659). If anything else, this surely is the proof of a desperate cause. For who can believe it possible that there could be found among them those who could deny a thing so clear, so constantly believed among the people from every past age, so desired and expected (unless struck with blind error of mind and warped by prejudice)? They are so possessed by the spirit of contradiction as to think no comment so foreign that they cannot take it in their teeth, provided it is farthest from the sense which seems to be able to favor our Jesus.

VI. When in truth we dispute concerning the time of the advent of the Messiah, it must be observed: (1) that we do not treat of such a time or of such signs and marks of it as strike our senses unwittingly and which can be wholly unknown to anyone (such as the Jews wish and are usually called mathematical and physical: for example, the Messiah will come, the sun standing on the meridian; or during an eclipse of the sun at full noon; or on a mountain of God elevated above the other mountains). Rather we discuss the marks of time which they call historical, capable of being known by facts and events and such that they should be observed with attention and apprehended by faith. (2) That we do not do this that we may prove the precise article of that time (for instance: the year, the month, the week, etc.) appointed by God and what it was (for there is no necessity for this). But

we do this only that we may prove broadly (*en platei*) that a certain time was appointed for the advent of the Messiah, and such that it can be known by the clearest facts and events (for this is now sufficient after all those events have taken place). (3) That we do not treat of any marks whatever of which mention is made in Scripture, but of those which serve for convincing the Jews and which have an essential connection with the Messiah's advent, so that they would not exist unless the Messiah had come. Because they exist, on that account, we must believe that he has come.

VII. Thus the statement of the question is reduced within these limits—whether the promised Messiah has already come; or is he truly still to come and to be expected by us. Has the time of that advent appointed beforehand by God already gone by and elapsed; or has it not yet come? The Jews maintain the latter with great obstinacy. We however assert the former, resting upon invincible reasons.

1. Demonstration of the advent of the Messiah drawn from the time of Shiloh.

VIII. The first demonstration is from the determination of the time in which the advent of the Messiah ought to take place. For if the time fixed for the advent of the Messiah has already come, the Messiah himself also must have come. Now that it has come and passed by is most clearly gathered from various characteristics. The first is drawn from the oracle of Jacob where the Messiah's advent is connected with the taking away of the Jewish scepter. "The scepter," says he, "shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come" (Gen. 49:10). Hence we thus argue—If the scepter was not to be taken away from Judah until Shiloh (who is the Messiah) comes, it follows that he has most certainly come because that oracle has been fulfilled long ago and the Jewish scepter has been taken away; nor have the Jews any rulers. To confirm the argument against the cavils of the Jews, two things must be proved: (1) that by Shiloh here the Messiah is meant; (2) that it refers to the taking away of the political dominion and authority of the Jews.

IX. First, Shiloh can be no other than the Messiah. For whatever may be the origin and signification of the word, it is certain that no other one is here designated. This is true whether it is explained by *apestalmenon, mittendum* (according to the Vulgate, as if it was to be read *shylvch*); or by "his son" (i.e., as Kimchi sets it forth—*bnv*, who shall be born [*mshlvch*] from "the afterbirth" of a woman, like all who are born); or that it may be derived from the Arabic tongue where *shvl* is "a flowing forth of blood"—"until the flowing forth [*shlvch*] of his blood" (i.e., the seed which should flow from it, according to Louis de Dieu, *Critica Sacra* [1963], p. 22 on Gen. 49:10); or the word is derived from *shlh* which means to do happily and prosperously, "until the harbinger of peace" or "the peace maker and peaceable" comes (as Oleaster, Avenarius and others hold); or the word is said to be composed of *shv*, signifying "office," and the affix *lv* (i.e., "office to him") because offices were to be imposed upon him (as Rabbi Salomon Jarchi maintains; cf. *Pentateuch with ... Rashi's Commentary* [trans. M. Rosenbaum and A. M. Silberman, 1965], 1:245). Or finally it is explained by *'shr lv* "whose is" (supply, the kingdom), which seems to be the most appropriate opinion of all and best suited to this passage. Thus the meaning is, the kingdom will not be taken away from Judah "until he comes to whom it belongs." So the paraphrases of Onkelos and Jerusalem understood it: "until the Messiah comes, whose is the kingdom" (cf. Walton, *Biblia sacra polyglotta* [1657], p. 271 on Gen. 49:10 and *Das Fragmententhargum: Thargum jeruschalmi zum Pentateuch* [ed. M. Ginsburger, 1899], p. 25). The Septuagint translates it *ta apokeimena autō* or *hō apokeitai* (as Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian). And light can be thrown upon this place from Ezk. 21:27 where the crown of Jechoniah is described: "And it" (supply crown) "shall be no more until he come [*'shr lv*] whose right it is." However, in whatever way it may be explained, it can be applied best to the Messiah, especially since immediately a mark of the Messiah is subjoined (to wit, that "unto him shall the obedience" or "the gathering of the people be"—which is everywhere ascribed to the Messiah, Gen. 22:17, 18; Is. 11:10; Mic. 4:1). The connection also demands it. For as he ascribes to Judah the prerogative and dominion over his brethren and the children of his father, so he says of the Messiah (who was to spring from him) that not only would his brethren worship him, but all the people would obey him also.

X. It can apply to no other. Not to Moses because the royal power was not as yet with Judah, nor could it have been transferred from Judah to Moses. Not to Saul, who ought to have been annointed in Shiloh, by whom the scepter was removed from Judah and transferred to the tribe of Benjamin. For (a) Saul was not anointed in Shiloh, but first in Ramah, solemnly chosen in Mizpeh and afterwards confirmed in Gilgal (1 S. 9; 10:17; 11:14); (b) before Saul the royal scepter had not yet been in Judah; yea, a kingdom had not yet been established in the midst of the people in any particular tribe; (c) while Saul was reigning the scepter was transferred to Judah and David, not therefore taken away from him; (d) neither the obedience nor the expectation of peoples could be to Saul. Not to David (in whom the tribe of Judah was about to be preferred) was transferred the royal dignity because it is not said that the scepter would be transferred, but taken away; nor did the scepter cease where it first began. Not to Jeroboam, who should have been crowned in Shiloh, because he was anointed in the city of Shechem, not in Shiloh (1 K. 12:1, 25); nor was the kingdom then removed from Judah; yea, it continued for a long time and they alone were reckoned also true kings. Not to Nebuchadnezzar, who would be sent to take away the kingdom on account of the sins of the people, because: (a) all the words of Jacob in this oracle are referred to the benediction of Judah, while that transportation was a punishment, not a blessing. (b) It is not true that the scepter was then taken away absolutely because it is certain that many of the chief men were carried away to Babylon and that the Jews lived according to their own laws with the consent of the king and had their own head (*aichmalōtarchēn*) or prince of captivity (*r'sh glvth*) elected from Judah. Finally the ancient Jews acknowledge that the word must be understood of the Messiah: (a) the Chaldee Paraphrase, Onkelos, Jonathan, Jerusalem—"Until King Messiah [*mlk' mshych'*] comes" (cf. Walton, *Biblia sacra polyglotta* [1657], p. 271 on Gen. 49:10; *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch* [E. G. Clarke, 1984], p. 62; *Das Fragmententhargum: Thargum jeruschalmi zum Pentateuch* [ed. M. Ginsburger, 1899], p. 25); (b) the Talmudists—"What is the name of the Messiah? Let the house of Rabbi Schelah teach us: Shiloh is his name, as it is written until Shiloh comes" ("Sanhedrin," 98b, BT, 2:667); (c) the rabbis—"Until Shiloh, that is, king Messiah comes" (*Genesis Rabbah* [ed. J. Neusner, 1985], 3:358). Rashi (*Pentateuch with ... Rashi's Commentary* [trans. M. Rosenbaum and A. M.

Silbermann, 1965], 1:245) and Rabbi Bechai (*Beor al ha-torah*: Bereshith, pp. 382–83) have the same thing.

XI. (2) Second, that it treats of the taking away of the Jewish kingdom is gathered from the word *shbt*, which cannot be referred here to any other than the distinctive mark of kings (to wit, "the rod" or "scepter," the symbol of royal majesty). Hence the Septuagint translates *archōn*, Aquila *skēptron* (Origen, *Hexapla* [PG 15.324]); Symmachus *exousia* (ibid. [PG 15.325]). Falsely do the Jews say that a "rod of correction" is meant here, as in Prov. 22:15* (i.e., "affliction" and "oppression"), so that the sense is: "Oppressors shall not cease to afflict Israel until the Messiah comes who will deliver them." But on the other hand: (a) such a rod must be understood as is proper to "the lawgiver" (*mchvqq*, who is here joined) as it belongs to a king to have a scepter and to make laws (*skēptron de t'ēde themistas*, as Homer says, *Iliad* 2.205 [Loeb, 1:64–65]). Now what has the lawgiver to do with a rod of oppression? (b) The patriarch would thus have prophesied concerning the punishments and not the blessings of Judah, the opposite of which is evident from the words "Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise" (Gen. 49:8). Victory is promised to him, the prerogative of honor among brethren, the strength of a lion and the peaceable possession of prey. How can these be consistent with a prediction of affliction? Besides, since a rod of correction ought to be common to all the tribes, there was no reason why it should here be referred to the tribe of Judah alone. (c) It is not true that oppression never ceased in that tribe, since it flourished through many generations from David to Zedekiah. (d) The same words occur in Zech. 10:11, *ysvr shbt*, which the Septuagint translates *skēptron Aigyptou periairethēsetai* ("the scepter of Egypt shall depart away"). (e) The ancient Jews take the word as we do: "He shall not cease (*shbtv*) exercising dominion" (*Targum Onkelos to Genesis* [ed. M. Aberbach and B. Grossfeld, 1982], pp. 284–85); "Kings and Princes shall not cease" (cf. Walton, *Biblia sacra polyglotta* [1657], 3:130 on Zech. 10:11); "Kings shall not cease" (*Das Fragmententhargum: Thargum jeruschalmi zum Pentateuch* [ed. M. Ginsburger, 1899], p. 25). Concerning principality and dominion, it is thus explained by "Sanhedrin" (cf. 5a, BT, p. 16); Bereschit Rabba (*Genesis Rabbah*, 98.8 [trans. J. Neusner, 1985], 3:356–57); Ramban 1 ult. Jad. cap. 4+; Rabbi David Kimchi on the word *shbt* (*Sefer ha-shorashim* [1847], pp. 365–66).

XII. Not without reason however is the taking away of the kingdom from Judah laid down as a mark of the Messiah's advent. The taking away of (*arsis*) the one is the establishing (*thesis*) of the other; the removal (*aphairesis*) of the kingdom from Judah is the founding of Christ's kingdom. For since the Jewish republic was primarily instituted on account of Christ to preserve the tribe from which the Messiah was to spring, the republic could not be overthrown, nor ought the tribe to be dissolved until the advent of the Messiah. Besides since that polity was shadowy and earthly (to which the promises were not directly made), it could not continue forever, but its glory ought to be abolished (*katargeisthai*) and give place to the mystical and eternal kingdom of Christ. It makes little difference, however, whether the particle *'d ky* ("until") is taken exclusively to mean that the scepter ought to have ceased before the Messiah's advent; or inclusively with the meaning that the empire would not cease until the Messiah came and that he would come before the taking away of the scepter. The force of the argument always remains against the Jews. For if it is true that the advent of the Messiah is joined with the removal of the scepter from Judah, it cannot be doubted that he has come, since for so long a time that scepter has been removed, all judicial power entirely taken away, the city destroyed and the people scattered (as the Jews themselves are forced to acknowledge). See Rabbi David Kimchi: "These are the days of exile, in which we now live, nor can we have a king, nor a prince out of Israel, since indeed we are under the sway of the Gentiles" (*Commentary of ... Kimhi on Hosea* [ed. H. Cohen, 1966], p. 31 on Hos. 3:4); and Manasseh (ben Israel)—"This punishment we now suffer … living without a king, without a prince, without a government" (*Conciliator* [1972], 1:93).

XIII. Now there is no necessity for wearying ourselves in seeking the precise article of time in which that power was taken away from the Jewish people, provided it is evident (which is most certain) that it is now taken away and has been for many ages in the past. For although chronologists vehemently contend about it among themselves and there is a great discrepancy in their opinions, some maintaining that the scepter was taken away under Pompey, others under Vespasian, others (which is far more satisfactory) hold that it was not the work of one moment, as the republic was shaken by various changes under Pompey and Herod and at length overturned under Vespasian; still there is no need to decide this intricate

question to strengthen our argument against the Jews. Its own force always remains from this—that it is established beyond all shadow of controversy that all authority has been for a long time taken away from the Jews, so that there are not days or years, but ages from the time of the fulfillment of this oracle. Hence it necessarily follows either that it was false and deceitful (which it is even impious to think) or that the Messiah has already come.

XIV. Nor are the Jews to be heard who have invented the tale that the scepter still remains in Babylon in those who rule over the people there. Manasseh (ben Israel) strives to confirm this from Benjamin, who relates that at Baghdad he saw with his own eyes among the Israelites a certain ruler born of the family of David, carried in a chariot amid the acclamations of the people (*Conciliator* [1972], p. 98). These are the sheerest figments of their brains, contrary to the opinion of the rabbis before quoted; contrary to the report of all who have travelled over the world or have written upon the subject (who maintain a deep silence concerning those rulers). And if there was any truth in it, is it to be believed even for a moment that the remaining Jews scattered throughout the world would remain in the miserable bondage under which they groan? Hence the testimony of Benjamin (as a false forger of fables and often convicted of lying by the learned L'Empereur) should have no authority with us (*Itinerium D. Benjaminis cum versione et notis ... L'Empereur* [1633] and *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* [ed. M.N. Adler, 1907], pp. 39–40). This can with the more certainty be said because the tribes being now confused, it is impossible to know certainly who are of the tribe of Judah, who of another.

XV. The principal difficulty as urged by the Jews remains—it cannot be gathered from this passage that the Messiah has already come, otherwise he ought to have come before the Babylonian captivity because in it the scepter was taken away from the Jews and never afterwards returned to them. For its solution we premise: (1) that it is not possible always to assign the certain and indubitable points of time in which the flower and glory of kingdoms continue or in which they fall off or are overthrown. As the establishment and dignity of kingdoms is not obtained together and at once (but little by little and successively), so the decline and fall do not take place in one moment, nor in a sensible and open manner, but by degrees and imperceptibly and insensibly. Thus it may the more quickly be perceived after it has happened than observed while it is. Therefore this is not to be

restricted to a particular point of time, but ought to be considered broadly (*en platei*) in a certain latitude of time. (2) It is one thing for a royal family (having the right to reign) to continue; another for kings to be actually reigning. For the latter might be abrogated, while the former remained (as if a kingdom should be occupied tyrannically by anyone, the lawful heirs having been expelled—the possession [*ktēsis*] remains, while the use [*chrēsei*] is taken away). (3) It is not necessary to the fulfillment of the oracle that the highest dignity should always have been held by the tribe of Judah. It is sufficient to preserve its truth, if any sway and principality flourished in it because these words ("the scepter shall not depart, nor a lawgiver …") are to be taken disjunctively, not conjunctively. The meaning is the Jews would not be deprived of both until the Messiah should come, but one or the other would always be retained, if not the scepter, still a lawgiver and judiciary power and legislation (*nomothesian*). (4) It is not even required that dominion should always exist in a continued and uninterrupted series. It is sufficient for the denomination always to be (as although the Spanish kingdom may have passed over to the House of Austria, it does not cease to be called the Spanish Crown).

XVI. These positions being established, I say that the continuation of the scepter and of power in Judah can be clearly demonstrated: (1) from David up to the Babylonian captivity through 470 years; (2) during the captivity, first in Jehoiachin whose "head Evil-merodach did lift up, and set forth his throne above the thrones of the other kings" (2 K. 25:27, 28); second, in Daniel who was of the tribe of Judah and of royal blood (Dan. 2:25; 5:13); third, in the Aechmalotarchs ("governors of captivity") who were in the captivity. Hence Ramban: "Aechmalotarchs held the place of kings because it is said, the scepter shall not depart" (lib. ult. lad. c. iv+); Rabbi Solomon, "The scepter shall not be taken away, these are the rulers of the exile, who govern the people by permission of the Persian kings" ("Sanhedrin," 5a, BT, 1:16). (3) After the Babylonian captivity, in Zerubbabel, a nephew of Jehoiachin, and Nehemiah, whom Eusebius affirms to have been of the tribe of Judah (cf. Joseph Scaliger, *Animadversiones in Chronologica Eusebii in Thesaurus Temporum* [1968], 2:98). Hence the Nehemiah who is numbered among the priests (Neh. 10:1) must have been a different person, so that it is evident from 7:5, 7 that there were two Nehemiahs. (4) From Nehemiah to Herod, a space of 335 years, the proof is more difficult because the canon of

Scripture is wanting. Still it can be gathered from these three things: (a) as to the Maccabees although they were of the tribe of Levi, it did not cease to be called the Jewish kingdom because as the tribe of Judah alone returned from the captivity with the tribe of Benjamin (which was an accession to it), thus the kingdom and the republic was in the tribe of Judah and they who presided, although they might be from a different tribe, yet because they received the scepter from the tribe of Judah and in it and in its name wielded it, it could truly be said that the scepter was held by Judah because the imperial majesty always remained with it (as it was with Rome when Spaniards and Thracians were elected emperors); (b) in the Aechmalotarchs ("governors of captivity," of whom above); (c) in the great council, whose power was always great, as Josephus informs us, whence a royal throne is ascribed to this college of senators (AJ, 14.9*.167–72 [Loeb, 7:536–41) (Ps. 122:5; 2 Ch. 19:8); the president is called *ngydh* and in the Jewish books he is everywhere called *nsy'* and was always of the tribe of Judah, as the Jewish chronology testifies. And since the tribe of Judah alone with the accession of Benjamin returned, there is no doubt that of this tribe at least a majority of the council was composed, with whom the government was until (Judea having been conquered by the Romans) that power was worn away little by little and at length wholly taken away. Thus the fall of the Jewish republic can be viewed under these three steps: the first, under Pompey, who began in the year 60 before Christ; the second, by whom it was carried on, 10 years before Christ, when, Archelaus having been sent away, Judea was reduced to the form of a province; the third, in which it was consummated under Titus, the temple being destroyed and the city overthrown.

The second demonstration, from the weeks of Daniel.

XVII. The second demonstration is drawn from the weeks of Daniel. The passage reads: "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy. Know therefore and understand,

that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks.… And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off" (Dan. 9:24–27). Hence we thus argue: If after seventy weeks of years (i.e., after four hundred and ninety years from the permission of the return of the people), the Messiah should be manifested and slain to accomplish the work of redemption, he must of necessity have come long ago because already four times and more have flowed by since this prophecy. Now the former is true from the words of the prophet; therefore the latter also is true.

XVIII. To elucidate the arguments, three things must be proved: (1) that it refers to the Messiah; (2) that these are weeks of years and not of days; (3) that wherever we fix their commencement, this time has already expired. For if these are established, it will be invincibly evident against the Jews that the Messiah has already come. As to the first, that it refers to the Messiah is clear (a) from the open designation of him (v. 25), which name in this is ascribed to Christ alone absolutely by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*) as peculiar to him, nor do we find it ascribed to anyone either ruler or priest, except with some addition, either of Lord, or of an affix, or of a proper name. (b) The Messiah is called *ngydh* (i.e., "prince" and "leader"), which is appropriate to Christ alone, as it is ascribed to him (Is. 55:4 and Mic. 5:2 compared with Mt. 2:6); therefore he calls him a leader by way of excellence because he surpasses all other kings and priests. (c) The works which it is said here will be performed in the time of the Messiah can pertain to no other than Christ alone: such as the making an end of sin, the expiation of iniquity, the bringing in of everlasting righteousness, the sealing of prophecy. (d) Jews explain the passage of the Messiah (Rabbi Saadia a Gaon, *Daniel im Targum, in loc*. [Dan. 9:24–27]; Rabbi Nachman Gerundensis, *Perushe ha-Ramban* [1963], p. 233 on Dan. 9:24–27 and others, as Manasseh ben Israel observes, *De Termino Vitae* [1639], pp. 165–80). (e) It is said of the Messiah that he shall confirm the covenant in the middle of the week and be cut off, which is appropriate to no one but Christ.

XIX. What Rabbi Solomon Jarchi says on Dan. 9 is worthless—that there are many Messiahs, but one only the son of David by way of excellence (*kat' exochēn*), of whom the passage cannot be understood.

Cyrus (who is called "the Shepherd of God" and the "Messiah," Is. 44:28; 45:1). Rather v. 25 discusses Herod Agrippa, v. 26; the ark and other furniture of the temple in Jerusalem, v. 24. For (1) since the Scripture in one and the same place speaks of the Messiah three times without any mark of distinction, no reason can be given why many are here to be feigned and that one excluded who alone is the true one (concerning whom alone the Holy Spirit wished to speak for the consolation of Daniel and the afflicted people). (2) Cyrus is indeed called "God's anointed" (Is. 44:28; 45:1) on account of the singular benefit to the people of God, to perform which he was appointed by the providence of God; but no one can say that he was the principal redeemer of the Israelites (concerning whom Daniel speaks). Again he speaks of the Messiah who was to come after seven weeks and sixty-two weeks, while Cyrus died before the first week. Hence Aben Ezra and other rabbis reject this comment. (3) With no more propriety is what is said in v. 26 referred to Herod Agrippa. For besides the fact that Daniel is absurdly feigned in the same place to bring forward another Messiah more than five hundred years after the death of the first, that last Agrippa (who reigned in Trachonitis) never had any power in Jerusalem or in Judea; so far is it that anyone should dream of his being a Messiah of the Jews. Nor (unless falsely) is he said to have been slain before the city was taken by the Romans, since even to the end of his life he lived on most friendly terms with them and, as far as he was able, assisted Vespasian in subjugating the Jews. (4) The holy of holies mentioned in v. 24 cannot be applied to the ark or altar, but it is a person who should be anointed. Now the ark was indeed sprinkled every year with blood, but is never said to have been anointed with oil. Add to this that in the second temple the Jews hold there was no ark and oil of anointing. Thus it cannot suit any other than our Christ, who was not only the holiest of all, but the very holiness itself of Israel, anointed by the Holy Spirit with the oil of gladness above his fellows (Lk. 1:35).

XX. Second, the weeks here mentioned are not of days, but of years (concerning which Lev. 25:8 treats), so that seven years should be reckoned in each week after the prophetic custom (Ezk. 4:6). The reason is manifold: (1) 70 weeks of days would be too restricted and would not make a year and a half, which would little suit so illustrious a prophecy, not to speak of its fulfillment; (2) nothing happened within that space of what the angel predicted, nor could Jerusalem be said to have been built in seven weeks

(which took many more years); (3) the style here is prophetical (Ezk. 4:3–6; Rev. 12:6; 13:5). Elsewhere also it is taken in the same sense (Gen. 29:27) and where weeks of "days" are meant, the word "days" is added (Dan. 10:2; Ezk. 45:23). Here however there is no mention made of years because the angel speaks obscurely on purpose in order to preserve the prophetic custom. To no purpose do the Jews (pressed by the force of truth) have recourse here to "weeks of ten years" or "Jubilees." (1) By no approved author (nor in the whole of Scripture) is any mention made of such weeks, but only either of days or of years; hence it appears that they are gratuitously forged. (2) The scope of the Holy Spirit is here clearly repugnant to it (which is to console Daniel and the people, crushed by a weight of sorrow, from the near approach of the Messiah after 70 weeks); but how frigid would this consolation have been—that he was to come only after three thousand five hundred years! (3) Daniel puts the advent of the Messiah before the destruction of the city and temple; yea, he subjoins that calamity as a consequence of the Messiah's death, as the most deserved punishment of so great a crime; but these fablers put the Messiah's advent three thousand years after the destruction of the city.

XXI. Therefore, God's purpose was to console the people in their most severe captivity and to confirm their faith; not only by designating its end, but also by promising a far more excellent redemption which was to be revealed after the interval of a longer time, not of 70 years, but of 70 weeks of years, that thus the grace of God may be compared with his judgment and the 70 weeks of years with the 70 years, during which the Jews suffered punishment. And so the angel answers the discourse of Daniel (who had spoken of the end of the 70 years), "Thou hast spoken of the term of the captivity and the end of the seventy years. However, I announce to you not only that near temporal deliverance, but promise a far more excellent one after 70 weeks of years that thus the mercy of God may surpass by sevenfold his judgment and the magnitude of grace absorb the magnitude of the calamity." For after the fulfillment of those proximate seventy years, God predetermined seventy weeks, not of days, but of years (to wit, four hundred and ninety years) for the duration of the people and of the city. Within these weeks, the Messiah (Lord) will come, who will expiate and abolish sin by his death, establish a gospel righteousness (which will last forever), fulfill and finish the prophecies, seal the vision and himself be

consecrated most holy by the anointing of the Holy Spirit (whom he will receive without measure [*ametrōs*]) for an eternal king and head of his church.

XXII. Third, concerning the beginning and end of the weeks, interpreters contend with each other with great zeal. Nor is the reconciliation easy. But it is not necessary that we should worry ourselves in solving these most serious difficulties. Without this, the argument remains ever invincible against the Jews. For from whatever point their commencement is taken—whether from the first year of Cyrus, in which the Jews were permitted to return and build their city (as Beroaldus and Calvin hold from Ezr. 1:1); or from the second year of Darius Nothus, from Ezr. 6 (as Scaliger, Junius, Calvisius); or from the seventh of Artaxerxes Longimanus, of whom Ezr. 7:1, 13, 14 (as Capellus, Bullinger, Helvicus and others maintain); or from the twentieth, from Neh. 2:1 (as Julius Africanus, Torniellus, Ussher); or from any other point (for we do not now indeed make this controversy ours and leave the Jews free to follow whatever opinion they may prefer)—wheresoever the beginning of these weeks is taken, we maintain that it is clearer than the noonday sun that they have long ago passed by. Nor does an interval of some years or of a century come between, but of many centuries. The chronological question therefore being removed from the hinge of our controversy, this is to be retained as certain and indubitable—that the beginning is to be placed in the liberty to return and build the city proclaimed to the people by the edicts of the kings of Persia; and the end in the destruction of the city and the last desolation of the people. Within these boundaries all things predicted here must of necessity have happened, both those relating to the advent of the Messiah and the restoration and final fall of the city (which the thing itself cries out happened long ago).

XXIII. Not badly do some think that the beginning and end of these weeks ought not to be restricted here to a certain point or article of time, but should be understood widely (*en platei*) and with a certain latitude, so that the four edicts which were given in succession for leading back the people from captivity and the restoration of the city may be taken together and reckoned in the place of one (since the latter are, as it were, interpretations and, as they commonly say, amplifications of the first one; as our age is likewise known by different edicts made on account of religion). Therefore our minds are not to be tortured by the useless labor of seeking some

indivisible point in which these things were fulfilled, since God does not wish us to stick to a point, but to regard the importance and substance of the events themselves. Therefore, as he wished that various things should here be embraced together which have a certain mutual connection that they might be observed by one glance (as it were) of our mind (to wit, the advent and death of the Messiah, the siege and overthrow of the city, the destruction of the temple and the abrogation of the Jewish worship, the distress and desolation of the people), they necessarily demand a certain latitude of time within which to be fulfilled. So that whatever things are here predicted from the deliverance of the captives and the restoration of the city to the ruin and destruction of the same ought to have taken place within the limit of these seventy weeks.

XXIV. The Jews (who miserably twist themselves in order to avoid this argument) betake themselves to the distinction between an absolute and hypothetical prediction that the prediction of Daniel concerning the advent of the Messiah is hypothetical, provided the people would not retard his coming by their sins and that on account of the sins of the people he did not come in the time announced beforehand by Daniel. But (1) this is a mere assumption, nor is there the slightest shadow of an indication of any condition in the oracle or in Daniel or elsewhere. (2) The advent of the Messiah flowed from the mere grace and mercy of God and its primary design was the taking away of the sins of the people. Hence nothing on the part of man could delay it and least of all sin, since that advent was destined by God especially for the removal and destruction of sin. (3) If any sin retarded the Messiah's advent, it should have been more heinous than any others which had been committed before. But we read of no other peculiar transgression committed by them which surpassed their former wickedness, if you except the guilt of the crucifixion of the Messiah, which they say was not a sin. But in the former temple, idolatry, homicide, adultery and all kinds of the most heinous sins raged among the people (according to the testimony of the prophets), notwithstanding which the promise concerning the Messiah's advent was made. While after the time fixed for the advent of the Messiah, idolatry ceased among them as well as other crimes (except stubborn unbelief, which they do not acknowledge). No one imputes to them anything above the preceding sins. Therefore a reason for such a delay cannot be drawn here.

XXV. Nor can the cavil of the Jews have place here—that they really should suffer on account of their sins a severe and prolonged captivity, but that it would at length come to an end, no differently than the Babylonian captivity. For what comparison can there be between the Babylonian captivity and the present most bitter dispersion of the Jews? What has an exile of 70 years in common with an exile of 16 centuries? In the former there was a hope of restoration and a designation of the end; here however there is no such thing. Then the body of the nation still stood using its own laws; now they live under a foreign power and laws. Then the tribes were still distinct and the priestly and royal families could be distinguished; now all things among them are confused and disturbed, so that no shape either of a polity or church appears, but a horrible example of the divine curse in these remnants miserably wandering about.

The third demonstration, from the glory of the second temple.

XXVI. The third demonstration is drawn from the glory of the second temple, during the existence of which the Messiah ought to come. For this was the prerogative of the second temple—that the Messiah (the Prince of Peace) should dignify it with his presence. Since, then, the second temple has for a long time been destroyed, it is a most certain proof that the Messiah came long ago. That mark is gathered from the twofold oracle of Haggai and Malachi, where it is clearly presented: "Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts" (Hag. 2:6, 7); and "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former" (v. 9). Mal. 3:1 confirms the same thing: "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in." Hence we argue thus—the second temple shall not be destroyed until the Messiah comes; therefore it is a certain mark that the Messiah has come, when that temple is destroyed. For in the former passage it is said that he would shortly come after the temple which was begun while Haggai

was prophesying had been erected and then the temple would be filled with greater glory than the former. In the second passage, it is said that he will suddenly come to his temple—the one which was erected when Malachi prophesied. But how could it be said that he would come at once, if he was not to come except after some thousands of years?

XXVII. Moreover it is clear that the Messiah is referred to in both passages. (1) In Malachi because it treats of him who was to be sent and come into his temple as Lord and angel of the covenant; who was to have Elijah as a forerunner; and who was sought and expected. Now to whom except the Messiah can these things belong? Nor do the more learned Jews question it (as Rabbi David Kimchi, Aben Ezra and Maimonides, who refer it to the Messiah (cf. *Twelve Prophets* [ed. A. Cohen, 1948], p. 349 [on Mal. 3:1] and *Maimonides' Mishneh Torah* [ed. P. Birnbaum, 1985], p. 328). (2) So in Haggai, what is said of the shaking of heaven and earth and of all nations that they might come to their desire, can be referred to no other (whether by "the desire of the nations" is designated "the desired out of the nations," i.e., as many as were to be chosen out of the nations and called to Christ, answering to the oracle of Jacob, who said the gathering of the peoples would be to him; or, what seems more suitable, the Messiah himself is understood, who, far more truly than Daniel, is a "man of desires," "altogether [*epipothētos*] desirable," whom believers wished for with ardent longings). Again, what he adds concerning the greater glory of the second temple belongs here because from no other source could this come forth than from the presence of the Lord of the house, who was to bring peace—not a corporeal (of which we do not read of the Jews enjoying much under the second temple, as they themselves confess), but a spiritual and heavenly (which the Messiah, the Prince of Peace, was to bring and which the angels herald, Lk. 2:14).

XXVIII. To no purpose do the Jews wish the greater glory of this second house to be referred to the external things which rendered it conspicuous; or to the duration because the second was to stand 420 years (i.e., ten years longer than the first); or to the splendid gifts and sacrifices which Darius, Artaxerxes and other kings contributed to the erection of the temple; or to the additions of Herod, who raised up the temple more gloriously (as Josephus holds, AJ 15.380–87 [Loeb, 8:184–89]); or at least adorned it, according to Hegesippus. To no purpose, I say, is this adduced. (1) Such

external and insignificant things do not compose the glory of God's house, nor would God for things so small speak so augustly and magnificently, as that he would move heaven and earth and do wonders. (2) God expressly says that he was unwilling to place that glory in these perishable things: "Mine is the silver and the gold"—as much as to say, If I wished, I could adorn this temple with gold and silver as the temple of Solomon was adorned; for mine is all gold, as in Ps. 50:10–12. But I will adorn it with a far more precious thing (to wit, with the presence of my Son, who is the glory of Israel). (3) Whatever additions or ornaments were made by Herod in the temple could never equal (much less surpass) the glory of Solomon's, which was rendered conspicuous above others by these most special ornaments of the temple (which the Jews confess were wanting in the second): the ark of the covenant, the perpetual fire, the sacred oil, the spirit of prophecy, and the Sheckinah or presence of God on the mercy seat.

XXIX. What they add concerning the erection of a third temple to which these things belong is just as spurious. It is treated of that temple which the Jews saw, which is called "this house" (*hbyth hzh*); otherwise no consolation could arise thence to Zerubbabel and his companions building the temple, whom nevertheless the Lord wishes to comfort by this argument —that this house would be filled with a greater glory. Nor if Herod is said to have restored that house is he therefore to be considered as having built an entirely new one. For it is always reputed to be the same as the temple of Zerubbabel. Finally, to no purpose is it feigned that an entirely new temple is to be built, since it was so destroyed as to leave no remaining hope of its restoration. They who attempted it under Hadrian or Julian failed in their attempt, prohibited by heaven.

The fourth demonstration, from the signs: (1) with respect to the Jews, the fall of the republic.

XXX. The fourth demonstration is drawn from the signs which should accompany the Messiah's advent: with respect to the the Jews, the fall of the Jewish republic and polity and the rejection of the people; with respect to the world, the end of false oracles; with respect to the church, the calling of the Gentiles. Since all these have for a long time been fulfilled, it is

necessary that the Messiah must also have come. (1) With respect to the Jews, the sign was the fall of the republic. For since the Messiah was to spring from the Jews, the republic could not be destroyed before his advent. It is evident that the Messiah ought to have come to that people, distinct in their tribes and families; to that land and to the temple in which he was expected in daily worship. Now since the republic has been scattered for many ages and the people wretchedly dispersed through all parts of the world—driven out of their country and land, all government overthrown, the city levelled with the ground, sacrifices abolished, the temple destroyed, all the tribes confounded without any hope of return, not for 70 years only (which was the length of the Babylonian captivity), nor for 200 (during which their Egyptian bondage lasted), but sixteen hundred and more—what else do all these things cry out except that the Messiah has already come and that he is not to be expected anymore? If the miserable nation would more attentively consider them, they would find in themselves and in their own condition enough to force them to acknowledge their own error and perfidy. For what other cause can be assigned? Why for so many ages should they be thus neglected, experience so hard a fate, be scattered so widely as exiles, so pitiable a sport to the whole human race? For they anxiously expect their Messiah and weary themselves with daily vows and prayers; nor are they so polluted with the worship of idols or other sins of the Gentiles as their ancestors. Verily there must necessarily be another cause which permits this people (formerly beloved of God) to wander so miserably. It can be none other than the impious rejection of the true Messiah and the horrible slaughter and apostasy from the true faith, in which they persevere even up to the present time. Nor are the Jews to be listened to here who commonly make the objection that this advent was deferred on account of both their own sins and those of their fathers, which they committed under both houses. Since it is treated here not of one or another oracle, but of the constant tenor of the prophets and prophecies, no certainty would remain if it were not afforded in this chapter (on which all the rest depend). Again, if he promised anything formerly to his people, we do not read of its ever having been denied on account of their sins (as is evident from the deliverance out of Egypt and Babylon, which God fulfilled exactly at the appointed time, although the people were no less burdened with sin than now). Why, therefore, shall not the same thing be said to have

occurred in this remarkable promise, in which the good of the whole nation was contained, while nevertheless the fulfillment of so great a promise would now be deferred beyond sixteen centuries and no hope of its fulfillment remain? Third, if on account of the sins of the people, the advent of the Messiah is deferred, then he will never come, since they will never be free from all wickedness. But so far from their sins hindering or delaying the advent, they ought rather to accelerate it, since he comes to take them away.

2. With respect to the world, the destruction of idolatry.

XXXI. With respect to the world, the destruction of false oracles and of pagan idolatry (which the prophets frequently predicted would be destroyed in the time of the Messiah, Is. 2:18, 20; Zech. 13:2). Profane history informs us that oracles ceased at the advent of Christ. Hence in the time of Tiberius questions arose why the oracles had become dumb, why the demons did not work as before. So sudden and amazing was that change that it was formidable and stupendous to the very adversaries of the Christian cause. Porphyry complains that the angry gods gave no response after Jesus came (cf. Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 179d [trans. E.H. *Gifford*, 1903], 1:197). Cicero testifies that in his time oracles had ceased and mentions an absurd cause to account for it (viz., the age of the place from which the exhalations arose, under the influence and excitement of which the Pythian priestess uttered her oracles, *De Divinitate* 2.57.117 [Loeb, 20:502–3]). Plutarch, who lived in the time of Trajan (i.e., a hundred years after Christ) published a treatise on the cessation of oracles. He relates that Epitherses, sailing past the Echinadian islands, heard a voice announcing—Great Pan is dead (to wit, in the time of Tiberius when Christ was crucified; cf. "Obsolescence of Oracles," *Moralia* 419C [Loeb, 5:401]). And under Augustus to one consulting the oracle of Apollo as to who should reign after him, he is said to have replied, "A Hebrew boy ruling over the happy gods commands me to leave this temple and to go to Hades immediately."

Fifth demonstration, from the confessions of adversaries.

XXXII. The confessions of the Jews themselves furnish the fifth argument. Among which is (1) the celebrated tradition of the house of Eli (for which see "Sanhedrin," 97a, BT, 2:657). This distributes the times of the world into three periods and concludes its whole duration within six thousand years. It gives the last two thousand years to the kingdom of Messiah: two thousand to Inanity, two thousand to Law, two thousand to the Messiah. Nor does it help them to reply that the time of the advent has already passed, but was deferred on account of the sins of the people. Since the promise was not conditional (as has already been said), but absolute, so far was it from being deferred on account of the sins of the people that it ought rather to have been accelerated to take them away. Nor does it help them to reply that he was indeed to come in the two thousand years (*dischilian*), but it is not said whether he was to come in the beginning or at the end of them. For two thousand years are assigned to him in the same manner in which the other two thousand are assigned to Inanity and to the Law (i.e, that the duration of the Law would take its beginning after the Inanity and ought to fill up two thousand years). Thus the Messiah's advent ought to commence at the end of the two thousand years of the Law in order to continue through another two thousand years. (2) The opinion prevailed among the Jews at the time of Christ that the Messiah was on the point of coming (to whom the minds of believers were directed). Hence Simeon and Anna are said to have waited for the consolation of Israel (Lk. 2:25, 38) and the Samaritan woman testifies of her belief that the Messiah would shortly come (Jn. 4:25); also various false Christs arose at that time. In addition, we have the report of pagan predictions, by which the Gentiles themselves were agitated. Here belong these declarations of Josephus, who says, "Then was fulfilled the oracle (*chrēsmon*) concerning a King who was to spring from their land and rule over the world" (JW 6.312 [Loeb, 3:466–67]); and of Suetonius, "An old and constant opinion gathered strength in the whole East that it was fated that at that time persons arising from Judea should possess the sovereign power" (*Lives of the Caesars: The Deified Vespasian* 8.4.5 [Loeb, 2:288–89]). That this indeed did not pertain to Vespasian

(whatever Suetonious may say), but to Christ, who was born and suffered a little before the time of Vespasian, the thing itself declares. Whoever will carefully consider all the prodigies which occurred about the time of Christ's birth (related by Orosius and others) can easily discover that nature then was in labor with a king who was to come from the east, to whom as many as wished to be saved ought to submit (*Seven Books Against the Pagans* 7.1–4 [FC 50:283–92]). Anyone who desires more, may consult Raimundi, who has collected the testimonies of the Jews on this subject (*Pugio Fidei* 2.10 [1687/1967], pp. 394–403).

Sources of explanation.

XXXIII. Elijah, who was to precede the Messiah, is not the Tishbite literally, but John the Baptist analogically and figuratively (on account of the resemblance between him and Elijah in zeal and fervor for he was to come in the spirit and power of Elijah [Lk. 1:17; Mt. 11:14] as the Messiah is often called David, Jer. 30:9; Hos. 3:5).

XXXIV. The "end of days" or "the last days" (Is. 2:2) in which the Messiah was to come, do not denote the end of the world, but the fulness of times (*plērōma kairōn*) or the last dispensation (after which no other is to be expected, but eternity alone). Therefore it is called the end of days not absolutely, but comparatively in relation to the preceding times because they ought to bring an end to the Old Testament. Until that time all things were (so to speak) suspended and the people were commanded always to look forward to the Messiah and to keep their hope alive (not to rest in present shadows). But by the advent of Christ, a fulness of days is given in which the church is to be restored to her integrity.

XXXV. When it is said "the mountain of the Lord will be exalted* above the other mountains" (Is. 2:2) in the time of the Messiah, this oracle is not to be understood properly and literally (which could not be said without absurdity), but mystically concerning the exaltation of the church (which is constantly designated by the Mount of the Lord and Mount Zion, inasmuch as in it shone the majesty of God, who willed to place his sanctuary there). Hence the sound of the gospel was heard through the whole world (which should carry us even to heaven) and a standard raised up for all nations. So in Bereschit Rabba: "The great mountain, i.e, Messiah." So also Aben Ezra:

"That mountain, Messiah, is to be most highly exalted in the midst of the nations" (*Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah* [trans. M. Friedlander, 1873], 1:14). What is added concerning the confluence of all nations to it (v. 3) does not prove that there ought to be only one religion in the world at the time of Christ. Rather the meaning is—there will be a catholic church to be collected indiscriminately from all peoples, professing one religion and one faith in Christ (which is even fulfilled under the New Testament).

XXXVI. The peace which the Messiah was to bring should not be an earthly and corporeal peace (which Christ openly teaches was not to be expected by his followers, Lk. 12:51; Jn. 14:27), but a spiritual peace, which Christ purchased for us by his death and was preached through the gospel. And if it is said, "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb" (Is. 11:6), this must be understood figuratively of the calling and conversion of the Gentiles, by which nations most hostile to Christ before (like wild animals) should be reckoned among the sheep of Christ; and savage and cruel men (like beasts) should be tamed and made so gentle as to cherish mutual communion and so live that they (whom a desire of injuring had agitated) would contend in reciprocal duties, devoting their attention to the common advantage (designated by the change of swords and spears into ploughshares and pruning hooks, instruments of agriculture employed in time of peace for the benefit of man, Is. 2:4). Nor did this escape Maimonides, who teaches, "These and other like things, written concerning the things which belong to the Messiah, are allegories" (*Maimonides' Mishneh Torah* [ed. P. Birnbaum, 1985], p. 328 on 2 K. 12).

XXXVII. If the "light of the sun should be sevenfold" greater in the time of the Messiah, as also "the light of the moon as the light of the sun" (Is. 30:26), this cannot be understood literally. Besides the fact that no one could endure the brightness of the sun, so there would be no night on account of the brilliancy of the moon. The Lord makes his sun to shine upon the good and the evil; yet here happiness is discussed which cannot be common to the wicked. But they are to be explained figuratively, either historically of the greatness of the joy which the Jewish church (delivered from the Babylonian captivity) would experience; or mystically of the greatness of glory, knowledge and gladness which the Messiah (who was to come to heal the wounds of the church) would bring to it, when the dark

shades of the law should disappear and the light of the gospel shine far, very far surpassing the feeble light of the Old Testament.

XXXVIII. Ezk. 41 and the following chapter do not mean that the temple at Jerusalem would again be restored, but the mystical temple of the church shadowed forth under the symbol of the old Temple of Solomon. Fulfillment of the latter is to be sought not in the carnal and earthly, but in the spiritual and heavenly Jerusalem; in that, namely, which John describes in words drawn from this sketch of Ezekiel (Rev. 21:22)—to be begun in this life indeed by the temple of grace, to be finished however in another by the temple of glory in heaven.

XXXIX. When it is said, "In Messiah's days Judah shall be saved and Israel shall dwell safely" (Jer. 23:6), it does not mean Israel according to the flesh, a remnant of which only was to be saved (as the Jews themselves acknowledge from Jer. 3:14 and Is. 8:14; cf. "Sanhedrin," 111a, BT 2:762). Rather it refers to Israel according to the spirit, to whom alone the promises were made (Rom. 9:4), under whom the whole church of the elect and of believers is meant.

XL. The advent of the Messiah cannot be called in question from the fact that Gog and Magog (whom he was to subdue) have not as yet appeared. It is a mere assumption that the Messiah ought to conquer them. What is said in Ezk. 38:2ff. concerning Gog and Magog is falsely drawn to this purpose. For it is evident that the Messiah is not spoken of there and it is clear that this is to be referred to the cruel oppressors of the Jewish church after the Babylonian captivity (such as the kings of Syria and the people of Asia Minor so called, either from Gyges, king of the Lydians, or from the Scythians and Tartars so called [Gen. 10:2] who formerly occupied Asia Minor and Syria). Hence in Asia, Hierapolis was called Magog (according to Pliny, *Natural History* 5.19* [Loeb, 2:282–83]) not far from the Euphrates; and in Syria, Scythopolis, to the east of the Lake of Tiberias, was formerly called Bethsan. Eusebius mentions this: "The Scythians overran Palestine and occupied Baisan" (i.e., Bethsan) "which they called from their own name, Scythopolis" (*Eusebi Chronicorum Canonum* [ed. A. Schoene, 1967], 2:88).

Second Question

Is Jesus of Nazareth the true Messiah? We affirm against the Jews

Statement of the question.

I. After having proved in the preceding question that the Messiah has already come, we must now inquire farther into his person that we may know who he is and demonstrate that he can be no other than Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Mary. As, however, this is the principal foundation of our religion and the fulcrum of our faith, on that account this argument must be weighed with the greater accuracy that we may stop the mouths of Jews (the most bitter enemies of the Christian name) who use every effort to overthrow this saving truth.

II. The question is not Has the Messiah come? This has been proved. Rather the question is—Is Jesus of Nazareth (whom we believe and preach as the Messiah) that true and proper Messiah promised by God, who was to come for the salvation of men? The Jews obstinately deny it; we constantly affirm and invincibly demonstrate it.

That Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah is proved from his criteria.

1. The first demonstration, from the birth of Jesus.

III. First, all the criteria (*kritēria*) of the Messiah by which God wished to designate him in the Old Testament to confirm our faith (those which refer to his birth as well as to his person and state; or doctrine and works) belong to him. Thus they either belong to no one or they suit him. As to his birth, whether we attend to the time of his nativity and his forerunner, or the place or tribe and family or manner, it is evident that all meet together and have their fulfillment in him (as can easily be shown by parts), not as to the particulars separately (in which way they would prove nothing), but connectedly as to all (which furnish a solid argument).

As to the time.

IV. (1) As to the time, the Messiah ought to be born at the time in which the royal and legislative power was to be taken away from the Jews after the 70 weeks of years (i.e., after the lapse of 490 years from the Babylonian captivity); also in the time in which the house of David would be in the lowest contempt and (as it were) a trunk cut off even to the roots (Is. 11:1). Now that our Jesus did appear at that time has both been proven above and the thing itself declares.

2. As to his forerunner.

V. (2) As to his forerunner; a forerunner ought to precede the Messiah's advent to prepare the way for him according to the prophetic oracles (Is. 40:3; Mal. 3:1). "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord" (Mal. 4:5). Thus it seems to have been fulfilled in John the Baptist, who was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, who went before Christ in the spirit of Elijah to prepare the way for him (Mt. 3:3; 11:14; Lk. 1:17); not only preaching repentance, but also giving a clear testimony to Christ and distinguishing him when present with a divine eulogy. In this sense, he is called the greatest of all the prophets and the first of evangelists (Mt. 11:9, 11). Having fulfilled his mission, he yielded to Christ and concluded the Old Testament (Mt. 11:13).

3. As to the place.

VI. (3) As to the place, the Messiah was to be born at Bethlehem according to the prediction of Micah: "But Thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall He come forth unto me that is to be Ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting" (5:2). The Chaldee Paraphrase, Rabbi Solomon Rashi and Kimchi acknowledge that it treats of the Messiah and the Pharisees and scribes confess it in their answer to Herod's inquiry (Mt. 2:5, 6) (cf. *Biblia sacra polyglotta* [1657], 3:74 on Mic. 5:2; cf. also Johannes Buxtorf, *Biblia Sacra Hebraica and Chaldaica* [1619], *in loc* [Mic. 5:2]). Now everyone knows that Jesus was born in Bethlehem. That no one might suppose this happened by chance or by the purpose and compact or deliberate counsel of Joseph or Mary, God wished to bring about the thing by his remarkable

providence to carry out his own prediction, the parents of Jesus not only being ignorant and not thinking of it, but desiring the contrary. For no other purpose did he prompt Caesar Augustus (the empire being now settled, enjoying everywhere profound peace and thinking of nothing less than fulfilling the prediction pertaining to the Messiah) to make a registration of the whole Jewish world, than that this oracle might be fulfilled and so it might be established by an indubitable argument that Joseph belonged to the family of David. For his family was obscure and now reduced to the lowest condition of life; he exhibited no signs of a royal descent. To no purpose does Manasseh ben Israel (departing with the more modern Jews from the ancient) hold that "Bethlehem is called the native place of the Messiah because he was to spring from David, a Bethlehemite, so that not the actual but the original nativity of the Messiah is demonstrated" (*Conciliator* [1972], 2:228 on Mic. 5:2). It speaks of a ruler about to be born at Bethlehem, which cannot be referred to the birth of David (already a long time past) without absurdity. Nor does what is added concerning his goings forth from of old prove this because this belongs to the eternal generation of the Messiah from the bosom of the Father by which he is the Son of God, as the nativity at Bethlehem denotes the temporal birth from the bosom of his mother.

4. As to tribe and family.

VII. (4) As to tribe and family, the Messiah was to spring and from the tribe of Judah and the family of David according to the predictions (Gen. 49:10; Is. 11:1; 2 S. 7:13, 14) and from the confession of the multitude (Jn. 7:42). Hence he is frequently called "David" by the prophets. That this was fulfilled in our Jesus is evident both from the place of his nativity already mentioned (which was the house of David, whither the parents of Jesus should take themselves, so as to prove that they had sprung from that family) and from both genealogies of Christ which we have in Matthew and Luke. Nor can it be objected that the family of Joseph does not prove Jesus to have sprung from the family of David, since according to our hypothesis he was not his father. From the law, wives were to be taken from the same tribe and family (Num. 36:8), which although it would not be absolutely universal, ought to be the case where the virgins were to succeed to the

patrimony (*epiklēroi*) (like Mary). Nor is it a hindrance that Mary is called a cousin (*syngenēs*) of Elizabeth (Lk. 1:36) because this might have arisen from the fact either that one of the ancestors of Mary had taken a wife from the tribe of Levi or some priest had taken a daughter from the blood relation of Mary.

5. As to the manner of birth.

VIII. (5) As to the manner of nativity, he should be born of a virgin from Isaiah's prophecy: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel" (Is. 7:14). This has so great weight that even alone it is sufficient to establish this mystery. But that it may be vindicated against the cavils of the Jews, the scope of the prophet is to be observed, which is to confirm the people against the fear with which they were agitated on account of Rezin and Pekah, kings of Syria and Israel who were besieging Jerusalem. On that account, God commands the prophet to approach the king (together with his son) and order him (fear being laid aside) to rest assured concerning the preservation and deliverance of himself and the people. And that he may be the more thoroughly persuaded of the truth of this promise, the prophet gives to him the choice of some sign to be sought either from heaven or from the earth. However, since Ahaz impiously refused the sign and many remnants of believers still survived, for their consolation and confirmation (as also for the conviction of Ahaz) he adds: God (notwithstanding the wickedness of the king) will give them a double sign—future and present: the future in Immanuel to be born of a virgin in his proper time (v. 14); the present in Shearjashub his son (v. 16), before whose adolescence the destruction of both kings would take place.

IX. It is clear that the prophecy can be understood of no other than the Messiah because: (1) it speaks of a child who was to be Immanuel and Lord of the earth (v. 14; 8:8); (2) of him who was to be born of a virgin; (3) of him who was to be for an unheard-of and wonderful sign. This cannot apply to Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, because he had been born and was not about to be born. Again Hezekiah's birth was not from *'lmh* ("a virgin"), but from the wife of Ahaz; nor is it called miraculous; nor do we read of its being set forth anywhere else as a peculiar sign. Nor can it apply to Shearjashub, the

son of the prophet; or to the other mentioned in chapter 8 called Maher-shalal-hashbaz. The former had already been born, having been led by Isaiah to the king (nor was his birth miraculous and from a virgin, although the imposition of his name was symbolical); the latter is distinguished from Immanuel (8:8) and he was born not of *h'lmh* ("the virgin"), but of *hnby'h* ("the prophet"). Nor can it apply to any other ordinary child because this style is not common, nor are common things predicated of him. Rather it is the promise of a remarkable sign to be manifested not in a woman, but in a virgin. Hence it follows that this oracle could have reference to or be fulfilled in no other than Jesus of Nazareth.

X. Although the sign given here by the prophet was to be manifested only after many ages, still it could nonetheless conduce to the confirmation of the deliverance once promised. (1) It is not an absurd and unusual thing for future things to be employed as the sign of a proximate future thing (as appears from Ex. 3:12; 1 S. 2:34; 1 K. 22:25, 28; Jer. 44:29 where consequent signs are given, as also antecedent, and the events of prophecies are set forth in signs, Dt. 18:21f.). (2) It is not unusual in Scripture by mentioning great promises to procure faith for lesser promises, especially when those greater do not stand firm without the faith of the lesser (which is the case here). For since the Messiah ought afterwards to spring from the royal family of David and that too while the republic still existed, it is clear that neither that land (for which Ahaz so greatly feared) could wholly yield to the power of the enemy, nor the house of David be entirely destroyed. Hence the argument could be from similarity (*a simili*) or from the lesser to the greater (*a minori ad majus*). God will certainly fulfill the principal promise concerning the Messiah; therefore much more will he grant what is less (to wit, deliverance from the kings). (3) It is customary for the prophets to confirm all special promises by the general promise concerning the Messiah because it is the foundation of the rest, in whom all the promises are yea and amen (2 Cor. 1:20). (4) The promise of proximate deliverance is not only founded on the future sign (namely the Messiah, who was to be born of a virgin after many years), but also on the present (to wit, the son of the prophet already born, whom he had led with him to the king). To him, v. 16 properly refers: "Before this child" (pointing [*deiktikōs*] to him) "shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good" (i.e., has reached the years of discretion) "the land shall be delivered" (as in truth scarcely four years had

elapsed before these kings were destroyed); or on the son who was to be born a little afterwards, of whom Is. 8:3, 4 speaks.

XI. Now although we never find Jesus of Nazareth addressed as Immanuel, still no less can it be said that he was to be so called. The verb *qr'* in Scripture is often put for "to be"; as when it is said "he shall be called wonderful, the counsellor" (Is. 9:6) and "Jehovah our righteousness" (Jer. 23:5)—not so much to intimate with what name he was to be distinguished, as what he was really to be (whether as to his person, God-man [*theanthrōpos*], or as to his office, Mediator) who was to reconcile God to us. Hence Chrysostom well remarks on this passage: "It is usual for Scripture to put the things which happen in place of the names: they shall call him Immanuel, therefore, signifies nothing else than, they shall see God with men" (*Homilies ... on Matthew* 5.3 [NPNF1, 10:32; PG 57:56–57]). If a certain ignorance is ascribed to Immanuel, it is of pure negation (which could be the case with Jesus, Lk. 2:40); not of deparaved disposition (which is sinful), from which he was always free. What is added concerning butter and honey denotes the usual bringing up of others, using ordinary food (which is included under butter and honey because the land of Canaan flowed with milk and honey).

XII. That *'lmh* here denotes a "virgin" and not any woman is evident: (1) from the origin of the word from *'lm* ("to hide") denoting the state of a virgin—hidden from the sight and communication of men; *'lmvmh* ("hidden from") and not known by man (as it were). Hence virgins were called among the ancients *katakleistoi* and *apokryphoi* (2 Mac. 3:19) because they were concealed and kept at home. (2) The authority of interpreters who cannot be suspected by the Jews: the Targums, Onkelos and Jonathan (cf. Walton, *Biblia sacra Polyglotta* [1657], 3:20 on Is. 7:14), and the Septuagint, which translates it *parthenos*, although Symmachus and Theodotion (in favor of the Jews) render it "young woman" (cf. Origen, *Hexapla* [PG 16:1653–54] on Is. 7:14). (3) Evident reason demands it because it treats of a divine and wonderful sign whose birth is no less wonderful than the name. But what kind of a sign is this, so common, so natural and ordinary a thing as for a woman to conceive and bear after intercourse with a man? (4) The ordinary use of the word in Scripture in six other passages where it occurs (Gen. 24:43; Cant. 1:3; 6:8; Ex. 2:8; Ps. 68:25; Prov. 30:19). In this last passage, to no purpose do the Jews maintain

that a "prostitute" is meant because after the words "the way of a man *b'lmh* is hidden," it is immediately added, "such is the way of an adulterous woman"; the employment of the mark of similarity shows that a similarity, not an identity, is denoted. The sense is that the way of a man to a maid is hidden (to wit, the arts by which men strive to gain the affections of virgins, whether for honest marriage or for corruption). She can also be called a virgin antecedently, who was such before; not consequently or by report (*doxastikōs*) and opinion (*synchōrētikōs*), whether because she is esteemed such or because she wished to be considered such (which cannot be the case here).

XIII. Moreover that Mary, who gave birth to our Jesus, was a virgin, not only the gospel history testifies, but even fame itself declares. For if this was not true, how could it happen that a virgin should lie about so great and so incredible a thing and that the apostles (who could easily have been convinced of its falsity) should dare so boldly to declare it, no one denying? If she really was taken in adultery (as some of the more modern Jews blasphemously assert), why was she never charged with it by the Pharisees and scribes? Why was she not brought to trial according to law and a punishment inflicted, so that the fame of the son would be struck through the side of the mother? But she survived her son, no one inquiring into his life.

The second demonstration, from the marks of the Messiah's person and state.

XIV. The second demonstration is drawn from the criteria of his person and state. (1) That the Messiah would be God is with certainty gathered not only from the predictions (which ascribe this name to him), but also from the divine works which he had to perform in executing the work of redemption. And that Jesus, the son of Mary, was both the Son of God and God, is indubitably proved both from the various divine works done by him (as will be proved hereafter) and from the testimony of Christ himself, who so often proclaims himself as the Son of God. And if he had falsely claimed this for himself, is it to be supposed that God (the jealous vindicator of his own glory) would have suffered his glory to be given to another? Would not so

great a crime (a greater than which cannot be conceived) have been visited by some severe punishment? If an angel was so severely punished for affecting equality with God, what would have been done to this usurper and seizer of the nature of divinity itself? Now Jesus was not only not punished by God, but crowned with the highest glory and majesty. In a short space of time, he filled the whole world with his doctrine and erected a most powerful empire.

XV. (2) The Messiah is described as to be invested with a threefold office (for which reason he was to be anointed, Dan. 9:24): the prophetic from Dt. 18:15; Is. 61:1, 2; the priestly from Ps. 110; the regal from Pss. 2:6; 45:6, 7; Zech. 6:12, 13. Now we behold this fulfilled in our Jesus, who performed the office of prophet (in preaching the gospel); of priest (in the offering up of himself); and of king (in the establishment of a heavenly kingdom, as will be proved in the proper place).

XVI. (3) A twofold state is assigned to him: the first, of humility and suffering, in which he was to die; the second, of exaltation and glory, in which it behooved him to rise again and ascend to heaven (as is evident from Pss. 22, 110; Zech. 9:9; Is. 53). Now that this very thing is noticed in Jesus of Nazareth appears from the gospel history which describes his sufferings and glory, the state of emptying (in which he humbled himself even to the death of the cross) and the state of exaltation (in which being raised from the dead he has obtained a name above every name and sat down at the right hand of the majesty on high, Phil. 2:6–9; Heb. 1:3). This can be more fully shown as to all the circumstances of suffering and glory predicted of the Messiah in the Old Testament (which we find exactly fulfilled in Jesus under the New).

Third demonstration, from the doctrine of Christ and his works.

XVII. The third demonstration is derived from the doctrine and works of Christ. Since from the prophetic oracles the Messiah was to proclaim an acceptable year and to bring in the saving doctrine of the gospel to heal the contrite heart and preach liberty and redemption to the captives, who considers the doctrine preached by our Jesus and does not see that he most

fully accomplished this in himself? He has brought the gospel to us from heaven, which shines everywhere with the brightest rays of divinity, and in which by disclosing to us the most perfect will of God (both as to precepts and promises) instituted a religion than which there never was a purer and more divine. In every part, it breathes piety and love and ministers to the glory of God and the salvation of men.

XVIII. Also so great and so many were his works that none more illustrious or more or greater could be desired or expected from the Messiah, according to the confession of the multitude—"When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done?" (Jn. 7:31). Hence Jesus so often appeals to his works as the most certain sign of his call (Jn. 4:36; 7:37, 38; 10:37; 15:24); yea, being asked by John, through his disciples, whether he was the Messiah who was to come (*ho erchomenos*), he rests the proof that he is upon no other thing than the multitude and magnitude of his miracles. He answers by a work, not by words; by a deed quicker than by a speech (Mt. 11:4, 5) because the Messiah was to be a wonder worker (*thaumatourgon*) distinguished by miracles (as Isaiah teaches): "Your God will come and save you. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped" (Is. 35*:4, 5). For if the law was glorious with signs and wonders, why should the gospel not be (2 Cor. 3:7, 8)? And if the Messiah should be wonderful (*pl'*) in his person, then he should be no less in works. Now that Christ made himself illustrious by such works, the Jews themselves cannot deny. Josephus calls him "a doer of wonderful works" (*paradoxōn ergōn poiētēn*, AJ 18.63* [Loeb, 9:48–49]). Some examples of this are related in the Talmud. Julian himself, the chief enemy of the Christian name, could not deny it. His miracles could not have been more clear because they were not done secretly in a comer and a retired place (which impostors seek); but openly and publicly, in the sunlight, at the comers of the streets and at crossroads, in every place and before the eyes of most bitter enemies. Not more, for John says they were so many that if every one should be written, even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written (Jn. 21:25). Not greater (in respect of nature), because they were not only dreadful portents and prodigies, striking terror (such as were the legal signs), but saving benefits from which men not only did not turn away, but flew in crowds to see and examine. They were not

common signs and wonderful such as could be wrought by human or diabolical art; but grand, unusual and such as could be performed by divine power alone (such as raising of the dead, the curing of those born blind and those with incurable [*aniatōn*] diseases, etc). In respect of the object, they were not particular signs or restricted to certain species of things, but universal, testifying his power and dominion over all creatures in heaven and on earth, in the waters, on demons, on men, on trees, etc. In respect of the manner, he did not have to exert great efforts to perform them, but he wrought them by a word or a nod alone; now without means, then with them (for the most part useless in themselves; yea, contrary); now nearby, then afar off—yea, even when absent.

XIX. What reply did the Jews make? That others also had wrought miracles? But do we read of any other having wrought so many, so great and in that manner? Or that they were only wonders and not true miracles? But what is a true miracle except what surpasses the powers of the whole finite and created nature (such as the raising of the dead, the healing of incurable and desperate diseases, the casting out of demons, etc.), which we know were frequently done by Christ? That they were sheer impostures by which he deceived and trifled with men? But why was this never charged against him by the Jews, his most implacable enemies, who eagerly seized every opportunity of destroying him? Why did they not unmask the impostor and mountebank? On the contrary, who was ever farther removed from the arts of an impostor? They seek hiding places and retreats and shun the light, the more easily to impose upon the simple. But Christ worked openly and publicly, before innumerable witnesses, great and small, learned and unlearned, so that there could be not even a suspicion of fraud. They eagerly pursue empty, ridiculous and useless things. But Christ works nothing except what is holy and beneficial. They work for the sake of filthy lucre and to acquire glory or to deceive. But what like this do we find in Christ, who directed all things to the salvation of his people insofar that he willed to become poor that we from his poverty might be made rich? They are the slaves of the basest passions and serve the flesh and the devil. But Christ, the master of piety, proposed this one thing to himself—the production of holiness in our souls. That Christ wrought these miracles by the power of magic, as was often objected against him by the Pharisees when they slandered him by saying that by the power of Beelzebub, the

prince of devils, he cast out devils? But why can the Jews suspect this of Jesus, the Nazarene, who was considered the son of a carpenter, more than of Moses, who (educated at the court of Egypt) could have acquired the profoundest knowledge of the magical art? Again who would suspect even slightly, either that any magician could, or that any devil would perform so many works which were pure blessings bestowed upon the human race? Who can believe that the Devil was willing to arm Christ for his own destruction and the overthrow of his tyranny? Nor could it have been done by collusion because friends enter into collusion and not enemies. Now the Devil had no more deadly enemy than our Jesus and his religion (which tended to the total destruction of the works of the Devil and to breathe piety and holiness into the soul). Finally, if he was a magician, why was he never brought to trial for magic and convicted by the senators in the Sanhedrin, all of whom the school of the Jews asserts were most skillful in detecting the magical arts? Why were crimes anxiously sought against him, when the single crime of magic would have been sufficient to secure his condemnation according to the law (Ex. 22:18)?

XX. But if the works which Christ did in the days of his flesh proclaim him to be the Messiah, no less effectually is this very thing proved by those which he accomplished after his resurrection and ascension into heaven by the mission of the Holy Spirit and the work of Christianity. First, the resurrection of Christ itself affords a clean testimony to him, since in it he was (as it were by a solemn decree) approved of God and declared to be his Son, credited by believers and acknowledged by enemies. Hence he adduces no other argument more illustrious and certain of his divinity and call: “Destroy this temple,” says he (speaking of the temple of his body), “and in three days I will raise it up” (Jn. 2:19). To the Jews seeking a sign, he would give no other than his resurrection under the type of Jonah (Mt. 12*:38–41). And verily unless Jesus had been sent of God and unless he had been the anointed of the Lord (as he professed himself to be), who can believe that God, the most jealous vindicator of his own glory, would have exerted his power in raising him, to confirm so great a fraud and imposture and would have crowned so great an impiety with so large a reward? Add to this in the second place the wonderful and unheard-of mission of the Holy Spirit which happened expressly both in the time and place before predicted by Christ himself, with which the apostles were so filled that they were

changed into new men and said and did such things as not only struck the spectators and hearers with astonishment and wonder, but by a most powerful affecting force drew them wonderfully to the faith and obedience of Christ. From whence could so great a miracle proceed except from God giving his testimony to Christ? That men of a low condition, vulgar and unlearned (*agrammatoi*), seemed as if in one moment to be transformed into most learned and eloquent men, acquainted with all tongues and endowed with a knowledge of the greatest things, who so pleaded the cause of their master intrepidly and with great energy (*energeia*) and boldness (*parrēsia*) of speech, strongly advocating religion not with counterfeit and farfetched arguments, but with arguments of clear truth and greater than all exception, that in multitudes and crowds (as it were) men flocked to the gospel, notwithstanding threats, edicts, prisons, tortures and all kinds of severe punishments?

It is confirmed from the calling of the Gentiles and the founding of Christianity.

XXI. However, this was afterwards made more clear in the calling of the Gentiles and the founding of Christianity through the whole world. For the calling of the Gentiles was the peculiar work of the Messiah according to the prophetic oracles (Gen. 17:5; 49:10; Pss. 2:8; 22:27, 30; 68:31, 32; 47:7–9; 110:2, 3; Hos. 1:10, 11; Joel 2:28; Is. 2:2, 3; 11:10; 42:1, 4; 49:6; 54:1, 2 and in many other places). The thing itself exclaims and the monuments of histories testify that this was done by the gospel, so that in a short space of time it was spread over the whole world and nations from all sides flowed to Christ and emperors and kings cast their crowns and scepters at his feet. Thus no reason can be given why we should not believe our Jesus to be the true Messiah even from this mark alone.

Notwithstanding the various obstacles: (1) on the part of Christ;

XXII. For unless Jesus was the true Messiah and his doctrine truly divine, how could it have happened that he should be received as the Messiah and

faith be given to his doctrine in the world, notwithstanding so many and so great obstacles (almost insuperable)? How could this have happened on the part of Christ himself (the founder of the religion), on the part of the doctrine itself to be preached, of the preachers themselves and their manner of teaching? For if Christ himself was regarded the chief and head of the religion, he was a man common in appearance (as he was supposed the son of a craftsman), of no dignity and name or rank; yea, despised by the higher class of his own people and loaded with all manner of insults and at length taken captive, bound like a slave, scourged and made to bear his own cross; like one convicted of treason against both God and man, nailed to the accursed tree. Now who could suppose that God would have used so common and so miserable (as he seemed) a creature to perform so great a work? Certainly this was the greatest stumbling block (*scandalum*) to the Jews and to the Greeks foolishness, which to the called was the highest power and wisdom of God (1 Cor. 1:18).

2. From the nature of the doctrine.

XXIII. The nature of the doctrine confirms it, which was such that it ought rather to have repulsed than allured men. Not only because it condemned all other contrary religions that had prevailed through the ages and had become strong through long practice and demanded their utter extirpation as empty, false, unworthy of and hostile to God; but also because it contained precepts most displeasing and most troublesome to the flesh—self-denial, love of enemies, the bearing of evils (even of a most oppressive cross) and abstinence from all vices and pleasures. It taught mysteries absurd and inaccessible to reason (such as that the God of glory and the prince of life was crucified). Now if he was God, what was more absurd? if man, what was more empty? It promised either little or nothing in this world but the honor of martyrdom and the burden of the cross (Mt. 16:24; Jn. 15:18, 19; Acts 9:16). Now who can so persuade and secure resources? Is it credible that so many nations would give their consent to such oppresive and difficult precepts, would undertake such labors without any reward, without any of the allurements of pleasure (yea, with the immediate loss of all things most pleasing to them), could be drawn to a ruinous virtue, unless they had been most thoroughly persuaded of the divinity of that doctrine?

We wonder at Alexander the Great conquering the world with a few soldiers; at Joshua more, capturing Jericho by trumpets. But who will not wonder at Christ above others, who conquered the world by tongues, whose voice (although there was no speech by nature to them as to the heavens) went into all the earth (Rom. 10:18)? The word was foolishness to men. It was dreadful and such as ought to repel men. It both conciliates the mind and draws the heart. There was in it no art of persuasion, no embellished and enticing words. But still there was in it "the most powerful demonstration of the Spirit" (*apodeixis pneumatos kai dynameōs*, 1 Cor. 2:4). Nor is it to be supposed that the part which is called the foolishness of preaching was concealed and spread over with different colors. Nay, it was openly set before all (as Paul himself testifies, who openly professes that he was determined to know nothing else among them than Jesus Christ and him crucified). It was opposed by innumerable enemies, not by external and foreign only, but by carnal man himself, who leaves nothing undone to drive it from him. And yet it broke through all these obstacles and triumphed over man and his resistance. Cicero wonders that Romulus in an age still rude got himself to be esteemed a god (*The Republic* 2.10 [Loeb, 16:124–27]). But how much more is it to be wondered that our Jesus in a most literary and refined age, by the preaching of the word alone, procured belief in himself as God, so that on account of that confession his disciples were prepared to undergo every evil. Caligula, Nero, Domitian, while living were worshipped with divine honors; but when dead were exposed to a thousand insults. Jesus, when living, was esteemed the most helpless and miserable of mortals; after death, he obtained divine glory and now is raised above all kings. What could have been the cause of so great a change? No other than a persuasion of the divinity of his doctrine.

3. From the condition of the heralds.

XXIV. The condition of the heralds adds not a little weight to this demonstration. They were few—twelve in number; of the common people—obscure, fisherman, tax-gatherers; whom neither their family had made illustrious, nor power or resources enviable, nor favor dear, nor the smiles of the great agreeable, nor learning or eloquence famous or capable of winning the minds of mortals; who were deficient in all the things usually

required to persuade men. Who can believe that it could have come to pass that by such men so great things could be done; and that to them would yield so many synagogues, so many schools, so many bands of philosophers, so many exalted geniuses, so many tribunals and scepters, if he whom they preached had not been the true Messiah? Few, they are sent to innumerable persons; ignorant to the learned; speechless to the most eloquent; simple to the shrewd; unarmed to the armed; without resources to the most powerful—yet notwithstanding they draw all after them. Let all the authors of the most celebrated ancient sects who applied all the power of genius to become renowned throughout the world and to whom nothing was wanting for the propogation of their systems in all directions, be compared with these. Yet who was there of them all who drew after himself (I do not say so many followers), but even the thousandth part? Thus God wished to put his treasure in earthen vessels that the excellency of the power might be of God, not of men; that piety and religion should owe nothing of their increase to the world, but that it might depend wholly upon God.

4. From the manner of teaching.

XXV. Finally, the manner of teaching evidently proves this very thing. For it was not labored and curious, adorned with ornaments of style and enticing words and composed to deceive, but simple, unaffected and equally obvious to the unlearned and learned so that all suspicion of fraud and deception might be absent. On this account, they neither used violence to compel the dissentient; nor treachery to deceive the imprudent; nor threats to terrify the reluctant; rather they desired a free faith or none. They thought it worthy of God in Christ to lead, not bodies, but souls in triumph. If they had resorted to forcible means, if they had wished to found religion by arms or legions, if with blood and slaughter (as the impostor Muhammad erected and supports his tyranny), it ought not to have appeared astonishing if they had met with success. But for the whole world in arms to be subdued by unarmed and weak men, of no power and authority, by persuasion alone, this indeed manifestly proves the divinity both of the author and of the doctrine by which it was accomplished. For to ascribe this work to the Devil, what else would it be than for the Devil to wish to be author of his

own destruction and to conspire for the fall of his own kingdom? This no man in his senses would say.

XXVI. If the conversion of the world and the founding of Christianity (amidst so many intervening obstacles) are a certain proof of the verity of the Messiah, no less clear a testimony of the same truth is its conservation and propagation. For so many ages it has not been destroyed although Satan and the world have used every effort to overthrow it from the very foundation, but it is the more strengthened and increased and has always struck its roots deeper. On the other hand, other religions and systems (which were sustained by the authority of princes, the subtlety of philosophers and the eloquence of orators) have finally been abolished. Who does not judge the work to be not human but divine; and thus who does not judge its author to have been really what he professed to be—the Lord's Christ?

The fourth demonstration, from absurdities.

XXVII. The fourth demonstration is deduced from absurdities. (1) If Jesus was not the Christ (as he professed himself to be), his name and doctrine could never have risen among the kings and rulers who endeavored to suppress them, but his glory would have been buried with the names of others who were false christs; especially since it was supported neither by the power and authority of the world nor by the wisdom of the age. (2) If Jesus were not the Christ, of all who had lived (forgive the blasphemy) he would have been the most ignominious, who so often asserted concerning God, himself and us the greatest falsehoods and even confirmed them by an oath—than which falsehood no greater or more dangerous can be. And yet it is acknowledged (even by the Jews, the heathen and Mohammadans themselves) that the most perfect purity of life, joined with honesty of soul, shone in him (which entirely takes away a suspicion of the same). (3) If Jesus was not sent of God, God (the most zealous vindicator of his own glory) would either have foretold this by a prophet that men might guard against such an imposture or would have confronted him by raising up prophets; or by the things themselves and the progress of time would have fulfilled what Gamaliel said, "If the work is not of God, it will be destroyed." Now in the progress of the ages, his fame was not only not

extinguished and destroyed, but his doctrine increased and filled the whole world (as water leaping from a fountain with confluent streams, which reached only to the ankles before, is raised up to the knees and covers the breast and the head).

Sources of explanation.

XXVIII. When Christ says that he came not to send peace to the earth, but a sword (Mt. 10:34), the meaning is not that Christ would be the efficient cause of war per se, but the accidental cause (on account of the wickedness of the world, which, not enduring the gospel, would resist him, and excite wars against his professors). This is not opposed to the peace which the Messiah was to bring into the world according to the prophetic oracles (Is. 2:4; 11:6, 7; Mic. 4:3): (1) because it is not an earthly, but a mystical and heavenly peace; (2) not with the world of the wicked and the seed of the serpent (with whom an irreconcilable [*aspondon*] war should be, Gen. 3:15), but with believers among themselves, who laying aside hatred and enmity ought in Christ to be reconciled and to become one. (3) If wars are seen among Christians, this does not arise from the doctrine of Christ, but from the depravity of men.

XXIX. The destruction of idolatry (which was predicted for the time of the Messiah) ought not to take place in one moment, but little by little and by various degrees (which we behold has even happened). (1) The religion of Christ openly and professedly condemns idolatry most severely. (2) By it, it was even entirely extirpated in all the assemblies which truly professed the doctrine of Christ. (3) It is taken away every day in the world by the preaching of the gospel and if any among Christians still retain it (either wholly or in part) by that very fact they show that they are not the church of Christ, but of Antichrist (which is the greatest obstacle to the conversion of the Jews).

XXX. If John the Baptist sent to Jesus to inquire, “Art thou he that should come” (Mt. 11:2, 3), he did not do this because he was in doubt concerning him (since in a remarkable manner he had been convinced of it and had given such express testimony to him, Jn. 1:29, 32–34), but that he might confirm his own disciples (not as yet sufficiently persuaded and who

besides were too strongly attached to their own master, by seeing and hearing him).

XXXI. So far from it being necessary for Christ to be approved and received by the synagogue, his rejection had been plainly predicted: "The stone which the builders refused" (Ps. 118:22); "Who hath believed our report?" (Is. 53:1). "When the son of David shall come," says Rabbi Judah, "wise men will be rare in Israel, the wisdom of the Scribe shall rot, and the schools of the theologians shall be dens of infamy" ("Sanhedrin," 97a, BT 2:655).

XXXII. If Jesus abrogated the ceremonial law, it does not follow that he was a violater of the law, but the finisher (*teleiōtēn*) and consummator—for by fulfilling he abrogated it. Nor, moreover, was he even opposed to that law because it was not given to continue forever, but until the time of restitution (*diorthōseōs*). Nor was he opposed to the counsel of God, who had decreed this change from eternity. If it is said that ceremonies and sacrifices should still exist under the Messiah, this is to be understood mystically as to the internal verity of gospel and spiritual worship, not literally as to the external figure (in accordance with the style of the Holy Spirit, who in a changed state retains the ancient name and describes gospel mysteries by legal terms).

Third Question: The Necessity of the Incarnation

Was it necessary for the Son of God to become incarnate? We affirm

Words by which the incarnation is designated in Scripture.

I. Before we speak of the question, we must briefly notice the various words used to designate the mystery of the incarnation both in Scripture and among the ancients. In Scripture, it is called *phanerōsis en sarki* ("manifestation in the flesh," 1 Tim. 3:16); *sōmatos kasartismos* ("adaptation" or "preparation of a body," Heb. 10:5); *kenōsis* ("emptying" and assumption of the form of a servant, Phil. 2:7); *epilēpsis* ("taking on" of the seed of Abraham, Heb. 2:16); *epiphaneia* ("appearing," 2 Tim. 1:10).

And by the fathers.

By the fathers, it is now called *oikonomia* as distinguished from *theologia* because it was the work of a wonderful dispensation; then *enanthrōpēsis, ensōmatōsis, ensarkos parousia*, more commonly *sarkōsis* or *ensarkōsis*, a word undoubtedly taken from Jn. 1:14 when the *logos* is said to have been "made flesh." Here the word "flesh" is not to be taken strictly for one part of man, but broadly and synecdochically for the whole human nature, including the soul with the flesh. And thus is more clearly insinuated the greatness of the divine mercy and love towards men, since God condescended to such a degree as to be willing not only to associate with himself the soul (which is the nobler part of man), but assumed what is the meanest and most weak in us (to wit, this fragile and mortal flesh).

Of the necessity of the incarnation.

II. However as this mystery is unascertainable by reason and is known only by the aid of revelation, various questions are wont to be agitated about it. The first treats of its necessity. This again can be distributed into various heads: (1) Would it have been necessary for the Son of God to become incarnate, even if man had not sinned? (2) Was it necessary for the Son of God to become incarnate for us and was there no other mode of salvation possible with God? (3) Was it necessary for our own mediator to be God-man (*theanthrōpon*)? Concerning these we will speak separately under three propositions.

First proposition, the incarnation was not necessary except on account of sin.

III. First proposition: As the Son of God became incarnate only on account of sin, so it would not have been necessary for him to become incarnate if man had not sinned. It is opposed to the old Scholastics, who rashly and without Scripture authority asserted it (as Alexander of Hales, Occam, Bonaventure and others). Osiander, a Lutheran, in a former century interpolated their error. In recent times, the Socinians renew the same for no

other object than to seek from it some support for their most pestilent heresy concerning the metaphorical redemption of Christ and the improper satisfaction.

It is proved: (1) from Scripture.

IV. Our reasons are: (1) no other end of the advent of Christ and of his incarnation is ever proposed (whether in the Old or in the New Testament) than that he might save his people from sin. If he is promised, it is only after the fall (Gen. 3:15) and to bruise the head of the serpent. If he is shadowed forth, it is by sacrifices appointed for the expiation of the sins of men. This the angel clearly confirms in the New Testament (Mt. 1:21), as do Zachariah (Lk. 1:67ff.), Simeon (Lk. 2:30, 34), John the Baptist (Jn. 1:29), Christ himself (Mt. 9:13; 20:28), the apostles, Paul (Gal. 4:4, 5; 1 Tim. 1:15; Heb. 2:14) and John (1 Jn. 2:1, 2; 3:8).

2. From his office, which has respect to sinners only.

V. (2) His office is occupied only with sinners. As a Prophet, he teaches sinners and calls them to faith and repentance (Is. 61:1, 2; Mt. 9:13); as a Priest, he gives himself as a ransom (*antilytron*) for sins (1 Tim. 2:6; Is. 53:10; 1 Jn. 2:2) and prays for transgressors (Is. 53:12; Jn. 17); as a King, he governs his people and defends them against the Devil, the world and the flesh that they may not be snatched out of his hands (Jn. 10:28; Rom. 8:35, 38, 39). In one word, he was incarnated that he might be a Mediator. And yet there would have been no need of a mediator, if there had been no sin.

3. From the impelling cause of the mission of Christ, which was love towards fallen men.

VI. (3) The impelling cause of the mission of Christ was the love and kindness of God towards men—not upright, but fallen (Jn. 3:16). This love is far more strongly commended when it is declared that he was sent for this

end alone—that he might free us from the chains of sin—than if he had come for any other cause (Rom. 5:6–8).

4. From the fathers.

VII. (4) The fathers frequently confirm this: "If the flesh did not need to be saved, the word of God would by no means have been made flesh" (Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 5.14 [ANF 1:541; PG 7:1161]); "There was no cause for the coming of Christ, the Lord, except to save sinners, remove diseases, remove wounds; neither is there cause for medicine" (Augustine, *Sermon* 175, "De Verbis Apostoli [9]" [PL 38:945]); "If Adam had not sinned, there would have been no need for our Redeemer to take on him our flesh" (Gregory the Great, *In Librum Primum Regum* 4.1.7 [PL 79:222]).

Sources of explanation.

VIII. Christ is called "the firstborn of every creature" (Col. 1:15), not as if rational creatures were produced after his model, but both in respect of eternal generation and in respect of dominion (which belongs to him in them). All things are said to have been created in him and on account of him as God, not as man. He is said to be the first in all things (v. 18), in dignity, not in time. Nor is man said to have been made after the image of God because he was formed after the model of Christ, but because he was created after the essential image of God, which consists in wisdom and holiness (as Paul teaches, Eph. 4:24; Col. 3:10).

IX. It is one thing for the marriage of Adam and Eve to have been a sign and type of the marriage of Christ with the church (according to the secret intention of the Holy Spirit); another for it to have been known by Adam and to be set forth by him as a prophecy of such wedlock. The former is granted, not the latter. And if the apostle does apply to Christ the words of Adam (Eph. 5:31), it does not follow that they were uttered by Adam for that end, but can properly be referred to him only allegorically on account of the resemblance (*similitudinem*).

X. If Christ was not to be incarnate before the consideration of sin, the church would not have been without a head (*akephalos*). He would have

been its head (no more than of the angels) not in respect of humanity, but by the right of divinity and creation.

XI. The demonstration of love towards the human race by the Son about to be incarnate without respect to sin and the expiation of sins by him (incarnate) cannot be considered as subordinated ends, since such a subordination is at variance with Scripture. Scripture proposed no other end of the mission of Christ than the salvation of sinners, nor is it right to push our inquiries further, since Scripture is silent.

XII. God does not subtract from human nature that good of which it is capable by a natural capacity (which arises from the principles of nature itself), but he can take away from it that of which it is capable according to obediential power or the want of repugnance to receive all that God wishes. Such is the capacity of the hypostatical union in the human nature.

XIII. The goodness of God (communicative of itself) could be a sufficient motive to influence him to the production of creatures, but not for the incarnation of the Son of God (which extended further to their restoration).

Second proposition, sin being posited and the decree of God concerning the salvation of men, it was necessary for the Son of God to become incarnate. Statement of the question.

XIV. Second proposition: It was not only suitable, but necessary (sin and the decree of God concerning the redemption of men being supposed) that the Son of God should become incarnate in order to accomplish this work. (1) The question does not concern a simple and absolute necessity on the part of God for God could (if he had wished) leave man no less than the Devil in his destruction. Rather the question concerns a hypothetical—whether the will to save men being posited, the incarnation was necessary; or whether it could have been brought about by some other means. (2) Again, the question does not concern the necessity of the decree for no one denies that on the supposition of God's having decreed this, it ought necessarily to have been done. Rather the question concerns the necessity of

nature—whether (the decree being set aside and antecedently to it) it was necessary for the Son of God to become incarnate in order to redeem us. (3) The question does not concern the necessity of fitness because all confess this was in the highest degree fitting to the divine majesty—that his precepts might not be said to have been violated with impunity. Rather the question concerns the necessity of justice—that in no other way could the justice of God have been satisfied and our deliverance brought about (which we assert).

XV. I know that some of the ancients (whom many of the Scholastics follow here) were of a different opinion—that other possible ways were not wanting to God. Augustine: "Another possible way was not wanting to God, under whose power all things equally lie, but there was not and could not be another more suitable way of healing our misery" (*The Trinity* 13.10 [FC 45:388]). Various Scholastics agree with him here: Thomas Aquinas, ST, III, Q. 1*, Art. 2, pp. 2026–28; Lombard, *Sententiarum* 3, Dist. 2 (PL 192/2:759–60); Bonaventure, "Liber III. Sententiarum," Dist. 20, Q. 6 *Opera Theologica Selecta* (1941), 3:422–24. Nor are there wanting men on our side who incline to this: Peter Martyr, *Loci Communis*, Cl. 2, c. 17.19 (1583), p. 419; Tilenus, Disp. II, "De Incarnatione," *Syntagmatis Tripertiti Disputationum Theologicarum* (1618), pp. 398–408; Kimedoncius, *Of the Redemption of Mankind* 1.5 (1598), p. 9 and above others Twisse, who lays out his strength to prove this with great pains. But there were not wanting also some of the fathers and Scholastics who acknowledged this necessity: Athanasius, *On the Incarnation of the Word*; Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*; Ambrose on Heb. 9+. With them many of our men agree (especially after the rise of Socinus) and their opinion we also embrace as the truer and safer.

XVI. The reasons are: (1) as God cannot deny his own justice, he could not free men without a satisfaction being made first. Satisfaction could not be made to infinite justice except by some infinite ransom (*lytron*); nor could that infinite ransom (*lytron*) be found anywhere except in the Son of God. Now that the exercise of that justice was necessary (not free or arbitrary, depending upon the good pleasure of God alone), we have proved in Volume I, Topic III (concerning God), Question 19.

XVII. (2) If it could have been done in any other way, it is not credible that the most wise and good God would have entered upon this counsel,

which seemed to be little suitable to his wisdom and goodness. For if he could free men by word alone, was it becoming to his wisdom to accomplish so easy a thing with so much labor and as it were to move heaven and earth? Would he have done by more, what he could have done by fewer? And who can believe that the Father would have wished to send down from heaven his most beloved Son (in whom all his delight [*eudokia*] centers) unnecessarily to put on our flesh and to expose him to a thousand trials and at last to a most excruciating death for us? Verily the wisdom and goodness of God will not suffer us to believe that this was free to him, but a certain ineluctable necessity must have intervened.

XVIII. Nor is it to be supposed that in holding this, we wish to limit the omnipotence of God or to define what he can do with supreme right toward his creatures. We only show from Scripture what God can or cannot do according to ordinate power and right tempered by virtues. The other things belonging here will be spoken of hereafter when we treat of the necessity of the satisfaction.

Third proposition, the work of salvation required a God-man.

XIX. Third proposition: The work of redemption could not have been performed except by a God-man (*theanthrōpon*) associating by incarnation the human nature with the divine by an indissoluble bond. For since to redeem us, two things were most especially required—the acquisition of salvation and the application of the same; the endurance of death for satisfaction and victory over the same for the enjoyment of life—our mediator ought to be God-man (*theanthrōpos*) to accomplish these things: man to suffer, God to overcome; man to receive the punishment we deserved, God to endure and drink it to the dregs; man to acquire salvation for us by dying, God to apply it to us by overcoming; man to become ours by the assumption of flesh, God to make us like himself by the bestowal of the Spirit. This neither a mere man nor God alone could do. For neither could God alone be subject to death, nor could man alone conquer it. Man alone could die for men; God alone could vanquish death. Both natures, therefore, should be associated that in both conjoined, both the highest

weakness of humanity might exert itself for suffering and the highest power and majesty of the divinity might exert itself for the victory.

XX. (1) It behooved him to be man in respect of the justice of God, which required sin to be punished in the same nature in which it had been committed, according to the oracle—"The soul that sinneth it shall die" (Ezk. 18:4). It also behooved him to be God, to add an infinite value to his sufferings. (2) In respect of the office of Christ, he ought to perform the office of Mediator in order to reconcile men to God. Therefore he ought to be between both and like Jacob's ladder join heaven and earth by a participation of the nature of both. As a Prophet, he ought as man to be taken from his brethren that he might become familiar with men and we might approach freely to him. But as God, he ought to send the Spirit into our hearts and write the law upon our minds to make us taught of God (*theodidaktous*). As Priest, he should be man because every high priest is taken from among men (Heb. 5:1) as he who sanctifies and they who are sanctified are all of one (Heb. 2:11); but as God to reconcile man to God, satisfy divine justice, abolish sin and bring in an everlasting righteousness, which no mortal could do. Also, the victim to be offered ought not to be angelic because it could not die, nor a brute, but rational and human; yea, more than human and celestial who should offer himself through the eternal Spirit and add an infinite weight and merit to the truth of his sufferings. As King, he ought to take humanity from us to become united to us; but this was to be united to divinity, by which he should exercise dominion, not over bodies only, but also over souls; not for a time, but forever; not over one nation only, but over the whole world.

XXI. (3) In respect of us, he should be man that by right of relationship and as a brother and our *g'l* he might deliver the captives and slaves of Satan (Lk. 1:71, 74) and unite us (freed from our former marriage under the law and covenant of works) to himself in the covenant of grace by an eternal and indissoluble bond (Rom. 7:4; Eph. 5:25). Also he should be God that by right of ownership and dominion, he might redeem us and claim us for himself. We have need of like feeling (*homoiopatheia*) in the one dying and of sympathy (*sympatheia*) in the one living. He should be man to be able to endure all the punishment due to us as of like passions (*homoiopathēs*). He should be God to be able as a merciful Priest to sympathize in our sufferings and to succor us when tempted. The evil by

which we were pressed was such that none but a man could endure it, no one except God could free us from it. And the good which was to be conferred on us (to wit, righteousness and life) was such that although man was to receive it, still none but God could put us in possession of it.

XXII. Hence it is that when the Scripture speaks of Christ, it almost always joins these two relations (*scheseis*) and attributes things to him which teach that he was truly God-man (*theanthrōpon*). If he is called the seed of the woman (which belongs to man), the bruising of the serpent is ascribed to him (which belongs to God). If he is called the seed of Abraham, it is added in the same place that he is the seed in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed. If as Prophet he should be taken from among his brethren, still he was such a Prophet as must be listened to under penalty of death (Dt. 18:19). He is a child born in time as man, but also a Son who is the Father of eternity as God (Is. 9:6). The offspring of David according to the flesh, but Jehovah our righteousness according to the Spirit (Jer. 23:6). A son to be born of a virgin, but whose name would be Immanuel (Is. 7:14). The Angel of the Covenant sent by God for the work of salvation, but the same one, the Lord who comes into his temple (Mal. 3:1). A citizen of Bethlehem to be born in an obscure place, but a ruler whose goings forth are from eternity (Mic. 5:2). A Priest, but forever; a King whose kingdom shall have no end. The seed of David according to the flesh, but the Son of God according to the spirit of sanctification (Rom. 1:3, 4).

Fourth Question

Whether only the second person of the Trinity became incarnate and why

I. In the wonderful mystery of the incarnation which the apostle deservedly calls "without controversy great" (1 Tim. 3:16), four questions especially come under consideration: (1) the person assuming; (2) the nature assumed; (3) the mode of assumption by hypostatical union; (4) its effects. Here we dispute of the first.

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not whether the whole Trinity was active in the mystery of the incarnation. For since external works are undivided according to a received axiom of theologians, this work of incarnation (which is external) cannot but be a common one in respect of the whole Trinity. Hence the Father is said to have sent the Son (Jn. 3:16) and the Holy Spirit to have conceived the Son in the womb of the virgin. Yea, three persons were necessarily required for this work. One, to sustain the majesty of God, the author of all things and the supreme Judge, the offended party. The second, to act as Mediator between God and men and make satisfaction for men. The third, to carry out the work of salvation in us. To the first is said to belong the destination of salvation; to the second, its acquisition; to the third, its application and consummation. Therefore, the question is not Does the incarnation pertain in any way to the sacred Trinity? Rather the question is only whether it was terminatively and appropriatively incarnated. Although originally and principiatively as to efficiency the work of the whole Trinity, yet not subjectively and appropriatively as to terminus (in which sense it belongs only to the Son).

III. The question is not Was it necessary for God to become incarnate (as this has been proved already); nor whether the three persons could be incarnated. For the unity of the Mediator necessarily required a unity of person. Rather the question is Which person of the Trinity took this upon himself? The first or third or only the second? We assert the last.

IV. The reasons are: (1) the Scripture ascribes this to the Son alone, not to the Father or the Holy Spirit. The *Logos* only is said to have been made flesh (Jn. 1:14); the Son of God, who was in the form of God, took on him the form of a servant (Phil. 2:6, 7*; Heb. 2:14, 15); of the Son it is said he took part in flesh and blood and was made like unto us in all things, sin excepted.

V. (2) The Father could not be incarnated, for as he was the first in order he could not be sent by anyone or act as mediator to the Son and the Holy Spirit. Nor was it fitting that he, who was the Father in divine things, should become the Son in human things by being born of a virgin. The Holy Spirit could not, who was to be sent by the Mediator to the church (Jn. 16:7), and yet he could not be sent by himself. Thus there would have been two sons, the second person by eternal generation and the third by an incarnation in time.

VI. (3) The Son alone could rightly undertake this function: (a) that he who is between the Father and the Holy Spirit should be Mediator between God and men. (b) It was fitting that he who was the Son by nature should make us adoptive sons by grace, that we might be coheirs with him who is heir of all things. (c) It was his to recreate (*anaktizein*) whose it was to create; that the Word, by which all things were made in the first creation, should reform us after his image in the second. The image of God obscured by sin and all but destroyed, could not be repaired in us better than by him who was the image of the invisible God. (d) No other was more fit to make our reconciliation than he who was the well-beloved (*agapētos*) Son of the Father, in whom he was well pleased (*eudokēse*, Mt. 3:17).

Sources of explanation.

VII. Although the divine nature may properly be said to have been incarnated in the Son, it does not follow that the whole Trinity became incarnate. The divine nature is said to be incarnate, not immediately and considered absolutely in itself, but mediately in the person of the Son, or under that reduplication insofar as it is determined and characterized in the person of the Son. Thus the incarnation is a work not natural, but personal, terminating on the person, not on the nature. Thus the whole divine nature indeed is well said to be incarnate, not because it is incarnate in all the persons, but because there is nothing wanting to the person of the Son of God as to the perfection of his divine nature. This particular incarnation of the one person without the incarnation of the rest does not hinder either that relation (*schesis*) between the persons themselves (because since it denotes a distinction and an opposition as to beget and to be begotten, it does not offer an impediment, but rather removes it) or the relation between the person and the essence (because since it does not abolish the distinction of persons, nor hinder one person from being distinguished from the others, much less does it hinder one from being incarnate without the others).

VIII. If incarnation is ascribed in some places to God (as 1 Tim. 3:16; Col. 2:9), this must be understood of the divine nature not absolutely and in itself, but relative to the characteristic of the Son by which he is distinguished from the Father and the Holy Spirit. And the fathers hold this, who affirm that the divine nature is incarnate (to wit, in one of the

hypostases [*en mia hypostaseōn*] and in the hypostasis of the Word [*en hypostasei logou*]). Thus John of Damascus explains this phrase (*Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 3.6 [NPNF2, 9:50–51]), as does Lombard (*Sententiarum* 3, Dist. 2 [PL 192/2:759]).

IX. Although the essence (on account of its perfect simplicity) cannot be divided into parts, still because it is one way in the Father (to wit, unbegotten [*agennētōs*]), another way in the Son (in whom it is begotten [*gennētōs*]), another way in the Holy Spirit, on this account the human nature could be assumed according to the one mode of subsisting which constituted the one person of the Trinity; thus it could not be assumed according to the rest (which constitute the remaining persons) since these modes differ not only in reason (logically), but also in the thing (really).

X. There is a difference between the intuitive vision in the blessed and the hypostatical union in Christ. The former is terminated first and by itself on the divine essence as it is common to the three persons because it ought to reach the thing as it is in itself (i.e., God ought to be seen and known by the blessed as he is and so at the same time one and three). But the human nature ought not to be united hypostatically to the whole Trinity. It was sufficient for it to be conjoined with the divine nature, not in all its extent and as belonging also to the Father and the Holy Spirit, but as it is characterized and determined in the person of the Son.

XI. If our divines have not admitted the phraseology of the Lutherans (who assert that the divine nature was incarnate), it is not because they absolutely and simply deny that the divine nature was incarnate and say that only a mode of subsistence (*tropon hyparxeōs*) was incarnate without the divine nature (as they are unjustly ridiculed). But they object to it only as a less accurate way of speaking, consistent neither with Scripture nor with the truth of the thing (unless it is explained with dexterity).

Fifth Question: The Nature Assumed

Was the human nature assumed by the Logos like ours in all respects (sin excepted) and his flesh taken from the substance of the blessed virgin; or did it come down from heaven? The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the Anabaptists

Various errors concerning the humanity of Christ: of the Manichaeans.

Of the Valentinians.

Of the Apollinarists.

I. As the divinity of Christ was attacked by the fury of various heresies, so Satan has raised up many enemies against his humanity. The Manichaeans and Marcionites maintained that Christ was a man not truly, but only apparently (as a phantom). Thus they converted his humanity into a specter. The Valentinians held that indeed he had a body, but one sent from heaven, not one received from the virgin. They also believed that the body of the virgin was like a channel through which the body of Christ passed. The Apollinarists believed indeed that he had flesh, yet not that he took it from the virgin; rather in the incarnation something of the Word was turned into flesh and the divinity informed the flesh in place of the soul.

Of the Anabaptists.

II. Treading in the footsteps of all these, the modern Anabaptists deny that Christ took flesh and blood from the substance of the blessed virgin (*Protocol ... de Gansche Handelinge des Gespreckes te Franckenthal ... Gaspar von der Heyden*, Art. 3 [1571], p. 125 and *Protocol ... handelinge des gesprecks tho Emdden ... G. Goebens*, Art. 11–13 [1579], pp. 290–360). On this negative opinion, the Dutch and German churches agree—that Christ did not take flesh and blood from the substance of Mary; but they do not agree in the affirmative—whence he received it. The Germans confess their ignorance. The Dutch, however, more clearly profess that the flesh of Christ was from the Word of Life, from the seed of the Father (which seed is the Word of God).

Statement of the question.

III. The question is not Did Christ have flesh and was he and can he be called man? But Was he a man like unto us in all things, sin excepted? And

did he receive flesh from the blessed virgin and from no other source? This they deny; we affirm.

That Christ is a true man like us is proved: (1) because he is called man, and Son of man.

IV. The reasons are: first he is everywhere called man and Son of man, which could not be said with truth if he had not had a nature like ours (i.e., taken from men). Nor if the angels (who appeared in human form) are sometimes called men according to appearance (*kata doxan*) because they seemed to be such to those to whom they appeared, does it follow that the same can be said of Christ. Nowhere is it said of them that they were sons of man, that they were made flesh, that they were partakers of flesh and blood.

2. Because he is called the seed of the woman and of Abraham, the fruit of the womb.

V. Second, he is called "the seed of the woman" (Gen. 3:15), "the seed of Abraham" (Gen. 12:3; 22:18), "the son of Abraham" (Acts 3:25), "the son of David and the fruit of his loins" (Lk. 1:32; Rom. 1:3), "the seed of the virgin and the fruit of her womb" (Lk. 1:31, 42), "made of a woman" (Gal. 4:4). Now how could he be distinguished by these names unless he had a nature like ours, taken from the very substance of a woman and a virgin? Nor can it be said (1) he is called the son of Abraham or of David because he was promised to them; for thus he might equally be called the son of all believers, to whom also he was promised. (2) He is the son of David in the same way in which he is said to be the son of Joseph. He is called the son of Joseph only equivocally because he seemed to be such in the opinion of others (as "we supposed" [*hōs enomizeto*], as Luke says, 3:23), but he ought to be called the son of David properly and univocally, having sprung from the fathers and from the seed of David according to the flesh (Rom. 1:3; 9:5). (3) Or he is called the fruit of Mary's womb because he was conceived in it, not from it. By womb, there is not denoted only the place of conception, but also the matter (as explained in Rom. 1:3 and Gal. 4:4 when

he is said to be "made of a woman"). Nor if Christ was Mary's Lord according to the Spirit, does it follow that he could not be her son according to the flesh. (4) Or the spiritual, not the natural seed is meant because such a seed ought to be understood in virtue of which he should spring from the fathers according to the flesh (Rom. 9:5).

3. Because he was made flesh and our brother.

VI. Third, he was made a partaker of flesh and blood and from this is called our brother (Heb. 2:10, 14, 16). Nor can flesh and blood be taken simply for infirmity, but the truth of the human nature is necessarily implied. It treats of the man (referred to in Ps. 8) who ought to taste death for all, who is our brother and ought to be like us in all things (v. 17); who was of one blood with us ("for both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one" [v. 11], to wit, of the same mass or human nature which he calls flesh and blood [v. 14]) as the high priest in the Old Testament sanctifying the people was of the same nature with the people (Heb. 5:1); or the firstfruits is of the same nature with the remaining fruit. And further he teaches that Christ is a fit person to suffer for us and by his suffering to sanctify and redeem us as our Goel. But how could he be said to be either one with us or be set forth as our brother like us in all things, if he had not a human nature or flesh consubstantial (*homoousion*) with ours? Nor is it an objection that this nature also was common to reprobates, since Christ took it on for the sake of his children; nor could he have taken on any other than that common to all.

4. Because he took on the seed of Abraham.

VII. Fourth, "he took on him the seed of Abraham, not angels" (Heb. 2:16*). The verb *epilambanesthai* properly means to take hold of and assume (or to take on) and rightly refers to the assumption of nature into the unity of person. Thus the sense is—the Son of God assumed not an angelic, but a human nature from the posterity of Abraham and indeed according to the promise. The scope of the apostle and the connection show this to be the genuine sense, for he intends to prove the truth of the human nature of Christ and its consubstantiality (*homoousian*) with us by a participation of

flesh and blood (which was necessary in every way for redemption) and because he had said that he partook of flesh and blood that he might deliver us (v. 14, 15). He now teaches how and whence he partook of that flesh (to wit, by assuming the seed of Abraham, i.e., not human nature in general, but in particular a nature derived from Adam, according to the promise made to him). Nor do the things urged by Socinus and others to escape its force disprove this interpretation. (a) "The Apostle did not say *epelabeto* ('in the past') but *epilambanetai* ('in the present') since the act of the assumption of the nature is momentaneous, not continuous." Since the hypostatical union perpetually lasts and is preserved and its conservation is a certain continued production of the thing, he speaks with propriety in the present. Besides an enallage of the present for the future frequently occurs (especially in narrations of public events), so that the things seem not so much to have passed as to be going on. (b) "He would prove the same thing by the same, for to be made like us (which follows) is the same as to assume our nature." But the following words ("wherefore it behooved him") contain not so much an inference from what is here asserted as an affirmation of the necessity of the thing there asserted (on account of what follows—"that he might be a high priest"). (c) "The seed of Abraham is a collective expression denoting many believers (Rom. 4:16; Gal. 3:29)." But "seed" is also spoken as often of one individually, and here Paul peculiarly teaches it should be understood (Gal. 3:16).

VIII. The verb *epilambanesthai* cannot be referred here to simple help and protection because it nowhere has such a sense. Nor does the passage Rom. 15:7 belong here. It is one thing *proslambanein eis doxan* ("to receive to glory"); another *epilambanein sperma* ("to take the seed"). There Christ is said to receive as unto glory or to make us partakers of heavenly glory; here, however, that he takes on him the seed or becomes partaker of flesh and blood. (2) From this assumption (*epilēpsei*), the angels are excluded; but from the care of Christ, the head (exalted in his office), the angels (who are members of the church triumphant) are not excluded (Heb. 12:22). (3) Christ assumed the seed on earth (as a comparison of what goes before and of what follows teaches); therefore not at length in heaven (as our opponents maintain).

5. From the genealogy of Christ.

IX. Fifth, the genealogy of Christ is given, in which he is said to have sprung from the fathers according to the flesh (Mt. 1; Lk. 3; Rom. 1:3). This would be untrue, if he had taken on the substance of flesh from any other source than the blessed virgin.

6. Because sin ought to be punished in the nature that sinned. Sources of explanation.

X. Sixth, if Christ was not made like us in all things as to identity of nature, he could not truly redeem us, since sin must be expiated in the same nature in which it was committed.

XI. Christ is called "the Lord from heaven" (1 Cor. 15:47), not in respect of the matter of his body, but in respect: (1) of the person of the Logos (*Logou*) and of the divine nature which manifested itself in flesh; (2) of the efficient cause (to wit, of the Holy Spirit, from whom the humanity was conceived); (3) of the condition of Christ's life on earth, which was not terrene and earthly, but divine and heavenly; in holiness and power, not in the body. The antithesis instituted in Jn. 3:31 and 8:23, when Christ is said "to come" and "to be from heaven," but men "from the earth" does not prove that his flesh descended from heaven, but only opposes bare and mere men sprung from the earth to Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpō*). Christ is opposed to Adam (1 Cor. 15:45–47), not in respect of flesh, according to which he is called the son of Adam (Lk. 3:38), but in respect of his person and office as the Lord from heaven. He is opposed to mere and animal man as the author of righteousness and life is opposed to the author of sin and death.

XII. A similitude may be either of external appearance only, or of internal truth and of natural properties. Christ is said to have been made in the likeness of man (Phil. 2:7), not in the former, but in the latter sense (as Adam is said to have begotten Seth in his own likeness, Gen. 5:3). And Elijah is said to have been "subject to like passions as we are" (*homoiopathēs hēmin*, Jam. 5:17), who yet had human affections truly and not only apparently. And if Christ is said in the same passage (*schēmati*) to

have been "found in fashion as a man," the truth of his human nature is not on that account denied, but more strongly intimated because *hōs* marks not only likeness but reality (as often elsewhere, Jn. 1:14; 2 Cor. 3:18). Nor if he is said to have been found in external fashion as a mere man and a sinner like others, is it denied that he was a true man as to identity of nature. Finally, who can deny that he was a man, who was found in fashion as a man and humbled himself even unto death?

XIII. The consubstantiality (*homoousion*) of Christ with us consists in identity of nature and essential properties, but not in the relation of subsistence which was wanting to the human nature. Therefore, the singular human nature of Christ was complete physically in its substantial being as to its integral parts, but not metaphysically as to the mode of subsistence.

XIV. The same one who after the resurrection ascended into heaven, had descended from heaven (Eph. 4:9), as to person, not as to both natures of the person. He descended as Logos (*Logos*) by a remarkable manifestation; he ascended as God-man (*theanthrōpos*). Nor is it necessary for the ascension to answer entirely to the descent on account of the diversity of the subjects. The one is true and local; the other is only metaphorical. "The bread which cometh down from heaven" adumbrated by the manna formerly (Jn. 6:33) does not signify the human nature in the abstract, but the person in the concrete. It is called such now in relation to the divine nature when he is said to have come down from heaven; then in relation to the human, as when the flesh of Christ is said to be given for the life of the world. The bread which gives is the person of Christ; the bread which is given is the flesh of Christ.

XV. Those who suppose women are begotten without impregnation (*asporous*) and deny that they actively concur in generation, not only oppose themselves to physicians, but also contradict the Scripture, which asserts that the power of generation is bestowed upon the female as well as upon the male (Gen. 1:28) and ascribes seed to them (Gen. 16:10; 24:60). Hence there is granted a consanguinity between uterine brother and sister, although born of distinct fathers (Lev. 18:9, 10).

XVI. Christ does not deny that Mary was his mother simply (Mt. 12:47, 48), but prefers spiritual mother and brothers to carnal in order to testify that he esteems them more highly.

XVII. Christ is said to have been conceived of the Holy Spirit, not materially, but energetically (*dēmiourgikōs*) and efficiently (as the preposition denotes here the efficient cause because by his extraordinary power and operation he was conceived and not the matter out of which he was conceived).

XVIII. The "Son of the living God" cannot be called the son of Mary according to that in which he is the Son of God. But because he assumed the human nature from her into unity of person, he is rightly and truly called also the son of Mary in this respect. Thus Mary can truly be called *theotokos* or "mother of God," if the word "God" is taken concretely for the total personality of Christ consisting of the person of the Logos (*Logou*) and the human nature (in which sense she is called "the mother of the Lord," Lk. 1:43), but not precisely and abstractly in respect of the deity. Thus she is called the mother of God specificatively (i.e, of him who is God), but not reduplicatively (as he is God).

XIX. Whatever is born of flesh is flesh (Jn. 3:6), to wit, according to the order of nature in a natural way, or by ordinary and univocal generation; but not beyond the order and in a supernatural way, which is the case here. Hence although Christ sprang from Adam, a sinner, still he did not draw from him sin either imputed or inherent because he did not descend from him in virtue of the general promise—"increase and multiply." Rather he descended from him in virtue of the special promise concerning the seed of the woman. And although he was in Adam as to nature, yet not as to person and moral state or federal relation, by which it happens that all the posterity of Adam (Christ excepted) partake of his sin.

Sixth Question: The Truth of the Incarnation and the Hypostatical Union

Did the Son of God assume human nature into the unity of his person? We affirm against the Socinians

I. In the Christian religion there are two questions above all others which are difficult. The first concerns the unity of the three persons in the one essence in the Trinity; the other concerns the union of the two natures in the one person in the incarnation. Now although they mutually differ (because

in the first the discussion concerns the unity of essence and the Trinity of persons, while the other concerns the unity of the person and the diversity of natures), still the one greatly assists in the understanding of the other. For as in the Trinity, the unity of essence does not hinder the persons from being distinct from each other and their properties and operations from being incommunicable, so the union of natures in the person of Christ does not prevent both the natures and their properties from remaining unconfounded and distinct.

Statement of the question.

II. The question does not concern the truth of the human nature because that is acknowledged on both sides. Nor does it concern the truth of the nature or of the hypostasis of the Son of God because we have considered it elsewhere. Rather the question concerns the truth of the incarnation—whether the Son of God assumed the human nature into unity of person, so that the same one who was the Son of God became by the hypostatical union the Son of Man. This the orthodox assert; the Socinians deny.

III. The question does not concern the physical and essential union of two things to constitute one third nature (as the soul is united to the body to constitute a man). Not concerning the schetic (*schetikē*) and relative union consisting in the union of souls and the consent of wills, such as the union of friends. Not concerning a parastatic (*parastatikē*) union by mere standing by, such as that of the angels with bodies assumed. Not concerning an efficient (*drastikē*) union, as to general efficacy and sustentation by which all things are in God and we move, live and have our being in him (Acts 17:28). Not concerning the mystical union and grace of believers with Christ. Not of the substantial (*ousiōdei*) or essential union of the persons of the Trinity in one essence. Rather the question concerns the hypostatical union by the assumption of human nature into unity of the person of the Logos (*Logou*). This is so called, both in respect of form (because it is in the person of the Logos [*Logou*]) and in respect of the term (because it is terminated on it). Thus the union is personal, but not of persons, as the union of natures, but not natural. If at any time it is called *physikē* (natural union) by the fathers (as by Cyril, "Anathema 3," *Explicatio Duodecim Capitum* [PG 76:299]) it must be understood in a sound sense, so that not so

much the relation of union is regarded as the extremes of union (for the extremes united are two natures).

IV. This union can be viewed either in respect of the principle or in respect of the terminus. In the former sense, it is attributed to the whole Trinity, by the power of which such union is made (to wit, by a transient action of God by which he united in the person of the Logos, the humanity of Christ). In the latter, it belongs to the Logos alone because it is terminated on him. Although the person of the Logos may well be said to have been incarnate, yet the Trinity itself may not because the incarnation is not terminated on the divine nature absolutely, but on the person of the Logos relatively.

V. By this union, therefore, nothing else is designated than the intimate and perpetual conjunction of the two natures—the divine and human—in the unity of person. By this, the human nature (which was destitute of proper personality and was without subsistence [*anypostatos*] because otherwise it would have been a person) was assumed into the person of the Logos (*Logou*), and either conjoined with or adjoined to him in unity of person, so that now it is substantial with the Logos (*enypostatos Logō*). For it is sustained by him, not by a general sustentation (by which all creatures are sustained by God), but by a special and personal sustentation, inasmuch as it is united into one person with the Word. Now although the human nature may rightly be said to be substantial with the Logos (*enypostatos Logō*) (because it was assumed into the unity of the person and is sustained by it), yet less accurately is it said to subsist with the subsistence of the Logos (*Logou*) because then the human nature would be a divine person.

VI. The human nature in the God-man (*theanthrōpō*) can be called both its adjunct and part in a sound sense. Adjunct, not that it is adjoined or adheres to it as the accident to the subject or a garment to the body, but because to the Logos (*Logō*) (existing without flesh from eternity) it was conjoined in time in the unity of person. It may be called a part also analogically and in a wider sense; not as if the person of Christ is compounded or consists of two incomplete natures, as parts properly so called (which would savor of imperfection); but because it subsists not in one, but in two natures and agrees with both; not accidentally, but essentially. Hence it is said to be composed (*syntheton*) rather of number than of parts because in it many things numerically (to wit, the human and

divine natures) exist. If it is called the instrument of the Logos (*Logou*) by some, this is not done in respect of existence, but of operation because he assumed it on account of operation and works by it.

VII. This assumption, therefore, was not made for the completion of the person of the Logos (*Logou*) as such reduplicatively, since it was most perfect in itself from eternity, but of the person of the God-man (*theanthrōpou*) or Mediator specifically; not to the acquisition of new perfection in respect to the Son of God intrinsically, but to the communication of perfection with respect to us and to working extrinsically, in order that by that nature he might perform what was necessary for our redemption.

VIII. When the person of the God-man (*theanthrōpou*) is called by the fathers compound (*hen prosōpon syntheton ek theotētos epouraniou, kai anthrōpinēs sarkos*, as the fathers of the Synod of Antioch+ speak against Paul of Samosata), there is not meant a composition properly so called (as if the human and divine natures were as incomplete parts for the constitution of the whole). Rather an improper is meant inasmuch as that is said to be compounded which consists of different things; not physical of these (i.e., of essential parts) as man of soul and body; not accidental with these (i.e., of subject and accident), but hyperphysical and extraordinary (i.e., of this nature taken to this individual, incommunicable subsistence in which one of the extremes fills up and perfects, the other is filled up and perfected). Nor is it absurd that the divine nature in this way comes into composition with another because this is not after the manner of a part properly so called, but after the manner of assuming another nature. Thus it may be said to compose something with another not essentially, but personally; nor for its intrinsic perfection, but only for its extrinsic operation.

IX. Although we recognize in Christ a twofold union, one personal (of the two natures, the divine and human in one person), the other natural (of the soul and body in the one human nature), still falsely are we charged by some Lutherans with holding a twofold hypostatical union in Christ and thus favoring Nestorianism. These two unions differ from each other in many ways: (1) in kind, because the one is physical, the other is hyperphysical; (2) in the terminus, because there is a nature, here a person; (3) in the subject, which there is the human nature alone, here both natures; (4) in the adjuncts, because that is separable and was dissolved by the death

of Christ, while this is inseparable—what the Logos (*Logos*) has once assumed he never laid aside.

X. The question therefore returns to this—Was it a true incarnation? That is, did the Son of God, the second person of the holy Trinity, join together with himself in unity of person, not a person, but a human nature; not by conversion and transmutation, but by assumption and sustentation, so that the Son of God was made the Son of man and our Mediator and is truly God-man (*theanthrōpos*)? The Socinians deny this. They teach that in Christ there is only one nature; that he is man not only true, but also mere and simple, whose whole prerogative, consequently, was in the excellency of his attributes and office, not of his nature. On the other hand, we affirm it.

The hypostatical union is proved: (1) from Jn. 1:14.

XI. The reasons are first, "the word was made flesh" (Jn. 1:14), where distinct mention is made: (a) of two extremes (to wit, the Word, which is shown to be a divine person from what goes before, where he is said to be God and with God and to have made all things [vv. 1, 3], and flesh, which denotes synechdochically the human nature); (b) of the union by which they were mutually joined together; not as by conversion and change (of which the immutable God is incapable), but by assumption, by which (remaining the same in himself, to wit, true and eternal God) he was made what he was not before by partaking of flesh and blood, according to that well-known phrase—"I am what I was" (to wit, God) "nor was I what I am" (namely man) "now I am called both" (to wit, God and man).

XII. Nor can the impious gloss of Socinus be allowed by which (about to corrupt this most lucid passage) he maintains that the verb *egeneto* is to be translated not by "was made" (as by the common consent of interpreters it is usually translated), but by "was" (as it is used elsewhere in this sense in Jn. 1:6—*egeneto*, "there was a man sent from God," and Lk. 24:19). The gloss is openly contrary to the text, where John clearly distinguishes the being of the Logos (*tou Logou*) from the being of the flesh; that which was Christ from eternity from that which he was made in time. The former he signifies by the verb *ēn* (*en archē ēn ho Logos*, "in the beginning was the Word," v. 1), without any indication of beginning or of origin. Even in the

beginning, he was the Word, he was with God and he was God. The latter he denotes by the verb *egeneto*, which designates a beginning and origin because in the fulness of time God sent forth his Son *genomenon* (made of a woman, Gal. 4:4), who is elsewhere said to be made (*genomenos*) of the seed of David (Rom. 1:3). Nor if the verb *ginomai* is elsewhere taken in a different sense, does it follow that it cannot be used in this sense here (which the connection imperatively demands). To no purpose does he add that by the word "flesh," the humble and abject condition of Christ is denoted. For thus are connoted his infirmities that the human nature may always be supposed (which is the subject of them), so that the word may be said to be made flesh (i.e., a weak and poor man like unto us in all things).

2. From Phil. 2:6, 7.

XIII. Second, "Christ, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and being found in fashion as a man" (Phil. 2:6–8*). Here various arguments lie concealed, not only for proving the divinity of Christ (as was shown in Volume I, Topic III, Question 28, Section 2), but also the truth of the incarnation. (a) Express mention is made of the two natures of Christ—the divine (both by the form of God [*morphēn Theou*], which he is said to have had, and by equality with God, which he did not think it robbery to attribute to himself); the human (by the form of a servant [*morphēn doulou*] which he took on and the likeness of a man, in which he was made). (b) Of the union of these two natures in one person—the same one who was in the form of God is said to have taken on him the form of a servant and to have been made in the likeness of men; not only to have appeared in the form of a servant, as formerly under the Old Testament he appeared in the form of a man by clothing himself for a time with this form, as with a garment or symbol of his presence, but that he took on that form to indicate the true assumption of our nature into personal union. Here also belongs the verb *ekenōse*, which is not to be taken simply and absolutely (as if he ceased to be God or was reduced to a nonentity, which is impious even to think concerning the eternal and unchangeable God), but in respect of state and comparatively because he concealed the divine glory under the veil of flesh and as it were

laid it aside; not by putting off what he was, but by assuming what he was not. And as the verb *ekenōse* properly implies he emptied himself out or seemed to be emptied of all that glory which is rightly called the fulness of the deity, that he might take on our vile nature (which is mere vanity and, as it were, nothing with respect to God, and in it the most abject and miserable condition of a slave), and so from almighty to weak, from most rich to poor (2 Cor. 8:9), from the Lord of angels the servant of men, from a most glorious and happy state, which he enjoyed with the Father, he entered into a most sad condition, in which he was made a worm, no man, a reproach of men and despised of the people (Ps. 22:6), without form, without comeliness (Is. 53:2), and cut off and, as it were, brought to nothing, according to the prediction in Dan. 9:26.

XIV. Our adversaries labor in vain to escape the force of this passage by saying: (1) "*morphēn Theou* does not designate the divine nature (which cannot be emptied), but the excellence and dignity of the human nature, seen in the working of miracles and in those rays which shone out from under the veil of flesh." First, in this sense Christ would have taken on the form of a servant before he had been in the form of God. This is directly contrary to Paul, who asserts that Christ had already subsisted in the form of God when he received the form of a servant and existing as such he had emptied himself, the form of a servant having been assumed. Second, the form of God here is "to be equal with God," which cannot be said of any excellence of angelic nature, much less of the human nature. The apostles wrought stupendous miracles; yea, greater than even those of Christ (Jn. 14:12) and yet they cannot on that account be called equal with God. Third, God cannot be emptied by a diminution of glory, but by its concealment (*occultationem*); not in the sight of God intrinsically, but extrinsically as to men. (2) With no better success do they hold that "the form of a servant does not connote the human nature of Christ, but only the most abject condition of Christ because having received the form of a servant he is said only to be made after the likeness of a man, i.e., as if a man, not however that he was made a man simply." Things that ought to be connected are separated, for the servile condition of Christ (designated by the form of a servant), does not exclude the truth of the human nature, but supposes it because he could not enter that servile state except in a human nature. If he is said to have been made in the likeness of men, the specific identity of the

human nature is not denied, but only the numerical. Otherwise Seth would not have been of the same nature with Adam because he is said to have been made in his likeness (Gen. 5:3).

3. From *1 Tim. 3:16.*

XV. Third, "God was manifested in the flesh" (1 Tim. 3:16), where two natures (a divine and a human) are connoted coalescing in the person of Christ by his incarnation. Otherwise the same Christ could not be called God and flesh; "to be manifested in the flesh" is the same as elsewhere "to be made partaker of flesh and blood" (Heb. 2:14); "to be made flesh" (Jn. 1:14); and "to come in the flesh" (*en sarki erchesthai*, 2 Jn. 7). God is said to be manifested not essentially (*ousiōdōs*) but hypostatically (*hypostatikōs*) (to wit, in the person of the Logos [*Logou*]), not by some sign of his presence given to men (as in the burning bush [Ex. 3:2] or in the pillar of cloud and fire [1 K. 8:10, 11]), nor by a human form assumed only for a time (as in Gen. 18), or by shadowy phantoms (*phasmata*), in which way false gods rendered themselves visible, "clothing themselves with bodies" (as Servius says, *In Vergilii Carmina Commentarii* [1961], 2:157 [on Aeneid, 7:416]), *heautous eidopoiountes eis anthrōpous*, as Heliodorus expresses it (*Les Ethiopiques*, 3.13.1 [trans. J. Maillon, 1960], 1:115). But he is manifested "in flesh" (i.e., in mortal and miserable human nature). He does not say simply that the divinity in the abstract, but "God" (*Theon*) in the concrete was manifested (to wit, the person of the Logos [*Logou*] was manifested because incarnation is not of the divine nature absolutely, but of a person).

4. From Rom. 1:3, etc.

XVI. Fourth, from the passages where two natures in the person of Christ are clearly set forth: "He was made of the seed of David according to the flesh; and declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead" (Rom. 1:3, 4). The limitation according to the flesh and Spirit denotes his two natures, the one according to which he was made of the seed of David (viz., the human), the other divine according to the Spirit of holiness, by which he was declared to be

the Son of God by his resurrection (the indubitable argument of his divinity). Nor if "according to the flesh" is elsewhere taken in a sense a little different, either for corruption (as to "walk according to the flesh," Rom. 8:1) or for external form which strikes the senses (as "to judge according to the flesh," Jn. 8:15), does it follow that it cannot here signify Christ as to the human nature. For both the seed of David and the antithesis of the Spirit necessarily demand this. Nor if the same man can be said to be born according to the flesh and according to the Spirit (as is said of Isaac, Gal. 4:29), ought it forthwith to be denied that elsewhere a twofold nature is designated. It is one thing for a limitation to be added to an agent as to mode of generation (in which sense Isaac is said to have been begotten "according to the Spirit," although he was begotten according to the flesh, because in virtue of a special promise he was brought forth in a supernatural manner); it is another for it to be added to the subject as to the natures of which it is constituted (as in this passage).

XVII. The same limitation is added when it is said, "of the fathers, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, God blessed forever" (Rom. 9:5). Here the human nature is designated, according to which he must spring from the fathers, and the divine, according to which he is God blessed forever. So in 1 Pet. 3:18, it is said "being put to death in the flesh" (i.e., having suffered in the human nature), but "quickened by the Spirit" (i.e., raised up by the divinity, by that eternal Spirit by which he offered himself to God, Heb. 9:14). Thus, "God" is said "to have purchased his church with his own blood" (Acts 20:28). Here the words "his own" (*idiou*) show that the nature which suffered truly belongs to that divine person which is said to have purchased the church.

XVIII. Although the human nature of Christ is a first substance (intelligent and perfect in substantial being), it is not at once a person because it does not possess incommunicability and proper subsistence (as the soul separated is a singular intelligent substance, yet not a person because it is a partial being, incomplete, which does not subsist, but must be adjoined to another). The want, however, of proper personality does not derogate from the truth and perfection of the human nature of Christ because we measure the truth of human nature from the matter, form and essential properties, not from the personality. Hence the definition of a nature differs from that of a subsistence. Finally, personality is neither an

integral nor essential part of a nature, but as it were the terminus. Because it shares in an uncreated subsistence, on that account it is far more perfect than if it subsisted by itself separated from the Word.

XIX. The Son of God did not assume man as one entire, incommunicable subsistence, but a human nature (i.e., man specifically so called). And as often as Christ is called a man or the Son of man in the Scripture, it is a name not of the nature, but of the person denominated from the other nature.

XX. God and man are either regarded in the abstract (to denote the divinity and the humanity) or in the concrete (to designate the person, which is God and man at the same time). In the latter sense, they are not disparate, but diverse (which can belong to one subject). But in the former sense, they are truly disparate (which can never be predicated of each other in turn). Although it may properly be said the man is God, improperly, however, would it be said—the humanity is divinity. Now although such disparates cannot be one in number ordinarily and physically, nothing hinders this from being held theologically and in that extraordinary God-man (*theanthrōpou*).

XXI. We do not think much labor should be devoted to explain the nature and representation of the propositions used in this mystery, such as "God is man" and "man is God." Nothing similar occurs in the universe and in this sense they are well called "unusual"; not disparates, by which a disparate is predicated of a disparate (because no person is divided from itself); but identical where one thing is predicated of itself not formally. In this sense, they can be called synonymical by a logical consideration and tropical by a rhetorical consideration. Synonymical because subject and predicate are taken concretely for the unity of person; so that the sense is: The person who is God, is also man. Thus the lowest species is predicated of an extraordinary and singular individual. Tropical because the subject and predicate indeed designate the same person, but in different respects (*kat' allo kai allo*) (i.e., as to deity and humanity). This tropical predication, therefore ("God is man" and "man is God"), is not to be resolved into this proper—The deity is God; the humanity is man—as the adversaries falsely object. Rather it is to be resolved into this: Christ (God according to the deity) is man according to humanity (and in turn). As God is said to have

suffered (i.e., Christ who is God according to the deity suffered) not in the deity, but in the flesh.

XXII. The communication of the hypostasis of the Logos (*Logou*) made flesh can be understood in three ways: either effectively (as if it effected in the flesh another hypostasis); or transitively, so that it may be maintained that he formally transferred his own hypostasis into the flesh; or assumptively because he assumed flesh into the same hypostasis and united it to himself. In the former way, the phrase is heterodox and Nestorian. For if he had formed another hypostasis, there would be two hypostases and consequently two persons. The second is no less heretical because thus the flesh would formally subsist in the subsistence of the Logos (*Logou*) and thus be truly a person. Besides a personal property is simply incommunicable. But in the third sense, it is true and orthodox (viz., the Logos [*Logos*] may be said to have communicated his own subsistence to the flesh by assuming it into the unity of his own hypostasis so that the flesh is not a hypostasis, but real [*enypostatos*]; not existing separately, but sustained in the Logos [*Logō*] [as an instrument and adjunct personally joined to it] in order to accomplish the work of our redemption).

XXIII. Contradictories cannot agree in the same subject, in the same manner and in the same respect. But to be dependent and independent, finite and infinite belong to Christ in different respects (*kat' allo kai allo*): the former with respect to the human nature; the latter with respect to the divine.

XXIV. A local infinite distance can hinder the union of two natures, but not an infinite distance of perfection (such as exists between the human and divine natures).

XXV. If the Son of God assumed our nature, nothing on that account was added to him intrinsically to perfect his nature (which already had in an eminent degree all the perfection of humanity). Only extrinsically was something adjoined to it for the work of redemption.

XXVI. He who is made what he was not before transmutatively, is changed; but not forthwith, he who is only made what he was not assumptively. Therefore, the change (if there were any here) is in the human nature (which in an extraordinary and special manner is sustained by the Logos [*Logō*]), not in the person of the Logos (*Logou*) (who, always existing the same, united it to himself).

Seventh Question

Was the hypostatical union of the two natures in Christ such that neither the person is divided nor the natures confounded? We affirm against Nestorius and Eutyches

Two rocks are to be shunned about the hypostatical union, Nestorianism and Eutychianism.

I. Although the mode of the hypostatical union is positively unspeakable (*arrētos*), still it is not badly designated negatively when it is denied to have been made either by a division of the person or by a mixture of natures. These are the two principal rocks to be avoided here: Nestorianism on the one side, which divides the person; and on the other, Eutychianism, which confounds the natures.

II. In opposition to this twofold error, the fathers in the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.) said that the union was made *adiairetōs* and *achōristōs* ("indivisibly and inseparably") against Nestorius; and *atreptōs* and *asynchytōs* ("without change and confusion") against Eutyches. The two natures were so united in the one person that they were neither converted the one into the other, nor confused so that from two a certain third nature composed of both resulted. Rather they remained unconfused, each with its own properties.

The opinion of Nestorius is examined.

III. The first error is that of Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who of the two natures of Christ invented two persons. On this account, he denied that the blessed virgin could be called the "mother of God" (*theotokon*) or "God-bearer," but only the mother of Christ (*Christotokon*); and that Christ was not God (*Theon*), but only a man possessed by God (*anthrōpon theophoron*). Thus he made two Christs—one of whom was crucified by the Jews; the other, however, who was not. Hence he repeatedly reiterated this, "Why dost thou glory, O Jew? thou hast crucified a man, not God." Nor did he acknowledge any other union (*henōsin*) of natures than an accidental,

both as to standing-by (*kata parastasin*) and simple habitation (inasmuch as the Word dwelt in the man Christ, as in his temple); and as to grace (*kata charin*) and good will (*eudokian*) (inasmuch as God acquiesced in the highest degree with and was pleased with this man); and as to energy (*kat' energeian*) by operation (inasmuch as he was the instrument of God in those wonderful works which the Son of God wrought); and as to like will (*kata tautoboulian*) and affections (with respect to the consent between the will of man and God in Christ); and as to worth (*kat' axian*) and equal honor (*isotimian*) with respect to the dignity bestowed upon the assumed flesh.

IV. Now although there are not wanting those who (more favorable to Nestorius and more unjust to Cyril) can proclaim the former orthodox because he indeed distinguished natures in Christ, but did not separate them (and therefore was unjustly condemned in the Council of Ephesus), but proclaim the latter a heretic and thus do not hesitate to oppose themselves to the (thus far) constant opinion in the Reformed churches; still we do not think that this novel comment and that lordly (*kyrian*) opinion can be demonstrated by any solid argument (*doxan*). Yea, there are not a few which prove its vanity. (1) No one can readily presume that Nestorius did not think what is charged upon him by unanimous consent, both by the three ecumenical councils (of Ephesus, Chalcedon and Constantinople) and by writers of ecclesiastical history and heresiologists; yea, even by the Caesarean laws themselves, which order the books of Nestorius to be burned and devoted to utter destruction and call down the severest punishment upon those who dare to possess or read such writings or books (*Corpus luris Civilis, II: Codex lustinianus*, 1.5–7 ["De summa Trinitate"], pp. 6–10). (2) The twelve sections or excommunications of Cyril approved by the Synod of Ephesus (given by Forbes, *Instructiones Historico-theologicae*, 2.6 [1645], pp. 82–84) clearly prove this. (3) For no other reason did Nestorius deny that Mary could be called the Mother of God (*theotokon*) than because he denied that two natures coalesced in the one person. Vincentius Lerin, his contemporary (placed outside of the parties), testifies of this. He relates that three years after the Council of Ephesus, he had written, "Nestorius with the opposite disease to that of Apollinarius, while he feigns that he distinguishes two substances in Christ, suddenly introduces two persons and with unheard of wickedness maintains that there are two Sons of God, two Christs—one God, the other man"

(*Commonitories*, 1.12* [FC 7:289; PL 50.654–55]). If Nestorius used doubtful and equivocal phrases to cover up his error (which can admit however a sound sense), it does not immediately follow that he was orthodox or that the fathers (who thoroughly knew his meaning) forced a wrong construction upon his language. If Cyril sometimes used harsher phrases which seemed to approach to Eutychianism in refuting Nestorius (as is frequently done by those, who opposing one error, appear to glide into another) it cannot thence be inferred that he had improper views of this mystery and favored Euthyches. As when he so often says "one nature" belonged to the incarnate Logos (*Logou*), he does not mean that the humanity and divinity coalesced in one nature, since in the same place he maintains that the union was made "without confusion" (*asynchytōs*). Rather he says this in opposition to Nestorius because there is one *hyphistamenon* ("subsistent") by which "the Word is united to the flesh according to hypostasis" (as the Anathema expresses it). Whatever it may be, the question is historical, of fact, not of right. This does not hinder us from rejecting as fundamental the error attributed to Nestorius. It is so rejected by all the orthodox, who assert that the hypostatical union was indeed made with a distinction of natures, but without a division of the person (relying upon various reasons).

And is rejected.

V. First, the passages which show that the Son of God was born of a virgin prove this. Since this cannot be understood of the divine (which is uncreated and eternal), but of the human nature (which had a beginning in its own time), it is rightly concluded that the divine and human nature in Christ constitute only one person concerning which are correctly predicated whatever things belong to the divine and human nature. "That holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Lk. 1:35); "God sent forth his Son, made of a woman" (Gal. 4:4).

VI. Second, the passages in which one person consisting of two natures is described prove this. It is said, "Christ, made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and the Son of God according to the Spirit of holiness" (Rom. 1:3, 4*); "God, blessed forever and man, sprung from the fathers" (Rom. 9:5); "God manifest in the flesh" (1 Tim. 3:16); "who, being

in the form of God, humbled himself and took upon him the form of a servant" (Phil. 2:6, 7).

VII. Third, the passages which ascribe diverse properties and operations to the one Christ prove it: as that the Son of man, who came down from heaven, yet is in heaven (Jn. 3:13); the Lord of glory was crucified (1 Cor. 2:8); God purchased the church with his own blood (Acts 20:28); all the fulness of the Godhead dwells in him (Col. 2:9). This could not be predicated of him unless the two natures had coalesced in the one person.

Sources of explanation.

VIII. Where there are two natures complete (in their substantial as well as their subsistential and incommunicable being) there are two persons. Now in Christ there are not two natures complete as to subsistence and incommunicable. If in Peter and Paul two singular natures constitute two persons, it does not follow that the same is the case with Christ. The two natures in men have incommunicability with singularity, but not in Christ because the human nature is determined to the assumption of the Word, to whom it is personally united. Nor does it follow that the word "man" is predicated equivocally of Christ and of us, but only that the word "man" is taken at one time specifically for human nature (as it is predicated of Christ), at another personally (as it is attributed to us).

IX. Actions and passions belong to individual incommunicable subsistences denominatively. Yet they may also be ascribed formally to one or the other nature. Thus suffering and death properly and formally belong to human nature, but denominatively to the person according to the other nature.

X. A temple cannot be physically and materially the same with him who dwells in it; but metaphorically and mystically it is denied (as the soul is said to be in its own body as in a temple or tabernacle, although constituting the same person with it). The humanity of Christ is in this latter sense called the temple of the divinity, not in the former sense. Thus the distinction of natures is indeed well denoted, but not the division of the person.

XI. Mary is rightly called the Mother of God (*theotokos*) in the concrete and specifically because she brought forth him who is also God, but not in the abstract and reduplicatively as God. Although this is not expressly

stated in the Scriptures, still it is sufficiently intimated when she is called the mother of the Lord (Lk. 1:43) and the mother of Immanuel. If the blessed virgin brought nothing to the person of the Logos (*Logou*) absolutely considered, still she can be said to have brought something to the person of the incarnate Logos (*Logou*) economically considered, inasmuch as she gave the human nature which he took into the unity of person.

XII. The title Mother of God given to the virgin was perverted by superstitious men into an occasion of idolatry, as Paul Sarpi observes. "Because the impiety of Nestorius divided Christ, constituting two sons and denying that he, who was born of the virgin Mary, is God; the church, in order to implant the catholic truth in the minds of believers, decided that the words, Mary, the Mother of God (*Maria theotokos*), should be more frequently inculcated in the churches of the East as well as of the West. This, instituted indeed solely for the honor of Christ, by degrees began to be shared with the mother and at length was referred entirely to her alone" (*History of the Council of Trent* 2 [1620], p. 181). Although, I say, this most gross error either arose from or was increased by this occasion, it derogates nothing from the truth because the abuse and error of the papists ought not to take away the lawful use of this name.

Eutychianism.

XIII. A second rock to be avoided here is Eutychianism. It is opposed to the former and is so called from Eutyches, the abbot of a monastery in Constantinople, who while ardently opposing Nestorius (dividing the person of Christ into two) confounded the two natures into one and was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon. Here belong the two adverbs *atreptōs kai asynchytōs* ("without change and confusion"), by which is intimated that one nature is neither changed nor converted by the hypostatical union into the other. Nor are the natures so confounded or mixed with each other that each of them does not retain its own properties and conditions.

XIV. The reasons are: (1) the opposition of the two natures in Christ is frequent in Scripture (Rom. 1:3; 1 Pet. 3:18; Heb. 9:14; Jn. 1:14; Phil. 2:6, 7, 11); (2) two wills are ascribed to him ("not my will, but thine, be done," Lk. 22:42). Nor does it follow that there are two willing because the will

belongs to the nature, while willing belongs to the person; nor is it evident that the will follows personally forthwith because in God there are three persons, but only one will. (3) Contraries are ascribed to Christ, which could not be if there were not two natures in him (as that he would depart from the world and remain with us forever; that a child was born, who is the Father of eternity; that he suffered death and was made alive; in the form of God and in the form of a servant, etc.).

Sources of explanation.

XV. Although the efficient cause of the operations of Christ is one alone, still the exciting cause is twofold—the divinity and humanity. The work upon which both exciting (*egergēma*) causes exert their power is one, but the action (*energeia*) is twofold.

XVI. What coalece in one nature are not to be distinguished, but not what coalesce in one subsisting substance (as the two natures in Christ coalesce indeed in the same subsisting substance, but not in the same nature, which consists of two, like the soul and body). If the fathers sometimes employ this similitude in describing the hypostatical union, it does not follow that it holds good in every respect. They agree indeed in this—that as the body and soul form one person, so the divinity and humanity; and as the soul operates through the body (as the organ substantially united to itself) so also the divinity through the humanity. But they differ in this—that the soul and body form a person as parts and incomplete natures. But the divinity is properly neither a part nor an incomplete nature. Finally, from the soul and the body a certain third nature arises; but not from the divinity and humanity.

XVII. It is one thing to speak of the whole Christ; another to speak of the whole of Christ. The whole Christ is God and man, but not the whole of Christ. Whole in the masculine (*totus*) denotes a person in the concrete, but whole in the neuter (*totum*) a nature in the abstract. Therefore it is rightly said that the whole Christ is God or man because this marks the person; but not the whole of Christ because this marks each nature which is in him.

Eighth Question: The Communication of Properties

Were certain properties of the divine nature formally communicated to the human nature of Christ by the personal union? We deny against the Lutherans

Effects of the hypostatical union with respect to the human nature are: the grace of eminence and habitual graces.

I. The effects of the hypostatical union are twofold: some refer to the human nature of Christ; others to the person subsisting in both natures. To the former are commonly ascribed both the grace of eminence (which is the dignity of human nature above all creatures, arising from the union of the same with the divine nature, by which flesh is a property of the Son of God —which can be said of no other creature) and habitual graces (to wit, those remarkable gifts which the divine nature bestowed upon the human, which although the highest and most perfect in their own order, still were not simply infinite, but according to the capacity of the recipient in the order of created gifts; yet they were greater than in any angels or saints, both in the dignity of the subject and in the perfection of parts and of degrees). Hence it is said, "God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him" (Jn. 3:34).

With respect to the person: (1) a communication of attributes; (2) communication of office; (3) communication of honor.

II. With respect to the person the effects again are threefold: (1) a communication of attributes and of the properties of each nature to the person; (2) communication of office and of effects, by which the mediatorial works bearing upon our salvation are ascribed to the person acting according to both natures; (3) communication of honor and of worship due to the God-man (*theanthrōpō*).

Communication of attributes.

III. The communication of attributes (concerning which we now dispute) is an effect of the union by which the properties of both natures became common to the person. Hence the phraseology (or the manner of speaking) concerning Christ arises, by which the properties of either nature are predicated of the person of Christ, in whatever manner it is denominated. This is done either directly, when what belongs to the divine nature is predicated of the person denominated from the divine nature, and what belongs to the human nature of the person denominated from the human nature (as when the Word is said to have been in the beginning with God and God [Jn. 1:1]; when the Son of man, it is said, must be delivered to death and crucified [Lk. 9:22]). Or it is done indirectly, as when what belongs to the deity is predicated of the man Christ and to the humanity of Christ as God (as when suffering is ascribed to God [Acts 20:28] and ubiquity [which is proper to deity] is ascribed to the Son of man [Jn. 3:13]).

It can be called "real".

IV. This communication is not only verbal, but is rightly called "real"; not indeed with respect to the natures (as if the properties of the one nature were really communicated to the other), but with respect to the person, which consists of two natures really unified and claims the properties of both for itself. For although the union of the natures with each other is real, it is not necessary that the properties of the natures should be communicated to each other in turn. It suffices that they be communicated to the whole subsisting substance on account of that union.

It is considered either in the concrete or in the abstract.

V. That communication can be considered either in the abstract (in respect of nature), or in the concrete (in respect of the person). The words "concrete" and "abstract" are not to be spoken in the abusive sense of the Lutherans (with whom abstract is the human nature abstracted or separated from the deity, while concrete is the human nature as united to the Logos [*Logō*]). This is repugnant to the common use of philosophers and to the

nature of the thing, according to which the human nature can never be separated from the Logos (*Logō*). But they are used here in accordance with the received use in the schools, as abstract is the name of a nature or of a form which is in another whether essentially or accidentally (as deity, humanity). The concrete is a person or subject having that form or nature which is expressed by the concrete words "God," "man."

Statement of the question.

VI. The question here does not concern communication in the concrete or (as they call it) of a nature to the person. That is acknowledged on both sides. Rather the question concerns communication in the abstract or of nature to nature—whether the properties of the divine nature were really and truly communicated to the human nature by the hypostatical union. This the Lutherans hold; we deny.

Its origin.

VII. The origin of the controversy is to be traced to another controversy concerning the Lord's Supper. For to retain the bodily presence, the Lutherans could not find sufficient support in the words of Christ and felt that they were heavily pressed by the article of his ascension. Thus they betook themselves to ubiquity. Now although Luther afterwards wished it discarded (relying upon the words of Christ alone), still Brentius and others (who renewed the sacramentarian controversy after the death of Luther) recalled the comment of ubiquity as the prow and stern of their cause. And because it was objected to them that ubiquity is an attribute of God and on that account incommunicable to others, they have gone so far as to say that some divine properties in virtue of the hypostatic union were transfused into the human nature of Christ. Hence in the Conference at Maulbrun (Maulbroon) they maintained that the personal union formally consists in the communication of properties or in the communication of subsistence, whose consequent effect is the communion of properties ("Die Maulbrooner Formel," in *Zwei Actenstude zur Genesis der Concordienformel* [Th. Pressel] in *Jahrbucher fur Deutsche Theologie* [1866], p. 652). This opinion is now held by almost all of them. Still it did not please Luther, who urged

the communication of properties only in the concrete, not in the abstract. "The catholic belief is this, that we confess the one Christ to be true God and man. From this truth of double substance and from the unity of the person follows what is called the communication of attributes, so that the things which belong to man may rightly be said concerning God and on the other hand those which belong to God may be said of man. It is truly said, This man created the world, and this God suffered" ("Disputation de divinitate et humanitate Christi," in *Werke* [Weimar, 1932], 39:199). And concerning the last words of David: "These forms of speech they call the communication of attributes (i.e., when that which is proper to either nature and concerning it is said separately in the abstract, still in the concrete is ascribed to the person)" (*Works* [1955], 15:341, cf. p. 293). With this agrees Paul Eberus, a Wittenbergian Divine, in his book on this subject (*Vom heiligen Sakrament des Leibs und Bluts unsers Herrn Jesu Christi* [1562]).

VIII. The question again is not—whether the properties of the human nature were communicated to the divine nature (which the adversaries confess cannot be done). Nor—whether all the properties of the divine nature were communicated to the human nature. But whether only certain of them were communicated (as omnipresence, omniscience, omnipotence and the power of making alive). This they assert; we deny.

It is proved that there is no communication of attributes in the abstract: (1) because the divine essence cannot be communicated.

IX. The reasons are: (1) the divine essence cannot be communicated to a creature because a created thing cannot be made an uncreated, otherwise it would be God. Therefore none of the essential properties of God which are identified with the divine essence may be communicated. The same nature would be at the same time created and uncreated, immense and finite, which is contradictory. Nor is the contradiction removed by saying by an act of nature it agrees with the human nature that it be created and finite; but by an act of the person it is uncreated and immense. (a) Personality is not an act, but the mode of a thing. If the act of a person agrees with the humanity of Christ, it will undoubtedly be a person. Nor do these

propositions cease to be true—"the Word was made flesh" and "the man is God"—if the divine essence does not communicate itself to the human nature. Their truth is not founded upon the communication of properties in the abstract, but on the personal union of the two natures in the concrete. By regeneration, we are made partakers of the divine nature (2 Pet. 1:4), not formally, but analogically by reason of the gifts.

2. Because properties are not communicated.

X. Second, what is proper to one cannot be communicated to another; otherwise it would cease to be proper and become common to that to which it is communicated. The reply is vain that it cannot indeed be communicated by participation (*kata methexin*), but (*kata syndyasin*) by a union of both, as occurs in subjects coupled together (*syndedyasmenois*). For *syndyasis* is not in natures united in the abstract, but in a person or whole consisting of natures united in the concrete. (2) "The properties can be communicated and still remain properties, since to God alone they belong by nature, but to the human nature by grace." What is made common to another in whatever way communicated can no longer be a property. Nor can the diversity of the human nature of Christ from other created things favor this communication, which cannot have a place in them. It consists in the excellence of gifts, the dignity of office and the assumption into the person of the God-man (*theanthrōpou*); not in the communication of attributes.

3. Because either all ought to be communicated or none.

XI. Third, either all the properties of the divine nature were communicated or none because they are inseparable and really one. Now of things which are really one, one being communicated, the other is necessarily communicated. Besides if on account of the hypostatical union certain properties were communicated to the flesh (since the Logos [*Logos*] united himself to the flesh), all the properties of the Logos (*Logou*) ought also to have been communicated (unless we wish to divide the Logos [*Logon*]).

Nor can a reason be given why some are communicated, others not. For if they say that it is repugnant to human nature to be eternal, why is it not also repugnant to it to be omnipresent? And yet on the hypothesis of the Lutherans, all are not communicated; therefore none are. Nor can it be answered that there is a difference between God's attributes: that some are energetical (*energētikas*), exerting themselves outwards in peculiar operations, and the communication of them was necessary to the mediatorial office; others inoperative (*anergētikas*), not needing to be communicated. For such a difference holds good only in respect to effect and to us, not really in themselves and intrinsically where no such difference can be granted on account of the perfect simplicity of the essence; nor even a diversity in communication. Nor are they helped by the distinction between mediate and immediate communication, by which all the divine properties are said indeed to be communicated mediately in the hypostasis of the Logos (*Logou*) (which is communicated to the flesh), but immediately only some. Besides the formal communication of the hypostasis made to the flesh being taken for granted (as will afterwards be proved), it is not treated of a mediate but of an immediate communication by which all the divine properties ought to be predicated of the human nature according to that hypothesis because there ought to be an equal relation of all the properties with each other. I confess that they are distinguished into communicable and incommunicable, but we know that this is to be understood not formally (in which sense all are equally incommunicable), but only analogically.

4. Because the properties of the flesh are not communicated to the Logos.

XII. Fourth, if, on account of the union the divine properties are communicated to the flesh, then the properties of the flesh ought in turn to be communicated to the Logos (*Logō*). The union is reciprocal. However, they are unwilling to admit this. Nor can the distinction of the nature assuming and assumed remedy this difficulty. The foundation of a reciprocal communication is not assumption, but the union itself, which is reciprocal (as the divine is united to the human nature, so the human is

united to the divine). Thus also it would demand a reciprocal communication, not in the concrete only, but also in the abstract. Nor can a difference be derived from this—that the human nature indeed needed the communication of these attributes, but not the divine nature. The human nature did indeed need exalted gifts for the performance of its own work, but not attributes of God (which would rather have destroyed the human nature and transformed it into deity).

5. Because there would thus be a confusion of natures.

XIII. Fifth, if a real communication of properties is granted in the abstract, there will be granted also a levelling and confusion of natures (which error was condemned long ago in Eutyches). The consequence is evident from the meaning of confusion, which takes place when two things or more and their properties are communicated (i.e., are made common). Nor does it help them to reply that a levelling is not made because the human nature does not derive from itself omnipresence. That one thing may be made equal to another, it is not necessary that it of itself and by itself should not be equal to that to which it is made equal. Communication is absurdly opposed to equalizing and confusion, which cannot be made without communication. Nor was it ever heard that those things which are already on an equality are made equal; or those things which are confounded, are confounded. Nor was Eutyches ever charged with believing that the flesh of Christ was made divine by itself and from itself; yea, not even that can be thought by those who are endowed with reason. For how could it be made divine if it had been already divine from itself?

6. From the hypothesis of the Lutherans.

XIV. Sixth, if the union was made (the natures themselves and their properties remaining unconfounded and entire and distinct, as the Lutherans acknowledge) a communication of properties could not have been made in it. For what is communicated does not remain proper. Nor can it be said that the properties always remain distinct because they belong to the divinity

peculiarly (*idiōs*) and by nature and to the humanity by grace. Whatever is the mode of having, they maintain that they are really and truly possessed by the human nature so that they can lawfully be predicated of it and on that account remain no longer proper to the Logos (*Logō*).

7. Omnipresence is impugned.

XV. Seventh, we thus argue against the omnipresence of Christ's human nature: (1) to whom omnipresence is not communicated either in a state of humiliation or in the state of exaltation. It is not absolutely communicated to him because there are only two states of Christ, the Mediator. And yet in neither is it communicated: not in humiliation because the gospel testifies that he was not everywhere, but now in this, then in that place and that he passed from place to place (Jn. 6:24; 11:15; Mk. 6:6). Not in exaltation because it was not granted while he lived on earth: "I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified. He is not here: for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay" (Mt. 28:5, 6); "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself" (Lk. 24:39*). Nor was it granted after rising to heaven because (a) he foretold that he would go out of the world and no more be present here: "For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always" (Mt. 26:11); "I came forth from the Father; and am come into the world; again, I leave the world, and go to the Father" (Jn. 16:28); "Now I am no more in the world" (Jn. 17:11), i.e., in a short time I will not be. (b) He really departed from this world (Lk. 24:51; Acts 1:9). (c) He now exists in heaven, nor will he return until the day of judgment: "Whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things" (Acts 3:21); "For if he were on earth, he should not be a priest" (Heb. 8:4); "The Lord shall descend from heaven" (1 Thess. 4:16*).

XVI. It cannot be replied: (a) "The human nature had omnipresence in the state of humiliation in the first act, but it did not exert or declare itself." This takes for granted the very thing to be proved. Nor would the Scripture absolutely and simply deny that Christ was everywhere, if this was to be understood only with a restriction and a limitation. (b) "Christ left the world as to visible and familiar conversation with his followers and servile condition, not however as to real and substantial presence, according to which he says that he will be with his disciples even until the end of the

world." As Scripture teaches no invisible presence of the body of Christ anywhere, so the words of Christ exclude any presence of his body according to which it is said that he will leave the world (i.e., the earth) and ascend into heaven. Nor if it is said metaphorically of the Logos (*Logō*) that he came from the Father and came down from heaven, is there the same relation of leaving the world as to the flesh (which is properly attributed to him). He promises indeed that he will always be with his disciples as to the Spirit, not as to the flesh. (c) "There are three respects in which the body of Christ can be viewed: first according to the properties of its nature; second according to the glory of its resurrection; third according to the grace of personal union. In the former modes it is only in one place, but in the latter it is everywhere." From the third respect no more than from others does the omnipresence of the body follow because (united to the deity) as much remained as the body remained.

XVII. (2) The omnipresence of Christ's body cannot stand with various articles of faith. For if it is feigned to be omnipresent in virtue of the personal union, it could neither be conceived in the womb of the virgin, nor be born and come to light outside it, nor die. For the soul could not be separated from the body, or be buried (because it was already in a sepulcher), or rise again (because it was acting outside of a sepulcher), or ascend into heaven (where it was living already); nor could it descend from heaven to earth at the judgment, if it was to be everywhere present. Nor can it be said that Christ in the state of humiliation did not exhibit the majesty communicated to his flesh, but subjected it to locality and to the other conditions of this world. It is taken for granted (not proved) that there is a communication of majesty. Finally, locality depends upon the freedom of the will and does not flow from a necessity of human nature. The history of the ascension teaches that its departure was not only an intermission of companionship and conversation, but a translation of his body from earth to heaven and from a lower to a higher place (Mk. 16:19; Acts 1:1–11).

XVIII. (3) It is repugnant to the nature of the body, which is circumscribed and finite, has parts outside parts and ought to be of itself visible and palpable. Nor can it be objected: (a) "that it is unjust to subject a glorious body to the laws of a common nature." Glory does not destroy or change a nature, but only adorns and perfects it. (b) "That the body of Christ is circumscribed by a property of nature and in a physical mode, but

uncircumscribed by reason of the union and in a hyperphysical mode." This distinction has a foundation neither in Scripture nor in the nature of the thing; yea, it is absurd and ridiculous because one body is held to be receptive of contrary properties—locality and illocality. The mode in truth is brought forward to no purpose when the thing is not recognized. (c) "The body of Christ was sometimes invisible (*aphanton*) and unseen (*aoraton*)" (Mk. 16:12; Lk. 24:31; Jn. 8:59). This happened not by a separation of visibility from the body, but partly by a miraculous evasion or withdrawal, partly by a holding (*retentionem*) of the eyes that it might not be recognized.

8. Omniscience.

XIX. Eighth, against the omniscience we thus argue: that nature cannot be called omniscient which is ignorant of anything, advances in knowledge and is finite. Now such is the nature of Christ, which did not know the day of judgment (Mk. 13:32), progressed in wisdom (Lk. 2:40, 52) and is finite and limited (and on that account irreceptive of the infinite).

9. Omnipotence.

XX. Ninth, against omnipotence. Omnipotence is not communicated to that which recognizes another more powerful than itself, on which falls a certain passive power. The one who is omnipotent, the same is impassible and immortal. Now Christ (according to the human nature) was passive and mortal and had need of the sustentation of the Father (Mt. 26; Jn. 17). Nor ought it to be said that Christ did this according to economy (*kat' oikonomian*) (because he humbled himself), but not from necessity or indigence. Although it is true that the Son of God assumed our nature from economy and not from necessity, yet it is false that the human nature of Christ did not need simply divine help for its conservation.

10. The power of making alive.

XXI. Tenth, against the power of making alive. Whoever has the power of making alive in himself is God because it belongs to God alone to make

alive: “With thee is the fountain of life” (Ps. 36:9). And the life of God is nothing else than his very active essence, which cannot be communicated to a created nature. Finally, if human nature had that vivifying power, it cannot be said to be dead because the life of God cannot be extinguished, nor the personal union be dissolved.

Sources of explanation.

XXII. “From the real union of two natures in Christ to a communication of properties between the natures, the consequence does not hold good.” The real union of natures does not take away their difference; yea, rather establishes it, since they cannot be said to be actually united (which in union are not distinct). Nor does this imply a real communication of properties with respect to natures, but with respect to the person (which consists of two really united and claims the properties of both for itself).

XXIII. From “the whole Christ to the whole of Christ” or “from the person of Christ to the natures, the argument does not hold good.” Nor can what is attributed to the person be at once predicated of the natures because the person indeed claims for itself the properties of both natures, but one nature does not claim for itself the properties of the other, which belong to the person. Otherwise the natures would be confounded. Hence we can easily reply to Mt. 18:20 and 28:20 because they treat of the person in the concrete, not of the human nature in the abstract.

XXIV. “From the assumption of human nature into the unity of person an argument is not well drawn to the formal communication of the hypostasis of the Logos (*Logou*), nor to a communication of attributes in the abstract.” The assumption of nature can take place without a communication of hypostasis. A hypostatic sustentation is sufficient that the human nature (which is in itself without subsistence [*anypostatos*]) may be made substantial in the Logos (*enypostatos Logō*) and be sustained by it. Hence indeed it follows that it has no subsistence, nor subsists in the manner proper to a person, since not even in union is it a person; but nevertheless, it subsists (or rather is sustained) in the Logos (*Logō*).

XXV. When “the fulness of the Godhead” is said “to dwell in Christ bodily (*sōmatikōs*)” (Col. 2:9), a communication of attributes in the abstract cannot be inferred. (1) It treats of Christ in the concrete, not of the nature in

the abstract. (2) If it referred to the human nature as the temple of the Godhead (Jn. 2:19), nothing could be elicited thence for a communication of attributes. For it is one thing to dwell in the apostolic sense; another to communicate in the Lutheran sense. "To dwell bodily" with the apostle signifies that the whole fulness of the Godhead (i.e., the divine essence with the whole plenitude of its perfections) was united to the human nature; not in a shadowy fashion or by efficacy only or proximity (as in the types of the Old Testament and in believers and in other obscure and imperfect revelations), but truly and personally, just as a body is opposed to its shadow (Col. 2:17) and *sōma* with the Greeks often means "person." But to communicate (in the Lutheran sense) denotes to give and transfuse really into the humanity the whole fulness of the Godhead. It is evident that this cannot be the meaning here because since the fulness of the Godhead is nothing else than the very essence of God with all its attributes, if the fulness of the Godhead was communicated to the flesh, the flesh would be the Godhead itself and all the properties would equally be communicated to it (contrary to their own hypothesis).

XXVI. An indivisible (*adiairetos*) and permanent (*adiastatos*) union does not forthwith demand that wherever one of those united is, there the other must also be (unless when we speak of those things which are mutually equal and of which one does not exceed the other, which cannot be said of the deity and humanity of Christ). Thus what is in that whole (which is everywhere) ought indeed to be everywhere (if it is in the omnipresent whole by equalization or of such a union as exists between things equally infinite); but not where a finite nature is united to an infinity, its own finitude being retained.

XXVII. If the Logos (*Logos*) is anywhere out of the humanity by separation, so that it is separated from it, it can be said with truth that the man would be nowhere. But if it is anywhere out of the humanity by non-inclusion, it cannot be said with propriety that the man is nowhere because the Son of God is a man, not by a local coexistence of the humanity with the deity, but by a hypostatical union of the human nature—made not with a place, but with the Logos (*Logō*). On this account, the Logos (*Logos*) existing on earth is most truly man and has the human nature personally and most intimately united with it, although it is not present on earth. Therefore where the humanity of Christ is not, still there Christ the man may be said

to be, inasmuch as the Logos (*Logos*) (there existing) sustains the humanity (although not existing there, but elsewhere).

XXVIII. "The ubiquity of the human nature being denied, a separation or division of the two natures in Christ does not immediately follow." It is one thing for the Logos (*Logon*) to be without the flesh by non-inclusion and in this sense it is conceded because it is not included in it, being infinite. It is another thing to be out of it by separation (which is denied) because although it is not included still it is nowhere separated from the flesh. This proposition—"the Word somewhere is not man"—admits of a twofold sense: it either signifies "the Word has deserted the human nature somewhere" and in this sense it is false because the Word once assumed, never dismissed; or it signifies that the "Word is somewhere where the flesh of the Word is not." And so it is true according to the word of Christ ("me ye will not have always," i.e., according to the humanity). Elsewhere he says, "I will be with you even unto the end of the world" (namely, according to the deity).

XXIX. Although Christ sits at the right hand of God (which is everywhere), it does not follow that Christ according to the flesh is everywhere. (1) The right hand of God is one thing; the sitting at the right hand is another. The first is the omnipotence and majesty of God. The latter, however, is the kingly office of the Mediator. It cannot straightway be said of him who sits at the right hand, whatever is said of the right hand. Otherwise, as the right hand of God is eternal and immense and so he who sits at the right hand ought to be such, even the church itself (which is said to sit at the right hand of her spouse, Ps. 45:9) could claim that for herself. (2) The phrase is not proper, but metaphorical and figurative. It indicates the name of the office proper to the person, not the everywhereness (*pantachousian*) or property of nature (to wit, the empire and domination bestowed upon Christ over the church and the world, as the apostle interprets it—"For he must reign," 1 Cor. 15:25). Now to reign is not of this or that nature, but of the person of the God-man (*theanthrōpou*). (3) Christ is not said to sit everywhere, but in heaven only (Eph. 1:20; Heb. 8:1). For the sake of this, he is said to have ascended into heaven, where the phrase ("in the heavens") is the determination of the place which Christ ascending occupied (Jn. 14:2, 3; 17:13); it is not a signification of heavenly glory, which is sufficiently expressed by the word "sitting."

XXX. Christ is said to have ascended into heaven that he might "fill all things" (Eph. 4:10). He does not fill all places with his body, but the members of the church with the gifts of the Holy Spirit (which sense the antecedents and consequents necessarily demand). In the antecedents (from Ps. 68:18), he shows that the end of the exaltation is the effusion of the gifts of the Holy Spirit (Eph. 4:8). This opinion (illustrated by an antithesis) he immediately repeats (vv. 9, 10 and what he there said, "to give gifts," he calls "to fill all things"). In the following, he declares the exaltation from its effects showing how Christ (being exalted) fills the members of the church (named in its teachers) expressly with his own Spirit.

XXXI. When it is said, "In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (Col. 2:3), that does not pertain to the human nature of Christ, but either to the mystery of the gospel by reason of signification (concerning which Paul had treated in the preceding verse) or to Christ himself. It is not so much by reason of the subject or of the wisdom with which Christ was endowed, as with regard to the object because in the acknowledgement of him all saving wisdom consists.

XXXII. The Spirit is said to be given (*ametrōs*) unto Christ "not by measure" (Jn. 3:34); not absolutely, as if the gifts of the Holy Spirit (bestowed upon him according to the prediction, Is. 11:2) were simply immense, as the knowledge and wisdom of God are simply immense. Rather they are given comparatively as to us and all the members of Christ, who from his fulness as their head receive grace for grace (Jn. 1:16). Thus what are disjoined in others (as to this one, one gift is given; to that one, another "according to the measure of the gift of Christ" [*kata to metron tēs dōreas tou Christou*, Eph. 4:7], i.e., which Christ willed to bestow upon us) in him are found conjoined because Christ is all in all (Col. 3:11). What in others are always imperfect, in him are most perfect. Hence he is said to be "anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows" (Ps. 45:7; Heb. 1:9) because it behooved him to be the "firstborn among many brethren" (*en pasi prōteuein*, Rom. 8:29).

XXXIII. Since the universal judgment is a work of the mediatorial office, it is ascribed to the person according to both natures, not according to one only. Therefore the distinct operations of each nature concur to it, the divine indeed by omniscience and omnipotence, the human by the return to judgment and the sensible and visible acts of judgment described in Mt.

25:31–46. When it is said "And hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of Man" (*hoti hyios anthrōpou*, Jn. 5:27), the particle *hoti* is to be taken not so much reduplicatively (for "inasmuch as") so that Christ not only as God, but also as man may be called a Judge appointed by God (as the apostle has it, Acts 17:31), as causally (by "because") to mark the cause of the bestowment of this authority upon the Son—namely the office of Mediator which he entered through the incarnation. Thus the Son of man denotes here not the human nature in the abstract, but the person in the concrete, relative to his office; nor does it signify anything else than that such a power was given to him because he is the Messiah (who is called by Daniel the "Son of man," 7:13) to whom Daniel saw the empire and power given by the Ancient of Days (since he is that person who was chosen for so great and so sublime a mediatorial work).

XXXIV. Christ does not speak of that which was communicated to the human nature by the Logos (*Logō*) in the personal union (Mt. 28:18), but only shows what was given to him by God, the Father, for the execution of his office, not in the union, but after the resurrection. (2) He does not speak of the power (which is an essential property of God), but of the delegated power (which is a personal function of the Mediator); he does not say *pasa dynamis*, but *pasa exousia*, to denote the right and authority of commanding and judging. Hence he immediately adds, "Go ye therefore and teach." If all power requires omnipotence for its exercise, it is not necessary that he who has all power should forthwith have omnipotence with respect to both natures. It suffices that it belongs to the person as to one nature. (3) He does not say to "the human nature," but "unto me," to designate the person in the concrete, not the nature in the abstract. (4) Although nothing can properly be given to the deity as to essence, still there can be economically, both as to office (that he may undertake and execute it according to the will of the Father) and as to manifestation (that the glory of the deity, which had been concealed in the form of a servant, may now be revealed and become conspicuous to all, Jn. 17:5).

XXXV. He who works miracles by a proper and physical virtue ought to be omnipotent. But Christ as man did not work them by his own power, but after the manner of a moral instrument. Therefore he ought to concur to a miraculous work by contributing what is his own, but the infinite virtue by

which properly the miracle was produced belonged to the divinity alone (Mk. 5:30). The miracles are ascribed to Christ in the concrete, not to humanity in the abstract.

XXXVI. The flesh of Christ is said to be vivifying (Jn. 6:48), not efficiently (by producing eternal life by itself), but meritoriously (by acquiring a right to life for us by his death). Again in similes, synecdoche must be acknowledged by which the work properly belonging to the person according to both natures is ascribed to the flesh or to the blood by a synecdoche of the part.

XXXVII. Although to the person denominated from one nature is ascribed what belongs to the one nature, still a false idea would be derived that it is ascribed to the subject, what does not belong to it; for example, suffering and death are ascribed to God—which do not belong to him (Acts 20:28). It is not ascribed to God as the subject of inhesion, but to the person (which is God) as to the subject of denomination (which suffices to remove a false conception).

XXXVIII. The various distinctions brought forward by Lutherans to reconcile the contradictions which occur in their opinion, cannot solve the knot and involve a multiple contradiction. (1) It is of the act of the person and of the nature that the human nature (as to the latter) should be finite, but omnipresent as to the former. (a) But this is to no purpose because the act of a person cannot belong to the nature which is not a person. And if a personal act belonged to the flesh of Christ, it would actually be a person. (b) Personality is not a divine act, but the mode of a thing distinct from its essence and existence. (c) A divine act cannot be ascribed to the human nature (which is not God). (d) That personal act either destroys the act of the nature or not. If the former, the flesh would cease to be flesh because an act of the nature is the nature itself. If not, then the flesh of Christ could always be called infinite and circumscribed within a certain space (which is incompatible [*asystaton*] with its ubiquity).

XXXIX. (2) The reason of a physical and of a hyperphysical (or majestic) mode is the same. (a) A hyperphysical mode does not destroy a nature, but adorns it. But the mode of being everywhere destroys it and on that account is antiphysical. (b) The body of Christ by the union did not lose quantity and so neither its mode nor dimension. (c) If by mode of majesty is meant only that most excellent glory (which the flesh assumed in the

hypostasis of the Logos [*Logou*]), it brings in indeed a prerogative of the flesh above every other creature; but not a communication of divine properties. If, however, a collection of all divine attributes is meant (since that majesty is nothing else than deity), it would follow that the deity itself is communicated to the flesh of Christ.

XL. (3) They are wont to distinguish in Christ a twofold being—local, according to which it is in a certain space; and illocal, according to which it was from the beginning of the incarnation everywhere. But this is done absurdly: (a) since the relation of time is no less connected with the body than the relation of place, there will be granted in Christ a twofold being, a temporal and not-temporal (or eternal) which however they do not maintain. (b) Locality and illocality are contradictories which cannot belong to the same thing; nor do diverse respects assist anything. For since the hypostatical union does not take away the nature of the body, it does not abolish its local being and so cannot give it an illocal being because what leaves one part of the contradiction cannot at the same time ascribe to it the other.

XLI. (4) They distinguish "possession" (*ktēsin*) and "use" (*chrēsin*), "by itself" and "as to another thing" (*kat' allo*). They hold that the deity of Christ is omnipresent by itself, according to possession (*kata ktēsin*) and as to the first and second act at the same time; but the humanity only as to another thing (*kat' allo*) and according to use (*kata chrēsin*). But this is false, (a) because such distinctions take away the subject itself (concerning which we treat). They all tend to this—that omnipresence in some way or other belongs to the body of Christ because it cannot remain a body if it is omnipresent. (b) In earthly things, possession (*ktēsin*) or proprietorship can often be distinguished from the use of a thing, because he who has the *chrēsin* or use of a thing does not always have the ownership. But this is not so in divine things. No other is omnipotent by use than he who is such by ownership (since God does not give his own glory to another). (c) If by "being everywhere as to another thing" (*kat' allo*) is meant only omnipresence with respect to the concrete or person, it will be a true sense, but an unsuitable locution. If, however, it implies the omnipresence given to the flesh in virtue of the union, it is an absurd distinction, involving an incompatibility (*asystata*) that the same subject is at the same time circumscribed and uncircumscribed.

XLII. The examples of the soul (which communicates life to the body) and of fire (which communicates to the heated iron the capability of burning and of shining) do not favor the communication of properties. The life which is produced in the body by the soul is not a property of the soul, but the effect. The power of shining and of burning in the heated iron is not in the iron, but in the fire latent and included in the pores of the iron.

Ninth Question: The Twofold State of Christ

Was Christ the Mediator bound to perform his office under a twofold state? We affirm

The twofold state of Christ: of humiliation and of exaltation.

I. Thus far we have treated of the person of Christ. Now we must speak of this state in which he ought to fulfill the office committed to him by the Father. This is commonly held to be twofold: the one of emptying and humiliation; the other of exaltation and majesty; of suffering and of glory; of battle and of triumph; of the way and of the goal; of death and of life.

Its truth.

II. The following demonstrate the verity of both. (1) The oracles of the Old Testament in which he is foretold. In Ps. 8 mention is made of his being made a little lower than the angels (which is the emptying) and of a crown of glory and of honor (which is the exaltation). In Ps. 110:7, it is said of the Messiah, "He shall drink of the brook in the way; therefore shall he lift up the head." By the "brook" is denoted the multitude, weight and short continuance of the sufferings of Christ. For waters are everywhere the symbol of calamities (Pss. 69:2, 14, 15; 32:6; Job 21:20; 34:7; Is. 51:17), in opposition to the river of pleasures of which God gives his people to drink in grace and glory (Ps. 36:8*). Also by "drinking of the brook," the communion of sufferings is denoted (which were to be borne by Christ in his journey through this life, which was the way to glory). By "the lifting up

of his head," however, is indicated the glory which followed his sufferings by the ordination of God and the necessity of our salvation (Lk. 24:26; Phil. 2:9). Thus "the stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner" (Ps. 118:22), i.e., Christ, who is often compared to a stone and to a foundation (Is. 28:16; 1 Cor. 3:10), contemptuously rejected by the scribes and priests, to whose care was committed the building of the church, as useless and hurtful to the edifice, is constituted by God as the head of the church and as a cornerstone, who unites and sustains both walls, the Jewish and the Gentile. In Is. 53, the twofold state of the Messiah is so graphically painted that Isaiah seems rather an evangelist relating events than a prophet predicting the future. Hence Christ demonstrates from the prophets the verity and necessity of both states (Lk. 24:26, 27); and 1 Pet. 1:10, 11 says the prophets diligently inquired of the sufferings and the glory that should follow. (2) The various passages of the New Testament in which the fulfillment of the oracles is set forth (Phil. 2:7–9; 2 Cor. 13:4; 1 Cor. 15:3*, 4; Heb. 2:9; 1 Pet. 3:18; 1 Tim. 3:16).

Its necessity: (1) on the part of God.

III. Its necessity is evinced on the part of both God and Christ, and on our part, and on the part of the salvation to be bestowed on us. (1) On the part of God because to reconcile God to us and to obtain the fruits of saving grace, two things were to be done: first, satisfaction was to be made to offended justice by the suffering and death of Christ; second, the gifts of grace were to be poured out upon men (which was done in the exaltation, Eph. 4:8).

2. On the part of Christ.

(2) On the part of Christ because he must sustain a twofold relation of surety (to satisfy for us) and of head (to vivify and govern us in union with himself). In respect of the former, he must act for us with God by doing and suffering all that we owed. In respect of the latter, he must act in the name of God towards us that by imparting to us the benefits of the covenant he might draw us into communion with him. His threefold office also demanded this. The priestly consists of two parts: satisfaction on earth;

intercession in heaven. As to the kingly, he must first by a struggle acquire for himself a people before he can be carried to the throne and take the reins of government. As a prophet, he must first be a minister of circumcision among his brethren before he can be raised to heaven as the light of the Gentiles and the teacher of the world.

3. On our part.

IV. (3) On our part, we are pressed by two evils brought upon us by sin: guilt in the sight of God and pollution in ourselves. Guilt could not be taken away except by the blood of Christ (which was a ransom [*antilytron*] for our souls); pollution could not be washed away except by the grace of the Spirit, who was the fruit of his exaltation (Jn. 16:7).

4. On the part of salvation.

V. (4) On the part of salvation, two things were required for its fruition: (a) acquisition; (b) application. To the acquisition, a state of humiliation was necessary because it could not be acquired except by death. To the application, however, a state of exaltation was necessary because it could not be applied except through the efficacy of life. In the one, he merited for us a right to life; in the other, he actually confers it upon us. In the first, the righteousness of Christ exerted itself for our reconciliation with God. In the other, the power of Christ exerted itself against the Devil and sin. In both, he accomplished the work which the Father gave him to do.

VI. Although Christ was in a state of humiliation, yet not such a state of humility as to prevent him from emitting many rays of his divine glory for the strengthening (*asphaleian*) of our faith: whether in the miracles he wrought or in the wonderful things which happened to him (such as were seen in his nativity, baptism, transfiguration and death).

VII. If it is asked—According to what nature are humiliation and exaltation to be ascribed to Christ?—we answer that this is properly said of the person and is to be referred to both natures (but with a great difference). To the human nature, indeed, as to real depression and exaltation in itself. To the divine, however, only in respect of concealment and of manifestation, relative to the flesh as a veil (by which it was covered and

whence it brought itself forth). Emptying properly belongs to the human nature, inasmuch as he took upon him our weaknesses and suffered and died. Exaltation, however, belongs to it inasmuch as by rising it laid aside all weaknesses and assumed a glory which it had not before. But as to the deity, it was not lessened in the humiliation, nor increased in the exaltation. But emptying is ascribed to it as to concealment and restraining of glory and majesty under the form of a servant. But exaltation is ascribed to it as to manifestation (*kata phanerōsin*) and unfolding when (the veil of the weaknesses of the flesh being removed) that glory which he had from eternity and had been concealed for a time under that veil, shone forth in the person of the Mediator, exalted above all heavens (Jn. 17:5).

VIII. The Son of God is said to have emptied himself (Phil. 2:6, 7) not by an abdication of the deity (for he remained always equal with God, Jn. 5:17, 18), but by a concealment of it under the servile form. He became poor (2 Cor. 8:9), not by a loss of heavenly riches, which he always retained (since the fulness of the Godhead was in him and the treasures of wisdom and knowledge were laid up in him, Col. 2:3, 9), but by a hiding of them under the weak and needy flesh (Mt. 8:20; Eph. 4:9).

Tenth Question: The Beginning of the Christian Era

What was the natal year, month and day of Christ?

Dignity of the Christian.

I. Although there are various epochs (both sacred and profane) by which times are wont to be marked, still there is not one which approaches the dignity of the Christian era. The nativity of the Savior is unquestionably the chief of all epochs. To it all preceding times look as their happy and prosperous center and from it all posterior times flow as from a fountain to the end of the ages. “The generation of Christ,” says Leo, “is the origin of the Christian people, and the birthday of the head is the birthday of the body, and while we adore the birth of the Savior we are found to celebrate our own beginning” (“On the Feast of the Nativity,” 6.2 [NPNF2, 12:137; PL 54.213]).

When it commenced.

II. Now although the excellence and utility of that era is so great, still it is true no less than wonderful that Christians have only lately thought of settling and using it. For before the seventh century, we do not read of the Lord's birthday being applied to the designation of any business either civil or ecclesiastical. Justinian, it is true, who reigned 500 years after Christ, by an edict concerning the notation of times and the documents of public acts wished a fourth mark from the emperors to be added to the ancient designations of times from the building of the city, from the names of consuls, from taxes (*Corpus Iuris Civilis, III: Novellae* 47 [ed. R. Schoell, 1968], pp. 283–85). But he says not a word about a Christian era. Nor with the fathers and the councils held in those early ages is there any mention of it. First Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian monk or Roman abbot, indignant at his own and former ages that in the Paschal Cycles, which proclaimed the times of the Passover and of festivals, the years were specially designated from the persecution under Diocletian (having expunged this mark of a heathen and most cruel persecutor), substituted the birth of Christ in his private calendar about the time of Justinian (A.D. 532). Having been discovered, this was followed by the Venerable Bede in the seventh century after Christ and by many others (but privately). For neither in any public acts either sacred or civil did the era of Christ begin to be employed before the time of Charlemagne, 800 years after Christ.

III. However after that time Christians may agree in the use of an era drawn from the birth of Christ, still it cannot be said how much both chronologists and theologians disagree with each other in fixing the certain and true beginning of that era. Some refer it to one, others to another year. About this, a twofold question is agitated which must be distinctly examined: (1) concerning the true terminus of the natal year; (2) concerning its month and day.

Various opinions concerning the natal year.

IV. As to the first, it would be tedious to enumerate here all the opinions of chronologists; much more laborious, if not altogether impossible, to reconcile them with each other. In passing, we note only the principal ones.

Scaliger, Calvisius and Helvicus refer the natal year of Christ to the year of the world 3947; of the Julian period 4711; of the founding of the city 750; of Nabonassar 745; of Augustus for the assassination of Julius Caesar 41; of the calendar corrected by Julius 43; of the kingdom of Herod 33 and of his life 70 (from the consuls Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and M. Valerius Messalinus). Lansbergius agrees in the years of the city and the Julian and Nabonassar, but adds three to the years of the world, bringing it down to the year 3950. Petavius holds it to be 3979. Salianus (running out still further) extends it to the year of the world 4052. Torniellus subtracts one. Not to mention others (who depart more or less from this)—the vulgar era of Dionysius commences about the year of the world 3949.

Three marks of the natal year given in Scripture.

V. However, as these are rather chronological than theological matters, we think that anxious labor should not be spent upon it. Nor do we believe that it contributes much to the security (*asphaleian*) of our faith to know precisely in what year Christ was born, provided we hold that in his nativity the marks of the time predicted by the prophets truly concur. And thus various involved questions agitated here being dismissed, it suffices now indeed to observe that it is most safe to acquiesce in what the Scripture wished to relate to us on this subject for the confirmation of our faith. It sets before us rather the common marks of the birthday of Christ than the special. These circumscribe indeed in some measure the natal time and nowhere, however, precisely designate the year. Three principal marks are given in the New Testament from which a judgment can be formed of the time of Christ's birth. The first in the notation of the kingdom of Herod, in whose days he is said to have been born: "Jesus was born in Bethlehem, in the days of Herod the king" (Mt. 2:1). The second in the designation of the taxing of the whole world, instituted by Cyrenius, governor of Syria, by a decree of Augustus (Luke 2:1, 2). The third in the concurrence of the fifteenth year of Tiberius and the thirtieth of Christ, when he was baptized (Lk. 3:1, 23). Christ is said to have been about thirty years of age (*hōs etōn triakonta*) after he was baptized by John, to whom the word of God is said to have come in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar. But all these marks are general and indefinite. They indeed teach that Christ was born in the

days of Herod and in the time of the taxing first made by Cyrenius, but they neither designate precisely the year of Herod's reign, nor that of the taxing. Two things only are certain and indubitable. First, that Christ was not born either before the sway of Augustus and the reign of Herod, or afterwards. Second, that his nativity fell upon the last times of Herod, since after the death of Herod Christ is said to have returned from Egypt, still as a young child (*paidion*, Mt. 2:20), i.e., in a tender age. Finally, that the death of Herod is immediately subjoined as God-inflicted (*theēlaton*), after the snares laid for Christ and the most cruel massacre of children at Bethlehem.

VI. If it is inquired why the Holy Spirit wished to stop in these more general marks and did not transmit anything more special concerning the natal year (which he could easily have done), the answer is easy. It was unquestionably: (1) that it might be evident that the hinge neither of faith nor of salvation turned upon the exact computation of times. It suffices for us that Christ was truly born at the time designated by the prophet, although the particular notation of the year is not perceived. Now it does not belong to us to define with danger, what can be unknown without danger. (2) He wished also in this way to present more clearly the harmony of both Testaments. For as in the Old Testament, the advent of Christ is designated by the fall of the scepter of Judah and of Jewish independence (*autonomias*) (without a more special and precise designation of it), so his nativity is said to have occurred under the reign of Herod and the empire of Augustus. This eloquently indicates that the scepter had been taken away from Judah and the fulfillment of the times (by which the advent of the Messiah had been circumscribed) had been exhibited.

VII. And although the natal year itself is not precisely designated, it must not therefore be supposed that the fidelity of the gospel history is endangered. The accurate determination of time can be unknown without detriment to truth, when the question—Is it?—is acknowledged by all (as is the case here). For although there is disagreement among divines about the notation of the time, still all confess (even the Jews themselves) that Christ was born at a certain time. A general designation, therefore, made by Scripture can suffice here; nor should we labor much for anything further. It is better here to refrain (*epechein*) and to speak soberly, than to affirm anything rashly.

The question concerning the natal day and month.

VIII. The other question respects the natal month and day, about which there are three principal opinions. The first, which throws it upon the 25th of December (which is the common opinion of the papists and is received also by our men), which the Christian church follows. The other throws it upon the end of September which is the opinion of Scaliger, Calvisius, Beroald and others. But the reasons for neither are demonstrative, only probable, founded for the most part upon conjecture.

The first opinion, which places it upon the 25th of December.

IX. The principal foundation of the first opinion is drawn from Chrysostom on Lk. 1. The conception of both John and Christ happened on the two equinoxes; the nativity, however, on the two solstices. John was conceived on the autumnal equinox and born on the summer solstice (namely in the month of June). Christ however was conceived six months after on the vernal equinox and born in the winter solstice (which was supposed to fall according to the calendar of Eudoxus and Meton on the 25th of December). Now that John was conceived in the month of September in the autumnal equinox, he gathers from this—that the angel Gabriel foretells to Zacharias the conception of John on the tenth day of the seventh month, called Tishri (which answers to our September). This was the day of expiations on which Zacharias (supposed to have been the high priest) entered the holy of holies according to the law and burnt incense before the ark (Lk. 1:9). Having performed this duty, Zacharias went home and Elizabeth conceived in the beginning of October. Six months after (in the beginning of April, Lk. 1:26), Christ was conceived and born in nine months (at the end of December).

X. But it is not difficult to demonstrate that this foundation is rather weak. It rests upon a false hypothesis—that Zacharias was a high priest who must burn incense on the day of expiations. This is rejected by more than one reason from the text itself. For if Zacharias was a high priest, why does Luke say nothing about it, calling him not a high priest (*archierea*), but only

"a certain priest" (*hierea tina*) (to wit, of the crowd of priests)? How is he said to have performed his priestly duty in the order of his course (*ephēmerias*) (which belonged to ordinary priests who daily served the altar and after a service of a week departed home), not indeed the office of the high priest, who (attached to no order) could be employed about any sacred duties at any time? Why is he said to have obtained by lot that service (*leitourgian*) of burning incense, when to the high priest alone that solemn ceremony belonged officially without the lot?

XI. Nor is the contrary proved either from the fact that he is said to have entered the temple to burn incense (because to burn incense outside of the veil and the sanctuary belonged to any priests chosen to it by lot, as the altar of incense was placed outside of the veil and the holy place [Ex. 30:6]); or from the fact that the people waited outside of the temple (Lk. 1:21) because it was usual for them to await in the court the return of the priest, since the priest alone was allowed to enter the holy place. Therefore the people (after their usual custom) waited for Zacharias while he performed the sacred duties that fell to him by lot. Nor is the contrary proved from the fact that the angel appeared to him on the right side of the altar of incense. This was not within the veil toward the ark, but outside of the veil at the side of the altar of incense, where the allotted priest burnt incense daily morning and evening.

The second opinion refers it to the autumnal equinox or the end of September.

XII. The second opinion is that of Scaliger, Calvisius and others, who think Christ was born in the autumnal equinox or about the end of the month of September. To prove this Scaliger thinks he can bring a demonstration from "the course" (*ephēmeria*) mentioned in Luke 1:5 (to wit, from the distribution of the families of priests who ought each in his own order by turns to devote himself to the divine service, according to the order established by David [1 Ch. 24:7–18] by which they were distributed into twenty-four classes and by lot thrown by David the first class fell to the family of Jehoiarib, the second to the family of Jedaiah [in which Zacharias was] and the rest to the other families there mentioned). And because in two

hundred and twenty-four years, all the courses returned to the same days, by the help of this sacred circle the courses of particular families can be investigated most certainly. However, the calamity of the Babylonian captivity, the idolatry of various kings of Judah and the neglect of divine worship (and so of the priestly orders in the temple) introduced confusion into this order. Judas Maccabaeus (purging the temple from the pollutions of Antiochus) so restored this order of the courses that Josephus testifies they were never interrupted up to the last siege of Jerusalem by Vespasian (cf. JW 6:269–70 [Loeb, 3:454–55]). According to this computation of the heiratic circle, Zacharias (in the eighth class of Abia) entered upon his course on July 21, one hundred and sixty years (and one hundred and ninety-two days) after the dedication festival of Maccabaeus. It was finished on July 28, after which day (Zacharias returning home) Elizabeth could conceive John the Baptist in the beginning of August and was hid (according to Luke) five months. In the commencement of the sixth (to wit, January), after visiting Elizabeth, Mary conceived Christ, who after nine months or in the beginning of October near the autumnal equinox, brought him forth.

XIII. But this demonstration, however subtle and ingenious, does not seem sufficiently solid. It rests upon so many hypotheses, one of which slipping away, the whole edifice falls so that it cannot obtain a ready assent. Here it is specially taken for granted that a restoration of this order was made by Judas Maccabaeus and was never afterwards disturbed nor interrupted. But besides the fact that nothing is said of the restoration of this order (1 Mac. 4), by what argument can we be persuaded that no interruption ever took place afterwards (as Josephus holds) while so many chances could have disturbed this order (ibid.)? For example, if any family had been tainted with legal pollution, if any one of the twenty-four families had perished or was not present and other things of that kind. And whence will it be certainly evident that the families always remained in the same order, since they are not always enumerated in the same degree? Add that it is also supposed (without sure foundation) that Elizabeth conceived at once one or two days after the return of Zacharias, since Luke simply says this happened “after those days” (*meta tautas hēmeras*), which implies a certain latitude of time.

XIV. Besides this demonstration of Scaliger, other arguments are urged to the confirmation of this opinion, but of no greater weight. For instance that Christ ought to be born at the time when the shepherds could live out of doors (*agraulein*) and pass the night in the open air (*dianyktereuein en hypaithrō*); such however was not the time of winter. But this reason seems less strong to Casaubon (*De rebus sacris et ... exercitationes ... Baronii*, 2, Anni I, Num. 14 [1614], p. 174) because we are not to form our judgment from France or Germany concerning Judea and other warmer and more southerly countries, especially since in colder and more northerly countries this is also the case (as in England, where there is no fear from wolves or other wild beasts, the flocks are accustomed during the whole year to pass the night in the fields). Why then couldn't the shepherds in Judea (far warmer) live (*agraulein*) in the fields keeping watch over their flocks?

XV. Now although the time of the census instituted by Augustus seems less fit if it is the winter, it does not follow that it ought to be another time. For that time is to be sought from no other source than the will of the emperor, at whose pleasure all things were done. Yea, such subjection to those harsh commands was a part of the Jewish servitude. Nor were the Jews held in such estimation by the Romans that they would consult their advantage or disadvantage.

XVI. It was not necessary for Christ to be born at the same time of the year in which the world was created (namely in the autumn). Nothing hindered the world from being renewed by Christ, even though his nativity occurred at another time. Nor should the promulgation of the gospel Jubilee be made in the same time as the legal. Any year and any season under the Messiah is the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of salvation.

Opinion is withheld.

XVII. The third opinion is that of those who suspend (*epechousi*) their judgment maintaining that the natal month and day of Christ can or ought to be fixed by no one, since the Scripture is silent and we read of nothing being settled concerning it in the first ages of the Christian church. With them we agree, that we may not rashly define what cannot be solidly defined; but may be ignorant of what the Scripture wishes us to be ignorant (which might easily have pointed out that year, month and day, if it had

seemed necessary for our consolation and faith). Hence we think that no controversy should be waged over this argument. And as we judge the celebration of the natal anniversary to be most pious and useful, still we think the precise observance of the 25th of December rests rather upon the custom and the long practice of the church than upon any apostolic command or example. He who wishes more may consult Ussher's Annals (*The Annals of the World* [1658]), Spanheim's Doubts (*Dubia Evangelica* [1639]), Baillie's Chronology (*Operis historici et chronologici* [1668]), and others of our teachers who have treated this argument fully.

Eleventh Question: The Conception and Nativity of Christ

How was Christ conceived from the Holy Spirit and born of the blessed virgin?

The first degree of Christ's humiliation in the conception.

I. The first degree of Christ's humiliation and emptying is to be sought in his conception and nativity (which are two parts of his incarnation). For although there were not obscure proofs of his glory in both, it is certain that here is opened the great mystery of Christ's emptying—the eternal and most glorious Son of God willed to let himself down even to lay hidden within the recesses of a maternal womb and assume weak and mortal flesh.

II. The conception or *syllēpsis* (Lk. 1:31), called also *gennēsis* (Mt. 1:18), is that by which Christ was invisibly formed in the womb of the blessed virgin, without the concurrence of man, but by the power and overshadowing of the Holy Spirit alone: "That which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost" (Mt. 1:20). In this a twofold principle must be remarked: an active—the Holy Spirit; a passive—the blessed virgin.

Its active principle is the Holy Ghost.

III. The active principle was not a man (as in ordinary generation) because the conception should be such as to permit the virginity of the blessed virgin to remain pure and inviolate. It was also one by which Christ should be free from all taint of sin, which is usually propagated and contracted by ordinary generation. But the Holy Spirit alone (Mt. 1:18; Lk. 1:35) not to the exclusion of the other persons of the Trinity, who undividedly concur to this also as to other external works of the same kind; but appropriatively inasmuch as the consummation and fecundation of things is usually ascribed to the Holy Spirit (as those of creation and government are ascribed to the Father, those of redemption and wisdom to the Son). This was done in order that the generation of Christ might answer to our regeneration and have the same cause.

IV. Now the Spirit acts here not materially, but only efficiently; by power (*dēmiourgikōs*); not by seed (*spermatikōs*); by might (*kat' exousia*); not by intercourse (*kata synousian*), so that he was conceived from the power of the Spirit, not from the substance of the Spirit; not by generation, but by blessing and consecration (as the ancients express it). Thus the preposition *ek* marks the efficient cause, as often elsewhere when "all things are said to be from God" (Rom. 11:36) and the pious are said to be "born of God" (*ek tou Theou*, 1 Jn. 3:9), not indeed the material cause (as when it is ascribed to the virgin of whom he is said to have been born).

He, however, can not be called the father of Christ.

V. And hence we can readily answer the question asked here by Socinians —Can the Holy Spirit be rightly called the father of Christ since he is said to have been conceived from him? For since the title of father requires generation from the substance of the generator (and the generation of a nature similar to its own) and neither occurs here, it is clear that the Holy Spirit cannot be called the father of Christ. Besides, Christ is called "without father" (*apatōr*, Heb. 7:3) in respect of his humanity; and God is called Father—his Father alone and that peculiarly (Jn. 1:18; 5:17). A father does not proceed from, nor is he sent and given by the son, as the Spirit is said to proceed from, to be sent and given by Christ. Now it is one thing to form by his own power something from matter assumed from some other

source; another to generate from his own substance. The Holy Spirit did the former, but not the latter (which belongs to a father).

VI. With no better success do the Socinians maintain (in order to destroy the divinity of Christ) that he is only called the Son of God on account of his extraordinary conception by the Holy Spirit. (1) As has been proved, he was the Son of God already before his conception by the Holy Spirit (Jn. 1:1, 2; Ps. 2:7; Prov. 8:24) and on account of this very thing the believers of the Old Testament were actually sons and heirs. (2) He is called the Son of God according to the divine nature, opposed to the human (Rom. 1:3, 4; 9:5; 1 Pet. 3:18). (3) As he is called the Son of man because he is begotten from man of the race of Adam, so he ought to be called the Son of God, not because he was conceived of the Holy Spirit in respect of his humanity, but because he was begotten of God in respect of his divinity. Otherwise the perpetual and immediate antithesis which occurs between these two names could not stand.

VII. Nor can this be evinced from Luke 1:35, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee" *dio kai* "therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God." The particles *dio* and *kai* are not marks of a consequent, as if he is the Son of God because he is begotten of the Holy Ghost. For before he was conceived, he is said to have already been and subsisted (Jn. 1:2; Phil. 2:6). Rather they are marks of a consequence, in respect of manifestation because his eternal filiation was declared *a posteriori*. Here pertain the following arguments: (1) it is not said "he will be" (*estai*), but "he shall be called" (*klēthēsetai*) (i.e., manifested and acknowledged to be the only begotten Son of God [Jn. 1:18], as in John 1:14 "We beheld his glory, as of the only begotten"). (2) It is not expressed in the masculine gender (*ho gennōmenos*) but in the neuter (*to gennōmenon*) to indicate not that the man who shall be born shall be called "the Son of God," but thus separately shall something essential in Christ be called (namely, his divine nature or person). This is well denoted by the neuter gender as a subsistence (*hyphistamenon*).

VIII. If believers are called Sons of God on account of the grace of regeneration, it does not follow that Christ was distinguished by name on account of his miraculous conception. There is one reason for believers who analogically (only on account of a participation of moral virtues) are said to

be born of God; another for the only begotten Son of God, who was begotten of his essence and is said to be equal to him in all things.

IX. Moreover that operation of the Holy Spirit on the virgin is expressed by two words in Scripture—*epeleusin* and *episkiasin*. "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee" (*epeleusetai epi se, kai dynamis hypistou episkiasei soi*, Lk. 1:35), by which that wonderful and most powerful efficacy, working the mystery, is designated. By *epeleusin* is denoted the presence of the Holy Spirit and his action in general; not the common and ordinary exerted in the conception of all (Job 10:8; Ps. 139:15), but the extraordinary and heavenly (as the Spirit of the Lord is said to come to the help of those who are appointed to a great and extraordinary work [Jdg. 14:6]; and the Spirit came upon the apostles when he was sent from heaven in the form of tongues of fire to sanctify and prepare them for the work of the gospel [Acts 1:8]). By *episkiasin* is peculiarly meant the mode of that operation, which was: (1) most powerful for protection and defense (that the blessed virgin might not be consumed by the divine majesty); (2) most efficacious for fecundation that she might conceive in her womb without any help from man (as a bird is said to cover, cherish and set upon her eggs that by her heat the young may be hatched—in allusion to the creation, in which the Spirit is said to have brooded over the waters, Gen. 1:2; thus this fetus (it may be said) will spring from that virtue from which the world took its beginning; (3) secret and incomprehensible, which can neither be tracked by the reason, nor expressed in words. To this there is a reference in the shadow of the cloud upon the tabernacle (Ex. 40:34*, 35) and in the cherubim covering the ark (2 Ch. 5:8). Thus God wished to bring over a shadow, the mark of a secret and incomprehensible energy (*energeias*), that we might not too curiously pry into the mode of this mystery. So the angel aptly responds to the blessed virgin, who looked upon the matter as impossible because she had not known a man. This should not seem wonderful to her, since it was not to be by human aid, but by the power of God (to whom nothing is impossible) and in a manner wholly strange (which it was becoming in her to admire, not search into).

X. Now there were here two principal operations of the Holy Spirit: (1) the preparation of the material; (2) the formation of the body of Christ from the material prepared. First, he should by a suitable sanctification prepare

the material separated from the substance of the virgin, not only by clothing it with that power and elevating it to that activity which would suffice for generation (without the semen of a man), but also by purging it from all taint of sin that it might be without guile (*akakos*) and pure (*amiantos*) and thus Christ might be born without sin. Thus there is no necessity to have recourse to the immaculate conception of Mary. For although there is no creature of whatever power possessed who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean (Job 14:4), still the power of God is not thus to be measured (with whom nothing is impossible and who calls those things which are not).

XI. The second operation was in the formation of Christ's body, to which pertains its organization, animation and the union of both body and soul with the Word. This the apostle expresses by *katartismon*: "a body hast thou prepared me" (*sōma katērtisō moi*, Heb. 10:5). For by the incarnation, the body of Christ was so formed and prepared by the Holy Spirit that in it he might perform a servile ministry, obey the Father and be sacrificed.

Was the body of Christ formed in a moment or successively?

XII. If it is inquired (as by the Scholastics), How was this accomplished by the Holy Spirit? In a moment or successively? it can be distinctly answered that three things occur here: (1) the preparation of the material from which Christ's body was formed; (2) the formation of the body from that material suitably prepared; (3) the perfection of the same body brought little by little to a just quantity by its own increase. As to the first and third, all agree that it was performed successively. But as to the second, which concerns the formation of the body, theologians dispute with each other, some advocating a momentaneous, others a successive formation (with whom we also agree).

XIII. (1) Momentaneous formation of the entire body of Christ and its conjunction with the soul is feigned without Scripture (in which no trace is found of such a miraculous formation). Yea, spaces of time are expressly mentioned in this affair and the acts of conception, generation and birth are distinctly enumerated, and the ordinary time is ascribed to them (Lk. 1:26, 38, 56, 57; 2:6). (2) Christ, in assuming the human nature, is said to have

been made like unto us, not even infirmities excepted (but sin alone). Therefore it ought to be formed not in a moment, but according to the ordinary way, little by little. (3) Outside of the womb, it grew like other bodies; therefore there should be no difference as to its formation in the womb (as even the gestation was the successive and ordinary one of nine months, which would have been to no purpose if it had been formed and perfected in a moment). For if Christ's body was perfected in a moment, it could equally be born in the same moment; nor would the blessed virgin have had to endure the pains and labors of ordinary gestation.

XIV. It must not be thought that this dogma advances anything unworthy of the Holy Spirit. Although he could without delay and in a single moment have formed completely the body of Christ, still nothing hinders his having operated here successively (as he usually proceeds from imperfect to perfect in the works of nature and of grace). Nor is it of importance to inquire curiously at what time the soul was united to the body, the Logos (*Logos*) to the flesh. It is enough for us to believe that the human nature from the time it began to be never existed apart from the Logos (*Logō*), but was assumed by and hypostatically united to him. And if the soul could not be poured into the body unless already organized and completely formed (a point on which physicians are not agreed among themselves), it does not follow that the Logos (*Logon*) could not at once unite the flesh to himself, since his work could not be constrained either with the soul present or absent. Nor is it more absurd for the body of Christ (not as yet animated) to be united to the Logos (*Logō*), than for the same (when lifeless in the sepulcher) to remain conjoined with the same (as theologians acknowledge was done in the death of Christ).

XV. From this miraculous conception of Christ by the Holy Ghost arises the absolute holiness of Christ and his exemption from all sin, both imputed and inherent. Nor is it an obstacle that he is called the son of Adam (Lk. 3:38) in whom all are said to die (1 Cor. 15:22). The communion of sin pertains only to Adam's natural posterity, who were to spring from him in the ordinary way; not to him who descended from him in a manner evidently extraordinary. And as the grace of the holy conception preserved him from a participation of pollution, why should it not have exempted him from the guilt (which is wont to be imputed to his natural heirs alone according to God's ordering)? And if Christ could be in the loins of

Abraham with Levi and yet not tithed with him, what is to prevent his having been in Adam and yet not having sinned with him and in him?

The nativity of Christ was ordinary.

XVI. The nativity from the blessed virgin follows after the conception of Christ, which took place in the time of parturition fixed and defined by nature. This parturition, although it was miraculous because of a virgin, still may well be called natural because she labored in the manner usual with mothers. Hence she cannot be said to have brought forth without pain. For since she was not without sin, she ought to endure the punishment of sin also in this particular and primeval lot of mothers: "In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children" (Gen. 3:16) and "A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow" (Jn. 16:21); even less (with the papists who derive thence the penetrating of bodies) ought it to be affirmed that Mary brought forth with a closed womb. The Scripture expressly states the contrary (Lk. 2:22, 23, when it applies to Christ the passage "Every male that openeth the womb," Ex. 13:2) and also the nature of the thing itself (not allowing of this penetration and the existence of two bodies in one place). Nor moreover is the virginity of Mary called into doubt. It did not consist in this—that Christ was born from a closed womb—but that she was a virgin untouched by man.

XVII. The passage concerning "the shut gate" (Ezk. 44:2), through which none could enter except the prince, is falsely adduced here. Besides being allegorical and on that account not argumentative (as our opponents confess), it is foreign to the subject discussed here. For the building shown to the prophet was not a type of the blessed virgin, but a type of the universal church. The gate of heaven (closed on account of sin) lies open to the church and is unbarred by Christ, its High Priest and Prince.

XVIII. From this nativity, Christ is well called the son of Mary, as from the eternal generation he is styled the Son of God. Nor did that twofold filiation in Christ (one with respect to the Father in heaven, the other with respect to his mother on earth) constitute a twofold son, but a single person to whom that twofold relation comes (since one and the same subject is receptive of many relations).

XIX. Here two questions are specially asked: (1) Why must Christ be born of a virgin? (2) As she was a virgin before and in parturition, was she a virgin afterwards? To the first it is replied in general that this was necessary for the fulfillment of the ancient oracles which expressly predicted it (Is. 7:14) and which on that account usually described the Messiah by the seed of the woman and the fruit of the womb. But in particular, various reasons are wont to be assigned for that dispensation. (a) A new mode of generation was suitable for a new man and an extraordinary person demanded an extraordinary birth. Before, the first man had been created immediately by God; afterwards, Eve had been drawn from a man without a woman. After that, all men are ordinarily born of a man and woman. A fourth mode remained for displaying the admirable wisdom of God in the production of men—that a man should be born of a woman without a man (which was fulfilled in Christ alone). To this, some refer the passage: "The Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, A woman shall compass a man" (Jer. 31:22, viz., in her womb). (b) He wanted him to be born of a woman like other men to prove that he was a true man. He was unwilling that he should be of the semen of a man "that we might believe he was also something other than a man," as Ambrose expresses it (*de Sacr. Incarn*.+)—the former pertained to our necessity; the latter to his dignity. (c) It was not becoming that the same son should have two fathers, but as he acknowledged no mother in heaven (as the Son of God), so he should acknowledge no father on earth (as the Son of man) and thus might truly be without father (*apatōr*) and without mother (*amētōr*). (d) If he had been conceived from the semen of a man, he could not be said to have been conceived of the Holy Spirit and would be a natural son of Adam and thus the inheritor of all his evils. Therefore, in order that it might be evident that he had nothing in common with sin (which is derived to us by ordinary generation), he ought to be born in an extraordinary manner.

XX. If indeed you ask with the virgin—"How could this be?"—the reply of the angel ought to be sufficient for us—"With God nothing shall be impossible" (Lk. 1:37). "If a reason is asked," says Augustine, "it will not be astonishing; if an example is demanded, it will not be singular. Let us grant that God can do something which we confess our inability to investigate; in such things the whole reason of the deed is the power of the doer" (*Letter* 137, "To Volusian" 2.8 [FC 20:24; PL 33.519]). Nor ought

this to seem absurd either to the Jews or the Greeks, since among themselves various things no less absurd and impossible to reason are proposed. Cyril of Jerusalem follows these up excellently (*Catechetical Lectures* 12 (NPNF2, 7:72–81).

Was Mary always a virgin before as well as after parturition?

XXI. As to the second question, about the virginity of Mary, the question does not concern the time of or the time antecedent to the birth. For all Christians agree that she was a virgin before and in the birth. But we treat of the time following the birth—whether she always remained a virgin afterwards. This is not expressly declared in Scripture, but yet is piously believed with human faith from the consent of the ancient church. Thus it is probable that the womb in which our Savior received the auspices of life (whence he entered into this world, as from a temple) was so consecrated and sanctified by so great a guest that she always remained untouched by man; nor did Joseph ever cohabit with her.

XXII. Hence Helvidius and the Antidicomarianites (so called because they were opponents [*antidikoi*] of Mary) are deservedly rebuked by the fathers for denying that Mary was always a virgin (*aei parthenon*). They held that she cohabited with Joseph after delivery; yea, also bore children from him. As Augustine remarks, they rely upon the shallowest arguments, i.e., because Christ is called the "firstborn" of Mary (cf. *De Haeresibus* 56, 84 [PL 42.40, 46]). For as Jerome well remarks, she was so called because no one was begotten before him, not because there was another after him. Hence among lawyers: "He is the first whom no one precedes; he is last, whom no one follows." The Hebrews were accustomed to call the firstborn also only begotten; Israel is called "the firstborn of God" (Ex. 4:22), although the only people chosen of God. Thus "the firstborn" is said to be "holy unto God" (Ex. 13:2), who first opened the womb, whether others followed or not. Otherwise the firstborn would not have to be redeemed until after another offspring had been procreated (the law shows this to be false because it commands it to be redeemed a month after birth, Num. 18:16).

XXIII. (2) Not more solidly have they been able to elicit this from the fact that in the New Testament certain ones are called "the brothers of Christ." It is common in Scripture not only for one's own and full brothers by nature to be designated by this name, but also blood relatives and cousins (as Abraham and Lot, Jacob and Laban). Thus James and Joses, Simon and Judas are called brothers of Christ (Mt. 13:55) by a relation of blood. For Mary (who is called their mother by Matthew and Mark) is called by John the sister of the Lord's mother. However what is said in Jn. 7:5 that "neither did his brethren believe in him" must be understood of more remote blood relations.

XXIV. (3) Nor is it derived better from this—that Joseph is said "not to have known Mary till she had brought forth her firstborn son" (Mt. 1:25). The particles "till" and "even unto" are often referred only to the past, not to the future (i.e., they so connote the preceding time, concerning which there might be a doubt or which it was of the highest importance to know, as not to have a reference to the future—cf. Gen. 28:15; Pss. 122:2; 110:1; Mt. 28:20, etc.). Thus is shown what was done by Joseph before the nativity of Christ (to wit, that he abstained from her); but it does not imply that he lived with her in any other way postpartum. When therefore she is said to have been found with child "before they came together" (*prin ē synelthein autous*), preceding copulation is denied, but not a subsequent affirmed.

XXV. Although copulation had not taken place in that marriage, it did not cease to be true and ratified (although unconsummated) for not intercourse, but consent makes marriage. Therefore it was perfect as to form (to wit, undivided conjunction of life and unviolated faith), but not as to end (to wit, the procreation of children, although it was not deficient as to the raising of the offspring).

XXVI. However, although her virginity may piously be believed to have been perpetual, still a vow of virginity is falsely ascribed to her by the papists. For she could neither promise at the same time virginity to God and marriage to Joseph nor vow childlessness (*ateknian*) as a thing pleasing to God (which she knew was both cursed in the law [Dt. 7:14] and at variance with the custom of her nation and mentioned with an opprobious epithet by her cousin Elizabeth [Lk. 1:25]). Again, she could have vowed it neither before, nor after her espousal. Not before, for if she had taken such a vow, why then did she marry (since otherwise she could the more safely keep her

virginity)? And with what conscience could she abuse the name of marriage to deceive Joseph and by suffering herself to be joined to a husband have despised the sacred covenant of wedlock without trifling with God? Not afterwards, because the vow would have been worthless without the consent of her husband (which can be proved by no argument).

XXVII. Nor do the words of Mary establish such a vow ("How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?," Lk. 1:34) as if she would indicate her moral inability from a vow, not her natural ability ("I know not," i.e., I am not accustomed to know, nor can I); indeed, not nature, nor the law prohibiting, but the vow (as Maldonatus holds, *Commentaria in quatuor evangelistas* [1863], 2:44 on Lk. 1:34). These words are falsely wrested to a vow of which there is not the slightest trace. They are only those of one wondering on account of the novelty and greatness of the thing and inquiring about the mode. For it could not but be wonderful to a virgin that immediate conception and birth should be foretold, no mention being made of the consummation of marriage or of her spouse Joseph, just as if they were already married (while she herself was conscious of her virginity and knew as yet no husband).

XXVIII. If it is further inquired why Christ wished to be born not only from a virgin, but of a virgin espoused, various reasons are adduced by the fathers with respect to Christ himself, to his mother and to us. With respect to Christ, that no one might think him illegitimate and born in adultery, that his genealogy might be known in the usual manner from the man Joseph (who was supposed to be his father) and of which parents he was born; finally, that he might have Joseph as his protector and guardian in infancy. With respect to his mother, that her reputation and safety might be consulted, lest she should be considered an adulteress and according to the law be stoned to death, and that she might have a man to care for, defend and protect her. With respect to us, that our belief concerning the birth of Christ from a virgin might be the more confirmed, when Joseph also himself testified it of his own wife.

Twelfth Question: The Graces and Gifts Bestowed on Christ

What graces were bestowed on the human nature of Christ? And did he have faith and hope? We affirm

Statement of the question.

I. The question does not concern the eternal grace which is in God (to wit, the love and benevolence with which he embraced Christ and will embrace him forever; in which sense Christ is called the beloved [*agapētos*] Son in whom the Father is well pleased, Mt. 3:17). Nor does the question concern the grace of union by which humanity was assumed by the Logos (*Logō*) into union with his person. Rather the question concerns habitual graces or the gifts and perfections bestowed upon the human nature, in virtue of the hypostatical union.

Proof that graces were bestowed on Christ truly and fully.

II. That such graces were truly and most fully bestowed on Christ, Scripture teaches in many passages: as in Is. 11:2 where it is said, "The Spirit of wisdom and understanding shall rest upon him." And to this end, he is often called just, holy, innocent: Is. 53:11; Lk. 1:35; Acts 3:14; Heb. 7:26. Here belong the passages in which he is said to be anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power (Acts 10:38), anointed with the oil of gladness (Ps. 45:7), which can pertain only to the gifts of the Spirit, wonderfully rejoicing his soul. The plenitude of these is also designated when Christ is said to be "full of grace and truth" (Jn. 1:14) and to have received the Spirit without measure (*ametrōs*, Jn. 3:34).

III. Still it must not be supposed that this plenitude is simply infinite, both because the humanity is finite in itself and cannot be receptive of the infinite and because this grace is a created thing (to which therefore it is repugnant to be infinite). But it must be understood relatively: (1) in respect of the graces which are communicated either to angels or to men, than which the graces of Christ are far greater. In others there is a "fulness of sufficiency," inasmuch as they obtain from God as much grace as suffices for their salvation. But in Christ it is a "fulness of abundance," which

suffices not only for himself but for others also, so that we all can drink of his fulness (Jn. 1:16). (2) In respect of degrees, because the graces of Christ had all degrees—whatever can be possessed from the law of God (beyond which there can be nothing) or to which nothing among men can be found equal numerically or internally. Nor is it an objection that there is no finite thing which cannot be said to be made equal to another. This indeed holds good in those things which are of the same kind and relation. The grace of Christ is not such in respect of the graces of other creatures because his was universal, but these are particular.

IV. These gifts of the Holy Spirit in their fulness, whether extensive (as to parts and species) or intensive (as to degrees) are enumerated by Is. 11:1, 2: wisdom, understanding, counsel, might, knowledge, fear. To these the Scholastics add (from the Vulgate, but without foundation and necessity), piety, which is already included in the fear of God. In this number, all are not contained, since elsewhere mention is made of other gifts; but the principal ones are pointed out which were specially required for the administration of the office imposed upon Christ. Nor is the Spirit with his gifts said to be only conferred upon Christ, but "will rest upon him." By this is denoted not only a true and real communication, but also a continuance and permanence of the gifts, since Christ possesses them not as an act and as a certain transient or perishable movement, but as permanent and fixed (which he most freely used as often and in whatever measure he pleased).

Did Christ have faith and hope?

V. A question is plied here by the Scholastics—whether Christ had faith and hope. And not a few of them, and especially Feuardentius (*Calvinismus exorcizatus sive Theomachia* 8 [1563], pp. 327–425), write to Calvin that he ascribes faith to Christ. This Feuardentius calls an impious error and contrary to Scripture. But that faith is not simply to be denied to Christ, the Scripture in more than one place shows when it calls Christ faithful (Heb. 2:17; 3:2). Peter applies to Christ the words of Ps. 16—"My flesh shall rest in hope" (Acts 2:26). Christ, calling the Father his God (Mt. 27:46), testifies to his faith in him. But it cannot belong to him in all that formality in which it belongs to men, since in that manner it involves imperfection.

And how?

VI. Faith, therefore, is ascribed to Christ, not inasmuch as it is a fiducial apprehension of the mercy of God. In this sense, it belongs to sinners only; nor is it ascribed in respect of mode of knowledge, as much as it is opposed to the obscurity of an enigma (inasmuch as it is opposed to sight [*eidei*, 2 Cor. 5:7], which cannot be done without imperfection, from which Christ is free). Rather it is ascribed to Christ as to substance of knowledge and assent to a thing known (i.e., to the doctrine revealed of God) and as to trust, which rests in the goodness of God providing all things necessary for us.

VII. The same must be said about hope. Whatever perfection is in it as to certainty (by which we firmly rest upon the divine promise concerning a future thing) is rightly ascribed to Christ; but what involves a defect and imperfection (inasmuch as it is a still obscure expectation of a thing not yet possessed, Rom. 8:24) ought not to be ascribed to him.

VIII. Although the soul of Christ even from the beginning rejoiced in happiness and enjoyed God himself in virtue of the hypostatical union, still he had not as yet its fulness (on account of the necessity of suffering). Rather he should at length obtain it after his resurrection and ascension when (being made an attainer) he was fully glorified both as to soul and body. Thus nothing hindered him from believing in God and hoping for the glory promised to him (Heb. 12:2).

Thirteenth Question: The Knowledge of Christs Soul

From its very creation was the soul of Christ so filled with knowledge that it could be ignorant of or learn nothing? We deny against the papists

I. The Scholastics distribute the knowledge of Christ into three principal species—blessed, infused and acquired—according to the threefold light of glory, grace and nature. They term that blessed by which Christ sees God according to essence, as the saints behold his face in heaven. To them, infused is that by which (by a supernatural habit) he knows heavenly things and whatever can be seen through the light of grace. Acquired is that by which he understands whatever can be known by the light of nature or of

reason. But less rightly because beatific knowledge (which belongs to those who have attained) cannot fitly be ascribed to Christ while still sojourning upon earth, as will be seen hereafter. Therefore we acknowledge a twofold knowledge of Christ's human nature while on earth—infused and acquired or experimental. He received the infused by the grace of the Holy Spirit sanctifying his gifts (referred to in Is. 11:1, 2). The acquired is the actual knowledge which Christ gained both by ratiocination, by drawing conclusions from the principles of infused knowledge, and by his own experience (Heb. 4:15; 5:8).

Statement of the question.

II. We dispute here with the papists concerning the nature and extent of this knowledge: not concerning the knowledge of Christ glorified, but living on earth; not whether omniscience was given to him through the grace of the union (which we have refuted before); not whether he labored under a gross ignorance of many things (which is calumniously charged against us by our opponents) because thus he could not be freed from sin, not the least shadow of which do we acknowledge to have been in him.

III. But the question returns to this—Was the soul of Christ from the beginning imbued with so great knowledge in virtue of the hypostatical union that he was ignorant of nothing or could learn nothing *de novo?* This the papists affirm. "The common opinion of Catholics always was that Christ's soul from its very creation was filled with knowledge and grace, so that he learned afterwards nothing which he did not know before" (Bellarmine, "De Christi Anima," 1.1* *Opera* [1856], 1:266). However, we deny it. We acknowledge that Christ as God was indeed omniscient, but as man we hold that he was endowed with knowledge, great indeed beyond all other creatures, but yet finite and created, to which something could be added (and really was added).

The orthodox opinion is proved: (1) from Lk. 2:52.

IV. The reasons are: (1) Christ is said to have "increased in wisdom and stature" (Lk. 2:52). Now where perfection is, there is no increase. Nor can it be said that he increased only in the opinion of men (as Bellarmine holds,

"De Christi Anima," 5 *Opera* [1856], 1:269) because more and more every day he disclosed his wisdom. As he truly increased in years and as to stature, so also with an increase of gifts as to knowledge, as Toletus clearly proves. Hence Ambrose says, "As he grew in the age of a man, so he grew in the wisdom of a man" (*The Sacrament of the Incarnation of Our Lord* 7 [72] [FC 44:247; PL 16.872]). Stapleton acknowledges the same on this place ("Antidota … in Lucae Cap. II," *Opera* [1620], 3:157 on Lk. 2:52). It is confirmed by this—that he is not said only to have increased with men, but also "with God" (which cannot be referred to a mere opinion, but carries with it the truth of the thing).

2. From Mark 13:32.

V. (2) Because "the Son" is said "not to know the day of judgment" (Mk. 13:32). Not by any means (as the Logos [*Logos*] or Son of God) could he be ignorant of the day, which he himself had predetermined with the Father (Acts 17:31); nor (as he made time) could he be ignorant either of its beginning or of its end; but as man and with respect to his human nature only (as the ancients in this way freed themselves from the objection of the Arians drawn from this against the divinity of the Son). Nor only because he did not know it to tell others (as Bellarmine, Becanus, Tirinus and others wish). This savors of Jesuistical equivocation. For who (without being guilty of falsehood) can absolutely deny that he knows what he does know because he was bound not to reveal it to others? Again, in this sense there would be scarcely anything which Christ might not be said not to know because he does not reveal his mysteries to the Gentiles and the Turks. Yea, the Father himself might be said to be ignorant of the day of judgment, since he reveals it to no one. Nor only because he knew indeed theoretically, but not practically and according to experience. Neither did the Father himself know it in this way since it had not yet arrived. But simply because the Word had not revealed this to him. And, moreover, Christ wished in this way to restrain the curiosity of his disciples that they should not dare to penetrate beyond what they ought, or weave anxious questions concerning the time of that judgment, since the members ought not to strive after that knowledge which was not granted even to the head, according to his humanity. Nor on this account are two Christs to be

maintained, one of whom knew while the other was ignorant of the day of judgment, but only two natures in the one Christ, which as they are joined in union with the person, so also they retain their properties unconfounded (as many things are said of the whole Christ or person which do not pertain to the whole of Christ or to both natures, but only to one or the other of them). Therefore these propositions can be true at the same time, but in different respects (*kat' allo, kai allo*): Christ was ignorant of the day of judgment and Christ was not ignorant of the day of judgment. The opposition is made between natures most intimately connected, one of which is not included in the conception of the other. But it is different with propositions which are made concerning things differing not by a real, but only a formal distinction and which are such that the one is subordinated to and included in the other. Hence it cannot with propriety be said that a man is ignorant of something as to his animal being which he knows according to his rational being (because the rational is included in the animal).

3. From Heb. 2:17.

VI. (3) Because he was made "like unto us in all things" (Heb. 2:17) "sin excepted" (4:15). Nor can the ignorance which we ascribe to Christ form an exception here. Although ignorance of a depraved disposition and universal of things which it is necessary to know is properly reckoned among vices (from which Christ was free), still not the negative and particular of a certain thing unnecessary for that state and time. The words of Athanasius refer to this: "As a man he did not know, for ignorance is proper to men" (*hōs anthrōpos ouk oiden, anthrōpōn gar idion to agnoein*," "Contra Arianos, Oratio quarta," *Opera omnia* [1627], 1:496).

Sources of explanation.

VII. If Christ is said to know all things (Jn. 21:17; Mt. 11:27), it either pertains to his divine knowledge or, if extended to the human, ought not to be understood absolutely. Otherwise omniscience would have to be ascribed to his human nature (which our opponents do not hold). Rather it ought to be understood only relatively and comparatively with respect to the knowledge of men, than which it was far more perfect.

VIII. “The treasures of wisdom and knowledge” which are said “to be hid in Christ” (Col. 2:3) do not prove that there was in him all manner of knowledge in every time, always and absolutely; but that there was all that knowledge which could belong to the design of his mediatorial office, which was altogether superior to the knowledge of men and angels. In addition (as has been seen elsewhere), this can be referred best either to the person of Christ or to the gospel, concerning which he had just spoken.

IX. Christ, as the Son of God, had a right to all paternal goods from the incarnation itself, but he could be without a possession of some for a time by a voluntary dispensation. He should indeed be filled with all the gifts necessary to the performance of his mediatorial work; but in their own order and degree according to the economy of the divine will. The anointing was indeed made from the very moment of conception, but the acts of this anointing were dispensed through intervals of time, as also through various objects (as the divine nature in Christ at first repressed in some measure his majesty and as it were concealed it under the veil of the flesh, which afterwards broke forth more clearly in his exaltation). Thus the Spirit of wisdom (with which he was anointed) restrained its own acts and did not at once pour forth its rays in all their fulness upon the intellect of Christ. Hence although he had a most full (yes, an infinite) knowledge, still he did not communicate the whole of it to the man Christ.

X. A thing can conduce to the end of the incarnation in two ways, either mediately in a common manner or immediately in a singular manner. Although the ignorance of Christ was negative, it cannot be said to have been useful to the end of the incarnation singularly and immediately (as his death and resurrection was necessary). It is enough that it was such mediately and in a common manner that Christ might declare himself to be truly a partaker of our nature with its guiltless (*adiablētois*) infirmities, since this ignorance is a condition annexed to our animal nature.

XI. Our opinion is falsely compared with the heresy of the Agnoetae. There is nothing common to us and them, who ascribed ignorance to the Word or to Christ as he is God (cf. Alphonsus de Castro, *Adversus omnes haereses*, Bk. 5, Haer. 8 [1556], pp. 151–52 and Isidore, *Etymologiarum* 8.5.68 [PL 82.304]). Hence Nicephorus teaches that they were the shoot of Arianism (*Ecclesiasticae Historiae* 12.30 [PG 146.839–46]).

Was Christ at the same time a traveller and an attainer? The negative proved.

XII. Hence it can clearly be gathered what we must decide about the other question here urged by the papists—Was Christ at the same time a traveller and an attainer? This they maintain the more easily to deny that spiritual sufferings were felt by the soul of Christ. However, we deny it. These states are so opposed as to be incompatible (*asystatoi*) with each other. A traveller is on the road; an attainer is at the goal. The traveller labors and suffers; the attainer enjoys perfect happiness after his toils are finished. Since therefore he was here on the road to run the race set before him (in order to accomplish the work of our redemption, in which he was exposed to various trials and struggles; yea, sustained both the curse and the weight of the wrath of God), he could not at that time enjoy the benefit of an attainer in the most full happiness of human nature. This he obtained only by his exaltation, although he was always endowed with most perfect holiness without any taint of sin.

XIII. The happiness of those who have attained is a glorious and joyous state, free from pain and shame. The whole history of the life, suffering and death of Christ exclaims that such a glorious (Phil. 2:7, 8), happy state (Mt. 20:28; Lk. 9:58), free from pain or shame (Mt. 26:39; 27:31) did not belong to Christ on earth, but that it became his only after his death and departure from this world (Lk. 24:26; Phil. 2:8, 9).

Sources of explanation.

XIV. Because he is united most intimately with God, he ought to be on all sides and and in every way perfect with respect to holiness so that no taint of sin should be found in him. But not as to happiness, which can be evident even from the example of the body of Christ united with the Logos (*Logō*) (which could not be called perfectly happy since it was liable to suffering and death). The union therefore of his soul with God implies indeed the possession of happiness, but to be enjoyed at once or constantly always. According to the dispensation of God, suffering should precede his glory and happiness.

XV. The intrinsic and essential glory and happiness of the deity differs from the extrinsic and participated. With the divine nature, intrinsic and essential glory and happiness (which implies a communion of all divine perfections) was communicated by the hypostatical union to the person, the God-man (*theanthrōpō*). But to the human nature should be communicated only the external and participated. This does not adhere to the deity, but flows from it as an effect into the creature; indeed it flows as an accident which could sometimes be absent and sometimes be present.

XVI. If Christ is said to have seen the Father (Jn. 6:46), it does not treat precisely of the human nature, but of the person of the Logos (*Logou*), which as it was always united intimately to the Father could not but always enjoy his beatific vision. If the soul of Christ was more closely united with the deity than the souls of the blessed, it does not follow that he enjoyed the benefit of the saints made perfect. By a dispensation, he abdicated this right that he might fulfill the office of surety (which suretyship does not come in between the souls of the saints in heaven and their union with God).

Fourteenth Question: The Sufferings of Christ

Did Christ suffer only corporeal punishments for us in the body or in the soul, but only as to its lower and sensitive part? Or did he in truth also bear the spiritual and infernal punishments of sin themselves (in the superior as well as in the inferior part) properly in himself and from a sense of God's wrath? We deny the former and affirm the latter against the papists

I. As the suffering of Christ is the principal part of the ransom (*lytrou*) paid for us by him and the special foundation of our confidence and consolation, it should also be the primary object of our faith and the theme of meditation, that with Paul we may count all things for loss but the knowledge of the crucified Jesus. We should attend to it more diligently as Satan the more impotently rages to obscure the truth of those sufferings and to deprive us of their saving fruit.

State of the question.

II. We do not inquire here whether Christ suffered anything. For there were formerly some who (since they supposed it unbecoming the divine glory of Christ to be affected with pains and sorrow) proceeded so far as to say that the body of Christ was impassible and on that account did not suffer truly but only apparently (*kata doxan*) (which was the heresy of the Aphthartodocetae, of whom Nicephorus speaks, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae* 17.29 [PG 147.295]). To these Hilary seems to approach not a little, when he maintains that the human nature in Christ (on account of its union with the Word) was exposed to no sufferings (cf. *The Trinity* 10.23 [FC 25:414–16]). However if that is the opinion of Hilary (which is here alleged in excuse by Lombard), it is as if he took away from Christ not so much the sense of suffering as the cause and desert of suffering (*Sententiarum* 3, Dist. 15.7 [PL 192/2.788–89]). Still this opinion was long ago condemned as contrary to the truth of the gospel history and our redemption, so that there is no necessity to bring it back again on the stage. Rather it is inquired concerning the nature and subject of the sufferings (to wit, What were the sufferings and in what subject? Were they in the body only or also in the soul? And if in the soul, were they only in its inferior part which is called the sensitive, or also in the higher and rational?).

The spiritual sufferings of Christ are proved: (1) from Scripture.

III. The papists (in order to defend their dogma concerning the perfect happiness of Christ's soul during the entire state of humiliation and to be able to reconcile it with the history of his passion) maintain that Christ suffered in body, not in soul. If they are pressed, they distinguish the lower and sensitive from the higher and rational soul. As to the former (to which they refer affections and perturbations), they grant that Christ suffered; but as to the latter, by no means. Or if he suffered anything in it, it did not suffer properly and in itself from a sense of God's wrath, but only through proximity (*dia parastasin*), or sympathetically (*dia sympatheian*) (on account of the union of the soul with the body). On the other hand, the orthodox refer Christ's sufferings to the soul as well as the body; to the higher part as well as to the lower. In the body indeed, he endured corporeal

pains and agonies and a temporal death most cruel above all others; and in the soul, he endured spiritual and internal agonies (to wit, that most heavy and most dreadful weight of the divine wrath and the curse [*kataran*] due to us).

IV. The reasons are: (1) Scripture ascribes the sufferings of Christ to both parts and especially to the soul, when it says the soul of Christ was troubled (Jn. 12:27), "exceeding sorrowful" (*perilypos*) and as it were overwhelmed (Mt. 26:38); not therefore only in its lower, but also in its superior part. On this account, even the more since the soul is impartible (*ameristos*) and indivisible, one quality could not be affected without all the others sharing in it. Now the weight of that sorrow is demonstrated from this—that it is said to be "even unto death" (i.e., extreme) to denote the "weight of tribulation" (as the gloss has it). This is described by *taraxin* (trouble of soul, Jn. 12:27), by *adēmonian* (Mt. 26:37) and "amazement" (*ekthambēsin*, Mk. 14:33), when the soul (as it were) yields under horror and faints under the pressure of sorrow through an agony (*agōnian*) (to wit, such anxiety and anguish of mind as forces out a bloody sweat, Lk. 22:44) and the most fervent prayers which he offered to the Father with strong cryings and tears —that that cup might pass from him (when he had need of an angel as a comforter). Now whither should that extreme dejection and perturbation, that horror and exceeding fear, that severe conflict with the sense of the divine wrath and curse be referred unless we say that these sufferings were not only in the body, but in the soul; nor solely in the inferior, but also in the higher part of the soul unless we wish Christ to have been inferior to innumerable martyrs, who not only patiently and calmly, but also with joy and exultation endured bodily death and the most dreadful torments.

2. From the necessity of salvation.

V. (2) The necessity of our salvation required this. For as we had sinned in soul and body, so Christ, the surety, must suffer in both parts in order to pay a sufficient ransom price (*lytron*) to the divine justice and to redeem the soul and body. It is confirmed by this—that the sufferings denounced against sinners by the law are not only bodily and external, but principally spriritual and internal in a sense of the divine wrath and curse (Lev. 26; Dt. 27, 28; Gal. 3:10, 13). Hence Irenaeus says, "With his own blood the Lord

redeemed us, who gave his own soul for our soul and his own flesh for our flesh" (*Against Heresies* 5.1 [ANF 1:527; PG 7.1121). Hence he is called not only *antilytron*, but also *antipsychos*, who pledges and exchanges soul for soul.

VI. (3) The punishment of desertion, suffered by Christ (of which he complained, Mt. 27:46) was not a bodily, but a spiritual and internal suffering. It arose not from any torment (however dreadful) which he could feel in his body (for many of the martyrs might have experienced such, who nevertheless are not said to have complained of this desertion), but from a most oppressive sense of God's wrath resting upon him on account of our sins. Now this desertion is not to be conceived as absolute, total and eternal (such as is felt only by demons and the reprobate), but temporal and relative; not in respect of the union of nature (for what the Son of God once assumed, he never parted with); or of the union of grace and holiness because he was always blameless (*akakos*) and pure (*amiantos*), endowed with untainted holiness; or of communion and protection because God was always at his right hand (Ps. 110:5), nor was he ever left alone (Jn. 16:32). But as to a participation of joy and felicity, God suspending for a little while the favorable presence of grace and the influx of consolation and happiness that he might be able to suffer all the punishment due to us (as to withdrawal of vision, not as to a dissolution of union; as to the want of the sense of the divine love, intercepted by the sense of the divine wrath and vengeance resting upon him, not as to a real privation or extinction of it). And, as the Scholastics say, as to "the affection of advantage" that he might be destitute of the ineffable consolation and joy which arises from a sense of God's paternal love and the beatific vision of his countenance (Ps. 16); but not as to "the affection of righteousness" because he felt nothing inordinate in himself which would tend to desperation, impatience or blasphemy against God.

VII. (4) Christ was made a curse for us (Gal. 3:13), while the curse due to us was laid upon him on account of the suretyship undertaken; not only "cursed" (*epikataratos*), but "a curse" (*katara*)—the abstract being put for the concrete for a heightening (*epitasin*) because he endured the whole curse which the law denounced against sinners. This assuredly does not respect only the body, but especially the soul, which can be affected by such a sense. Not a few papists have acknowledged this; cf. Maldonatus,

Commentary on the Holy Gospels: Matthew (1888), 2:446 on Mt. 26:37; Ferus, *In sacrosanctum Iesu Christi evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (1559), pp. 376–77 on Mt. 27:46 and others.

Sources of explanation.

VIII. Although the Scripture for the most part ascribes salvation to the cross, blood and death of Christ, this is not done to the exclusion of spiritual and internal sufferings, but synecdochically denominating the whole from the sensible and external part exposed to the eyes. Nor can the cross or death be mentioned without involving by that very thing the notion of the curse annexed to them because the death was no other than that denounced by the law.

IX. Although internal and spiritual torments could not be figured in species and in particular by the death and shedding of the blood of victims, still they could in general be contained under them. For since fire is a symbol of divine wrath, there is nothing to prevent this consuming of the sacrifices by fire from being referred to the sense of divine wrath which Christ endured in his soul. Thus the blood of the sacrifices (as the seat of life) can best be called also a symbol of the soul. Besides a particular type was not wanting in the sufferings of David described in Pss. 22 and 69, which were not only external, but also internal.

X. It is not necessary that the sacraments should represent all parts of the sufferings of Christ; it suffices that they exhibit a certain part which could be signified by such symbols (but from which the rest are easily gathered) since they necessarily accompany each other in Christ; nor can the death of Christ be shadowed forth without the curse connected with it being presented to our minds.

XI. The sacrifice of Christ is called “the offering of his body” (Heb. 10:10) not in an opposition of the body to the soul (which he is also said to have laid down for us, Is. 53:10; Jn. 10:15), but by an antithesis to the Levitical sacrifices so often repeated (of which the apostle was speaking). Hence this kind of expression was most suitable.

XII. And hence can be clearly gathered what is to be judged concerning the sufferings of Christ—whether they are properly called gehennal and hellish, as our men hold. For since hell in Scripture denotes not only the

sepulcher or place of the damned, but also their extreme condition of misery and calamity (as Arias Montanus well observes, *Biblia sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece et Latine* [1572], 7:183), and "infernal pains" are put for the most grievous, nothing hinders the sufferings of Christ from being called (in this sense) infernal on account of their dreadfulness and intensity.

XIII. Nor yet moreover could you rightly say either that he entered the place of the damned or was damned. He could indeed bear the punishments of those deserving to be damned, but not of the damned so that he entered into the infernal place prepared for them (from which no one can return) or that he was devoted to eternal punishment because the eternity of the punishments we deserved was compensated abundantly in Christ by their weight and extremity.

XIV. Much less should despair such as the damned feel be ascribed to Christ. It is not of the essence of punishment in itself considered and as it is inflicted by the Judge. Rather it is of the vice of the subject suffering, which when it considers the eternity of the most dreadful evils and the impossibility of escaping from it, cannot but fall into desperation (which was most foreign to Christ, who although he felt the dreadfulness of the torments inflicted upon him, still was certain of their happy end and his own deliverance). Hence appears the falsity of the atrocious calumny most unjustly charged by our opponents upon Calvin—as by Bellarmine ("De Christo Anima," 8 *Opera* [1856], 1:271–75); Genebrardus (*Psalmi Davidis* [1606], p. 79 on Ps. 21 [22]:1); and Maldonatus (*Commentary on the Holy Gospels: Matthew* [1863], 2:551–54 on Mt. 27) and by others—because he says on Mt. 27:46, "but it is absurd that a voice of despair should escape from Christ" (John Calvin, *Harmony of the Gospels* [trans. A.W. Morrison, 1972], 3:208). For who does not see that it is an objection which he proposes to himself from the words of Christ ("My God …") and which he so explains as to prove most clearly that he was always farthest removed from desperation and full of confidence? "The solution," he says, "is easy, although the sense apprehended the destruction of the flesh, still faith stood fixed in his heart, by which he beheld a present God, concerning whose absence he complained" (ibid.). Now if faith was fixed in his heart, how could despair fall upon him? This he still more strongly confirms in ICR 2.16.5, 12, pp. 507–10 and 517–20, as will appear from an inspection of the passage. But if we wished to recriminate, how much more justly might this

be fastened upon our opponents, of whom not a few are found to be guilty of this charge (as Maldonatus, *Commentary on the Holy Gospels: Matthew* [1863], 2:552 on Mt. 27:46)? Ferus, on the same passage, expressly ascribes despair to Christ (*In sacrosanctum Iesu Christi evangelium secundum Matthaeum* [1559], p. 376 on Mt. 27:46); cf. also Cusanus *de Cruciatibus Christi*+ and others. See our "Disputation on the Satisfaction," *Opera* (1848), 4:554.

XV. With similar calumny that great man of God is accused of saying that Christ "was damned" because he says "he was constituted in such a damnation" that he complained of being deserted of God (*Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevensis* [1545], CR 34.28–32). But: (1) who does not see that "damnation" is put here for "condemnation," according to the most customary style of the French language at that time? (2) If Christ is called "a curse," why cannot damnation be ascribed to him? (3) The fathers and some of our opponents have so spoken: Cyprian, "He was damned that he might free the damned; he suffered that he might heal the sick; he feared to make us secure" ("De Passione Christi" [attributed to Cyprian] in Arnold Carnotensis, *Opera*, p. 49 in Cyprian, *Opera* [ed. John Oxoniensem, 1682]); Gregory Nazianzus, "He united that which was condemned that he might free the whole from condemnation" ("Fourth Theological Oration, Second on the Son," 21 [NPNF2, 7:317; PG 36.131]); Athanasius, "There was need for the very Judge, who made the decree, to fulfill himself the sentence in the form of the condemned" (*de Incarn*.+); Gregory the Great, "He assumed the form of a condemned man" and "condemns him for sinners who is without sin" (*Morals on the Book of Job* 3.14* [1844], 1:148–49; PL 75.612–13). The Vulgate uses the word *damnatio* as does the Louvain Version of the year 1533. Cusanus uses the same word (*Exercit*. lib. xi+).

Fifteenth Question: The Descent of Christ to Hell

Was the soul of Christ, after its separation from the body, translated to paradise immediately? Or did it descend locally to hell? The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the papists and Lutherans

I. The question concerning Christ's descent into hell is twofold: the one with the papists and some Lutherans, who hold a local descent of Christ; the

other among the orthodox themselves concerning the true sense of the article—whether it is to be referred to the spiritual anguish of Christ or to his burial and his most abject state under the dominion of death. We are now to examine the first and will speak of the last immediately afterwards.

Statement of the question.

II. The papists maintain that the soul of Christ from the time of its separation from the body straightway descended locally to hell until the resurrection. In the Catechism of Trent, it is proposed to be believed: "Christ being now dead, his soul descended into hell, and remained there just as long as his body was in the sepulchre" (*Catechism of the Council of Trent*, Art. 5 [trans. J. A. McHugh, 1923], pp. 62 and 64). And that no one might think this was only done by virtue and power and not by essence (as Durandus held, cf. *Sententias theologicas Petri Lombardi Commentariorum*, Bk. 3, Dist. 22, Q. 3, 4 [1556], p. 215), it is added in the same place, "It is to be entirely believed that the soul itself really and by presence descended into hell." However they wish him to have descended thither for the purpose of freeing the souls of the fathers of the Old Testament detained in limbo and of carrying them with him to heaven.

III. The Lutherans agree with them in asserting the substantial descent of Christ into hell; not only into limbo, but into the very place of the damned, to show his victory there and exhibit his triumph. On this account, they wish it to be referred to the state of exaltation and not to that of humiliation (as Brochmann determines, "De Servatoris Nostri Jesu Christi," Sect. 14, Q. 6, 7 in *Universae theologicae systema* [1638], 1:920–23).

IV. Hence the question took this form—whether Christ descended locally into hell or only to the limbo of the fathers and to purgatory for the purpose of leading out the souls of the pious or to the very place of the damned to openly exhibit his victory. This our opponents hold; we deny.

V. First, the soul of Christ immediately after its release from the body mounted up into paradise, according to the promise made to the thief, "Today shalt thou be with me in paradise" (Lk. 23:43). In vain (1) do our opponents wish the words to be understood of the deity only, with which the soul of the thief was to be in paradise. They involve the futurition in paradise or the translation not only of the soul of the thief, but also of

Christ; that as Christ and the thief truly suffered, so they were to be carried together also into heaven, that both conditions might be common to both. And thus they were consolatory not only in order to the thief, but also to the Lord himself that in a short time they would both emerge from their distresses. Thus in the same manner, they might be in heaven as to their souls as they were on the cross together as to their bodies. Hence Cyprian: "The thief was made a partaker of the kingdom, who had been made by his confession a colleague in martyrdom" ("De Passione Christi" [attributed to Cyprian] in Arnold Carnotensis, *Opera*, p. 50 in Cyprian, *Opera* [ed. John Oxoniensem, 1682]). The words themselves prove this. Christ does not say, "I will be with you" (which designated the presence of the deity in paradise), but "thou shalt be with me," in order to promise him the fellowship of his humanity. Fellowship with Christ in his kingdom is promised. Now this cannot be understood of the deity (which concedes to no one such a privilege), but of Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpō*), who calls believers into a share of his kingdom. (2) No better do others wish the word "today" to be referred to the words of Christ, not to the introduction into paradise. Thus the sense is, "Today I say to you," that thou shalt be with me in paradise. As Suarez well remarks, this is an elusion, not an interpretation. For there was no need for Christ to indicate this, which the verb of the present tense and the expression of Christ itself sufficiently indicated. Rather he wishes to encourage the thief (constituted in agony and breathing after the grace of Christ) by this consolation that his petition would be fulfilled on that very day. (3) Thomas Aquinas also gratuitously feigns, "Paradise here denotes generally the place of happiness, wherever it may be, in which they are said to be who enjoy the divine glory; whence the thief as to place was in hell with Christ, as to reward in paradise; so that paradise is wherever Christ is and wherever God is seen" (ST, III, Q. 52*, Art. 4*, p. 2305). But what is this except to mingle heaven not only with earth but also with hell? Thus the thief on the cross would have been already in paradise because he was there with Christ. Christ, however, speaks of that paradise, where he was not then. Finally, in no other way is paradise to be understood than as Scripture elsewhere speaks of it: as the seat of the blessed (2 Cor. 12:4; Rev. 2:7), which Bellarmine ("De Sanctorum Beatitudine," 3 *Opera* 2:426) and Suarez ("Commentaria … in tertiam partem D. Thomae," Q. 52, Dist. 42 in *Opera Omnia* [1856–78],

19:697–743) acknowledge. The thing itself proves this because the promise of Christ ought to answer to the petition of the thief, "Remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." To which Christ answers, "Today shalt thou be with me in paradise" (i.e., in my kingdom).

VI. Second, the soul of Christ was in the hand of the Father: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Lk. 23:46). Therefore it was not in hell because according to the style of Scripture the hand of the Father is not to be understood with respect to power (according to which the hand of God is everywhere, Ps. 139:7–10) or as it is the terrible hand of God, the Judge; but as the consoling hand of the Father of mercy with respect to glory and grace; or the condition of the blessed usually described by being in the hand of God. It is confirmed by this—that Christ by this phrase wished to proclaim that nothing more remained to be done by him, both as to freeing others and as to undergoing new torments. But as the body was about to enjoy its repose in the sepulcher, so the soul also was about to rest from all its labors and be bathed in the greatest joys. For to commit or commend the soul has a relation to foregoing labors. Christ, however, could not have said "I commend my spirit," if after death he was yet to descend into hell and suffer the most grievous burdens. (3) He commends his spirit to the hand of his Father in the same manner as David and Stephen commended their souls because these were the very words of David before (Ps. 31:5), from whom Christ took them, and of Stephen afterwards (Acts 7:59), who imitated Christ himself; yea, as Peter recommends all believers to commit their souls to the faithful Creator (1 Pet. 4:19*); not assuredly that they may descend into hell, but be received into heaven (as the ordinary gloss has it, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit that you may receive it, leaving the body"). Hence among the fathers the hand of the Father and hell are opposed. Cyril of Alexandria says, "The innocent above, the guilty below; the innocent in heaven, the guilty in the abyss; the innocent in the hand of God, the guilty in the hand of the devil" (*De exitu animi* [PG 77.1082]).

VII. Third, if according to the soul Christ truly and locally descended into hell, either that was done to suffer something there or to free the fathers or to preach the gospel to the dead or to show his victory to the devils. But the first cannot be said because he finished all things on the cross (Jn. 19:30) and by one offering he perfected forever them that are sanctified (Heb. 10:14). Not the second because they were already admitted into

heaven; nor were they ever in a fictitious limbo, as was proved before. Not the third because preaching the gospel belongs only to the state of this life, not to the condition of death. If Peter says, "The gospel was preached to the dead" (1 Pet. 4:6*), this is not to be understood in the compound sense (as if he had preached to the dead as such because since they are not in the state of the way, they need no more any preaching), but in the divided sense (i.e., to them who are now dead, but who formerly lived when the gospel was preached to them). Not the fourth because that descent ought to be penal, not triumphal and belongs to the state of humiliation, not of exaltation.

VIII. Now that such was the descent of Christ various arguments prove. (1) According to the style of Scripture, a descent into hell signifies the most terrible adversities and most exquisite pains (Gen. 37:35; Job 14:13; Pss. 6:5; 86:13; 130:1). (2) The passages which speak of the descent into hell denote his extreme misery, not a triumph (to wit, in which he was not on that account to be left, but to be freed by the Father, Acts 2:30, 31). (3) The descent into the lowest parts of the earth is opposed to his ascension above all the heavens, which is a part of the exaltation (Eph. 4:9). Therefore it ought to be a part of his humiliation.

Sources of explanation.

IX. The "heart of the earth" in the style of the Hebrews means nothing else than what is within the earth, for *lb* is put for *thvdh* (which is the middle) and what is internal is often called the middle, whether it is in the middle or not. The borders of Tyre are said to have been "in the midst of the seas" (Ezk. 27:4) because washed on all sides by the sea; the mountain is said to have "burned unto the midst of heaven" (Dt. 4:11), i.e., up to the middle region of the air. Thus "to be in the heart of the earth" (Mt. 12:40) means nothing else than to be within the earth whether that be nearer or more remote from its surface. In this way is intimated the state of Christ's body in the sepulcher (which was in the earth, in which it rested until the third day).

X. When Christ is said to have "descended into the lower parts of the earth" (*eis ta katōtera merē tēs gēs*, Eph. 4:9), a local descent is not implied, but his humiliation and manifestation in the flesh which he assumed on earth, so that it is nothing else than to descend to the earth (which is the lowest part of the universe) by a construction sufficiently

known to the Hebrews, in which the governing word stands for the apposition—"in the lowest parts of the earth" (Ps. 139:15), i.e., in the earth, which is the lower part with respect to heaven. Thus not the parts of the earth are compared with each other, but the heaven and the earth, parts of the universe. Nor do the words of the text admit of any other meaning. There is an opposition between the ascent from earth to heaven and the descent from heaven. However, as the ascent has the earth as the point from which and heaven as the point to which, so in turn the descent has heaven as the point from which and the earth as the point to which. This Cajetan saw, who by the lower parts of the earth wishes to be understood "the earth which is the lowest part of the world as distinguished from the lower parts of the heaven which are in the air. And thus he would more clearly have expressed it, because he descended first to the lower part of the earth."

XI. When Peter says "the soul of Christ was not to be left in hell" (Acts. 2:27 from Ps. 16:10), a local descent cannot be understood, but the detention in the sepulcher because this is referred by Peter to the resurrection. This is gathered: (1) from the connection "my flesh," says he, "shall rest" (i.e., in the sepulcher) "in hope, because thou wilt not leave." (2) From the phrase added for explanation, "Neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One" (i.e., me) "to see corruption" (to wit, in the body), which otherwise it would undergo if left in the sepulcher. (3) From a comparison with Acts 13:34, 35 where God is said to have raised up Christ from the dead that he might not see corruption. Nor is this opposed either by the word *psychēs*, which as Emanuel Sa (*de phrasibus Scriptura*+) remarks, is put by a synecdoche of a part for the whole, for the whole person itself frequently elsewhere (Pss. 3:2; 17:13; Acts 7:14) or of a part for a part, for the body itself (Lev. 19:28; 21:1, 11; Num. 5:1; Lk. 6:9) as Virgil ("We bury the soul in the tomb," *Aeneid* 3.68 [Loeb, 1:352–53]), or by the word *hadēs*, which evidently is often put for the sepulcher, as will be proved hereafter.

XII. The passage in Peter, when "Christ quickened by the Spirit" is said "to have preached unto the spirits in prison" (*tois en phylakē*, 1 Pet. 3:19), does not favor the local descent into hell. (1) Peter does not speak of "the soul," but of "the Spirit." Therefore it cannot be understood of any descent of the soul. For that Spirit cannot here be taken for the soul but for the deity is gathered from the preceding verse. No other Spirit is meant than he by whom he was quickened. This cannot be said of the soul, neither

subjectively because that only is quickened which can die (which cannot apply to the soul), nor efficiently because quickening is a work of infinite power. On this account, the deity itself must necessarily be understood. This is often thus designated elsewhere (Rom. 1:4; Heb. 9:14; 1 Tim. 3:16) where he is said to have been "justified by the Spirit," which Cajetan, Gagnaeus, Thomas Aquinas, Lyranus and others understand of the deity and the Holy Spirit. (2) It treats of the *apeithēsasi* (i.e., rebellious spirits) who did not obey those giving them good advice (such as the fathers cannot be called, whom they wish Christ to have led out of limbo [in which they were detained] to heaven). Nor can it be said that they indeed were unbelieving at first but afterwards repented because this is not in the text, but is rather opposed to it. For eight only are said to have been saved, the rest to have perished. Yet if some had repented, Peter would not have called them *apeitheis*. (3) There is no mention here of liberation, but only of preaching. (4) The "prison" (*phylakē*) treated of here is taken only in two ways in Scripture, either for a nightly guard or for a prison in which the guilty are detained (Lk. 3:20). Since, in truth, it cannot be used here in the first sense, it ought necessarily to be taken for a prison (as the interlinear Gloss says, "the prison of darkness and unbelief"). Nowhere in Scripture is any place called a prison where happy spirits are contained. (5) The preaching is not said to have been made to the spirits being in prison, as if they were in prison at the time of the preaching. For to what purpose would it have been made since there is granted no exit from it? But it is said to have been made formerly in the time of Noah (in which God's patience waited for men) to them who (at the time in which Peter writes) are in prison. Hence Peter does not say *ekēryxe tois pneumasi en phylakē* but *tois en phylakē pneumasi ekēryxe*. Thus the substantive verb must be supplied, not as the Vulgate has it *iis qui in carcere erant* as if they were in prison at the time of the preaching, but *tois ousi* ("who are," to wit, at the time of the apostle's writing). For that *pote* Peter does not join with the words *en phylakē*, but with *apeithēsasi* in this manner, *tois en phylakē pneumasi apeithēsasi pote*, clearly distinguishing the times in which they were rebellious in the days of Noah and in which they were thrust into prison on account of their rebellion. Thus the meaning of the passage is plain, as our Beza has most happily explained it. "Christ," says he, "whom I said was quickened by the Spirit, having gone, not by a change of place, but by a certain special

manifestation of his presence, by revelation and operation, as God is often said to come in Scripture, not literally but figuratively and metaphorically; not in the body, which he had not yet assumed, but by that very Spirit or divine power by which he rose again and was quickened, and inspired (by which the prophets spoke, 1 Pet. 1:11) preached to those spirits, which are now in the prison of hell, where they suffer the punishment of their rebellion to his preaching in the time of Noah."+ This Andradius saw, saying that this is the meaning of the passage—"in which Spirit (coming long before) he preached to those spirits who now in prison pay the deserved penalty of their former unbelief, since they never wished to believe Noah telling them of their duty and building an ark by God's command" (*Defensio tridentinae fidei catholicae* 2 [1580], p. 294).

XIII. If Christ is said by the resurrection "to have been loosed from the pains of death" (Acts 2:24), it does not follow that he endured pains up to the moment of his resurrection and that his soul departed into hell, where he could be affected by such pains. The passage can be understood in two ways: (1) that "the pains of death" by a grammatical figure (*hen dia dyoin*) are put for a painful death. Christ, it is said, "will baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire" (as Mt. 3:11), i.e., with spiritual fire, as Virgil, "I sing of arms and men," i.e., the armed man (*Aeneid* 1.1 [Loeb, 1:240–41]). It is certain that the death of Christ was connected with the most exquisite pains, nor was that death resolved except in the moment of the resurrection. (2) The passage to which Peter alludes (Ps. 18:5) employs the expression *chbly mvth*, which properly denotes cables and chains by which the man is detained as a captive in death, from which he is released by the resurrection. Thus there is no need to invent in addition any suffering of the soul after death. However, Peter, following the Septuagint, retains the word *ōdinas*, which can connote both the torments he suffered in death and the chains of death, by which in a measure he was bound in the sepulcher. Thus the meaning may be "whom" (namely, Christ) "God hath raised up, having loosed the chains of death because it was impossible that he should be always holden [*krateisthai*] like a captive by it."

XIV. The triumphal song which Paul sings (after Hosea, 1 Cor. 15:54, 55) is rightly referred to the resurrection of Christ, by which he began to triumph over sin, death and hell. But it cannot pertain to a descent into hell,

which was the lowest degree of his humiliation, in which he seemed to be only not swallowed up by death.

Sixteenth Question

May the descent into hell be rightly referred to infernal torments and to a most abject state under the dominion of death in the sepulcher? We affirm

I. By the preceding question, the false opinion of the papists concerning the local descent of Christ into hell was refuted. Now its true and genuine sense must be given. About this again the orthodox do not altogether agree among themselves, some referring it to the spiritual anguish and hellish torments which he suffered (as Calvin, Beza, Danaeus, Ursinus and others, even various confessions of the churches), others maintaining that it pertains to his burial and three days' detention in the sepulcher (as Zanchius, Piscator, Pierius and others).

Statement of the question.

II. However, we must observe before all things that we do not inquire concerning the origin of this article—whether it was contained from the beginning in the Apostles' Creed and constantly acknowledged and received by the churches. For it is evident that no mention is made of it in the Nicene Creed and in the Roman, according to Ruffinus (*A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed* 28* [NPNF2, 3:553–54]). The ancients who published confessions and set forth the rule of faith (such as Irenaeus, Origen, Tertullian, Augustine and others) say nothing about it. Also it is referred by Ruffinus only to the end of the fourth century. This article does indeed occur in the Athanasian Creed, but the article of burial being omitted is a clear proof that they were considered as one and the same thing. So it is very probable that this article was transferred from the Athanasian to the Apostles' Creed and at first perhaps was placed in the margin for the purpose of explication; then from the margin into the text itself where it was afterwards retained and incorporated with it. But this question being now dismissed, we treat here only concerning its true sense (about which all do not agree).

III. However, since there is no other cause for this discrepancy than the ambiguity of the word *sh'vl* and *hadēs* and the manifold sense of the phrase "to descend into hell," these must be briefly discussed. The word *sh'vl* is spoken in Scripture in four ways: (1) for a sepulcher (Pss. 16:10; 49:15); (2) for the place of the damned (Lk. 16:23); (3) for the greatest torments (Pss. 18:5; 116:3); (4) for extreme humiliation (Is. 14:15). Hence to descend into hell is used in four ways: (a) it denotes to be buried (Gen. 37:35; 42:38); (b) to descend into the place of the damned (Num. 16:33); (c) to feel infernal pains (1 S. 2:6); (d) to be extremely humbled (Mt. 11:23). According to this fourfold signification, there can be a fourfold meaning of this article. So that it may be referred either to a local descent into the place of the damned (as the papists and Lutherans hold and refuted by us already); or to the burial of Christ, or to his infernal sufferings, or to the extreme degree of his humiliation.

The reasons for the burial and the state of the dead.

IV. They who hold that this article does not differ from his burial rest especially upon these reasons: (1) that Peter (from Ps. 16:10 in Acts 2:31) seems clearly to refer to the burial of Christ, "David seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell." (2) Everywhere in Scripture *sh'vl* is put for the sepulcher and to descend into hell for to descend into the sepulcher (as Arias Montanus, Emanuel Sa and other papists and lexicographers teach). (3) In various creeds mention is made of a descent into hell, no mention being made of the sepulcher (as in the Athanasian Creed, which evinces that they were taken by him for one and the same thing). And here can be referred the fact that Paul mentions Christ's death, burial and resurrection according to the Scriptures (1 Cor. 15:3, 4), but says nothing of his descent into hell. However he would have spoken of it if he had believed that such an article meant anything else than his burial.

V. Still it is not probable that this article is the same as the burial. (1) It would be a tautology (*tautologia*) scarcely to be endured in so succinct and brief a creed. (2) It cannot be said that this article was appended to the former concerning the burial to explain it, since it is more obscure than the former. Thus it is not to be referred precisely to the burial, but to the state of

death or his detention in the sepulcher under the dominion of death (as this phrase is often used to describe the state of the dead; cf. Gen. 37:35 where Jacob, bewailing his son Joseph whom he believed to have been torn in pieces by wild beasts, says, "I will go down" *lsh'vl* "unto my son mourning"; not indeed into a sepulcher because he supposed he had been torn in pieces by wild beasts and not buried, but simply to death or the state of the dead). Thus "in death there is no remembrance of thee, in *sh'vl* who shall give thee thanks?" (Ps. 6:5; cf. Job 17:13–15; Pss. 30:3; 49:15; Is. 14:11, 19, 20).

VI. Also, the passage of Peter (Acts 2:27) drawn from the oracle (Ps. 16:10) seems necessarily to demand this: "Thou wilt not leave my soul *eis hadou*" (supply *oikon*, employed by him to prove the resurrection). He says this prophecy was fulfilled by the resurrection of Christ, so that the meaning is: "Thou wilt not leave my soul" (i.e., my life) or "me in death, but wilt raise me up from death by the resurrection." Here belongs what is said in v. 24 concerning "the pains" or "chains of death" by which he was holden as a captive by death (from which he was released by the resurrection). It was impossible (both on account of the glory of his divinity and on account of the holiness of his humanity) to be held any longer by it.

Reasons for the torments.

VII. But neither is the other opinion to be repudiated which understands this descent of the extreme sufferings of Christ endured both in the garden and on the cross. It agrees (1) with the style of Scripture, which usually designates the most grievous torments by "hell" and the "pains of hell," as we have already said; (2) with the creed, that the most weighty and special sufferings of Christ be not passed over in silence (which would be the case, unless the descent of Christ into hell be understood of the internal sufferings of his soul). For the preceding articles speak only of the external sufferings of the body.

Reconciliation of the two opinions.

VIII. If it is asked which of these two opinions ought to be retained, we answer both can be admitted and be made to agree perfectly with each

other. Thus by the descent into hell may be understood the extreme degree of Christ's suffering and humiliation, both as to soul and body; and as the lowest degree of humiliation as to the body was its detention in the sepulcher, so as to the soul were those dreadful torments he felt. And thus this last article will be apposite for expressing the last degree of Christ's humiliation, whether as to disgrace of body or as to anguish of soul. Nor should it seem wonderful if these two parts (mutually diverse from each other) should be joined together in one and the same article. It is not unusual in Scripture for a single sense to put on various relations (*schesin*) and for many things to be embraced together, especially when the things are mutually subordinated and connected with each other. Since this phrase may be referred now to abjection of the body, then to griefs of the soul (and Christ should have undergone both conditions), it was not without reason that the ancients added this article to the preceding in order to set forth more distinctly this state of Christ.

Sources of explanation.

IX. The constant and indissoluble union of the human nature with the divine in Christ does not hinder him from being able to suffer both in soul and in body the punishment due to us. The union with the Word causes him indeed to be always holy and free from all sin; but not that he should be always happy and glorious (since he came that he might suffer). Christ always had the glory of person as God-man (*theanthrōpos*); but he ought not to always have the glory of human nature (which he was to obtain only after his resurrection) because he was to be tempted in all things equally with us and be made a curse for our salvation.

X. As he is properly said to be damned who in hell endures the punishment due to his own sins, this term cannot be applied to Christ, who never suffered for his own but for our sins; nor did he suffer in hell, but on earth. Still there is no objection to saying that the Son of God was condemned for us by God, just as elsewhere he is said to have been made a curse (*katara*) and malediction for us. Nor is it more absurd to say that Christ was condemned than that the Lord of glory suffered and was crucified and for our sake was crucified and chastened (as is so often said).

XI. The vision of God belonging to the saints in heaven by glory differs from that of believers on earth by grace. They who see God in the former manner can be subjected to no further punishments and pains because they are in their native country, constituted in a state of happiness. But it is not the same with believers who, although they see God by faith, do not cease to be exposed to various afflictions. Christ on earth (as man) saw God in the latter sense, and far more perfectly than believers; but this vision did not hinder him from suffering and complaining that he was forsaken of God.

Seventeenth Question: The Resurrection of Christ

Did Christ rise by his own power? We affirm against the Socinians

Statement of the question.

I. The first degree of Christ's exaltation is put in his resurrection. Concerning this, the question is here moved by the Socinians. Not indeed concerning its truth, for although the Jews call it into doubt (yea, even dare to deny it), it was proved by so many witnesses and testimonies and confirmed by so many signs and miracles that still to doubt concerning it is an inexcusable incredulity, especially after the irrefragable testimony of the apostles, who in giving it were neither deceived themselves nor wished to deceive others (nor could they, as was proved Volume I, Topic II, Question 4). The miracles which followed the resurrection of Christ prove that he lives and reigns gloriously in heaven (to say nothing now of the justice of God, the glory of Christ and our salvation, which necessarily demanded it, according to the prophecies uttered concerning it). Rather the question relates to its manner—Did he rise again by his own or by another's power?

II. For the Socinians, as they say Christ was a mere man (*psilou anthrōpon*), so they maintain that Christ did not raise himself by his own power, but was raised by God's power. Hence Socinus calls this doctrine "ridiculous, absurd and impossible" (cf. *De unigeniti filii Dei existentia* [1626], pp. 58, 59). The Racovian Catechism says it is "a notable error" (cf. "Of the Kingly Office of Christ," Sect. VII, *Racovian Catechism* [1818], pp. 361–64). But the orthodox ascribe the cause of the resurrection to Christ himself no less than to the Father. Since the power of the Father and the Son

is the same, they think that by the same the Father raised Christ and Christ raised himself.

Proof that Christ raised himself: (1) from Jn. 2:19.

III. First, Christ expressly ascribes this to himself: "Destroy this temple" (speaking of the temple of his body) "and in three days I will raise it up" (Jn. 2:19). In Jn. 10:18, he testifies that "he has power to lay down his life and to take it again." This he could not have said if he had not the power of rising again from the dead. Nor if the former passage is tropical is it less weighty because it is clearly explained by Christ.

2. From Rom. 1:4.

IV. Second, the Scripture mentions the resurrection of Christ among the principal arguments by which his divinity is proved. In Rom. 1:4, Paul says that he was *horisthenta* (i.e., "declared" as it were by a public decree and proved to be the Son of God, powerful or "with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead"). Now this could not be said of a passive resurrection in which Christ was merely passive (as this cannot be said of Lazarus, Jairus' daughter and others raised by God). Hence we must necessarily understand here an active resurrection by which he raised himself by his own power of divinity, which not only the parallel passages (in which the divine nature of Christ comes to be denoted by Spirit, 1 Pet. 3:18; 1 Tim. 3:16; Mk. 2:8), but especially the antithesis (which is to the flesh) clearly proves—designated by "the spirit of holiness." For as he is called the Son of David according to the flesh (*kata sarka*, i.e., in respect of his human nature); according to the Spirit (*kata Pneuma*, i.e., according to his divine nature), he is said to be declared to be the Son of God by his resurrection. Otherwise the antithesis would be faulty, nor would he show according to what the Son of God was not made of the seed of David.

3. From John 5:21.

V. Third, Christ does the same works equally with the Father and "quickeneth whom he will" (Jn. 5:21). Now if he can quicken whom he will, what place can there be for doubting that he also raised up himself? It is confirmed by this—that he calls himself the resurrection and the life: "I am the resurrection, and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live" (Jn. 11:25). Here the abstract put for the concrete intimates that he is the principal cause of resurrection and the very fountain of life, who by giving life to others is himself self-living (*autozōē*) and the author of his own resurrection.

4. From Col. 1:18.

VI. Fourth, he is the "firstborn from the dead" (Col. 1:18), which implies not only the prerogative of order, but also the virtue and power of him rising again, as having by nature what his other brethren obtain only by the grace of adoption.

Sources of explanation.

VII. Although the resurrection of Christ is often ascribed to the Father (Rom. 6:4; Acts 2:24; 13:30; Eph. 1:19, 20), it does not follow that it cannot be ascribed to the Son because whatever the Father does, the Son in like manner does (Jn. 5:19); and as the resurrection is an outward work, it ought to be undivided to the whole Trinity. But there is a peculiar reason why it is ascribed to the Father, on account of the obligation which Christ took upon himself, from which he ought to be released by the Father (as Judge), who, as he had delivered up Christ to death for our sins, so he ought to raise him up again for our justification—in order to testify that a full satisfaction had been made by him. Otherwise when it is treated of the confirmation of the vocation of Christ and the vindication of his divinity, the resurrection is more frequently ascribed to him (as we have said).

VIII. It is absurd and ridiculous that a mere man (*psilon anthrōpon*) who has died, should raise himself from the dead. But that the God-man (*theanthrōpon*) should raise up his humanity by virtue of his divine power is so far from being absurd that to deny it is blasphemous and wicked.

IX. Christ could have obtained his resurrection from the Father by prayers offered by himself as man (Heb. 5:7), and yet have effected it as God by the same power with the Father. For since Christ could raise Lazarus and others (since the Father had given to the Son to have life in himself and the Son, as the Father, quickens whom he will), who would wish to deny him the power of recalling himself to life?

X. Moreover when Christ raised himself up, it must not be supposed that he penetrated with his body the stone placed over the sepulcher (as the papists wish in order to defend their error). For the spiritual body which rises is no more converted into a spirit than the body into a soul. And divine power manifests itself not in destroying but in conserving the natures of things. Materiality and finitude do not belong to the infirmities of animal life, but to the essential properties of the body. The creature could therefore have yielded to the Creator in his resurrection this side of a penetration of its dimensions; or Christ employed the ministry of an angel to remove the stone from the mouth of the sepulcher before he could come forth (Mt. 28:2)—not from indigence, but indulgence in order to testify that his power was attended by ministers from all creatures; or because being still constituted in the state of obligation, he willed to wait for the sentence of the Father to be intimated to him by an angel.

Eighteenth Question: The Ascension of Christ

Did Christ ascend properly by a local movement from the lower places to the supreme heaven of the blessed; or metaphorically by disappearance? We affirm the former and deny the latter against the Lutherans

Statement of the question.

I. This question is introduced on account of the Lutherans and those who ascribe ubiquity to the body of Christ. For the more easily to evade the argument drawn from the ascension of Christ to prove the circumscription of Christ's body, they deny that Christ truly and properly ascended; but only figuratively, inasmuch as he withdrew his visible presence from the world (although he still remains in the world invisibly). And the heaven into which he ascended (they maintain) is not the highest or third heaven (called

the heaven of the blessed), but the heaven of the beatitude and kingdom of God (which is everywhere); cf. Brentius, "De Ascensu Christi," *Operum* (1579–90), 8:1029ff.

II. It is true that they are not entirely agreed among themselves. For some (as Brochmann, "De Servatoris Nostri Jesu Christi," Sect. 16 in *Universae theologicae systema* [1638], 1:937–48) do not deny that the ascension of Christ consists in a true and real transference and movement from the lower parts of this world upward and in a change of place; yea that he also entered into heaven (which he proves from various passages of Scripture). But what that heaven is cannot be conceived or explained by any mortal. He holds it as certain that there is not a certain corporeal place constituted above the visible heavens and separated from this earth by a local distance. It is defined not so much by local situation as by joy and glory.

III. On the contrary, we maintain that Christ went up locally, visibly and bodily from the earth into the third heaven or seat of the blessed above the visible heavens; not by a mere withdrawal of his visible presence or familiar intercourse, but by a true and local translation of his human nature. There he will remain until the day of judgment, so that although he is always present with us by his grace and Spirit and divinity, yet he is no longer with us by the bodily presence of his flesh.

Proof that the ascension of Christ was made by a local movement.

IV. It is proved (1) from the history of the ascension, which intimates a true and real change of place. It is said that "he was received up into heaven" (*anelēphthē eis ton ouranon*, Mk. 16:19); that "he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven" (*diestē ap' autōn, kai anephereto eis ton ouranon*, Lk. 24:51); "while they beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight" (Acts 1:9, 10). Here is described the point from which (*terminus a quo*) of that ascension (to wit, the earth and Mount Olivet in particular); through what (the air and the clouds); to what (heaven): the words describing it (*analēpsis, anaphorē, diastasis, eparsis*) indicate a real translation and change of place. Nor is it of any use to reply

that these things are said only of the familiar and earthly intercourse and conversation and not of his real, invisible presence, which was taken away from believers, which the solemn promise of Christ confirms (Mt. 28:20). The words themselves sufficiently teach no less the real presence of his body on earth, than that his familiar intercourse was removed, since indeed they necessarily suppose a translation from a lower place to a higher.

V. Second, he is said "to have left the world, and to have gone to the Father" (Jn. 16:28), which could not be said if he had withdrawn only his visible presence from the world. And the circumstances of the passages show that a local presence is meant, partly from the antithesis of the *terminus a quo* and *ad quem*—"I leave," he said, "the world" (i.e., the earth) "and go to the Father" (i.e., I ascend into heaven); partly from the opposition of his "coming" and of his "departure"—"I came into the world" by the incarnation, now "I leave the world" as to the flesh (namely, according to which he is said to have been taken up [*analēphtheis*] and seen by his disciples going into heaven [*poreuomenos eis ton ouranon*, Acts 1:10, 11]). If he is said to have come into the world as Logos (*Logos*) by manifestation only and not by a change of place, the same thing cannot be said of his flesh because there is one method for his divinity, which (since it is immense) cannot change its place; another, of his humanity, whose property it is to pass from one place to another.

VI. Third, the heaven into which Christ was carried is described to us as a certain place into which he has entered and into which we are to enter after him. It is called "his Father's house," in which are many mansions, whither Christ has ascended "to prepare a place for us" (Jn. 14:2, 3); "the third heaven and paradise" (2 Cor. 12:2, 4); into which Christ enters as our forerunner (Heb. 6:20); towards which we ought to raise our eyes "seeking those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God, and not those things which are upon the earth" (Col. 3:1, 2). Falsely, therefore, Brentius and other Lutherans maintain that heaven to be nothing else than happiness itself (which is incomprehensible to us). It is one thing to seek what that heaven is; another, however, to seek its quality.

Sources of explanation.

VII. Christ is said to "have ascended above all heavens" (Eph. 4:10) (to wit, the visible—namely, the aerial heaven) and the firmament (to wit, in order that he might enter into the third heaven or paradise). For he is said so to have ascended above all heavens that nevertheless he is said to be in heaven (Eph. 1:20). Nor if he is said to have ascended thither "that he might fill all things" is this to be understood of the filling of all places by omnipresence of body, but concerning the filling of all the members of his church by an effusion of the gifts of the Spirit (as it is explained in the same passage).

VIII. Christ was in the midst of the seven candlesticks and thus on earth (Rev. 1:13) by his Spirit, grace, protection and government; but not by a bodily presence. Nor did John see him walking by ocular vision on the earth, but only by intellectual and ecstatic vision (as is denoted in v. 10, when he is said to have been "in the Spirit" [*en pneumati*, i.e., in an ecstasy]; as in Acts 10:10, in which way also Paul beheld him standing near him, Acts 23:11).

IX. The same one who descended, also ascended (Eph. 4:10), as to person, but not as to nature. For the divine descended, but the human ascended—the former indeed metaphorically and figuratively (because it could not do otherwise); the latter, however, properly and locally, so that it is truly in heaven (where it was not before) as it is no more on earth (where it had been before). Although Christ did not descend properly and locally from heaven (because as Logos [*Logos*] he is everywhere), it does not follow that that heaven is not local, but allegorical, since such things are attributed to it as cannot square with anything but a true and proper place. In these locutions, therefore, the trope is not in the word "heaven," but in the words "coming" and "descending."

X. Although Christ departed by ascension to the Father (who is everywhere), it does not follow that that ascension is nothing else than a departure to supreme happiness (which is everywhere in the Father, not in any particular place). He is said to have departed to the Father, not that he was everywhere with the Father, but thither where he was to be crowned with glory and honor (namely, to heaven, where God has his throne and where Christ himself is to remain even until the consummation of all things). Thus when he says that he goes away, he intimates a change of place; when he adds that he goes away to the Father, he intimates a change of condition, fitting to the human nature.

XI. Although believers are happy wherever they may be (because they are always with God), still their happiness is not perfect until they are received into heaven (into which Stephen, breathing after Christ, looked). Hence Paul, although he was with Christ already by faith, still wishes (having left the earth) to go away to heaven and to be with him by sight (Phil. 1:23). And believers who are said to sit now in heavenly places with Christ by faith and hope are as yet absent from him and their home (2 Cor. 5:6).

XII. As it is said of Stephen, that he saw Christ in heaven, while "he saw the heavens opened, and Christ standing on the right hand of God" (Acts 7:56), namely, gifted with an extraordinary sharpness of sight by the Holy Spirit, in the same way Paul could have seen him (Acts 9:27). Hence in Acts 26:19, he calls it a "heavenly vision." And "the light which from heaven is said to have shone around him" (v. 13) was indeed a symbol of his glorious majesty, but not a proof of the presence of his body on earth or in the air. If Paul is said to have been in the way when he saw the Lord, it does not follow that Christ (seen by Paul) was also in the way.

Nineteenth Question: Christ's Sitting at the Right Hand of God

What is the session of Christ at the right hand of God? According to what nature does it apply to Christ and does it pertain to the relation of situation? We deny

I. This question is necessary on account of the Lutherans, who, to prove the omnipresence and omnipotence of the human nature of Christ, maintain that he (according to his human nature) sits at God's right hand. However, that it may be more easily understood, we must first speak briefly of the sitting itself. Hence it can be gathered with little trouble how it belongs to Christ.

The sitting at God's right hand must be understood not literally, but figuratively.

II. The sitting at God's right hand can be understood not properly and literally (since God has neither a right nor a left hand), but figuratively and metaphorically to denote the supreme dignity and sway of Christ. The metaphor is taken from the custom of kings and chiefs, who are accustomed to place on their right hand those to whom they concede the nearest degree to them, both of honor and of power in governing. This phrase is understood of the nearest degree of honor in 1 K. 2:19, where Solomon, about to show his mother special honor, places her on his right hand. And in Ps. 45:9, the wife of the king (i.e., the church) is said to stand upon the right hand of the Messiah (i.e., in the next degree of dignity to him). It is used of dominion or the administration of a kingdom (Mt. 20:21) where the mother of the sons of Zebedee seeks that they might sit on the right and left hand of Christ in his kingdom (i.e., obtain the chief offices).

III. Hence the nature of Christ's sitting at the right hand of the Father may easily be discerned. For two things are specially designated here: (1) the supreme majesty and glory by which he was most highly exalted by God and received a name above every name (Phil. 2:9, 10; Heb. 1:3); (2) the supreme dominion which he powerfully exerts over all creatures and which he shows especially in the government and defense of the church. The latter is explained by Paul in 1 Cor. 15:25 where he explains the sitting at the right hand of Ps. 110:1 by "reigning" (*basileuein*): "he must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet." Thus that sitting is set forth by the subjection of all things under his feet (Eph. 1:22); and "who is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him" (1 Pet. 3:22).

Sitting is properly not of natures, but of a person.

IV. From this declaration of the session of Christ, it is easy to gather how it belongs to Christ or what is the subject of that sitting. Whether it is the human nature simply, as the Lutherans hold (for the purpose of defending their hypothesis of the everywhereness [*pantachousia*] of Christ's body). Or the divine nature (as others). Or the person (which is the received opinion among the orthodox). We follow the latter maintaining that sitting properly belongs to the person of Christ according to both natures (but with a certain distinction).

V. The reason is—sitting at the right hand is not a property of the nature (either of the divine or of the human), but a property of the dignity of the person (to wit, the glorious state of Christ's person and the administration of the mediatorial office, whose works [*apotelesmata*] are common to the whole person with respect to both natures). Hence the Logos (*Logos*) does not say to the flesh, Sit at my right hand, but the Father says this to the Son (called to the mediatorial office). And the power is here to be distinguished from its exercise. For the subject of power is the person or Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpos*), manifested in the flesh, not the natures simply. For that power is not an absolute accident necessarily inhering in the natures, but a simple relation (as royal power belongs neither to the soul nor the body of a king, but to the compound being). The subject of its exercise, however, is each nature: the divine by its own omnipotence and omnipresence; the human, on the other hand, by those remarkable gifts and that glory by which he excels all creatures.

VI. Therefore, the sitting in this way of the person consists in that supreme glory and power granted to him by his exaltation, by which he was exalted as the King and head of the church. In respect of the human nature, it consists in the glory and honor with which he was adorned above all creatures and of which he was before destitute. In respect of the divine, however, it consists in the manifestation of the power and majesty which he had concealed before under the veil of the weak flesh and the servile condition.

VII. As the passion, death and crucifixion so pertain to the human nature subjectively that they are attributed to the person also denominatively (in which sense actions and sufferings belong to compound beings), so the sitting (which implies a real communication of honor and glory with respect to the human nature) denotes also a relation of dominion and power which is proper to the person.

VIII. When Christ is considered theologically, as Logos (*Logos*) simply, it is rightly said to be the right hand of God inasmuch as he partakes of the same omnipotent essence of God with the Father. But when considered economically as Mediator, he is rightly said to sit at the right hand of God. In the former sense, the right hand of God is spoken of the divine omnipotence, but in the latter metaphorically of the empire and dominion which properly belongs to the person. It can also be ascribed to the divine

nature in time, if not as to the new bestowal of a thing not yet possessed, still as to the manifestation of a thing possessed indeed before, but as yet concealed.

IX. Although to the exercise of the power granted to Christ, omnipotence and omnipresence are required, it does not follow that these were given to Christ's human nature. It is sufficient that they belong to the person (*supposito*) of Christ by reason of the divine nature. And thus the human nature was made partaker of that dominion, but after the manner of a creature (such as it always remains). The power and operations of the deity, by which he gloriously administers his kingdom, are divine—equal to God because he himself as God is equal with the Father. But the actions of humanity are indeed more perfect than the actions of other creatures, though not equal to the divine because he sits indeed at the right hand of God according to both natures (yet the truth of both natures being preserved).

When did Christ begin to sit at the right hand of God?

X. Hence we can readily respond to the question moved here concerning the time of Christ's sitting—When did he begin to sit? From eternity? as Thomas Aquinas, Maldonatus and others wish who interpret the sitting of the Son's equality with the Father; or from the very moment of his incarnation? as Brentius and his followers, who explain that sitting of the personal union of the flesh with the Logos (*Logō*) and the communication of properties to the flesh; or only after his resurrection and ascension? which we hold with the orthodox.

XI. First, Scripture expressly places the sitting of Christ after his resurrection and ascension (Eph. 1:20; Mk. 16:19; Heb. 10:12; 1 Pet. 3:21, 22). Second, it is the fruit of his humiliation and death (Heb. 1:3; 12:2). Third, he could not administer the mediatorial kingdom gloriously, unless his enemies had been conquered on the cross and in the ascension.

XII. Christ indeed as Logos (*Logos*) was from eternity with the Father, but he cannot on that account be said to have sat down at the right hand of God (in the sense in which that sitting is ascribed to him after the

resurrection according to his glorious state as Mediator). He reigned as Son over the kingdom of nature, but not as God-man (*theanthrōpos*) over the economic kingdom. Christ as Mediator can be said in a certain sense to have sat down at the right hand of God as without flesh (*asarkos*) even before the incarnation; thus from the beginning of the world because he always was the head and King of the church who governed and defended it (Ps. 2:6; Heb. 13:8). But "with flesh" (*ensarkon*), he sits only after his passion and resurrection (Lk. 24:26). He had indeed the right of the kingdom from the hypostatical union, but he did not obtain the actual possession until after his ascension (Ps. 110:1; Acts 2:34–36).

XIII. The time of sitting *a posteriori* has no limit because it ought to be forever (*eis to diēnekes*, according to the apostle, Heb. 10:12). Nor do the words of Ps. 110:1 hinder where it is said he will sit "until (*'dh khy*) his enemies are made his footstool." It is known that this particle so asserts a certain time, concerning which it is treated and of which it can be doubted, as not to deny a continuation into the future (as appears from Gen. 28:15; Mt. 28:20; 1 Tim. 4:13). Thus the dominion of Christ is here asserted in the midst of enemies (i.e., in a most perilous time). But it is not denied as to the future because his kingdom ought to be eternal. There ought indeed to be a change in the manner of reigning, but not in the kingdom itself (as will be seen in the proper place).

XIV. Moreover the sitting of Christ at the right hand of the Father does not denote the situation or position (*ubicationem*) of Christ's body, since it is the state of his person. Nor can this be charged upon us unless slanderously, as if the right hand of God were with us a place and the sitting at his right hand a certain local situation. The heaven in which he is said to sit at the right hand of God is to us the place in which (as in a royal palace and a sanctuary not made with hands) he sits at the right hand of God. But no one of us says the right hand of God is a place.

XV. However, the error which the Ubiquitists falsely charge upon us, we deservedly ascribe to them according to their own hypothesis. From the session of Christ at the right hand of God, they infer the ubiquity of the body of Christ for the reason that the right hand of God is everywhere. This they cannot conclude without supposing and conceiving the right hand of God after the manner of a certain place and the session after the manner of a local situation.

XVI. To the argument drawn from the session of Christ at the right hand of God for his ubiquity, besides what has already been said in Question 8, Section 29 (and to say nothing of the form of the syllogism, which is clearly faulty on account of the four terms, when from the right hand of God, which is everywhere, it is concluded that he who sits at the right hand of God ought to be everywhere). However, since the right hand of God and sitting at the right hand of God widely differ (nor ought he who sits at God's right hand to be wherever that right hand is, especially since that sitting is not the designation of a local situation, but the bestowal of dominion and glory), it is certain: (1) that the state and office of the person is here confounded with a property of his nature because ubiquity is a property of his nature, while the sitting upon the right hand is a state and office of the person. (2) That a figurative and metaphorical locution is confounded with a proper one; for the sitting at the right hand is said figuratively, while the being everywhere is understood properly. (3) Glory and dignity are confounded with omnipresence; for what is glorious must not forthwith be omnipresent, if omnipresence destroys its proper nature (which is the case here). To make the body omnipresent is to say the body is not a body. (4) That the flesh of Christ is confounded with his dominion, so that the essence of the flesh extends as widely as his kingdom and dominion (which is indeed true of God, but not of the flesh in like manner however highly glorified). Nor is there need for the flesh to be present wherever he reigns, no more than a king ought to be bodily present in all the provinces of his kingdom, especially since Christ is everywhere present as to person with respect to his divine nature.

XVII. Although the receiving of a name above every name belongs in its own measure to the assumed nature also, still it must be so understood that the properties of the natures be preserved according to the Scriptures. Thus the Son is also glorified according to the flesh, but not so as to make the flesh equal to the Logos (*Logō*). Nor do we divide Christ or ascribe two glories and powers to him, than when saying man was made after the image of God and afterwards became corrupt, on that account either make the body equal to the soul or lower the soul to a level with the body in ignominy.

XVIII. It is one thing to say Christ is present everywhere, equal in glory with the Father and fills all things; another to ascribe this to the flesh of

Christ. What is said of the person in the concrete cannot be (nor ought to be) forthwith applied to the natures in the abstract. For although it is true that the man Christ is God, still you would improperly say that this flesh is divinity. For not by commixture or confusion, but by an unconfused and unmixed union of the two natures, the Son of God was made man.

XIX. It is one thing for a glorified body to be made spiritual as to qualities with regard to splendor, activity, thinness and the like; but another to be made a spirit or to be changed into the nature of a spirit—and a spirit immense and infinite. The body of Christ, by its exaltation to and session at the right hand of God, was indeed made spiritual as to qualities, but was not changed into a spirit as to substance or essential properties, much less into an omnipresent spirit.

XX. For the rest, a certain diversity may seem to exist between our divines in the explanation of Christ's session at God's right hand. Some make it consist in four things: (1) in the equality of the Logos (*tou Logou*) or person of the Mediator with the Father, which he did not indeed receive in the session, but manifested in the time of humiliation; (2) in the perfection of his mediatorial office, by which he was constituted King and head of the church; (3) in the perfection of the humanity of Christ raised to the highest glory; (4) in the perfection of honor and worship, by which Christ is worshipped and adored as Lord and King of the church. Others make it solely in the communication of honor and dominion bestowed upon him after his ascension. This is not so much a dissent in reality as in the manner of teaching. The first group considers that session more broadly and describes it not only from the proper form, but also from the beginning or foundation (viz., equality with the Father, without which it would not have been capable of receiving such great honor and dominion from the antecedents and consequents which are necessarily conjoined with it). The others, however, view it more strictly—simply as to the form of session, which consists properly in the perfection of the mediatorial office, by which Christ, crowned with glory and honor, rules in the midst of his enemies.

FOURTEENTH TOPIC

The Mediatorial Office of Christ

First Question

In what sense is the name "Mediator" applied to Christ?

I. After the discussion concerning the person and state of Christ, we must now treat of his mediatorial office, on account of which he was made God-man (*theanthrōpos*) and ought to sustain a twofold state. Here the meaning of the term "Mediator" (usually applied to him in this business) must first be explained.

Derivation of the word "Mediator."

II. "Mediator" (in Greek *mesitēs*) is derived from *medius*. He is commonly so called who is the middle one between parties at variance and who intervenes (*mesiteuei*). For a "mediator is not of one" (as the apostle says, Gal. 3:20), but of more contending with each other (viz., in order to reconcile them). Hence Suidas explains *mesitēn* by *eirēnopoion*. He is also called by the Latins *Sequester*, as Tertullian uses the word to designate Christ (*Against Praxeas* 27 [ANF 3:624; PL 2.192]). Moreover he is a *sequester* who is the middle one between two altercating parties and by whom the matter in controversy is settled. He is so called from *sequendo* because each of the contestants follows his decision.

III. However, as the mediation of Christ can be viewed either in relation to his person or to his office or inasmuch as he is the middle one or because he mediates, the mediation is distinguished into two kinds: the first of which they call substantial, by which Christ is the middle one between God and man; the other efficacious and operative, by which he performs the duty committed to him by the Father. The former marks the state of the person;

the latter his operation. The former designates the union of natures; the latter the execution of the office in the person. But that former (as less proper) is not attended to by us here, only the latter (which belongs to this topic).

In how many ways is he thus called?

IV. Therefore Christ is properly called Mediator by act and exercise because he exercises the office of Mediator to establish a union between God and men, separated from each other on account of sin. Now as a Mediator among men is various, either as a mere internuncius (the interpreter of each party, as Moses is called a mediator in the Old Testament because he stood between God and the people, Dt. 5:5); or as an arbiter, who is selected by the litigants and has power over the whole affair to settle it, not by strict justice, but equitability (*kat' epieikeian*); or as an intercessor and advocate, who entreats and intercedes for one party with the other; or as a surety and satisfier, who conciliates the discordant by making satisfaction to the offended party and going security for the future fidelity and obedience of the offending party, so that no cause of disagreement may afterwards arise between them. Thus according to these various relations (*scheseis*), Christ is rightly called a Mediator.

Christ, the Mediator, as an internuncius.

As arbiter.

As intercessor.

As pacificator.

V. First, he was an internuncius by reason of his doctrine inasmuch as he was the interpreter of both parties and especially inasmuch as he declared the will of God to men (Jn. 1:18; Lk. 4:18). In this sense, he is called the "angel of the covenant" (Mal. 3:1) and "Counsellor" (Is. 9:6). Second, he can also be called an arbiter (as Ambrose on 1 Tim. 2—cf. *Ambrosiater/Pseudo-Ambrose: In Epistolam B. Pauli ad Timotheum*

Primam [PL 17.493] and Augustine on Ps. 103, *Ennaratio in Psalmum CIII*: *Sermo IV 8* [PL 37.1383] call him) because in procuring our reconciliation with God he acted not with strict justice, but tempered justice with grace and mercy. Third, because we had to deal with an offended supreme power, he must perform the office of intercessor and patron to plead our cause before God against the Devil and obtain the necessary grace for us (in which sense he is called an "advocate"—*paraklētos*, 1 Jn. 2:1). Fourth, as the discordance between us and God arising from sin could not be removed without a satisfaction to the justice of God and the expiation of sin, our Mediator ought to sustain the relation not only of internuncius and intercessor (as Socinus held), but especially of a reconciler and peacemaker (*eirēnopoiou*) who would procure peace for us with God by his own blood and, by paying a ransom (*antilytron*) for us, free us from the guilt and dominion of sin. Because it was not sufficient to have once reconciled men to God, if after that the same discordance could be renewed by the sin of man, the same one ought by the efficacy of his own suretyship to establish firmly the reconciliation once made that we might be forever united to God. The first and second modes belong to his prophetic office, the third and fourth to his priestly and kingly office.

VI. As a mediator ought to act for both sides (both with God offended and with offending man) in order to remove the obstacles to reconciliation, he really acted in both ways—both by satisfying and interceding for us with God (as a Priest) and for God with us by teaching and directing us (as a Prophet and King)—first by acting for us, then by working in us (as was more fully explained before in Topic XII on the covenant of grace, Question 2, Section 16). Hence all these acts are distinguished into impetratory (by which that reconciliation was acquired and which depend upon it) and applicatory and conservatory (by which all of them are applied and conserved). By the former, Christ is the Mediator and Savior by merit; by the latter, he is the Savior and Mediator by efficacy.

Statement of the question.

VII. Our controversy here is with the Socinians, who, to overthrow the whole doctrine of the satisfaction, confess that Christ is a Mediator, but only (1) of divine institution or revelation by which he declared the way of

salvation consisting (according to them) in obedience to God's commands; (2) of example because he entered the same way with and exhibited a most perfect example to his own; (3) of confirmation because he unalterably fixed that obedience by his own death and passion. On the contrary, we (although not denying that Christ sustains these relations) still deny that in them alone consists his mediatorial office, but especially in the relation of reconciliation and satisfaction inasmuch as he was a peacemaker (*eirēnopoios*) who (peace having been made by blood) reconciled us to God.

Proof that Christ is a peacemaker.

VIII. The reasons are: (1) Scripture describes him not as a mere internuncius but as a true peacemaker (*eirēnopoion*) and pacificator and his mediation as a redemption and reconciliation. He is called Mediator (inasmuch as he gave himself a ransom [*antilytron*] for us, 1 Tim. 2:6) who, having made peace (*eirēnopoiēsas*) through the blood of his cross, reconciled God to us (Col. 1:20); also a pledge-giver (*enguos*) and surety of the new covenant (Heb. 7:22) who ought accordingly to pay and to satisfy for us; and a Mediator to procure for the called redemption by his death and obtain eternal salvation by his blood (Heb. 9:12, 15). Hence the blood of sprinkling (*rantismou*) is joined to the Mediator in allusion to the blood of legal victims dying for sinners (Heb. 12:24). All these imply not a simple declaration, but a true satisfaction (as will be proved more fully under the proper head).

IX. (2) The necessity of salvation required this since the variance between God and man caused by sin had rendered men haters of God (*theostygeis*, Rom. 1:30, i.e., not only "haters of God" actively, but also "hated by God" passively); that could not be taken away simply by doctrine or by example, but demanded a true ransom (*lytron*) by which not only man could be reconciled to God by repentance and the desire of holiness (as the Socinians maintain), but also God to man, with whom (on account of the nature of his vindicatory justice) he was deservedly angry and who therefore could be appeased only by an adequate satisfaction (by the substitution of a Mediator in his place who, by devoting himself for him,

might receive upon himself the punishments due to him and by bearing them free him from them).

X. (3) If Christ was Mediator in no other way than by teaching and example, he would be placed in the same rank with the prophets and apostles—those especially who suffered martyrdom, manifested the way of salvation by their teaching and example and set forth to us the whole counsel of God (Acts 20:27). Nevertheless, the apostle denies this can be said when he calls Christ our only Mediator (1 Tim. 2:5). (4) He would be a Savior in no other way than morally and accidentally because the salvation of each individual would really depend upon himself, who would obey the divine commands (as will be shown more fully when we treat of the satisfaction).

Sources of explanation.

XI. Christ is called a Mediator "to give testimony" [viz., to the truth] "in due time" (*eis martyrion kairois idiois*, 1 Tim. 2:6) not only because he gave testimony to gospel truth by prophecy, but in addition because by his own death, he assured us of the benevolence obtained for us and of the reconciliation made with God. Or *martyrion* may be understood passively, concerning the thing to which testimony ought to be given because concerning it all men of God ought to bear testimony.

XII. The similitude between Moses and Christ does not at once imply parity—that Christ was Mediator in no other way than Moses, as an internuncius (Dt. 5:5; Acts 7:38). He was only a typical mediator and so far more imperfect than the antitype, Christ (yet he was a true and properly so-called mediator). He was a mere man, but Christ the God-man; he indeed communicated the oracles of God to the people, but did not reconcile the people to God or by his own blood appease the wrath of God, since he trembled greatly at the voice of God, the lawgiver (Heb. 12:21). But Christ made peace by his own blood and gave himself to God as a surety (*enguon*) for us. And so, as a partial and inadequate type, Moses could represent Christ in some functions of a mediator (for instance, as to prophecy and kingdom), but not as to all and especially as to the sacerdotal functions which were signified by other types (to wit, by the priests and victims).

XIII. Nor does Gal. 3:19 help our adversaries. Here the law is said to have been given "in the hand of a mediator" (*en cheiri mesitou*). Besides the fact that it can rightly be referred to Christ (which most of the Greeks and Latins, both ancient as well as more modern [and among them our Calvin, *The Epistles of Paul ... to the Galatians* (trans. T.H.L. Parker, 1965), p. 62] have done), both because nowhere else is the name Mediator given to any other than Christ, who is also called the only one (1 Tim. 2:5) and because Moses is elsewhere (Acts 7:35) said to have been ordained a ruler and a deliverer of the people *en cheiri* ("in the hand"—viz., by the authority and direction *angelou*—"of an angel," to wit, of that one who appeared to him in the burning bush, the eternal Son of God). The latter is said to have given Moses the "lively oracles" (*logia zōnta*, v. 38, viz., the law which he delivered to the people). So that the sense is either that the law was delivered to the Israelites by the hand (i.e., the power and direction of the Mediator, Christ, preparing that people in this way for his advent) or that Christ by bringing forward the law with his own hand interposed himself as a surety, who would both perfectly fulfill the law at some time and by drawing the curse of the law upon himself, free us from it. If it is referred to Moses (as pleased Epiphanius and others, whom Beza follows here—cf. *Annotationes maiores in Novum ... Testamentum: Pars Altera* [1594], p. 329 on Gal. 3:19) because *en cheiri* denotes ministry rather than supreme power (which would be less suitable to Christ) and because it is evident that the law was given by Moses (Jn. 1:17), as elsewhere it is said to have been given from God "by the hand of Moses" (Lev. 26:46), our opinion suffers nothing from this source because Moses may be called only a typical mediator, just as the law was a type of the gospel. Not that he was like Christ in all respects, but that he slightly shadowed him forth in certain respects only. But what is added, "a mediator is not of one, but God is one" (*mesitēs de henos ouk esti, ho de theos heis esti*, Gal. 3:20), that we may say something in passing concerning an obscure and difficult passage, can thus be illustrated not inappropriately from the scope of the apostle (which is to show that life and justification are not given by the law because since in bringing them in there was need of a Mediator, it appears thence that it is not the bond of our union with God, but rather the sign of our alienation from and disagreement with him). For he says "a mediator is not of one" (viz., party), but of many or at least of two, and they at variance. For where

a union exists, there is no need of the interposition of a mediator. However, what is added ("but God is one") refers not so much to the unity and simplicity of God as to his constancy and immutability, no less in his nature than in his purposes and decrees (i.e., constant and always consistent). Since therefore he had prescribed in the law perfect righteousness for the attainment of life (which could not be given to him by sinful man), it is evident that the union between these two discordant parties (to wit, God and man) could not be effected by the law, but by the sole righteousness and satisfaction of Christ, which the gospel announces to us (as the apostle had intimated, v. 13). Certain ones, following the Ethiopic interpreter, give this explanation: "a mediator is not of one, but God is one" (viz., of the two parties at variance). But this seems somewhat cold because no one could be ignorant that God is one of the disagreeing parties, since it would treat concerning a mediation with himself.

Second Question

Is Christ a Mediator according to both natures? We affirm against the papists and Stancar

I. This question lies between us and the papists, who, the more easily to foist in many mediators, hold that Christ was a Mediator according to his human nature alone (as they assert following Lombard, *Sententiarum* 3, Dist. 19.7* [PL 192/2.797–98]; Thomas Aquinas, ST, III, Q. 26, Art. 2, pp. 2159–60; Bellarmine, "De Christo," 3 *Opera* [1856], 1:290; Becanus, *Manuale controversariarum* 3.2 [1750], pp. 420–21 and others). Stancar follows them on this point. He opposed somewhat vehemently (Andreas) Osiander, his colleague in the Regiomontane (Konigsberg) Academy, who maintained that Christ was not Mediator except according to his divine nature and thus we are justified by his eternal and essential righteousness (not sufficiently distinguishing the efficacy of Christ from his merit). Stancar fell into the opposite error of the papists, affirming that Christ is Mediator only as to his human nature.

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not whether the person of the Mediator is divine. For our opponents do not deny this. Rather the question is whether the acts or sufferings of the Mediator proceeded from it according to the human nature alone. Or according to both. The papists distinguish between a principle-which (*principium quod*) and a principle-by-which (*principium quo*) or a formal principle. The former they say is a *suppositum* or person, not a nature. The latter, however, they hold to be only his human nature. "For although he was God," says Bellarmine, "who suffered, obeyed and satisfied, still he did all this in the form of a servant, not in the form of God" ("De Christo Mediatore," 1 *Opera* [1856], 1:290).

III. Four things must be accurately distinguished here in reference to the actions of Christ, as John of Damascus pointed out (*Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 4.18 [NPNF2, 9:90–92]). (1) He is one that works (*ho energōn*), the agent or principle which acts (which is the *suppositum* or person of Christ). (2) The activity (*energētikon*) or formal principle by which he acts—that by which the agent or person of Christ works (to wit, the two natures, each of which works without any confusion). (3) The energy (*energeia*) or operation which depends upon the principle-by-which and partakes of the nature of its own principle, so that it is divine if the principle-by-which is the divine nature, but human, if it is the humanity. (4) The effect (*energēma*) or accomplishment (*apotelesma*) which depends upon the principle-which and is the external work, which we call mediation. There is therefore a twofold principle of mediation—a common and a proper. The common is one (namely, the person of the Mediator); the proper, however, is twofold (to wit, the divine and the human nature—the divine, indeed, the proper and formal principle of the divine actions; the human of the human actions). Not thus also are the proper actions to be ascribed to the formal principles or natures (as if they act separately), for each form acts with the communion of the other which is proper (to wit, the Word working what belongs to the Word and the flesh prosecuting what belongs to it, as Leo has it, *Letter* 28 [10], "To Flavian" (FC 34:98; PL 54.767). Thus one is the principal agent (to wit, the person of Christ) and one the issue (*apotelesma*) or mediatorial work. But it is worked by two natures as two principles; whence flow two energies (*energeiai*) or operations concurring to that one work.

IV. Again the actions of Christ can be viewed in a threefold order as Christ can be regarded under a threefold relation (*schesei*)—either as God, or as man, or as God-man (*theanthrōpos*). Some are merely divine, which he effects only as God (such as creation and conservation). Others are merely human (such as eating, walking and sleeping). Others are mixed, which are called theandric (*theandrikai*) (such as redemption, to accomplish which both his divine and human natures concurred). Therefore the question is—To which class of these acts does mediation belong? To the merely human (as the papists hold) or to the theandric (*theandrikas*) (which we assert)?

Proof that Christ is Mediator as to both natures: (1) from Acts 20:28.

V. The reasons are: (1) Scripture ascribes the mediation of Christ to both natures—"God purchased the church with his blood" (Acts 20:28); "The Lord of glory was crucified" (1 Cor. 2:8); "He offered himself through the eternal Spirit" (Heb. 9:14). These indicate not only the dignity of his person, but also the efficacy of the sacrifice which proceeded from the divinity. For although these may be explained by the communication of attributes, still they designate that they partook of the divinity no less than of the humanity; each nature contributing what was its own—the human indeed the substance of the work (or passion); the divine, its infinite value and price.

2. From the parts of the mediation of Christ.

Prophecy.

VI. (2) All the parts of the mediatorial work demand both natures. Christ is Mediator as to the same nature in which he is a Prophet, Priest and King. And yet according to both, he could and was bound to exercise that threefold office. It is evident first from prophecy. For as a Prophet, he must reveal the Father to us and manifest his will. And yet who could reveal the Father to us except the Son, who alone knows him (Mt. 11:27)? Who could

declare his will and disclose the divine wisdom hidden in a mystery except the one who is in the bosom of the Father (Jn. 1:18)—the Word (*Logos*) and eternal Wisdom of God? Men indeed interpret the divine will and bring it to us, but only ministerially; but to act as a supreme and *anypeuthynon* ("not accountable to human criticism") interpreter of heavenly matters (and that too not only by an external suasion and preaching, but by an internal illumination and persuasion) belongs to God and not to man. Again, as a Prophet he ought to inscribe the law upon the heart and thus teach efficaciously as to give a new heart and open the mind to understand the Scriptures that believers may be truly taught of God (*theodidaktoi*, Jn. 6:45). This he could not do as man, but only as God. To him alone, it much more belongs to write on the heart than on stone.

The priestly.

VII. As a Priest, he was bound to satisfy divine justice perfectly for us. To intercede for sinners, he must abolish death by his own death (and him who had the power of death), to reconcile us (alienated from God) and unite us to him forever. Now who but God could oppose infinite merit to the infinite demerit of sinners and pay a ransom (*antilytron*) of infinite value to the justice of God? Who but God could bear the unbearable (*abastakton*) weight of wrath and not be crushed by it? Who but God had power to lay down life by a voluntary death and to take it up again by resurrection (Jn. 10:18)? Who but God could, through the eternal Spirit, offer himself (fulfilling at the same time the functions of priest and victim, Heb. 9:14), overcome death by death, vanquish Satan, obtain eternal redemption by his own blood and save his people forever (Heb. 7:25)?

And the kingly.

VIII. As King he ought to rule the universal church by the scepter of his word, send the Holy Spirit with all his gifts, effectually call, open hearts, bruise Satan, place all the enemies of salvation under his footstool and glorify his church. Now who could do all this except one furnished with invincible power (i.e., the true God)? Therefore in whatever manner Christ,

the Mediator, is viewed, he must perform this office no less according to the divine than the human nature.

3. From his humiliation.

IX. (3) He ought to be Mediator according to the same nature in which he humbled himself and assumed the form of a servant. For he humbled himself for no other reason than that he might perform this office. Now he emptied himself according to the divine nature, not by a real diminution of his essential glory, but by an external hiding of his accidental glory.

4. From the mediation in the Old Testament.

X. (4) He ought to be a Mediator according to that nature in which he could work as Mediator even from the beginning of the world, since he ought to be the same yesterday, today and forever. Now he could not work according to the human, but only according to the divine nature, according to which (as he already existed) he could govern his church and enrich it with all gifts necessary to salvation.

5. From the effects of his mediation.

XI. (5) The principal effects of Christ's mediation (redemption and salvation, remission of sins, the gift of eternal life) belong equally to the divine and human natures. These are of such a kind as to be works and blessings of God alone. Nor ought it to be said that these acts depend upon the man Christ after the manner of an instrument, but on the Trinity as on the principal cause. Christ has not only the relation of an instrument (for thus he would work no more than his ministers, to whom such works are sometimes ascribed), but also of a principal cause, meritorious as well as efficacious. Hence Augustine says, "The divinity without the humanity is not the Mediatrix, nor the humanity without the divinity; but between the divinity and humanity alone, the Mediatrix is the human divinity and the divine humanity" (*Sermo* 47, "De Ovibus," 12 [21] [PL 38.310]).

XII. (6) Since the incarnation was made with unconfounded properties, it belongs to the acts no less than to the natures. The acts pertaining to

mediation must therefore be ascribed to the divinity as the formal principle, since Christ became incarnate that he might be a Mediator. It is absurd then that the divinity of Christ should have refrained from the work on account of which Christ was most especially sent. If it exerted itself in miracles, much more did it distinguish itself in the work of redemption (more illustrious than all miracles); nor did it flash forth in so many miracles for any other cause than that by this very thing he might prove himself to be the true Savior.

Sources of explanation.

XIII. When the man Christ is said to be Mediator (1 Tim. 2:5), he is not proved to be so only as to his human nature. (1) The exclusive, as man only, is not added. (2) This is introduced exegetically not to exclude his divinity, but to include his humanity in order that we may approach him with greater confidence as being partaker of the same nature with us and because he was about to speak immediately of his delivery to death. (3) The argument of Romanists concludes nothing, unless it is supposed that wherever the concrete name of God occurs or of man attributed to Christ in the Scriptures, his divine or human nature is there designated (which cannot be said since the concrete denotes the person, not the nature). (4) The name of God used in this connection is taken personally to designate the Father economically, between whom and men Christ is the Mediator. If it is taken more widely for the whole Trinity, still his divine nature is not excluded from the mediation. For it is one thing for Christ to be a Mediator according to his divine nature absolutely, inasmuch as it is common to the three persons; another, according to the divine nature regarded economically with respect to his voluntary humiliation.

XIV. There is nothing absurd in an offended party becoming voluntarily a mediator in a different respect. Christ sets himself forth to us as such in the parable (Mt. 21:37) and wishes this to be done by his people (Mt. 5:24; 18:16). Nor is it unusual that the offended should institute a reconciliation with the offending (as God with our first parents [Gen. 3; 2 Cor. 5:18–20], the Israelites with the Benjamites [Jdg. 21] and David with his rebellious subjects [2 S. 19:12]; as a senator pleading the cause of the accused who is to be reconciled to the senate—which Menenius Agrippa formerly did

between the Senate and the Roman people). Hence nothing hindered Christ as God-man (*theanthrōpon*) (considered economically) from being a Mediator to himself, as he is God essentially (*ousiōdōs*). For although God the Son (or *Logos*) does not differ from Christ the Mediator (or person) or his nature considered in itself and absolutely, still he does differ by economy and in relation to the mediatorial office. Since it is one thing for God to be the Son; another for him to be a Mediator; one thing to be offended as God, another as God-man (*theanthrōpōn*) to act as Mediator. Thus the mediation will always be to another, both because the Son and the Word differ from the God-man (*theanthrōpō*) (if not by nature [*physei*] at least economically [*oikonomia*]) and because the Son differs from the Father, with whom he is appropriatively called a Mediator—first personally because he is a different person from the Father; second by way of dispensation because the Son alone, not the Father, was made man and humbled himself.

XV. Although the mediatorial office belongs to Christ as to the divine nature, it does not follow that the Father and Holy Spirit are mediators equally with the Son. Mediation belongs to the nature, not as it is common to the persons, but as it is characterized and subsists distinctly in the person of the Son. External operations belong indeed to the whole Trinity and are common to all the persons, as they have the relation of one common principle, but that person on whom any operation terminates does not cease to hold the relation of an individual principle (as appears from the incarnation, which although originally belonging to the whole Trinity, still belongs terminatively to the Son alone, from whom as from the terminus, this work is denominated). The same must be said about his mediation.

XVI. The unity of a result indeed proves a unity of the principle-which (*principii quod*), but not always of the principle-by-which (*principii quo*). For the same work can proceed from various formal principles, but in different respects (*kat' allo kai allo*). For example, speech is one work produced by man as a common principle which, however, has two formal principles, the body and soul. Thus here we have distinct energies (*energeiai*) but one effect (*energēma*). Hence you would improperly infer that there followed a confusion of operations and by consequence of natures.

XVII. Although the office of a priest and intercessor is to serve, it does not follow that the divine nature in Christ is inferior to the Father. It follows only that Christ was made less than the Father not in nature (*physei*), but in economy (*oikonomia*); not absolutely and in himself, but in respect to a voluntary dispensation through which he humbled himself of his own accord.

XVIII. Although to lay down life is passively to die and to take it up is to rise again (and both may properly be said of the human nature), still if these phrases are taken actively (as they necessarily should be—see Jn. 10:17, 18 where the reference is to the power of laying down and taking up his own life again) or to the will over life and death, then to lay down life is to freely dispose of his own life as Lord of his own members and to take it up again is to raise himself up (which belongs not to the human nature, but to the divine).

XIX. In the sacrifice of Christ, the substance of the work must be distinguished from its value and dignity. The human nature alone contributed the former, but the divine nature ought to contribute the latter. Thus the humanity furnished the victim, the divinity the Priest (in which sense Christ is said to have offered himself through the eternal Spirit, Heb. 9:14). Now although the efficacy and value of a sacrifice is not in itself a real and physical act, still we must acknowledge that in a real action these always proceed from a real agent. If, therefore, the efficacy is from the divine nature as such, we must infer that the divine nature as such wrought in Christ, the sacrifice, and that the divinity took part in the mediatorial work.

XX. A mediator ought to be the middle one between dissenting parties; not negatively by a removal of extremes, but positively by a participation of their natures (for he could not be a Mediator for uniting men with God unless he had communion with both). Therefore, as he joined two natures in his person by a hypostatical union, so he must unite them in his office by a mystical union of will and operations. Therefore it is not sufficient for mediation that someone differs from both parties, for thus the angels could be mediators as standing apart from God and men. Rather there is required an equal distance and proximity (i.e., he should approach to and recede from him with whom the mediation is as much as from him for whom it is). Now Christ is not equally distant from God and man as a just man (as

Bellarmine holds), for he differs from God by essence, but from sinful men only by qualities. Therefore, that there may be found both the distance and the proximity of a mediator, it must be sought in Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpō*), who as he approaches to God and recedes from us (in respect of his divinity), so he approaches to us and recedes from God (in respect of his humanity).

XXI. When the fathers deny that Christ is Mediator insofar as he is God, they mean nothing else than to indicate the necessity of the hypostatical union in Christ, the Mediator, to show that he is a Mediator, not simply as he is God, but as God manifest in the flesh.

XXII. Although Moses, the mediator of the Old Testament, was only a mere man, it does not follow that Christ also could have performed this office according to his human nature. A typical mediator, who is a mere internuncius, differs from one who is a true peacemaker (*eirēnnopoios*), who could reconcile us to God only by an infinite price (*lytrō*) (such as Christ must be).

XXIII. Although Christ is proved to be a Mediator according to his divine nature, the Logos (*Logos*) is not on that account rendered inferior to the Father, nor is his consubstantiality (*homoousia*) denied. For it is one thing to make the persons unequal according to essence (with the Arians); another to distinguish the Son from the Father according to a voluntary economy by which he emptied himself. This they falsely pervert who calumniously charge us with Arianism.

THIRD QUESTION

Is Christ the Mediator of angels? We deny

Statement of the question.

I. Theologians vary in their opinions on this point. Some think that Christ can and ought to be called the Mediator of angels, but only of their conservation and confirmation, not of their redemption. For it happened that while other angels fell, these stood and so were confirmed in their righteousness received at creation so that they could never fall afterwards. On this account, they distinguish a twofold misery: one actual, the other

potential; the former pertaining to evil angels and fallen men, the latter to angels and men in innocence capable of falling. To prevent this potency from exerting itself in acts, they maintain that as many as stood must have been confirmed and that this could be done by no other than Christ.

II. Although this opinion (thus explained) involves no absurdity and seems to contribute to the amplification of the glory of the Mediator, Christ, still the contrary opinion (which denies that Christ is the Mediator of angels) seems to us more true and agreeable to the sacred Scriptures. Thus if the angels were confirmed (as it was necessary they should be in order that they might be placed beyond the danger of a fall), they obtained this through a new grace of God (superadded to the always mutable state of nature) and by the Son of God—not as Mediator, but as Creator and Conservator, by whom and in whom all things are said to subsist (Col. 1:17).

Christ is not the Mediator of angels.

III. The reasons for this opinion are: (1) the Scriptures call Christ the Mediator between God and men, but never between angels. (2) There is no need of a Mediator where there is no discord; for a mediator is not of one (according to Paul, Gal. 3:20), yet there was no disagreement between God and the angels. (3) Christ is not joined with angels, but with men because he did not take on angels, but the seed of Abraham. Here the apostle gives the reason for the incarnation of Christ, undoubtedly because he must save men, not angels. (4) He is the Mediator of those of whom he is the propitiation (*hilasmos*, 1 Jn. 2:2), which does not pertain to angels. (5) If he had been given as a Mediator to angels, he must have been given to man in his state of innocence (which cannot be said since mediation pertains to the new covenant and was specially designed for taking away sin).

Sources of explanation.

IV. Christ is called the Mediator of the whole church of men, collected from all nations (Jewish as well as Gentile), but not of angels (who are distinguished from the church, Eph. 1:21, 22). Therefore although they can belong to the assembly of the glorified (Heb. 12:22, 23) and be fellow

servants with believers (equally serving God), they cannot be properly called members of the church (who constitute the mystical body of Christ redeemed by him).

V. Although Christ became (in the economic kingdom of Mediator) the head and King of the angels (above whom he was exalted, so that he uses them as ministers for the salvation of believers [Heb. 1:14] and they are under him as their Lord whom they are bound to worship [Heb. 1:6; Phil. 2:10]), still he could not rightly be called their "vivifying head" in respect of a vital influx (which is diffused by the regenerating Spirit of Christ upon men alone, redeemed by the blood of Christ and effectually called).

VI. Although the angels could not merit glory strictly speaking (since it is beyond the merit of any creature whatsoever), it is not immediately necessary that Christ should merit it for them because God covenanted to reward them irrespective of their desert.

VII. All medicinal and liberating grace flows from the Mediator in the order of redemption. But there is not the same will for confirming and conserving grace, which belongs to the order of creation, for conservation is the function of him who created.

VIII. The passages of Scripture adduced from Job 4:18; 15:15; Eph. 1:10 and Col. 1:20 were answered in Volume I, Topic IV, Question 8, Sections 14–16.

Fourth Question: The Unity of the Mediator

Is Christ alone our Mediator with God? We affirm against the papists

I. Our controversy here is with papists who (to establish more strongly their fiction of the invocation of saints) maintain that departed saints perform the office with God of mediators and intercessors for the living. They conciliate to us the favor of God not only by their prayers, but also by their merits.

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not about simple praying or intercession improperly so called—consisting in the mutual interchange of the prayers of some for

others among the living. For we acknowledge that believers can pray for others and pastors especially ought to perform this office for the people with God. Rather the question relates to mediation properly so called, by which one may be considered as interceding by his own virtue and not only offering prayers to God, but also commending those offered to God and making them acceptable by his own merits.

III. The question is not whether the saints are our mediators with God in an equal degree with Christ. For this the papists avoid saying and on that account make a distinction between a primary and secondary mediator—a mediator of redemption and of intercession. But the question is whether in any sense they can properly be called our mediators. This they affirm; we deny.

IV. The question comes to this—whether besides Christ the saints are our mediators with God, who not only intercede for us with their prayers, but who conciliate his favor to us by their patronage and merits. Or whether Christ alone discharges the office of Mediator and Advocate for us. This we assert; our adversaries contend for the former.

V. In the priestly office of Christ, two parts are usually distinguished—satisfaction and intercession. The papists are not ashamed to ascribe both to the saints. As to intercession, we know it is ascribed to the saints when they contend that their prayers are offered by them; yea, they demand that pardon should be granted to them on account of their prayers and that they should be answered. The Roman Missal on the Festival of Saint Thomas: "God, for whose church the glorious Pontiff fell by the swords of the wicked, grant, we beseech thee, that all who implore his aid may obtain the salutary effect of his petition" (*Missale Romanum ex decreto Ss. Concilium Tridentinum* [1570], p. 31). And in the same for the Innocents: "O Lord, let not the pious prayers of thy saints be wanting to us, to recommend our service and obtain thy indulgence for us" (ibid., p. 30). On the Feast of All Saints: "We beseech thee to bestow, on account of multiple intercessors the abundance of thy propitiation desired by us" ("Proprium Missarum [Commune Sanctorum]," p. 116 in ibid.). And as to satisfaction, we know that blessings are demanded from God through the merits of the saints. On the Festival of Bishop Nicolas, they seek to be delivered from the flames of hell through his merits and prayers ("Proprium Missarum [December #6]," p. 4 in ibid.). On the Festivals of Pope Leo, Athanasius and Basil, we read:

"By his interceding merits, absolve us from all our sins" ("Proprium Missarum [April #11]," p. 33 in ibid. for Pope Leo; ibid. [May #2], p. 39 for Athanasius; ibid. [June #14], p. 49 for Basil). On the octave for Peter and Paul: "That by the merits of both we may obtain eternal glory" ("De sanctis apostolis Petro et Paulo [Commune Sanctorum]," p. 23 in ibid.). Nor did Bellarmine differ from them. "It is not absurd," he says, "if holy men are said to be our redeemers in some way." In the same place, he adds not inaptly are holy men said in some way to redeem our faults by their sufferings ("De Indulgentiis," 1.4 *Opera* [1859], v. 4, Pt. 2, p. 120). Hence the same writer is convicted of falsehood when he denies that he worships saints as mediators, but only that they may add their prayers to ours ("De Romano Pontifice," 3.21 *Opera* [1856], 1:459–64).

Proof that the saints are not mediators: (1) from 1 Tim. 2:5.

VI. We wage war against the mediation of saints. First with the express words of Scripture, which ascribe this office to Christ alone: "One God, one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ" (1 Tim. 2:5). Here one Mediator is spoken of (not many) and he Christ (who gave himself as a ransom [*antilytron*] for us), not any saint or angel. To no purpose is the reply: (a) that he is said to be one, not the only one. The word *heis* often denotes not only one, but also the only one (as by Homer, *ouk agathon polykoiraniē, heis koiranos estō, heis basileus*, *Iliad* 2.203–5 [Loeb, 1:64–65]; and by Virgil, "One safety to the conquered," i.e, the only, *Aeneid* 2.354 [Loeb, 1:318–19]). The same is true frequently in Scripture (Eph. 4:6; Rom. 3:10, 12; 1 Tim. 3:2, 12), which Bellarmine does not deny ("De Christo," 1.3 *Opera* [1856], 1:156–59). The discourse of Paul also demands this signification because the Mediator (*heis mesitēs*) is said to be one in the same way in which God (*theos*) is said to be one (*heis*); not only one, but also the only one to the exclusion of any other.

VII. Second objection: "that he refers to the Mediator of redemption, who is only one, but not to the Mediator of intercession, who can admit associates." We answer: (a) the distinction is unknown to the Scriptures which mention one only Mediator, not many. (b) The distinction between

the Mediator of redemption and of intercession is false because no one can be a mediator of intercession who is not mediator of redemption also. For these two functions—propitiation (*hilasmos*) and intercession (*emphanismos*)—are the two parts of mediation, belong to the same office and ought never to be separated, since they are joined in Scripture (1 Jn. 2:1, 2; Rom. 8:34; Heb. 7*:25), even as under the law it belonged to the priest to enter into the holy place and make supplication for the people (to whom it belonged to offer sacrifice). (c) Romanists themselves do away with this distinction while they acknowledge the saints to be redeemers in a certain manner and hold that they not only pray for our salvation, but also obtain it for us by their own merits. Hence they seek from them that very thing which they seek from Christ the Redeemer—remission of sins and eternal life (and that too in virtue of their merits, as was seen before). This everyone sees belongs assuredly to redemption. Nothing is more frequent among them than to call the blessed virgin a redemptress and deliverer from sins. (d) Paul treats not only of a Mediator of redemption, but also of intercession because he treats of the offering of prayers which ought to be made for all men; nor can they be rightly made except in the name of Christ, who alone is our Mediator.

VIII. Third objection: "Paul speaks of a primary, principal and immediate Mediator, but does not on that account exclude secondary, ministerial and mediate, just as although God alone is called good and Christ the one Master, this does not prevent others from being teachers, and others good." We reply: The distinction is unwritten (*agraphos*); yea also contrary to what is written (*antigraphos*), for the Scripture nowhere proposes to us many mediators or recommends believers to them. Since it ascribes this office to Christ alone, by that very fact it teaches that no others share (*akoinōnēton*) it with him. Nor is the similarity adduced applicable here, for God is called good so that his goodness is peculiar to him alone by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*); nor can it belong to any other except analogically and in a far different manner. And if Christ sends teachers to us, still no one can or ought to give them the name of "Master," which belongs to Christ alone.

2. From 1 John 2:1.

IX. Second, “If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: And he is the propitiation” (1 Jn. 2:1). Here are three arguments: (a) he is called *paraklētos* or an advocate in the singular (which John would have said falsely if there were more and not one only); (b) this Advocate is expressly called Jesus Christ the righteous so that no other can arrogate this office to himself; (c) he is such an Advocate as to be also the *hilasmos* or propitiation for sins. And yet no one but Christ did this. The reply is useless that Christ is indeed called an advocate, but not the only one. For although the exclusive particle is not added expressly (*diarrēdēn*), still it is necessarily included in the epithets added, both of the righteous and the propitiation (*hilasmou*). Again, if he had recognized many advocates, why did he mention Christ alone and not add others to whom they might have recourse? Here belongs the passage, “I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the father, but by me” (Jn. 14*:6); and “Neither is there salvation in any other” (Acts 4:12).

3. Because this is derogatory to Christ.

X. Third, the mediation of saints casts disgrace upon Christ, as if he was not alone sufficient and needs to associate others with him in this office (which cannot be said without grievous blasphemy). Nor does it help the matter to say that injury is not done to Christ because the saints receive from Christ the power to intercede and to petition. It is assumed that Christ merited for and willed to confer upon them such a power to intercede and obtain salvation for us (which the Scriptures have never said and cannot be proved by any reasoning). If Christ is a perfect Mediator, who by himself can exactly fulfill all the parts of that office, what need was there to form others for himself? Nor ought the reply to be made that no prejudice is thence created against Christ because the saints are not so much mediators of God and men as mediators of men to Christ (as Hessel [Estius] remarks, *In Omnes Pauli Epistolas* [1859], 2:660 on 1 Tim. 2:5). Thus there would be need of a mediator to a Mediator, while on the contrary he directly (*amesōs*) and most kindly calls us to himself and does not refer us to others: “Come unto me” (Mt. 11:28). Besides, these mediators to Christ would either require another Mediator to give them access to him or they would not. If they would, the question again arises whether with this third there would be

need of another mediator. And thus on to infinity. If they would not, no reason can be given why these mediators to Christ should be more readily trusted by us than Christ himself. For he follows us not with a lesser but with a far more ardent affection and was made like unto us in all things that he might sympathize with our weaknesses (Heb. 2:17).

4. Because they cannot know our necessities.

XI. Fourth, the saints cannot know our necessities and try the reins and heart in order to have our thoughts and desires disclosed to them distinctly and accurately (without which they cannot discharge the office of mediators and intercessors). As to the exception of our opponents in reference to the knowledge of the saints, see it discussed before, Topic XI, on the law, Question 7.

5. Because this dogma savors of heathen superstition.

XII. Fifth, this dogma savors of heathen superstition and has sprung from the errors of the Gentiles who distinguished their gods into primary and secondary (who were of a lower order [demons] and were mediators between the supreme gods and men). "God," says Plato, "is not approached by men, but all intercourse and communication between the gods and men is carried on by demons" (*Symposium* 203 [Loeb, 3:178–79]). Hence they distributed provinces, cities, arts, diseases among the demons and assigned various offices to different ones (just as the adherents of the pope set saints over empires, cities, arts and diseases and acknowledge them as patrons and tutelary gods to whom they may continually have recourse).

Sources of explanation.

XIII. From the communion of saints to the communication of offices among them, the consequence does not hold good. The saints admitted into heaven indeed have communion with the living inasmuch as they are members of the same mystical body. But on that account, there is not granted a

communication of offices, since they neither share in our necessities, nor can they hear and answer our thoughts and prayers; nor have we any more intercourse with them in virtue of which we might implore their assistance.

XIV. Not everyone who prays to God for us is at once a mediator with God; otherwise we would have almost as many mediators as brethren. And while Scripture most frequently mentions the mutual prayers of men, still it never teaches that men are mediators with God. Therefore, he is to be called a Mediator first who not only prays in general, but also prays for individuals; second, who prays in virtue of his own merits and obtains for us remission of sins and salvation. This can be said of Christ alone.

XV. It is one thing for Moses and Samuel while living to pray for the people; another for the same when dead to discharge this office for them. In Jer. 15:1, there is no exhortation to the intercession of the deceased, but the uselessness of their prayers is shown hypothetically (if they should still be among the living and should pray for the people, as was frequently done by them: "Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, and should pray for the people, yet my mind could not be toward this people"). The meaning is—If Moses and Samuel were still alive and should supplicate for this people, they could effect nothing by their supplication as they had formerly appeased God by their prayers (Ex. 32:14; 1 S. 7:9). Therefore he intimates the salvation of that people to be desperate and their destruction certain and settled. Compare: "Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness" (Ezk. 14:14*). Thus the reference here is not to the prayers of the dead, but of the living (if they should return to the people).

XVI. What is said about the harps and golden vials in the hands of the twenty-four elders (Rev. 5:8, 9) does not favor the intercession of saints. If this is referred to deceased saints, it will not signify the prayers which they offer for the living, but their doxology to God (*tēn eis theon doxologian*), as Aretas and Andrew of Caesarea observe (to wit, praises of God and incense of the act of grace which they continually offer to God; cf. *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* [PG 106.261] on Rev. 5:7, 8). This is immediately explained in the following verse by "the new song." Thus what is said these golden vials full of incense were are the prayers of saints (*hai eisin hai proseuchai tōn hagiōn*, "which are" [i.e., symbolically designate] "the prayers of saints," to wit, of those who had the harps and golden vials); or indefinitely of all the

saints whose prayers are described by the odors. However, if we refer it to the praises and prayers of living saints (as is more probably true, nor does Estius object) nothing will be thence elicited for the prayers of the departed (cf. *Biblia Magna Commentariorum Literalum* [1643], 5:1137 on Rev. 5:8). Thus is described undoubtedly the evangelical worship of praises and prayers by words taken from the legal service so that harps (instruments of praises) denote the praises and the golden vials the prayers of believers offered from a heart purified by faith. Thus they show that they are truly kings and priests (as they afterwards say), for harps are becoming to kings (as to David), but vials to priests.

XVII. Although with earthly kings there is the need of agents and mediators to admit us to their presence, it is not so with the heavenly King who calls us immediately to himself (nor ever dismisses believers to the saints). If an earthly king should invite his subjects directly to himself, who would not approach him freely and with confidence? Who would wish princely patrons to secure an approach to him?

XVIII. The passages here adduced to favor the intercession of saints (Job 5:1; 19:21; 33:23; Ex. 32:13; Zech. 1:12; Rev. 8:3; Tob. 12) have been discussed in Topic V, on the angels, Question 9 and Topic II, Question 7.

XIX. It is one thing to pray for the church in general; another to pray for individuals. Although the saints should pray in general for the church militant (which they know is still assailed by adversaries and exposed to various struggles), it would not at once follow either that they pray for individuals (whose necessities and prayers they do not know) or that they are their mediators (who can obtain for them the grace of God by their own prayers and merits).

XX. The passage where Judas Maccabaeus is said to have seen in a vision Onias, the priest, and Jeremiah (who were then dead) praying for the Jewish people (2 Mac. 15:14) cannot help our opponents. (1) This is an apocryphal book crammed with fables (as Romanists themselves confess). In particular, Pope Gelasius admits First Maccabees alone, rejecting the Second (cf. *Conciliorum sub Gelasio* [PL 59.158]). (2) The passage proves only that the saints pray in general, not particularly after the manner of mediators. (3) Romanists themselves hold that the fathers before the death of Christ were still in limbo excluded from the face of God; therefore they were not suitable ones to pray for others.

XXI. “The cry of the souls under the altar” (Rev. 6:9, 10) does not pertain to intercession for others, but to prayers for themselves. They do not say, “Why do you not deliver our brethren?” but, “Why dost thou not avenge our blood?” Nor ought this to be understood properly (since souls do not cry) but allegorically—to denote their desire for the last judgment and resurrection (as Ambrose and Bernard thought, “Sermon 3,” *In festo omnium Sanctorum* [PL 183.468–71]); or a manifestation of the wickedness of tyrants to be deservedly punished by God and of the innocence of the martyrs to be rewarded (as elsewhere the voice of the blood of Abel is said to cry out from the earth [Gen. 4:10] because the death and slaughter of the martyrs, always fresh before God, demands the avenging of divine justice, as Lyranus observes, *Biblia sacra cum Glossa ordinaria* [1545–1603], 6:1517 on Rev. 6:9, 10).

XXII. From the mutual prayers of the living to prayers of the departed for the living, the consequence does not hold good. Among the former, there is a mutual communion of offices and necessities; there is none between the dead and the living. The former are enjoined and praised in Scripture, but the latter by no means. Nor does the perfection of charity (with which the saints are blessed) conduce to their praying for us particularly because the condition of that life does not allow of it.

Fifth Question: The Threefold Office of Christ

Why ought Christ to sustain a threefold office of Mediator?

What is the mediatorial office of Christ?

I. The office of Christ is nothing else than a mediation between God and men, to discharge which he was sent by the Father into the world and anointed by the Holy Spirit. It embraces all that Christ ought to do from his mission and calling towards an offended God and offending men, reconciling and again uniting them to each other.

And instituted with how many degrees? (1) predestination;

2. By his mission.

II. The institution of this office is resolved especially by three degrees: (1) by the predestination of Christ; (2) by his mission; (3) by his calling. The first grade is in the eternal predestination of a Mediator, by which God selected and appointed his own Son as a Mediator to reconcile the elect to himself and accomplish the work of salvation (referred to in 1 Pet. 1:20; Acts 2:23; Rev. 13:8). The second in his mission, by which, according to the eternal decree of predestination, he was not only promised under the Old Testament, predicted in various prophecies, adumbrated by types and exhibited as the Mediator of the church, but in the fulness of times was sent into the world to take upon himself our nature, that in it he might accomplish the work demanded of him (which mission is mentioned in the gospel with the greatest frequency; not by a change of place, so as to come where he was not before, but by an extraordinary manifestation of his presence in the flesh, in which he visibly appeared and worked).

3. By his calling, which consists in unction.

III. The third grade consists in his vocation, by which he was consecrated to enter upon that office referred to in Is. 42:6: "I the Lord have called thee in righteousness" (cf. Ps. 110:4 and Christ himself, Jn. 10:36). Now this vocation embraces two parts: unction and inauguration. Unction, from which sprung the names of Messiah and Christ (which by way of eminence [*kat' exochēn*] was peculiar to our Redeemer, although others also are called improperly anointed and christs by reason of their prophetic or priestly or kingly office), denotes two things: (a) consecration to office, which belongs to the person of Christ even according to his divine nature, by which he was really consecrated to the office of Mediator (Ps. 2:6), usually designated in Scripture by the word "sanctification" (Jn. 10:36); (b) the bestowal of all the graces and gifts necessary to the execution of that office (relating only to his human nature), by which he is said to have been anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows and gifted with the Spirit immeasurably (*ametrōs*) (Ps. 45:7; Is. 61:1, 2; Jn. 3:34).

And in inauguration.

IV. Inauguration is that by which (although by right of birth and by the benefit of the hypostatical union, he was really the Lord and heir of all things) he willed to be inaugurated into his office in a solemn manner (even as hereditary kings are accustomed by a solemn inauguration to be put in full possession of their kingdom in order that they may be acknowledged by all). Now this was done first in the baptism of Christ (Mt. 3:17) where in an illustrious and clearly extraordinary manner he was consecrated to the public exercise of his office. This was confirmed not only by the opening of the heavens and the sending down of the Holy Spirit upon him, but also by the voice from heaven testifying to the excellence of his person and office. To the person, being called the Son of God, not adoptive (many of whom God has), but the natural, only begotten and proper (who moreover is called "beloved" [*agapētos*] and most dear). To his office, since it is said that in him the Father is well pleased (*eudokētai*) (i.e., the Father not only entirely acquiesces in Christ and clearly delights in him, but also in him and on account of him we please and are acceptable to God, Eph. 1:6). Moreover the excellence of that office is clearly demonstrated by this—he was not constituted our Mediator without an oath, "The Lord hath sworn" (Ps. 110:4). From this Paul infers the superiority and eternity of the priesthood of Christ above the Levitical priesthood (Heb. 7). Second, in the transfiguration, in which he was in like manner confirmed in his threefold office by a heavenly voice (Mt. 17:5). Third, the inauguration was fully made after his resurrection and exaltation when "he was made both Lord and Christ" (Acts 2:36); "a name was given him which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow" (Phil. 2:9, 10); when all power is given him in heaven and on earth (Mt. 28:18); and when he sits on the right hand of the majesty on high (Heb. 1:3).

Manner of the threefold office of Christ.

V. This mediatorial office of Christ is distributed into three functions, which are so many parts of it: prophetic, priestly and kingly. These Christ sustained not separately, but conjointly (which is granted to him alone). For what in others were divided on account of their infirmity are united in

Christ on account of his supreme perfection (since the dignity and burden of these functions were so great that no mortal could alone discharge them). There could indeed be kings and priests (as Melchizedek), kings and prophets (as David), priests and prophets (as sometimes the high priests), but we never meet with anyone who alone perfectly fulfilled these three. This was reserved for Christ, who alone could sustain the truth adumbrated by these various types. However if Moses is read of as adumbrating him (because he was not only a prophet of God and a leader and deliverer of the people, but also before the inauguration of Aaron had sometimes officiated as a priest, as in Ex. 24:4–6, 8), this was done out of order and only to an act. It cannot nor ought it to be adduced as an example.

It rests: (1) upon the Scripture;

VI. Various causes can be assigned for this distribution: (1) the Scripture is wont to designate Christ by this threefold name, setting him forth now as a Prophet (Dt. 18:15, 18; Is. 61:1, 2), as the Wisdom of the Father and the Word (*Logon*) through whom God addresses us, then as a Priest (Ps. 110:4 and frequently in the epistle to the Hebrews) and again as a King (Pss. 2; 110:1; Is. 9:6, 7; Lk. 1:32, 33). These three offices are described not only separately, but they are also conjointly set forth (as in Is. 9:6). He who is called a child by reason of his human conception and a Son by reason of his eternal generation is termed "Wonderful" (by reason of person), "Counsellor" (in respect of prophecy), "Father of eternity" (in respect of priesthood) and "Prince of Peace," upon whose shoulders the government is placed (in respect of his kingdom). Thus in Is. 61, a threefold end of the anointing of Christ is pointed out: "to preach good tidings unto the meek" (which belongs to a prophet); "to bind up the broken-hearted, and to comfort all that mourn" (which belong to a priest); "to bring liberty to the captives, and to exercise the vengeance of God" (which belong to a king, Ps. 110). The royal dignity of Christ and his victory and triumph over his enemies is asserted through the whole Psalm. Prophecy is built up in Ps. 110:2 when it is said that the scepter of his word shall go out of Zion. The priesthood is taught in v. 4: "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest forever." Of the man, whose name is the Branch, who, it is said, shall build the temple of the Lord by the word of the gospel (Zech.

6:12–14), which belongs to a prophet, it is said he shall rule upon his throne (the function of a king) and a priest shall sit upon his throne (the same one who will be a king, will also be a priest). "And the counsel of peace shall be between them both" (i.e., between these two dignities, the royal and priestly). For one and the same person shall be king and priest, who will acquire peace for the church by his priestly office and defend it by his kingly office.

VII. Thus in the New Testament these three offices are often joined together as in Jn. 14:6 when Christ is said to be "the way, the truth, and the life"—the Way leading, the Truth teaching, the Life saving. The Way in his priesthood, when by his own blood he opened a way for us to heaven (Heb. 10:20); the Truth in his prophetic office because he reveals to us the word of the gospel, the only saving truth; the Life in his kingly office by which he quickens and protects us through his efficacy; the Way in death, the Truth in the word, Life in the spirit. Hence Emissenus on this passage: "I am the Way because no one comes to the Father except by me; I am the Truth because no one knows the Father except from me; I am the Life because no one lives except in me"+. The same is shown in the celebrated passage where Christ is said to be made of the Father unto us "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption" (1 Cor. 1:30). He is said "to be made" (i.e., appointed by God to be Wisdom to us, i.e., the infallible author and teacher of heavenly wisdom by prophecy); righteousness (i.e., the bestower of eternal and infinite righteousness by which we are freed from guilt and justified before God through his priesthood); sanctification (i.e., the cause of true and spiritual holiness by which we are freed from the dominion and purged of the corruption of sin through his kingship and redemption [which exerts itself in these three]—or, if it is taken strictly, as he is redemption from misery and death). Thus God is said to have spoken to us by his Son as by a supreme Prophet (Heb. 1:2, 3) who, after having purged our sins as a Priest, sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high as a King.

2. On the threefold misery of men.

VIII. Second, the threefold misery of men introduced by sin—ignorance, guilt and the tyranny and bondage by sin—required this conjunction of a

threefold office. Ignorance is healed by the prophetic; guilt by the priestly; the tyranny and corruption of sin by the kingly. Prophetic light scatters the darkness of error; the merit of the Priest takes away guilt and procures a reconciliation for us; the power of the King removes the bondage of sin and death. The Prophet shows God to us; the Priest leads us to God; and the King joins together and glorifies us with God. The Prophet enlightens the mind by the Spirit of illumination; the Priest by the Spirit of consolation tranquilizes the heart and conscience; the King by the Spirit of sanctification subdues rebellious affections.

3. On the nature of the salvation to be conferred.

IX. Third, the nature of the salvation to be bestowed required the same. For three things are altogether required for it—annunciation, acquisition, application—that it might be revealed to us (to whom it is unknown by nature), that it might be acquired for us and applied when acquired. Therefore Christ by his threefold office ought to accomplish these three things: to announce salvation to us through the teaching of a Prophet; to acquire the promised salvation through the merit of a Priest; and to apply it when acquired through the efficacy of his Spirit as a King.

4. On the acts of a Mediator.

X. Fourth, the acts of a Mediator could not be performed otherwise. For two things were necessary: that he should act for us with God (*ta pros ton theon*) and for God with us (*ta pros hēmas*). By satisfying and interceding for us with God, he acted as a Priest: “For every high priest is ordained in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices” (Heb. 5:1). By speaking and working for God to us, the former by announcing the grace of God and our duty, in which he acted as a Prophet; the latter by a powerful redemption from all our enemies and the efficacious procurement of a full salvation, in which he acted as a King.

5. On the fulfillment of types.

XI. Fifth, the symbolic anointing of the Old Testament. There was a threefold anointing of men under the Old Testament, obliged to be consecrated by a sacred anointing (to wit, prophets, priests and kings—as in the cases of Elisha [1 K. 19:16*], of Aaron [Ex. 29:7] and of kings frequently). Now as all the types related to the one Christ and obtained their fulfillment in him, Christ must exhibit the truth of that threefold office in himself, but far more perfectly than in the others—not only by reason of the conjunction of these three parts (which no man could fulfill at the same time, as we have already seen), but also by reason of the eminence and dignity, both of his office and of his gifts.

6. On the three attributes of God.

XII. Sixth, this is also clearly intimated in the three principal perfections of God, which exercised themselves towards us in the work of redemption—wisdom, mercy and power (since the Son, as a Prophet, reveals to us the wisdom of God, merits his mercy for us as a Priest and draws forth his power for our deliverance and salvation, as our King). Hence arises the object of the three cardinal virtues—faith, hope and charity. For faith embraces the doctrine of the Prophet; hope builds upon the merit of the Priest; and charity subjects itself by a voluntary obedience to the scepter of the King.

XIII. These three offices, however, are so united in Christ that they not only exercise their distinct operations, but the same act proceeds at the same time from the three (which not a little increases the wonderfulness of the thing). Thus the cross of Christ (which is the altar of the priest, on which he offered himself as a victim to God) is also the school of the prophet, in which he teaches us the mystery of salvation. Hence the gospel is called the word of the cross and the "trophy of the king," on which he triumphed over principalities and powers (Col. 2:15). "The gospel is the law of the prophet" (Is. 2:2, 3), "the scepter of the king" (Ps. 110:2), "the sword of the priest," by which he penetrates even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit (Heb. 4:12) and an altar upon which the sacrifice of our faith ought to be placed. Thus the Spirit (who as a Spirit of wisdom) is the effect of prophecy, as a Spirit of consolation is a fruit of the priesthood, as a Spirit of strength and glory is a gift of the king.

Sixth Question

Was Christ caught up into heaven before beginning his public ministry in order to be taught there by the Father? We deny against the Socinians

Statement of the question.

I. The opinion of Socinians—as Smalcius (*De Divinitate Jesu Christi* 4 [1608], pp. 10–15), Ostorodt (*Unterrichtung ... hauptpuncten der Christlichen Religion* 16 [1612], pp. 91–96), the *Racovian Catechism* (cf. "Of the Prophetic Office of Christ," *Racovian Catechism* 5 [1818], pp. 170–72)—is that Christ (being a mere man) was at first uninstructed in and ignorant of that doctrine which he was to promulgate by his ministry for the salvation of men. On this account, when he was thirty years old and having been baptized by John, before he could enter upon his public ministrations, he was caught up into heaven. There he was taught most perfectly by God himself about his will and thus returning to earth began fully and sufficiently to declare the same doctrine to men. The time of that translation (although they do not dare to fix it precisely), they think can be best referred to the stay which he made fasting in the desert for forty days and nights. Their object is to escape the passages of Scripture by which we prove that Christ existed before he was born of the virgin—besides the fact that he is said to have come forth from the Father and to have descended from heaven.

II. The orthodox reject this translation of Christ to heaven as purely fictitious, found nowhere in Scripture and recognize no other descent from heaven in the days of his flesh than the metaphorical one made by his incarnation.

Proof of the orthodox opinion.

III. The reasons are: First, the silence of Scripture, which mentions it nowhere. It does indeed mention one ascension into heaven and entrance into the holy place after his resurrection (Heb. 9:12), but we find not the slightest trace of any other. The passages adduced here have a different reference, as will hereafter be proved. Now what could be the cause of this

silence if it really happened, since it would greatly conduce to the commendation of Christ's doctrine? Why should it rather mention the carrying away of Christ by the tempter to a lofty mountain, than his translation to heaven by God himself? Nor can it be replied here that the evangelists did not mention that translation because it was done secretly and not openly, since they mention only things which they saw or had heard. They would therefore have to be silent concerning the resurrection of Christ, which occurred when no one was present except the guards; nor could Matthew have described the transfiguration (of which he was not an eyewitness [*autoptēs*]). Therefore they were bound to relate not merely what they themselves saw and heard, but what was revealed to them by the Holy Spirit concerning the deeds of Christ (which conduced to the instruction of believers).

IV. Second, Christ did not need such a translation to gain a knowledge of mysteries, neither according to his divine nature (because he was the Word [*Logos*] of the Father [Jn. 1:1] who was in his bosom and who therefore beheld all his secrets), nor according to his human nature. According to the latter, he received the Spirit without measure (Jn. 3:34), by whom he was sufficiently instructed in his office and treasures of wisdom and knowledge were laid up in him (Col. 2:3). It is confirmed by this—that while still a child of twelve years he gave wonderful proofs of his wisdom, teaching in the temple and disputing with the Pharisees (Lk. 2:47). Also at his baptism (before that fictitious translation), the Father testified from heaven that he was well pleased with him. But how could he be well pleased with him who did not yet understand his will? Third, if Christ had ascended into heaven after his baptism, Scripture ought to put his ascent before his descent. On the contrary, it puts the descent before his ascent (Eph. 4:9).

Sources of explanation.

V. It is one thing for Christ to have ascended to heaven properly and locally in respect of his humanity; another to have ascended metaphorically and mystically by a sublime knowledge of heavenly mysteries. Christ is not said to have ascended in the former sense ("No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven," Jn. 3:13) because the same one who ascended is said to have

descended (thus he could not be said to be still in heaven), but concerning the mystical ascent (as he is said to ascend up to heaven who penetrates the secret of heaven [Prov. 30:4] because as far as heaven is distant from earth, so far are divine counsels distant from human [Is. 55:9]). That which is near us is obvious and plain and said not to be in heaven (nor for us to ascend thither, Dt. 30:12; Rom. 10:6). Thus the sense will be, No one knows heavenly things and is acquainted with the divine counsel except himself. The connection teaches that this must be the meaning because in the preceding verse he had treated of the revelation of mysteries: "If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things?" And in order to give the reason why he can both teach heavenly things by his own right and no one can know them (except he instructs them), he adds, "No man hath ascended up to heaven." But as to the words "the Son of man is in heaven," this must be understood of the person in the concrete, not of the human nature in the abstract.

VI. When Christ is said to have descended from heaven and to have come forth from the Father (Jn. 6:38; 16:28), it treats of his metaphorical descent by his manifestation in the flesh; not that he was where he was not before, but that he would work there. There is no allusion to a local descent according to his humanity, nor is Christ ever said to have returned from heaven, but only to have gone thither. If the Son of man is said to ascend where he was before after his resurrection (Jn. 6:62), this is not to be understood of his humanity, but only of his divinity where the Word (*ho Logos*) was before when he was with God (*pros ton theon*, Jn. 1:1).

VII. Although Christ utters those things which he was taught by the Father (Jn. 8:38) because he speaks what he heard (Jn. 3:32) and does nothing which he did not see the Father working (Jn. 5:19) to indicate that the Son has an intimate knowledge of all the works of the Father, it does not follow that he had been caught up into heaven in order to hear and see such things. He had this from intimate communion with the Father, on account of which he is said to be in the bosom of the Father (Jn. 1:18) and (because in his bosom) to reveal him to us.

VIII. Although Christ was not carried up into heaven, he is not on that account to be reckoned inferior to Moses and Paul, who were that they might be taught of God. (1) Although they were carried up thither, Christ was taught of God in a far more excellent manner in virtue of his

hypostatical union. (2) There is a difference between servants and their Master. They had need of special and extraordinary instruction to gain that knowledge of which they were deficient. But Christ, from the moment of conception (anointed by the Holy Spirit), knew these things most fully. (3) Moses is not said to have been carried up to heaven, but to have been carried up to a mountain. Paul is indeed said to have been rapt into the third heaven, but whether in the spirit or in the body cannot be told (as Paul confesses he did not know himself).

Seventh Question: The Prophetic Office of Christ

In what does the prophetic office of Christ consist; or what are its parts and what is its mode?

In how many ways may prophecy be taken.

And in what sense it is applied to Christ.

I. The first part of Christ's office is prophecy. It is taken here not broadly and improperly for any knowledge and celebration of God, as it is in Joel 2:28 when it is said believers under the New Testament will prophesy; or for public instruction, which belongs to interpreters of sacred things; or to the public teachers and ministers of the church, in which sense "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets" (1 Cor. 14:32); or more strictly, concerning those whom God called immediately and out of their rank, not only to teach the people, but also to replace the corrupted worship of God and foretell many future things. This is the most ordinary signification of the word in the Old Testament, claimed by Moses in a certain peculiar manner (Num. 12:6–8), as will hereafter be seen. But it is taken most strictly and properly for that full and august revelation of the mysteries of salvation which Christ (as the highest teacher of the church) has exhibited to us.

It is not comprehended under the priesthood or under the kingship.

II. Some would wish this prophetic office to be comprehended under the kingly (to which legislation belongs) or to be contained under the priestly (to which the power of prophesying and the faculty of consulting God and giving responses was annexed). But they do not speak with sufficient accuracy because this did not hinder these three offices from being formerly distinct. As in reality it is one thing to be an ordinary pastor, but another to be a prophet; one thing to hear responses, another to bring forward new things not heard or sought. Prophets were raised up extraordinarily either to instruct or to renew the worship of God (whose words pious kings and priests eagerly received). They were also taken from another tribe than that of Levi (to which pertained the priesthood) and were consecrated for this end especially: that they might deposit the sacred canon with the church, which word is not of priests or of kings, but of prophets (2 Pet. 1:19), upon which the church ought to be built (Eph. 2:20). Thus there are in Christ the parts of a prophet, of a priest and of a king (as has been shown before).

The necessity of it is proved.

III. The necessity of this office appears from three things. (1) From the necessity of a revelation because there can be no knowledge of God and divine things without a revelation, for the natural man does not receive the things of God (1 Cor. 2:14) and no saving revelation is given except through Christ (Jn. 1:18; Mt. 11:27). Nor could reason or the law disclose to us the mystery of piety, but Christ alone in the gospel. (2) From the method of salvation because no means of salvation was given except faith: “Faith however cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God” (Rom. 10:17). (3) From the oracles of the Old Testament which promise that prophecy, which must necessarily be fulfilled.

And the truth.

IV. The Scripture often teaches the truth of the prophetic office of Christ: in the oracle of Moses, “The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet” (Dt. 18:15), which Peter teaches us pertains to Christ (Acts 3:22); where it is said a Spirit is given to Christ by the Father that he might “bring forth judgment to the Gentiles” (Is. 42:1–3, 6), i.e., act as a prophet among the

Gentiles and by the just laws of the gospel and the just worship of God, lead them to true righteousness. Hence he is said to have been given "for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles, to open the blind eyes." This is confirmed in 49:12, but especially in 61:1, 2 where he is introduced saying, "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek." He teaches this was fulfilled in himself (Lk. 4:21). Here belong the brief descriptions of Christ when he is called the "angel of the covenant" (Mal. 3:1), "Counsellor" (Isa. 9:6*), the eternal "Wisdom," which calls men (Prov. 9:1); "the Word" (*Logos*) by whom God speaks to us (Heb. 1:1), "Master" and "Teacher" (Mt. 23:7, 8), who alone is to be heard (Mt. 17:5)—which opinion prevailed to such an extent among the Jews that it passed even to the Samaritans —"Messias cometh [and] he will tell us all things" (Jn. 4:25). If Christ is distinguished from a prophet (Jn. 1:21), he is not on that account absolutely denied to be a prophet, but he is shown to be more than a prophet. He is not absolutely denied to be a prophet, but "the Prophet" (*ton Prophētēn*) (namely, that illustrious prophet whom the Jews supposed would come before Christ; or one of the prophets whom they thought would be resuscitated at the coming of the Messiah).

Its nature is considered either in matter of doctrine or in the mode of preaching.

V. The nature of this prophecy must be considered principally in two respects; (1) in the matter of the doctrine preached; (2) in the mode of preaching. The matter comes under three heads: exposition of the law; promulgation of the gospel; and foretelling of future events. For as the work of prophets was resolved principally unto these three parts—explanation and application of the law, inculcation of the promises of grace and foretelling of future events revealed to them by God—so Christ most perfectly fulfilled these three by interpreting most truly the law according to the intention of the lawgiver, preaching the gospel and predicting future events for the consolation of the church.

The first part of prophecy in the explication of the law.

VI. The first part of the prophetical office respects the doctrine of the law, in explaining and inculcating which he labored both that man (convicted of his own weakness) might fly the more eagerly on that account to Christ (as to a sacred anchor, where he might be safe from the lightnings and malediction of the law) and that he might vindicate it from the false interpretations and glosses of the Pharisees of his day and restore the meaning intended by God the lawgiver. Also in inculcating the spiritual and inner obedience of the heart which the spiritual law demanded, rejecting the outward righteousness which the Pharisees supposed to be sufficient (Mt. 5–7); subordinating the ceremonial to the moral law and the service of the former to that of the latter as better (Mt. 12:1ff.); and in rejecting the traditions of the elders as useless and offensive to God (Mt. 15:3; 23).

VII. Whether Christ in this explication of the law corrected the old law as imperfect and added new precepts to it (as the Socinians and Romanists pretend) has already been discussed in Topic XI, on the law, Questions 4 and 5 (which consult).

Whether Christ can be called a legislator.

VIII. To the question (wont to be agitated here) whether Christ is or can be called a legislator. We answer in a few words that Christ can be viewed in two ways: either absolutely and theologically (inasmuch as he is the Word [*Logos*] and the same God with the Father and the Holy Spirit); or relatively and economically (inasmuch as he is the God-man [*theanthrōpos*] and the Mediator between God and men). In the former respect, he is the one legislator who can save and destroy (Jam. 4:12). In the latter, he is neither properly a legislator, as Moses was (because he is opposed to Moses and his law as the author of grace and of truth, Jn. 1:17); nor principally because his principal office was to reveal to us the mystery of the gospel. Still nothing hinders our calling him a legislator secondarily and less principally, both because he was the restorer and vindicator of the law and because he is King and head of his church. Now it belongs to kings to make laws. Hence

he is called “lawgiver” (*mchqq*, Is. 33:22) and the doctrine of Christ has also its own law, which prescribes to us faith and obedience in life. In this sense, the law is subordinated to the gospel and the gospel itself is called the law of faith, the royal law of liberty, the law of the Spirit and of life. Still our divines rightly deny (against Romanists and Socinians) that Christ is a lawgiver, inasmuch as a legislator denotes him who introduces new laws and new moral precepts not contained in the law itself (nor having their foundation in it).

IX. Although faith in Christ (which is prescribed in the gospel) can be called new in respect of its object (which is revealed in the gospel alone), still it belongs to the law in respect of act and of obligation because we are bound to believe in God and all his word. Repentance also belongs to the law; not as it was made for the first man, but as repeated for the sinner and illustrated by the gospel; and materially, if not formally, because it teaches and prescribes the mode of repentance.

The second, in the preaching of the gospel.

X. Another part of the prophetical office (and indeed the principal) is the preaching of the gospel or the annunciation of the grace brought in by Christ. Hence the gospel is called “the doctrine of Christ” (Acts 13:12) and “the testimony of Christ” (1 Cor. 1:6; Rev. 1:2). This is so not only because Christ is the proper object of that doctrine (1 Cor. 2:2), but also because he is its principal cause and primary author. The gospel, however, we do not understand here broadly for any promise of grace (which had place also in the Old Testament), but strictly for the completed gospel, which contains the manifestation of Christ in the flesh. There Christ teaches that he is a person, not only the Son of man (Mt. 8:20; 9:6), but also the Son of God (Jn. 3:16; 5:19; and elsewhere); that in office he is that Christ who was promised under the Old Testament (Mt. 16:16)—Prophet (Jn. 10:11, 14), Priest (Jn. 10:15; 17) and King of his church (Jn. 18:36, 37)—who came to minister and to lay down his life as a ransom (*antilytron*) for many (Mt. 20:28); to save his people from their sins (Mt. 1:21); and to institute a new evangelical worship differing from the old legal worship, both as to place (because God selects no peculiar place for his worship now as formerly) and as to the mode of worship (because he wishes to be worshipped in

Spirit and without carnal ceremonies, and in truth [without the shadows of the Mosaic law] and that too because he is a Spirit [therefore with a worship more adapted to his nature]).

Third, in the prediction of future events.

XI. The third part is the foretelling of future things. These are general: such as the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the end of the world (Mt. 24); the calling of the Gentiles (Jn. 4:21); and the abrogation of the ceremonial worship to give place to the spiritual and evangelical (Jn. 4:23; Jn. 10:16); of the future cross and the almost continual persecution of believers (Mt. 24; Jn. 15:20; 16:20, 22). However these predictions were tempered with the sweetest promises of the gracious presence of Christ and of the Holy Spirit in the midst of calamity (Jn. 14:18; 17:9), of the happy end of afflictions (Jn. 16:20, 22). The foretelling may also be special with respect to his own suffering, crucifixion, death and resurrection (Mt. 16:21; 26:23); the offense and flight of his disciples; Peter's denial and martyrdom; the treachery of Judas; the advent of false christs and imposters, and of false prophets. The apocalyptic prophecies belong here also in which Christ suggested to his servant the things which would happen even unto the end of the world, whether with respect to the struggles and calamities of the church or with respect to her victories and triumphs.

The mode of prophecy: (1) immediate and mediate.

2. External and internal.

XII. The mode of the prophecy of Christ is attended to in various particulars. (1) In the twofold mode of teaching, both immediate by himself in the days of his flesh and mediate by his ministers before his incarnation by the prophets in the Old Testament (who spoke under the influence of the prophetic spirit of Christ, 1 Pet. 1:11; 2 Pet. 1:21). Hence he is said to have preached by the Spirit in Noah (1 Pet. 3:19). And if God is said to have spoken unto us by his Son in these last days (Heb. 1:2), this must be understood not simply but comparatively (i.e., in a visible manner and by

him as in the flesh [*ensarkon*]). Also after his advent by apostles and pastors—the former extraordinarily called and inspired with the gift of infallibility for a time; the latter called by the ordinary ministry of men, endowed only with common inspiration (even unto the end of the world). (2) In the external and internal, by which he not only outwardly reaches the ears of the body by his word, but also inwardly turns and opens the heart by his Spirit and leads it into all truth (Jn. 16:13). In this sense, the words of Christ are said to be "spirit and life" (Jn. 6:63), not only in respect of an understanding of the words spoken concerning the eating of his flesh (which were not to be taken grossly and carnally, but spiritually and mystically), but also in respect of the unconquerable efficacy which it exerts in the conversion of the heart. Hence the gospel is said to be written not on tables of stone, but "in fleshly tables of the heart" (2 Cor. 3:3)—the privilege of the new covenant in which God was to write the law upon the heart and believers were to be taught of God (*theodidaktoi*, Is. 54*:13).

3. In the various characteristics.

XIII. (3) In the various characteristics which attended his preaching: (a) in teaching, he everywhere exerted the highest authority, becoming a supreme and infallible teacher, not customary with other inferior teachers, for he taught as one having authority (*exousian echōn*), not as the Scribes and Pharisees (Mt. 7:28, 29). Thus no one could resist him and they were compelled to acknowledge that no one had so spoken (Jn. 7:46). (b) Admirable wisdom by which he so tempered his doctrine that he vindicated it from the cavils of his opponents and often vanquished them with their own weapons (Mt. 21:23–46). To this add that divine knowledge by which he was proved to be acquainted with the heart (*kardiognōstēn*) and fully informed of the future. (c) Generous liberty without respect of person (*prosōpolēpsian*) in teaching the truth of God and reminding each one of his duty. (d) Remarkable eloquence by which gracious words proceeded out of his mouth (*logoi tēs charitos*, Lk. 4:22) and excelled all others, so that majesty vied with simplicity, loftiness with sweetness. (e) Unconquerable constancy making no account of the authority and influence of his adversaries, whose crimes he the more sharply rebuked the more they strove to impose upon the simple with the mask of sanctity (Mt. 23:5). (f)

Most ardent zeal (an example of which is given in Jn. 2:15, 16), moved by which he did not seek a retreat, but spoke openly also often neglecting the taking of food (Mk. 3:20; Jn. 4:32).

4. In the efficacy of his doctrine.

XIV. (4) In the evidently divine efficacy of his doctrine, by which Christ taught outwardly indeed with the greatest gravity and majesty (by which his hearers were especially moved). His preaching was clearly different from that of the Scribes (Mt. 7:29). But inwardly he powerfully insinuated himself into their minds and affected them in wondrous ways, converting or convincing some, exercising over all a greater than human power (Jn. 7:46; Lk. 24:32). Hence we infer that it was necessary for our Prophet to be furnished with divine power, since he not only surrounds us with light, but also supplies eyes, opens our hearts and irradiates our minds with heavenly brightness (2 Cor. 4:6).

5. In the authenticity and perfection of his doctrine.

XV. (5) In the authenticity and perfection of doctrine which was such that after the revelation of doctrine which Christ made, no other is to be expected hereafter (as the apostle shows, Heb. 1, 2). If the Spirit is said to be about to teach the church after Christ, this is not to be referred to a greater perfection extensively and objectively, but intensively and subjectively. Hence it is said that “he will take of the doctrine of Christ” (Jn. 16:14) because he was to teach nothing else than what had been proposed already by Christ and belonged to his person and office.

6. In holiness of life and miracles.

XVI. (6) In holiness of life and working of miracles. For he established and confirmed his doctrine not only by a most perfect holiness of life and a wonderful patience, but also by various stupendous miracles, both in order to vindicate the divinity of his person and to seal the truth of his doctrine. For he who by his own power did so many and such great works surpassing the strength of all created nature must have been clothed with divine power,

since he performed works which God alone can do. It is evident that the same one spoke the words of God and we must believe that he introduced a self-credible (*autopiston*) and divine doctrine. For neither is falsehood becoming in the highest power, nor can we suppose that God would lend his power to an impostor or false prophet. I know that the adversaries of Christ urge many objections to throw discredit upon the miracles of Christ, but we have already shown that they are futile and most false; cf. Topic XIII, Question 2, Sections 18, 19.

How Christ differs from other prophets.

XVII. And hence can clearly be gathered the multiple difference existing between Christ and other prophets. For (1) they were only servants in the house of God (who spoke in Christ's name), from whom they received their commands. But Christ is a Son and Master (Heb. 3), the chief Shepherd (*Archipoimēn*, 1 Pet. 5:4) and supreme Master, Teacher of teachers, by whose Spirit all who speak are influenced and who alone is to be heard as the arbiter of faith (Mt. 17:5). (2) They could preach externally only, but nothing further. John baptizes with water, Paul plants and waters, but cannot give the increase. On this account, they are said to be "nothing" (1 Cor. 3:7) in respect of internal power and efficacy. But Christ operates both externally and internally, writes the law itself in hearts and "baptizes with the Spirit and fire" (Mt. 3:11), i.e., inspires an internal efficacy and operates within by his Spirit with action like fire—whose property it is not only to purge of dross and to wash the external surface as water, but also to penetrate deeply within. (3) Others were illuminated with divine light, but by a passing brilliance (*coruscationem*) and by way of transient act; hence they could not reveal future or secret things as often as they pleased. But Christ illuminates like a permanent habit (which he could use as often as he wished; although as long as he was on earth it did not pertain absolutely to all future things, but to those which the claims of his office and of our salvation required; hence he is said to have been ignorant of the day of judgment, Mk. 13:32). (4) To the others the Spirit was given only by measure; but to Christ he is given without measure (*ametrōs*, Jn. 3:34). The Spirit is said to have rested upon him with all its gifts (Is. 11:1, 2). The

treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hid in him (Col. 2:3). (5) Others are called for a certain time; Christ, however, is called forever.

XVIII. God manifested himself to the others in various degrees (*polymerōs*) and in divers manners (*polytrotōs*), by visions and dreams, by immediate and secret inspiration and various other modes, to whom either asleep or awake he exhibited himself; either to the internal senses in a phantasy or to the external eye or to the ears or to the mind itself by an intellectual representation, in rapture and ecstasy. But Christ knew all things most perfectly; not what he received from another source, but what he himself saw and heard in the bosom of the Father (Jn. 1:18). Hence the revelation made by Christ in these last days (as most perfect and on that account the last) is opposed to the other revelations made through the prophets (Heb. 1:2).

And by name from Moses.

XIX. But Christ was not only superior to other prophets, but even to Moses himself (although far more excellent than the others and holding familiar intercourse with God and whom God addresses not in vision and enigmas, or in a dream [as others], but mouth to mouth, i.e., in his presence and most familiarly as a friend talks to a friend, Num. 12:8). It is indeed said that he would be like unto Moses (Dt. 18:15) and such also he was in various particulars. Moses and Christ from their very birth were badly treated—Moses by Pharaoh, Christ by Herod. Moses delivered the people from Egypt, Christ from sin; Moses was a mediator between God and the people, Christ between God and men. Both confirmed their doctrine by miracles, both fasted forty days, both had their faces illuminated with a divine splendor. But still Christ was far greater than Moses. The latter was only a servant in the house of God, but Christ is a Son and Lord (Heb. 3). Moses promulgated the law, Christ the gospel. Moses was a simple internuncius, but Christ a true peacemaker (*eirēnopoios*). Moses had glory in his ministration. But what was the glory of his countenance (*katargoumenēn*) when it passed away? Yet the glory of Christ is constant and eternal (2 Cor. 3:11).

XX. The object of the prophetic office (inasmuch as Christ exercised it immediately) was the Jews, for which reason he is called “the minister of

circumcision" (Rom. 15:8). He professes that he was sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Mt. 15:24). However, inasmuch as he exercised it mediately in the Old Testament, it was the same Jews (Rom. 9:4), with the exception of a few Gentiles, who were called as the firstfruits of the Gentiles: such as Melchizedek, Jethro, Rahab, Naaman and the like. But in the New Testament it is all nations indiscriminately who are called to a participation in salvation.

Eighth Question: The Priestly Office of Christ

Whether Christ was a Priest of true name who began his priesthood on earth. Or was he so called only figuratively, who fulfilled his office in heaven after his ascension and not before? We affirm the former and deny the latter against the Socinians

I. The second part of the mediatorial office of Christ is his sacerdotal dignity, the basis of all the benefits which Christ purchased by his death. Because various controversies are waged by various parties, we must treat this distinctly. So that we speak first of the Priest, then of the priesthood as to its double grade (to wit, satisfaction and intercession).

What is the priesthood of Christ?

II. The priesthood of Christ is the function of the mediatorial office according to which he performs those things with God which must be performed for sinners; both by offering himself up once as a victim for them and by interceding for them always with the Father. The great excellence of this function appears from the fact that no mystery was either predicted by clearer prophecies or adumbrated by more frequent types.

Concerning Christ, a Priest.

III. Our first controversy is with the Socinians, who, although they confess with the mouth that Christ is a Priest, yet in fact deny it by changing his priesthood from a proper to a figurative one in order thus the more easily to overthrow the verity of his satisfaction. Thus the Ravocian Catechism ("Of

the Priestly Office of Christ," Sect. VI, *Racovian Catechism* [1818], pp. 349–59), Smalcius (*De Divinitate Jesu Christi* 23 [1608], pp. 134–40) and Vokelius (*De vera Religione* 3.37 [1630], pp. 144–47) explain themselves. First, they deny that Christ was properly a Priest, but is called so only figuratively and analogically. Nor does this office differ from the kingly in any other way than that the latter is the power and the former is the will to help us—that as King he is able, as Priest he also wills to assist us. Second, they maintain that he was not a Priest on earth, but became so only at last in heaven and that his death was not strictly an oblation or sacrifice, but a preparation for that sacrifice to be offered at length in heaven. Third, that no expiation of sin was made by any sacrifice offered on earth, but that the expiation (accomplished in heaven) is our deliverance, both from punishment (that we may not be damned on account of our sins) and from sins (that we may not serve them).

IV. The orthodox on the contrary constantly affirm that Christ is a real Priest and his priesthood one properly so called (which he performed partly on earth by the offering up of his body [both a true and real sacrifice for the expiation of our sins] and performs partly in heaven by interceding for us). Thus the priesthood is formally distinguished from the kingship: the former consisting in the offering of sacrifice and in intercession; the latter in the government and defense of the people acquired by the offering (which is proved distinctly).

1. Proof that Christ was a true Priest.

V. First, that Christ was a real Priest who offered a sacrifice properly so called appears: (a) because he is frequently called a Priest (Ps. 110:4; Heb. 5:5 and many times in chaps. 7–10); also he is reckoned among priests properly so called (Heb. 5:1) appointed to offer gifts and to do what ought to be done with God. Nor is the fact that his priesthood is contradistinguished from the Levitical priesthood (Heb. 7, 8) opposed to this because the consequence (from the negation of the species to the negation of the genus) is not valid. Hence it is gathered that this priesthood differs from the Levitical and is far more excellent; but it would be wrong to infer from this that his priesthood is improper and figurative. On the contrary, because it transcends the Levitical priesthood, it ought to be most

proper and perfect, just as the priesthood of Melchizedek did not cease to be a true priesthood, although widely differing from the Levitical. (b) All priestly acts are ascribed to him—oblation and intercession (Heb. 7:27; 9:24; 10:7). (c) He was adumbrated by various types, both common (such as were the Levitical priests, who failed in various particulars) and special, in Melchizedek, who in a peculiar manner signified him (as will be seen hereafter). As therefore these were true priests, Christ must necessarily have also been a true and properly so-called Priest.

2. And was such even while on earth.

VI. Second, that he was a Priest while on earth and not just when in heaven is evident not only from the fact that on earth he was called to the priesthood (Mt. 3:17; Heb. 5:5) and because he already exercised on earth priestly acts by the offering of prayers (Jn. 17; Heb. 5:7, 8) and the sacrifice of himself (Eph. 5:2; Heb. 1:3; 10:6, 7) in which he gave himself a ransom (*antilytron*) for us and made an expiation of sin; but also because the priest, who was a type of Christ, did not become a priest when he entered into the holy place, but he was also a priest before the offering of a victim (which the apostle teaches obtained its fulfillment in Christ, Heb. 9:11, 12). It is confirmed from the nature of the priesthood, which is ordained for the offering of gifts and sacrifices for sins (Heb. 5:1). Yet this ought to be done not in heaven, but on earth because victims are not offered elsewhere. Again where there is a true sacrifice, there a true priest should be; but on the cross a true sacrifice was offered (according to the apostle, Heb. 7:27; 9:25, 28), which cannot be referred to the intercessory offering made continually in heaven. (a) It treats of an offering which corresponds with the offering of victims, made under the Old Testament by killing them and shedding their blood. (b) It treats of an offering made once for all (*ephapax*) and which consists in the suffering and death of Christ, not of that which is made continually in heaven—for that which is made to the end of the world cannot be said to be made once. (c) The discourse concerns that in which he visibly appeared, which ought to be understood of the days of his flesh on earth and not of his stay in heaven (where he now remains invisible until he returns to judgment). (d) That offering is meant which ought to have preceded his sitting down at the right hand of God since it is indeed said

after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, he sat down on the right hand of God (Heb. 10:12) where the one offering is opposed to the sitting down forever. Now if that offering consisted in Christ's bearing the yoke for us, it would no longer be one offering (*mia thysia*), but an offering (*thysia*) equal with his sitting down (*eis to diēnekes*). Nor could that session be said to have followed that offering, since it would consist most especially in it.

3. That the priesthood is distinguished from the kingship.

VII. Third, that the priesthood is distinguished from the kingship formally. It does not consist only in a general will to assist us, but in the special will of offering a body divinely prepared for him as a sacrifice for our sins (as is evident). Although the kingly and sacerdotal offices in Christ unite amicably to the same common end (to wit, the salvation of men), still they are distinguished by peculiar functions (as among men the censer and the scepter, the headband and the crown differ). Kings are set over men by God to rule, defend and keep them in duty. But priests are appointed for men with God to offer gifts and oblations for sins (Heb. 5:1). Thus the formal acts of the priesthood of Christ are oblation and intercession, but of his kingship the defense, government and deliverance of the church. A king acts for the people and against enemies; a priest acts in the name of the people with God. The ability to protect his own and conquer enemies is the property of the kingship, but that of the priesthood is righteousness to appease God and satisfy the law. Hence the types of the priesthood and of the kingship were different in the Levitical priesthood and in the Davidic kingship. Falsely then is the priesthood made to consist only in the will to assist us (which belongs to the kingship as well as to the priesthood) since Scripture expressly makes it consist in the offering of his own body (Heb. 10:5–7) while expiation (properly so called) follows. This is made not only through the pardoning of sins by a certain absolute power, but through a true and proper satisfaction made by the blood and death of the surety on earth.

Sources of explanation.

VIII. When Paul says, “If Christ were on earth, he should not be a priest, seeing that there are priests that offer gifts according to the law” (Heb. 8:4), he does not wish to deny absolutely that Christ was a Priest while on earth (for this he at length asserts and confirms in chapters 7, 9 and 10). Rather he means it relatively, concerning one of the acts of that priesthood (namely, his appearance before and intercession with the Father), which could not be done elsewhere than in heaven. Thus this pertained to the present time in which the apostle was speaking, so that the sense is—If Christ were now on earth, he could not be a priest, since indeed in the Old Testament the high priest did not always remain in the outer court, but it behooved him sometimes to enter the holy place with blood. For if he had not done this, he would not have fulfilled all the parts of his office. But it does not follow that if the entrance of Christ into heaven was requisite for the continuance and consummation of that priesthood, it was requisite for its constitution. On the contrary, he would not have entered into heaven if he had not already been a Priest.

IX. Although the priesthood could not be accomplished on earth, it does not follow that it could not be begun there; nor do the things which pertain to the continuance belong straightway to the constitution of the priesthood. It is one thing for his priesthood not to be perfect and consummated on earth (which we grant); another for him not to have been truly and perfectly a Priest while on earth (which we deny). Yea, even for entering upon the former, he ought to have been already actually a Priest. Aaron was perfectly a priest even when he was remaining in the outer court, although he had not fulfilled all the parts of his office.

X. The suffering and death of Christ ought indeed to have been preparatory and antecedent to his intercession, which was the other part of his priesthood, to be performed in heaven. But they could not be called a preparation for the priesthood to be administered only in heaven, since in that death was properly contained a sacerdotal offering and delivering up of Christ for us.

XI. In Heb. 5:5, it is not taught when Christ was constituted a Priest, but by whom (to wit, by the Father, who acknowledged him as his Son). Therefore, it marks the divinity, not the time of his calling. If the declaration of Christ’s priesthood pertains to the resurrection, it is not at once to be denied that he was already a Priest. For the thing is not to be

confounded with the manifestation of the thing. Other things bearing upon this subject can be found in the Disputation, "De Satisfactionis Christi Veritate," Part VI, Section 19–33 in *Opera* [1848], 4:574–82.

Ninth Question

On the nature and unity of Christ's priesthood and why it is said to be according to the order of Melchizedek

The twofold typical priesthood a figure of Christ's priesthood.

I. The nature and dignity of Christ's priesthood cannot be better understood than from a comparison of the twofold typical priesthood by which it was adumbrated in the Old Testament (to wit, the Levitical and the Melchizedekian—both of which indubitably had a reference to Christ and obtained their fulfillment in him; although in the latter, its far more perfect image was exhibited than in the former). Hence it is said to have been after the order of Melchizedek and not after the order of Aaron.

Comparison and difference between the Levitical and Christ's priesthood.

II. For although the Levitical priesthood was principally instituted for no other end than to adumbrate the priesthood of Christ (and the similarity can be traced in various things), still it is certain that the latter was far more august and perfect than the former and that they differ in many respects, whether we regard the persons or institution or efficacy or perfection and duration.

1. As to the persons.

III. For with regard to the persons, the Levitical priests were taken from the tribe of Levi alone; but Christ was to spring from the tribe of Judah (Heb. 7:13, 14). They were mere men; he the true and eternal Son of God. They

were sinners who had need to offer for themselves; he was holy and immaculate who ought to offer only for us and not for himself (Heb. 7:26, 27). They differed from the victims which they offered and had to make expiation with others' blood; he was at the same time Priest and victim who delivered himself up for us and by his own blood entered into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. They were many (because individuals could not fulfill all the parts of that office), but Christ (because he most perfectly performed all things by himself) stands alone, needing neither a successor nor a vicar.

2. As to institution.

IV. (2) In respect of manner of institution although each was instituted by God, still the method of institution was far different. The Levitical was indeed without an oath, but the priesthood of Christ was with an oath (*meta horkōmosias*, Heb. 7:20, 21; Ps. 110:4) inasmuch as the sanction of an oath being employed the heavenly Father promised to Christ an eternal and unchangeable (*ametamelēton*) priesthood. The former "after the law of a carnal commandment" (*kata nomon entolēs sarkikēs*, Heb. 7:16) (i.e., various external and corporeal ceremonies having been employed, which were changeable and to be abolished); the latter "after the power of an endless life" (*kata dynamin zōēs akatalytuo*, i.e., not by that law and omen, that being soon about to die he would transmit the priesthood to others coming after him, but being consecrated through the Holy Spirit with a heavenly virtue and inaugurated to immortal life, he would be a Priest forever).

3. As to efficacy.

V. (3) With respect to efficacy; the Levitical was weak (*asthenes*) and useless (*anōpheles*), having by itself no power to expiate sin and purge the conscience (Heb. 9:13, 14; 10:3, 4). On this account, the law is said to have made nothing perfect (Heb. 7:19). Now what frequently offered and innumerable victims could not do, this single victim once offered accomplished (Heb. 10:10). The priesthood of Christ is most efficacious, both for justification through the infinite merit of his righteousness and for

sanctification through the power of the Spirit. Hence all legal victims being rejected, God acquiesced in this sacrifice alone (Heb. 10:6–8; 1 Jn. 1:7).

4. As to perfection.

VI. (4) With respect to perfection; because the Levitical was inefficacious, it was on that account also imperfect, inasmuch as the same sacrifices had to be repeated every year and every day (Heb. 10:11). But because the priesthood of Christ was of infinite value and efficacy, on that account it was most perfect and exhaustive; so that the offering having been made once, it neither can nor ought to be repeated (as the apostle fully teaches, Heb. 10).

5. As to duration.

VII. Finally, as to duration; for the Levitical was temporal, both with respect to the order (which was to continue for a certain time only and afterwards to be abolished, Dan. 9:27; Heb. 7:16) and with respect to the persons (who being mortal, could not live long, but had need of successors to succeed in place of the defunct; so that from one to another the priesthood might be transmitted). But as Christ is immortal and living forever, he thus has an eternal and unchangeable (*aparabaton*) priesthood in which he has no predecessor or successor and which he administered not only on earth, but also (always living) exercises perpetually in heaven that he may plead for us (Heb. 7:24, 25).

What was the priesthood of Melchizedek?

VIII. The other typical priesthood (but far more excellent than the preceding and from which the priesthood of Christ is denominated) is that of Melchizedek, whose history Moses briefly relates (Gen. 14:17–24). David merely mentions the type (Ps. 110:4) and the apostle more fully unfolds it in his epistle to the Hebrews. However, since this argument is difficult to explain (*dysermēneuton*, Heb. 5:11) and light comes to us from no other source for gaining a knowledge of the mystery, we ought

undoubtedly to acquiesce in those things which God wished to reveal to us in this place.

Who was Melchizedek?

IX. We should say something concerning his person, although it is easier to say who he was not than to describe who he was—the silence of Scripture imposing silence upon us here in a certain manner and checking our curiosity. First (negatively, *kat' arsin*), we cannot agree with those who make Melchizedek not a man, but the Holy Spirit (as some ancient heretics who on that account were called Melchizedekians, mentioned by Epiphanius, *Panarion* 55 [PG 41.971–90]; and Sixtus Senensis, *Bibliotheca Sancta* 5, anno. 90 [1575], 2:33). Or they make him the Son of God himself, manifesting himself to Abraham in this prelude to his future incarnation, as Cunaeus held (*De Republica Hebraeorum* 3.3 [1666], pp. 273–94). (a) There is no greater reason for understanding symbolically what is related of him in Gen. 14 than what is related of the other kings of Canaan. (b) Moses removes all doubt from us when he so expressly describes him by name, residence (a well-known place in Palestine), and office and actions. (c) Christ could not be called a priest after the order of Melchizedek unless he could be distinguished from him; nor could Melchizedek himself be considered truly like unto the Son of God (*aphōmoiomenos*, Heb. 7:3) unless he differed from Christ as the type from the prototype. Nor does his being said to be without father (*apatōr*) and without mother (*amētōr*) prove that he was not a mortal man. This is to be understood not absolutely, but comparatively; not so much positively as if he were such simply, as negatively because Scripture is silent concerning it (as will afterwards be seen). In no other way is to be understood what is said in Heb. 7:3—that he abides a priest continually. He was alone (having no successor) and testimony is given to him "that he liveth" (v. 8) because Moses (mentioning neither his birth nor death) seems, as it were, to set him forth as immortal. Thus a true and properly so-called eternity may in a certain manner be adumbrated.

X. Second, nor can we yield to those who think he was Shem, the son of Noah (as most of the Jews hold, an opinion embraced by Jerome, *Letter 73*, "To Evangelium" [PL 22.676–81] following Epiphanius, *Panarion* 55.6

[PG 41.982–83], and by many others). He could not be said to be without father (*apatōr*), without mother (*amētōr*) and without descent (*agenealogētos*), since his genealogy, birth and death are so accurately given. Nor can any reason be given why Moses should have changed the name. Again Canaan did not yield to Shem in inheritance, but to the Canaanites (Gen. 10:15, 19). Finally, Melchizedek had nothing in common with the Levitical race; otherwise Levi would have received no less tithes in Shem than he had given in Abraham. Nor is it credible that the grandfather would receive tithes in the grandson or that the patriarch could be called a stranger in the country of his grandfather and under his eyes. Hence Josephus and Philo openly reject this opinion of their own comrades.

XI. Therefore the third opinion only is seen to be retained by us. It maintains that Melchizedek was a true man, sprung from men, king of Salem, who lived in the time of Abraham and held a kingly with a priestly office. To seek further who he was, is to pry into that which God has not been willing to make known to us. Yea, if this could be known and perceived, there would be no place for a type and mystery, the whole reason of which depends on this—that God for some wise purpose was unwilling that the race, birth and death of so great a man should be designated. In other cases, this is usually done intentionally, as often as reference is made to public persons (to wit, priests or kings). Nor can any other reason be given why that was not done than the special reason of a mystery (which the apostle follows up in the epistle to the Hebrews).

What is the order (taxis) *of Melchizedek?*

XII. This much was to be premised in order that the true reason of this figure may be known. For a clearer knowledge of it, we must first ascertain what the psalmist (Ps. 110:4) and after him Paul (Heb. 7:17) mean by *taxin Melchisedek*. The Hebrew word *dhbrthy* Paul translates by *taxin*, which denotes "an order," "custom" or "condition." Thus *y* here is paragogical, not an affix (as in Ecc. 3:18, *dhbrth bny 'dm*, "the condition of the sons of men"). Thus *taxis Aarōn* designates nothing else than the condition of the Aaronic priesthood prescribed by the law, as we gather from v. 16 where what he had said *kata tēn taxin* is interpreted "not after the law of a carnal commandment" (*ou kata nomon entolēs sarkikēs*) and what he said *kata*

taxin Melchisedek, he explains by "after the power of an endless life" (*kata dynamin zōēs akatalytou*). Thus nothing else is denoted than the condition of the Melchizedekian priesthood and the agreement and similarity existing between it and the priesthood of Christ in this respect (as the apostle expresses it, "after the similitude" [*kata tēn homoiotēta*, v. 15]).

Christ agrees with Melchizedek: (1) in name and (2) in origin.

XIII. Now this similitude is made to consist of various particulars by the apostle: (1) in the name because he was called Melchizedek, king of Salem, which the apostle interprets to mean "king of righteousness" and "king of peace" (Heb. 7:2). Both of these properly belong to Christ, who is "Jehovah our righteousness" and the "Prince of Peace." (2) In origin because Melchizedek is described to us by Moses as without father (*apatōr*), without mother (*amētōr*) and without descent (*agenealogētos*, v. 3), not absolutely and simply, as if he were positively such (which the common condition of men, from the race of whom it was before said he had sprung, rejects); but relatively, in respect of the Mosaic description. For Moses speaks of Melchizedek as if he had fallen down from heaven, making no mention of his birth or death or of his parents, so that the true eternity of Christ might in a certain manner be adumbrated by such silence. Therefore, he is said to be without father (*apatōr*) and without mother (*amētōr*) not in nature (as a natural man and a son of Adam), but in economy (as a mystical man and a figure of the second Adam)—just as he is considered here not according to generation, but commemoration (because we find nothing about his parents in Scripture). In like manner, that he lacked "beginning of days" and "end of life" because it preserves a deep silence concerning his nativity and death. That he is without descent (*agenealogētos*) because his race is nowhere described, "whose father nor mother are written in the genealogies" (as the Syrian rightly explains it), i.e., for whom neither ancestors nor posterity are given in Scripture, so that it cannot be told from whom he sprang or who were to spring from him. For *genealogein* is to enumerate the race and family of anyone as *genealogein theous* is to "weave the genealogy of the gods" (according to Justin Martyr, cf.

Hortatory Address to the Greeks 2 [ANF 1:274; PG 6.245–46]). But what only shadowily and imperfectly are found in him are truly and perfectly fulfilled in Christ: whether in respect of person or of office. For as to person, he was truly without father (*apatōr*) as man, truly without mother (*amētōr*) as God; as to office, neither born of a father who was a priest, nor from a mother who had sprung from priests. Nor do we read of his having either a predecessor or successor in this office (in which manner he is truly without descent [*agenealogētos*]).

3. In duration.

(3) As to duration because he is set forth as immortal, since no mention is made of his death by Moses (Heb. 7:8). But this is said most truly of Christ because he is a priest forever according to the power of an indissoluble law (Heb. 7:16).

4. In office.

XIV. (4) As to office because in him were united two offices—the regal and the priestly. The same King of men was the Priest of the most high God. This was not allowed under the Old Testament, in which God so circumscribed the limits of both these offices that one and the same person could not ordinarily exercise both. But this was truly fulfilled in Christ, who is described to us as a King and Priest (Ps. 110).

5. In dignity.

6. In unity.

(5) As to dignity because he is set forth to us as superior to Abraham in that he is said to have blessed him (to wit, with a customary and priestly blessing according to which the lesser is blessed by the greater [Heb. 7:7], which Abraham himself publicly acknowledged by paying tithes to Melchizedek, which evidently were due to God only and to his ministers, Gen. 28:22). Thus Christ obtained a far more excellent office than the Levitical. Even though Christ was to spring from Abraham (as did Levi), he

cannot be said to have paid tithes in him (as Levi is said to) because he was there only according to the flesh and the human nature, not according to the person and divine nature (which are here to be specially regarded). (6) As to unity because Melchizedek is set forth as the only one, having neither predecessor nor successor. Thus Christ is the sole Priest of the New Testament, who needs neither vicars nor successors. He lives forever, having an unchangeable (*aparabaton*) priesthood, as opposed to the Levitical priests, who (infirm and mortal) had to be many (Heb. 7:22, 23, 28).

XV. These are the principal heads of that similitude which show the priesthood of Melchizedek to be far more excellent than the Levitical. But Romanists deny that in these the reason of that order is to be constituted, but say it must be sought in the "bloodless sacrifice of bread and wine" which is offered daily in the Mass after the oblation of Melchizedek by the ministry of the priests of the New Testament, who were instituted by Christ for that purpose. But neither the blessing and tithing can constitute that distinction since both would be done by the Levitical priests; nor its unity and lack of succession because we read of no one having succeeded Abel (nor is the family of Job or of Elijah mentioned). But this reasoning is of no avail. (1) Although the things ascribed to Melchizedek may be found separately in others, yet nowhere except in him can they be found united. (2) Blessing and tithing in general pertained also to the Levitical priests, but not in the manner in which they are ascribed to Melchizedek, since he is said to have received tithes from and to have blessed Abraham (and in him the Levites as a superior blesses inferiors). (3) Abel cannot be called without father (*apatōr*), without mother (*amētōr*), or without descent (*agenealogētos*), nor is the family of Job and Elijah passed over in absolute silence. Besides these were not priests (of whom we are now treating).

Whether many priests after the order of Melchizedek may be granted. It is denied.

XVI. But let us see further, how falsely is obtruded a priesthood of the New Testament after the order of Melchizedek exercised by the ministers of Christ in the sacrifice of the Mass. This is plainly gathered from various

sources. First, in this is constituted by the apostle the distinction between the Levitical and Melchizedekian priesthood—that they indeed were many simutaneously as well as successively; he however was alone, who should have neither partner nor successor. "And they truly," says the apostle in Heb. 7:23, 24, "were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death: But this man, because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood." This certainly could not be said if the Melchizedekian priesthood admitted of many mortal and infirm priests succeeding him, no other than the Levitical priesthood.

XVII. Nor does it avail to reply here with Bellarmine, "Paul does indeed exclude priests of the same order and dignity, but not inferior priests who, in respect of Christ, are really servants. No one indeed can succeed Christ in the same order because he lives forever, but nothing prevents others from being instituted under him as his vicars and servants; so that although Christ is our only Shepherd and Teacher (Mt. 23:8) still there can be other inferior teachers and shepherds without detriment to him" (lib. 1 de Missa, cap. 25+). (a) This distinction openly contradicts what the apostle says: The priesthood of Christ is unchangeable (*aparabaton*, Heb. 7:24), i.e., not only perpetual, but one which cannot be transmitted to another. Now if there could be many secondary priests, they would have a joint priesthood transmitted from Christ to them. (b) It is at variance also with the type. The priesthood of Melchizedek was such that it had no adjuncts (whether as successors or vicars and secondary priests), but was included in Melchizedek alone, every other being excluded. Therefore, since Christ is a Priest after the order of Melchizedek, he ought to be alone so that no one can be associated with him in this office under any name whatsoever (or pretext, partner, successor or secondary priest). For if the figure is restricted to one person, why not the verity with a better right? And if from the fact that Melchizedek had no successor the conclusion holds good that neither does Christ have any, then why not from the fact that he had no inferior is it not equally concluded that Christ has none? It is confirmed by this—that in the calling of Aaron mention is always made of his sons and posterity, but with respect to Melchizedek mention is made of the person himself for no other reason than to show that the Aaronic priesthood was assigned to one family, but the Melchizedekian to one person. (c) These secondary priests are either of the same species with the primary or they are of a diverse

species; but neither can be said. Not the latter because thus the sacrifice which they offer would be different from the sacrifice of Christ (which our opponents do not allow). Not the former because thus they ought to be kings and priests, without fathers (*apatores*), without mothers (*amētores*), without descent (*agenealogētoi*) and to have a perpetual and unchangeable (*aparabaton*) priesthood (which could not be transmitted to another) and in which they would have neither predecessors nor successors (and the like, in which that order of Melchizedekian priesthood consists according to the apostle). Everyone sees that this cannot be said of them. Again, they ought to be ordained with an oath and after the power of an endless life (as Christ); to be pure and immaculate, not having need to offer for themselves, but only for the people, who should themselves be priests and victims; offer only once, not daily; not be prevented by death from remaining to minister in the true sanctuary (namely, heaven) as is said of Christ; but how different from them appears by itself. (d) If there are not under the New Testament priests of the same dignity and order with Christ because the reason for which there were many under the law does not now exist (i.e., "the necessity of dying"), so neither can there be many unequal and secondary because the reason for which there were many under the law ceases (i.e., infirmity) because one could not execute so many functions. On this account, he was obliged to have many associates to relieve him. But neither reason has place in Christ (immortal and most perfect), who therefore is neither prevented by death from continuing nor by infirmity is he unequal to so great an office (which is the reasoning of the apostle, Heb. 7:23, 24, 28).

XVIII. Nor can the contrary be proved by the instance (taken from the prophetic office of Christ) which can admit of secondary pastors and teachers, although Christ remains always the supreme pastor and teacher of the church. (a) A prophet who treats with men in the name of God differs from a priest who treats with God in the name of men. As to the former, Christ, remaining in heaven, requires ministers who (making up for his bodily presence) may visibly address men and frequently reach them; but as to the latter, since Christ is always present with the Father and the sacrifice once offered is of indefinite virtue, he does not require ministers to sacrifice in his place. (b) Christ, who calls himself our highest teacher, ordained apostles and ministers to preach (Mt. 28:19; Eph. 4:11), but we nowhere

read of his having ordained inferior priests. (c) Inferior pastors under Christ do not impugn any type, as secondary priests would. (d) When Christ is called the only teacher, it ought to be understood to the exclusion of all others because he teaches externally and internally and because he brought us the gospel from heaven. Thus pastors teach nothing which they have not received from him (which can apply to no mortal). But this cannot be said of his priesthood because on the hypothesis of our opponents priests ought to be of the same order with Christ.

2. It was not instituted by Christ.

XIX. Second, that priesthood we do not anywhere in the New Testament read of as having been instituted either by Christ or by his apostles. Paul enumerates various orders of sacred offices both ordinary and extraordinary (Rom. 12; 1 Cor. 12; Eph. 4), but concerning priests of the New Testament he preserves a deep silence. Now is it credible that Paul, who so accurately set forth all that belongs to the sacred ministry (even the more minute and less necessary, as is seen in the epistles to Timothy and to Titus), would have omitted this species and part of that office which is special and primary and in comparison with which the rest seem to be of small importance? Thus Christ does indeed call his own to the apostleship and ministry, to teach, preach the gospel and administer the sacraments; but nowhere does he command them to perform the priestly office and to offer him daily as a propitiatory (*hilastikon*) sacrifice. Nor is it favored by his commanding his disciples in the institution of the Eucharist to "do this in remembrance of him," because this applies to all believers (according to Paul's interpretation, who explains it by eating the bread and drinking the cup: "As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come," 1 Cor. 11:26*). Hence Bellarmine acknowledges this to be common to all Christians ("De Sacramento Eucharistae," 4.16 *Opera* [1858], 3:430–32). Again, it is an unheard-of thing that the same words can apply to two diverse and greatly separated sacraments, which would be the case here (namely, to the institution of the Eucharist and of a priesthood). Also, it gratuiously assumes that "do" is here put for "sacrifice." Nothing can be more foreign to the mind of Christ, who is found here to have neither

observed nor enjoined upon his apostles any rite of sacrificing (as will be more fully shown in the proper place).

3. This priesthood can belong to no man.

XX. Third, this priesthood according to the order of Melchizedek is accompanied by such characters and marks as can belong to no one but Christ: that he is a Priest called and ordained by God with an oath (Heb. 7:21); having no need to offer for himself, but for the people (Heb. 7:27); who should offer not often, but once only; not the blood of another, but his own to take away sin (Heb. 9:26); who by his own blood ought to enter into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption (Heb. 9:12); who is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever lives (Heb. 7:25); finally, who to perform all these duties is holy, undefiled and separate from sinners (Heb. 7:26).

4. Because Paul does not speak of it.

XXI. Fourth, the apostle, who so earnestly treats of the resemblance between the priesthood of Melchizedek and of Christ, says not a word about this bloodless sacrifice, or offering of bread and wine, in which they make this resemblance particularly to consist. He would not have omitted this if he had agreed in opinion with the papists. Nor must it be said here with Bellarmine that this did not fall in with the design of the apostle, which was to extol the excellence of Christ's priesthood above the Levitical. If the apostle intended to institute a comparison of this twofold priesthood, could or ought he to have omitted its most important part? Or that the mystery of the Lord's Supper was too deep to be perceived by the Hebrews, which the apostle calls "hard to be understood" (*dysermēneuton*, Heb. 5:11). For if this was the reason, he ought to have said nothing about so many other mysteries, no less difficult; yea, far more difficult than the mystery of the Lord's Supper (for example, the divinity of Christ, his incarnation, sacrifice, etc). Yea, in 6:1 the apostle testifies that the Hebrews ought not to remain in the rudiments of religion but, leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, to go on unto perfection.

5. Because the priesthood of Aaron and of Melchizedek do not differ in this respect.

XXII. Fifth, thus the priesthood of Aaron and of Melchizedek would not differ in this particular while they are set forth by the apostle as most diverse, since in the former also there was the offering of bread and wine (Ex. 29:24; Lev. 2; Num. 28:5, 12), where similar offerings are enjoined, not only as a certain part of another sacrifice or a seasoning of it, but also as an offering by itself (Lev. 2:1, 2). Yea, the Melchizedekian would be thrown below the Levitical priesthood, if what constituted there a part of the sacrifice, constituted here the whole sacrifice. Nor does it help the matter to reply that the Melchizedekian differed in this from the Levitical—in that the latter offered sacrifices of all kinds, bloody and bloodless; but the former only a bloodless. For so far from any excellence being given to the Melchizedekian, on the contrary the Levitical would have to be considered far more excellent for this very reason. Besides Christ would thus rather have to be called a Priest after the order of Aaron, than of Melchizedek, since he offered both a bloody and bloodless sacrifice in this sense—a bloody upon the cross, a bloodless in the Lord's Supper.

Sources of explanation.

XXIII. We find nothing in the history of Melchizedek (Gen. 14:17–24) from which we can infer that he offered a bloodless sacrifice of bread and wine to God. Nor does what is said concerning "the bringing forth bread and wine" for Abraham (returning from the slaughter of the kings) belong here. He is not treating of a sacerdotal function, but of the regal munificence by which he wished to recruit the wearied soldiers of Abraham and to entertain his victorious friend with a royal feast. This was the custom in those ancient times, to offer bread and wine to those returning from battle and victorious for the purpose of refreshing them (as Fagius remarks on Gen. 14:18, "Annotata ad Genesim," *Critici Sacri* [1660], 1:183). An example of this occurs in Jdg. 8:5, where the inhabitants of Succoth went out with loaves of bread to meet Gideon after he warred against the Midianites. Thus according to the Hebrew style, "bread" signifies all kinds of food and "to

eat bread" with anyone is to sit at table and enjoy social intercourse with him. That this was the meaning of Moses in this place is proved: (1) from the word *hvtsy'*, which is "to bring forth," "to bring into the midst," "to draw out," "to lead out," not "to offer." Hence the Septuagint translates it uniformly by *agein, exagein, ekpherein* and never by *thyein*. Nor does it admit of any other meaning in Jdg. 6:18. Yea, if it could be taken in any other place in Scripture for a sacerdotal action, it would not follow that it must be taken here likewise in such a sense. (2) The nature of the thing demands this because a sacrificial offering demands some altar erected for this purpose, of which we find no mention made by Moses (as elsewhere he does carefully note this when he speaks of the sacrifice of Noah, Abraham, Jacob and others). Hence it is clear that this offering was not made to God for a sacrifice, but to Abraham for a feast. (3) Thus Josephus explains it, "Melchizedek here made presents to Abraham's army and furnished it with a great abundance of necessary things" (*echorēgēse de hyotos ho Melchisedek tō Abraam stratō xenia, kai pollēn aphthonian tōn epitēdeiōn paresche*, AJ 1.181 [Loeb, 4:88–89]). The Septuagint translates it by *exēnegēe*. In many versions (for instance the Complutensian) *autō* is added exegetically—"brought forth to him bread and wine" (*exēnenken autō artous kai oinon*). Thus Onkelos renders it (cf. Walton, *Biblia sacra polyglotta* [1657], p. 55 on Gen. 14:18). The Vulgate (which is authoritative with Romanists) has *protulit*. Jerome and Ambrose on this passage inform us that the old Hebrews so understood it (*Letter* 73, "To Evangelium*" [PL 22.678]; *De Abraham* 1.3.16–17 [PL 14.448–49]). Cajetan confesses that nothing is written here concerning a sacrifice or oblation, but concerning the bringing forward and drawing forth of bread and wine (which Josephus says was done for the refreshment of the victors, AJ 1.179–82 [Loeb, 4:88–91]).

XXIV. The instances adduced by our adversaries do not prove the contrary. (1) That the cause of oblation is at once given (drawn from the priesthood) when it is added, "For he was the priest of the Most High God." In the Hebrew, it is not a causal particle, but a copulative: as it is rendered by Pagninus, Montanus, Vatablus and the Septuagint, *hēn de hiereus*. Nor does it refer to what precedes, so as to render the reason why he brought forth bread and wine (since he did it as a friendly and confederate king), but to what follows in order that it may be understood by what right he blessed

Abraham and received tithes from him. Nor if a Sophpasuch is added, does it show that the discourse is ended, but only the verse (as is frequently the case elsewhere, Ps. 95:7, 8; Gen. 23:17, 18; Jer. 33:10, 11). (2) That there was no need for the bread and wine to be appropriated to supplying the wants of Abraham's soldiers because they were now sated with booty (v. 24). It does not follow, Pererius himself being judge: "There seems to be little strength in this confutation because either Melchizedek did not know this, or if he did, he nevertheless wished by this gift to declare his benevolence towards Abraham and special delightful pleasure at his victory" ("Quinta Disputatio quae est tertia de Melchisedec," *Commentarium et disputationum in Genesim* [1601], 3:192 on Gen. 14). Besides all spoils are not eatable, capable of being eaten. (3) That nowhere else is mention made of Melchizedek's sacrifice, nor is its rite described except here. Therefore these words can with propriety be made to favor it, even if they are referred to a feast (that it is a sacred and religious feast) to prove his communion in the true worship of God, as was customary after sacrifices. But there was no more necessity for Moses to treat of the sacrifice of Melchizedek than of his genealogy and parents. For besides the fact that the priesthood is more extensive than the sacrifice (since praying and blessing belong to it), the design of the Holy Spirit was not to recount all the acts of Melchizedek's priesthood, but those only in which he excelled the Levitical priests (which could not be done by the reason of a sacrifice which was common to them). The mystical silence of Scripture on this as on other things was to intimate that Christ had nothing out of himself by which a sacrifice could be denoted because he ought to be both the Priest and the victim. What is added concerning the sacred and religious feast which followed his sacrifice (that the bread had been sacrificed before it was set before Abraham) is a mere supposition, not a trace of which occurs in the account given by Moses. Yea, it introduces inconsistencies (*asystata*). For since a sacrifice (as Bellarmine confesses) secures the destruction of the thing sacrificed, if the bread and wine were once destroyed in sacrifice, how could they be suitable for reception by men? The flesh of animals could indeed be eaten after their immolation, in which they suffered a destruction of themselves (i.e., death). But the same cannot be said of inanimate things which cannot be destroyed, except when they are either consumed or evaporated by the flames so that they cannot be used for food anymore.

XXV. Eternity of priesthood does not immediately infer the perpetuity of the offering of the sacrifice; as if the priesthood would be unoccupied, if a sacrifice was not offered continually by him. But it suffices that the sacrifice be perpetual in respect of efficacy and continual application. Thus the sacrifice of Christ once offered (which ceased with the act of offering), still abides continually in respect of eternal power and value because his blood is always living and fresh before God. Therefore, although the act of sacrifice ceased on earth, the priesthood is not on that account unoccupied, since a priest is not ordained only for offering, but also for interceding and executing other functions; yea, if Christ were now on earth, he would not be a priest (Heb. 8:4). Nor is it necessary that a priest should always have something new to offer (Heb. 8:3). It is only necessary that he should have offered at some time (as the Levitical priests, the sacrifice having been performed, did not cease to be priests). If an oblation is required, it is not always a repetition of the sacrifice, but a most efficacious representation of it by intercession—like the high priest who (the offering having been made in the tabernacle) carried the blood of expiation into the holy of holies interceding for the people.

XXVI. Since the apostle says that Christ is a Priest forever without any mention of a sacrifice, the eternity of his priesthood cannot consist in this, but is referred by the apostle to three other causes: (1) the eternity of his person because Christ, as the Son of God, lives forever (Heb. 7:3, 16, 17); (2) the power and efficacy of his sacrifice, which always abides and extends to all believers of every time (Heb. 7:25; 10:10, 19); (3) the perpetuity of his intercession because he always lives to intercede for us (Heb. 7:25).

XXVII. The Christian religion cannot be without some external and visible sacrifice by which the wrath of God was once appeased and sin expiated; but it is not necessary that that external sacrifice should be offered daily. It suffices that once offered, it has an eternal power and efficacy (which is the case with the sacrifice of Christ).

XXVIII. If it is said anywhere by the prophets that there would be priests and Levites under the New Testament, either it refers to a spiritual and mystical priesthood (which is common to all believers, through which having been made a royal priesthood they ought to offer spiritual victims acceptable to God through Christ [1 Pet. 2:5; Rom. 12:1; Heb. 13:15]; in which sense it is said in Is. 61:6, “Believers shall be named priests and

ministers of God"); or the gospel ministry is meant, which is expressed by a legal phrase on account of the analogy of both. For as God employed the ministry of priests to conserve the method of divine worship, so in the Christian church he willed to use the sacred ministry by which the elect might be led to Christ and having been led might constantly persevere in his service. Thus the passage is to be understood where he says, "God will take of the Gentiles for priests and for Levites" (Is. 66:21), i.e., sacred ministers. However, as Levites are not to be understood properly here (of the tribe of Levi), so neither is the word "priest" to be understood properly, but mystically.

XXIX. If the ancients were accustomed sometimes to call gospel ministers priests, this was not done by them to denote that any real and properly so-called external sacrifice could be granted in the church besides the bloody sacrifice offered on the cross (for they were accustomed frequently to apply the same name to believers themselves). But this is especially true for a twofold cause. First, ministers consecrate themselves to the work of the ministry. Second, by preaching the gospel, they (as it were) slay the people of God and offer them to God as a sacrifice well pleasing to him (*euprosdekton tō Theō*). Paul refers to this when he says that he "ministered the gospel of God" (*hierourgein to euangelion*) that "the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost" (Rom. 15:16). Thus there is a sacrifice, but a mystical and figurative one, not a proper and visible one.

XXX. The distinction between a bloody and bloodless offering is absurd (*asystatos*). For (1) if Christ offered himself not only as a bloody but also as a bloodless sacrifice and is daily offered as a sacrifice, there is not one alone, but there are many sacrifices of the same Christ, against the express testimony of Scripture (Heb. 9:25; 10:10, 14). (2) Thus the argument of the apostle that Christ would have to suffer often (if there was a necessity of offering himself often) fails. (3) It is repugnant to the oracle of Paul testifying that without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin (Heb. 9:22). Hence since the proper quality of a sacrifice is to be bloody, whoever holds to any bloodless sacrifice of Christ, by that very thing denies the true sacrifice of Christ.

XXXI. The taking away of the daily sacrifice (discussed in Dan. 8:11) ought to be referred historically and literally to the persecution of Antiochus

(Epiphanes), who profaned the temple and caused the legal worship and especially the daily sacrifice to cease; but mystically (if the reference is to Antichrist) the daily sacrifice cannot pertain to the Mass because it was a bloody sacrifice which was usually offered twice a day and only in one place (which cannot be said of the Mass, but of the sacrifice of Christ, which is continually before God for a propitiation and before believers for their consolation). It can truly be said to have been taken away by Antichrist (by the institution of the sacrifice of the Mass incompatible [*asystatou*] with it).

XXXII. The "pure offering" spoken of by Malachi (1:11) can no more be referred to a sacrifice properly so called, consisting in an offering of bread and wine, than the incense mentioned in the same place. However, as it is clear that by this incense we are to understand mystically the prayers and praises of believers (which are often so designated, Ps. 141:2; Rev. 5:8), so by the pure offering nothing else is meant than the spiritual worship of God to be established among the Gentiles by the preaching of the gospel, the expression being accommodated to the legal worship as everywhere else (Rom. 12:1; 15:16; 1 Pet. 2:5; Phil. 4:18).

Tenth Question: The Necessity of the Satisfaction

Was it necessary for Christ to make satisfaction to divine justice for us? We affirm against the Socinians

I. As the priesthood of Christ (according to the apostle's description and the Levitical types) is divided into two principal parts (*hilasmō* or the satisfaction given for us on the cross; and *emphanismō* or his appearing and intercession for us in heaven, 1 Jn. 2:2; Heb. 9:12), the doctrine of Christ's satisfaction (as the primary and most important part of the great mystery of piety and the principal foundation of our faith and hope) must be established before all things, defended and confirmed against the fiery darts of Satan, with which it is assailed by innumerable adversaries.

II. Whatever relates to the controversy concerning it can be reduced under five heads: (1) its necessity; (2) its truth; (3) its unity and perfection; (4) its mode and parties; (5) its object. We will discuss these distinctly in as many questions.

In what sense the word "satisfaction" is used here.

III. The satisfaction here discussed, is not taken widely for a simple and indiscriminate reparation of injury (as when one purges and excuses himself to him who has suffered injury). Rather it is taken strictly for the payment of a debt, with which is paid what another owes and with which he satisfies the creditor or judge who requires the debt or punishment.

Statement of the question: concerning its necessity.

IV. Concerning the necessity of a satisfaction, there are three principal opinions of theologians. The first of those simply denying it (as the Socinians, who not only deny that Christ satisfied for us, but also affirm that it was not at all necessary, since God both could and would gratuitously remit sin without any satisfaction; cf. Socinus, *De lesu Christo Servatore*, Pt. I. 1 [1594], pp. 1–11). The second, that of those distinguishing between an absolute and hypothetical necessity; as to the latter, maintaining constantly (in opposition to the Socinians) the necessity of a satisfaction because God so decreed it. They also add a necessity of fitness to this because it is most fit that satisfaction should be made to divine justice that his commands may not be said to have been violated with impunity. As to the former, they deny that it was thus necessary absolutely because if God had wished, there were other modes of liberation possible to him. This appears to have been the opinion of Augustine (*The Trinity* 13.10 [FC 45:388–90]) and some of the Reformers, especially those who wrote before the time of Socinus. The third, that of those affirming, who maintain its absolute necessity, so that God not only has not willed to remit our sins without a satisfaction, but could not do so on account of his justice. This is the common opinion of the orthodox (which we follow).

V. However because our adversaries wrong us in many ways by their perverse explanation of our opinion, certain principles must be first laid down from which the whole doctrine concerning the satisfaction of Christ can be the more easily perceived and great light thrown upon both this question and those which follow. These have reference either to sin, for which a satisfaction is required; or to the satisfaction itself which is to be

made; or to God, to whom it is to be rendered; or to Christ, by whom satisfaction is made.

VI. First, sin, which renders us guilty and hated of God and binds us over as debtors to punishment, may be viewed under a threefold relation (*schesei*) either as a debt, which we are bound to pay to divine justice, in which sense the law is called "a handwriting" (Col. 2:14); or as an enmity, whereby not only are we haters of God (*theostygeis*), but God himself looks upon us with hatred and indignation; or as a crime by which, before God, the supreme Ruler and Judge of the world, we become worthy of everlasting death and malediction. Hence sinners are sometimes called "debtors" (Mt. 6:12), then "enemies [*echthroi*] of God" (both actively and passively, Col. 1:21), and again "guilty before God" (*hypodikoi tō theō*, Rom. 3:19). Hence we infer that three things were required for our redemption—the payment of the debt contracted by sin, the appeasing of divine hatred and wrath and the expiation of guilt.

VII. And hence secondly, the nature of the satisfaction to be made for sin may be easily perceived (viz., in which these three relations [*scheseis*] at the same time concur): the payment of the debt, the appeasing of the divine wrath (by reconciling us with him) and the expiation of guilt (by the endurance of punishment). But as the principal relation to be attended to in sin is its criminality, so satisfaction has relation (*schesis*) to the punishment imposed by the supreme Judge.

VIII. However, a twofold payment (noticed by jurists) must be accurately distinguished here. One "by the very act of payment sets at liberty" the guilty and the debtor, when the very thing is paid which is in the obligation, whether the payment is made by the debtor himself or by a surety in his name. Another in which "the mere act of payment is not sufficient to liberate the debtor." For the payment is not the same thing precisely which is demanded in the obligation, but an equivalent, which although it does not by the very deed take away the obligation, yet being admitted (when it might be refused) is regarded as a satisfaction. In a pecuniary and a penal debt, this is evident. In a pecuniary debt, the payment of the debt by the very act frees the debtor (by whomsover the payment is made) because the person who pays is not attended to here, but only what is paid. Hence the creditor (payment being received) is not said to have treated the debtor with indulgence and to have forgiven the debt because he has

received just as much as was due to him. But in a penal debt the case is different because the obligation regards not only things but persons (i.e., not only what is paid, but also him who pays, so that the punishment may be borne by the transgressor). For as the law demands individual personal obedience, so it also exacts a like punishment. Therefore in order that the guilty person may be freed by another's or a vicarious satisfaction, the act of the judge and ruler ought to come in. That act is called "relaxation" (in relation to the law). In relaxation to the debtor or guilty person, it is called pardon because his personal punishment is dispensed with a vicarious punishment admitted and accepted in its place. However, because the subject under discussion (sin) does not have only a relation to debt, but also to criminality, the satisfaction is not of that kind (which by the act itself frees the debtor) unless the forbearance (*epieikeia*) and remission of the Judge comes in. The very thing itself which is in the obligation is not paid (viz., a personal enduring of the punishment), which the law according to strict justice (*akribodikaion*) demands, but only a vicarious suffering. Hence it clearly appears how well remission and satisfaction here agree with each other whatever outcry our opponents may raise against it. For in the enduring of punishment suffered by Christ, there is satisfaction, but in the admission and acceptance of a substitute, remission. The former respects Christ, from whom God demands a punishment, not numerically but specifically the same with that which we owed. But the latter respects believers, whom God frees from punishment in their own persons, while he admits a substitute. Thus we see how admirably mercy is tempered with justice—justice since it is exercised against sin and mercy exercised towards the sinner. Satisfaction is made to the justice of God by a surety and remission given to us by God.

IX. Third, this reasoning is fortified from a consideration of the relations (*schesis*) of God, to whom satisfaction is to be made. As we have here a threefold relation of sin (as we have said), so God can be regarded either as the creditor or as the Lord and offended party or as the Judge and ruler. But in this affair, although both the former hold their own place here, yet the third is chiefly to be attended to. Since God is not merely a creditor here (who may at pleasure remit what is due) nor merely the offended party and Lord (who may do as he will with his own without injury to anyone), but the Judge and ruler of the universe, to whom alone belongs the infliction of

punishment or deliverance from it because (as all jurists acknowledge) this belongs only to the supreme magistrate and the highest power (*tēs hyperechousēs exousias*). For although the creditor may demand his debt and the offended party restitution and compensation for his loss, yet the power to compel payment or exact punishment, no one has except the judge (who is established in authority). Here it is rightly to be held against our adversaries, whose capital error (*prōton pseudos*) is this—that sin is here to be regarded as a simple debt and God as a mere creditor, who can at will either exact or remit the punishment without a satisfaction. It is certain that God here sustains the character of Judge and ruler of the world. He has the rights of majesty to maintain and professes to be the guardian and vindicator of his laws. Therefore he has the claims not only of a creditor or Lord (which he can assert or remit at pleasure), but also the right of government and of punishment (which is natural and indispensable).

X. But here again the punishment itself (which the judge exacts) is to be accurately distinguished from the manner and circumstances under which it is enforced (for they widely differ). For as to the punishment itself in general, the right of God in this respect is plainly indispensable, being founded on the very justice of God. But as to the manner and circumstances of the punishment that it may be demanded from such a person and in such a way, it is not equally of natural right, but of positive and free right. For a certain forbearance (*epieikeia*) can be admitted here from the goodness of a most wise God, either in relation to time by the delay of punishment; or in relation to the degree by mitigation; or in relation to persons by a substitution. For although the person sinning entirely deserves punishment and can justly be punished, yet it is not so necessary and indispensable that for certain weighty reasons it may not be transferred to a surety. And in this sense, it is said by theologians that punishment should necessarily be inflicted impersonally upon every sin, but not therefore personally upon every sinner (since God can indeed through his singular grace exempt some from it by the substitution of a surety in their place).

XI. But that we may conceive it possible for God to do this, he is to be regarded not as an inferior and subaltern Judge appointed by law (who cannot dispense with its rigor by transferring the punishment to another), but as the supreme and *anypeuthynos* (“not accountable to man”) Judge, who as he wills satisfaction should be made to his justice by the punishment

of sin, so through his infinite wisdom and unspeakable mercy he can relax somewhat of the extreme rigor (*akribodikaiō*) of the law by exempting sinners from the due punishment and transferring it to a substitute. And hence we discover to whom the satisfaction is to be made—whether to the Devil detaining (as Socinus with a sneer asks) or to God as supreme Judge. For since the Devil here is only the servant of God, the keeper of the prison (who has no power over sinners unless by the just judgment of God), satisfaction is not to be rendered to him, but to God, the Judge, who primarily and principally holds them. We may add that it is falsely supposed here that in the suffering of punishment there must be some person to whom the punishment shall be rendered; as in a pecuniary debt, money is counted out to the creditor. It is sufficient that there is a judge who may exact punishment in order to preserve the majesty of the laws unimpaired.

XII. Fourth, the person himself who makes satisfaction is to be considered here. For as sin is to be viewed in the threefold relation of debt, enmity and crime (and God in the relation of creditor, offended party and Judge), so Christ must put on a threefold relation: a surety who can pay the debt for us; a Mediator and peacemaker (*eirēnopoiou*), to take away enmity and reconcile us to God; and a Priest and victim, to substitute himself in our place for a penal satisfaction. Again the satisfaction exacted by the justice of God principally demanded two things: (1) that it should be paid by the same nature which had sinned; (2) that nevertheless it should be of an infinite value and worth to take away the infinite demerit of sin. Two natures were necessary in Christ for the making of a satisfaction—a human, to suffer; and a divine nature, to give an infinite price and value to his sufferings.

XIII. Finally, since the substitution of Christ in our place must be made, its justice must be demonstrated that it may be evident in what case and under what conditions such a substitution of the innocent for the guilty can be lawfully made (which at first view appears to be not only unusual, but also unjust). Although a substitution (which is frequently made in a pecuniary debt) occurs more rarely in a penal debt; nay is sometimes prohibited (as among the Romans sureties were forbidden in capital punishment because no one is master of his own members and because the commonwealth would suffer detriment in such cases)—yet it was not absolutely unknown among the heathen. The examples of the friends—

Damon and Pythias, one of whom voluntarily entered himself bail for the other to Dionysius in a capital cause; and of (M.) Curtius, Codrus and (Publius) Decius, devoting themselves for their country—sufficiently prove this (as also the right, practiced by the most humane people, of killing hostages [when the princes had failed in their promises], who on this account were called substitutes [*antipsychoi*]). Paul alludes to this when he says "for a good man some would even dare to die" (Rom. 5:7). The Scriptures often give it support, not only from the imputation of sin (by which one bears the punishment due to another), but also from the public use of sacrifices, in which the victim was substituted in the place of the sinner and suffered death in his stead. Hence the imposition of hands and the confession of sins over the head of the victim.

XIV. But that such a substitution may be made legitimately and without any appearance of injustice, various conditions are required in the surety, all of which are found perfectly in Christ. (1) A common nature that sin may be punished in the same nature which is guilty (Heb. 2:14). (2) The consent of the will that spontaneously and willingly (without compulsion) he should take that burden upon himself: "Lo, I come to do thy will" (Heb. 10:9). (3) Power and dominion over his own life so that he may rightfully determine respecting it: "No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again" (Jn. 10:18). (4) The power of bearing all the punishment due to us and of taking it away as much from himself as from us. Otherwise, if he could himself be held by death, he could free no one from it. That Christ, God-man (*theanthrōpō*), possesses this power, no one can doubt. (5) Holiness and immaculate purity, that being polluted by no sin, he might not have to offer sacrifice for himself, but only for us (Heb. 7:25–27).

XV. On the basis of these conditions, it was not unjust for Christ, the righteous, to substitute himself for us, the unrighteous. For thus no injury is done to anyone. Not to Christ himself, both because he willingly took the punishment upon himself and because he had the power to determine concerning himself and the power to raise himself from the dead. Not to God, the Judge, because he willed and ordered it; nor to his natural justice, for this was satisfied by the punishment of the surety. Not to the empire of the universe, deprived of its best citizen by the death of an innocent person; for Christ, freed from death, lives for evermore. Nor by the life of the

surviving sinner injuring the kingdom of God, because he is converted and made a new creature by Christ. Not to the divine law, for the most perfect fulfillment of all its demands made by Christ was fore-seen and our twofold union with Christ (natural and forensic or mystical) by which, as he becomes one with us and we with him, so he may justly take our sins and evils upon himself and impart to us his righteousness and blessings. And thus there is neither an abrogation nor a derogation of the law, but an explication according to forbearance (*kat' epieikeian*), so that what was due to us in strict justice is transferred to Christ by the special grace of God.

XVI. These things were premised in order to lucidly discuss the proposed question, which is whether it was necessary that Christ should make satisfaction for us (absolutely on the part of justice as well as hypothetically in virtue of a decree of God). Whether it was not altogether necessary that Christ should make satisfaction for us, God being willing to remit sin gratuitiously and without any satisfaction; or whether it was rendered necessary only hypothetically on account of God's decree. The Socinians acknowledge no kind of necessity here. Some of the old theologians and some members of the Reformed church urge a hypothetical necessity only. They think it is sufficient for the refutation of heretics. But we (with many) retain both and hold that the satisfaction of Christ was necessary as much on the part of the justice as of the will of God. Still we do not urge a necessity simply natural, which is neither voluntary, nor admits of any modification in its exercise. Rather we urge a moral and rational necessity which as it flows from the holiness and justice of God and cannot be exercised except by the intervention of free will, so it admits of various modifications on account of the wisdom and clemency (*epieikeia*) of God (provided there is no infringement of the natural rights of deity).

The necessity of a satisfaction is proved: (1) by the justice of God.

XVII. Many arguments evince that there is such a necessity for the satisfaction of Christ. First, the vindicatory justice of God; for since this attribute is natural and essential to God (as has been proved, Volume I, Topic III, Question 19), upon which the natural and eternal right of God, the

Judge, is founded (with which he can no more dispense than deny himself), its exercise must be necessary on the supposition of sin, although it becomes free by an intervention of the will. This is especially true since it does not consist in an act merely gratuitous and not due, like mercy (by which, whether it is exercised or not, injustice is done to no one), but in the due act of giving to each what is his own, from which God cannot abstain without detriment to his justice. But since this justice is nothing else than the constant will of punishing sinners, which in God cannot be inefficient (to whom belongs supreme majesty and infinite power), it necessarily demands the infliction of punishment either on the sinner himself or on the surety substituted in his place. Nor to this right can be objected either the relation of God's liberty (which is exercised only in matters of positive right, not in such as are of natural right) or the relation of mercy because, while it may release the sinner from punishment, it does not demand that sin itself shall remain unavenged.

2. By the nature of sin.

XVIII. Second, the nature of sin; for since it is a moral evil differing intrinsically and essentially from holiness (as has been shown Topic XI, on the law, Question 2), there is also a natural and necessary connection between it and physical evil (as they follow each other necessarily and since physical and penal evil cannot exist without moral evil, either personal or imputed, so moral evil cannot exist without drawing after it physical evil). Moral and physical good, holiness and happiness are indissolubly united together, not only by reason of divine wisdom (to which it is fitting that those things should go together which belong to the class of good or evil), but also by reason of goodness and justice. For as by the former, he cannot help being favorably disposed towards the good because he is good and kind to his own image; so the wicked cannot but be miserable because he is just. And this the rather because if he gives any blessing to the holiness of the creature, he does it from mere liberality without any merit on their part; but when he punishes the sinner, he renders to him what he owes and what he has merited by his sin.

3. By the sanction of the law.

XIX. Third, the sanction of the law because it threatens death to the sinner (Gen. 2:17; Dt. 27:26; Ezk. 18:20; Rom. 1:18, 32; 6:23). Since God is true and cannot lie, these threatenings must necessarily be executed either upon the sinner himself or upon a surety. To no purpose do our opponents reply that the threatening is hypothetical, not absolute (i.e., may be released by repentance). Because this takes for granted what is to be proved—that there is any such condition, either understood or expressed. Nay, as the penal sanction of the law is a part of the law itself, since the law itself is natural and indispensable (as was proved in the proper place), this sanction must also be immutable. We must not confound here particular and economical threatenings nor such as are paternal and evangelical, denounced against men by a peculiar dispensation to recall them to repentance. Such threatenings may be revoked in case of repentance. Of this kind were those denounced against Hezekiah (Is. 38) and against the Ninevites (Jon. 3). The former should not be confounded with judicial threatenings and the immovable sanction of the law, which is founded on the very nature of God and to which men's consciences restipulate.

4. By the preaching of the gospel.

XX. Fourth, the preaching of the gospel (which announces the cruel and bloody death of the Mediator and surety who suffered for us) proves the same things most powerfully from the event *a posteriori*. For since God does not unnecessarily multiply things (nor do his wisdom and goodness permit us to believe that the Father could expose his most innocent and beloved Son to an excruciating and ignominious death without some weighty and indispensable necessity; nor can any reason for the necessity of such an unusual dispensation be conceived and rendered besides the satisfaction which must be paid to his justice for us), everyone must perceive that it was absolutely necessary. I know that other causes of that accursed death are here adduced by our opponents, so as to confirm Christ's doctrine and to set an example of all kinds of virtues, especially of love and constancy. But since he had confirmed his doctrines by numerous miracles and through his whole life had given the most illustrious examples of all

these virtues, who could bring himself to believe that God for that one cause alone would expose his only begotten Son to such dreadful torments? Therefore (without all doubt) there was another cause for that dispensation (viz., the relation of justice itself to which he ought to make satisfaction). To this Paul bears witness when he says, "God hath set forth Christ to be a propitiation for our sins, to declare his righteousness" (*eis endeixin tēs dikaiosynēs autou*, Rom. 3:25), which was so inexorable as not to suffer our sins to be remitted except by the intervention of the death of Christ.

XXI. Again if God by his word alone was able and willing to remit our sins without the intervention of a satisfaction, how is it that Paul so often refers our salvation and justification to the blood of Christ, i.e., when he professes that "we are justified by the redemption which is in his blood" (Rom. 3:24), that "we have redemption in his blood, namely, the remission of sins" (Eph. 1:7) and that "he has reconciled all things to God by the blood of the cross" (Col. 1:20)? For there was no need of the shedding of his blood, if remission depended solely upon the will of God. Thus the apostle would say falsely what he so often says in the epistle to the Hebrews—that the blood of bulls and goats (i.e., legal sacrifices) could not take away sins (i.e., abolish their guilt and obtain their pardon) and that the oblation of Christ alone was sufficient to take away guilt without any sacrifice. For what could be taken away easily without any sacrifice at all could surely be taken away by the blood of legal victims. And if the will of God alone is necessary, why does Paul never refer to it, but always rises to the nature of the thing itself (as when he asserts that it was impossible for the blood of bulls to take away sins [viz., because sin is so abominable and hateful to God], that its stain could not be washed away by any blood except that of the Son of God himself)?

5. By the greatness of God's love.

XXII. Fifth, if there was no necessity that Christ should die in order to satisfy justice, the greatness of God's love in not sparing his own Son, but delivering him up for us all (which the apostle so strongly commends, Rom. 5 and 8) will be not a little diminished. For if there was no obstacle to our salvation on the part of justice, it would indeed have been great grace in God to have pardoned our sins, but it would have fallen far below that

stupendous (*hyperbolēn*) love which, though justice inexorably demanded the punishment of sin, yet the desire of our salvation overcame (a tempering of justice with mercy being found for this purpose in his storehouse of amazing wisdom). Nor can Christ be said to have appeased the wrath of God if he (without exacting any satisfaction) could by a mere volition have appeased his own wrath.

6. By the glory of the divine attributes.

XXIII. Finally (1) our opinion concerning the necessity of a satisfaction does not derogate from any of the divine attributes. Not from God's absolute power because God cannot deny himself and his attributes; nor can he act in such a way as to give the appearance of delighting in sin by holding communion with the sinner. Not from his perfectly free will because he wills and can will nothing contrary to his own justice and holiness (which would be greatly injured should sin remain unpunished). Not from his boundless mercy, for this is exercised towards the sinner though satisfaction is demanded from the substitute. On the contrary, it tends to illustrate the glory of the most excellent attributes of God: of his holiness, on account of which he can hold no communion with the sinner without a previous satisfaction, by which both his guilt is removed and his pollution purged; of his justice, which so inexorably demands the punishment of sin that God even willed to punish it in his own Son that it might not go unpunished; of his wisdom, which found out what was impossible to every created intellect—a wonderful tempering of justice and mercy by which mercy can be exercised towards us without any detriment to justice; of his love, in not sparing his own Son in order that he might spare us. (2) It tends to the increase of piety by increasing our dread of sin (which is so great an atrocity that it could be washed out only by the blood of the Son of God) and by inflaming our hearts with a mutual love towards God that we might, according to our strength, love him who so dearly loved us.

Answers to objections.

XXIV. Although God demanded a satisfaction necessarily, it does not follow that he did not act freely. The necessity was not physical, but moral and rational springing from the hypothesis of sin (which he willed to permit) and of his decree concerning the salvation of men (on the basis of which he could not help acting consistently with his justice). For if God wishes to address men, he cannot avoid speaking the truth and yet he does it voluntarily.

XXV. It is one thing to remit from his right; another to remit from his justice. God can relax his right, but not absolutely. He can do it only insofar as his justice will allow (to wit, he cannot act unjustly). Justice, however, does not suffer sin to be pardoned without a satisfaction because then the majesty of the laws would be violated and sin would not receive its due. (2) It is not lawful always to remit from his right if it is public, not private right; judicial, not imperial; natural, not free; honest, not expedient. Now the right of punishment in God is not the private right of a creditor or master; not free and positive; not of private advantage, but of public honesty; the right of a ruler and Judge founded in his very nature (as we have already seen). And on this account, God could not dispense with that right (although he is not amenable to law) because he is a law to himself. Otherwise he could also pardon the sins of the impenitent, they remaining so (which nevertheless heretics deny). Nor if by such a dispensation injury would be done to no one, could God do it because his justice and the majesty of his laws would be tarnished.

XXVI. Satisfaction and remission are incompatible when used in reference to the payment of a pecuniary debt, whether made by the debtor himself or by another because in it regard is had not to the person who pays, but to what is paid (if just as much is paid as is owed). But this is not equally the case with the payment of a penal debt because here regard is had not only to what is paid but also to the person who pays. It is granted also in reference to a personal payment because he who pays his own debt has no need of remission; but it is granted in reference to another's and a vicarious payment (with which we are dealing here) because although justice is satisfied by a satisfaction, yet because it is another's and not a personal satisfaction (which the law demanded in strict justice) the act of the Judge is here required. By accepting the vicarious punishment of the

surety, he remits from the guilty party the personal punishment which he was bound to suffer.

XXVII. The grace of God and the merit of Christ are not opposed, but subordinated because they are viewed here in different respects (*kat' allo kai allo*): grace in respect of us, both in the giving of the surety and in the acceptance of his satisfaction for our justification; but merit in respect of God's justice, which could not leave sin unpunished (which the apostle asserts are in the highest degree consistent with each other, Rom. 3:24, 25).

XXVIII. Although the remission of God and of men are similar in various points as to the thing (and most especially in the sincere and genuine pardon of offenses), it does not follow that they are exactly similar. Men are private persons to whom the right of punishment does not necessarily belong, but God is a Judge whose prerogative it is to punish sinners.

XXIX. If God promises remission of sins in the new covenant, this does not deny but supposes the satisfaction of Christ because it is promised in the name of Christ (Acts 10:43), i.e., through his virtue and merit. Nor is there any remission without the shedding of blood (*haimatekchysia*, Heb. 9:22). And if the elders are said to have obtained pardon by faith (Heb. 11), Christ is necessarily included (whom faith regards as its proper object); indeed inasmuch as he was crucified who ought to lay down his life as a sacrifice for sin (Is. 53:10) and to be made a sin offering (2 Cor. 5:21) and a curse (*katara*, Gal. 3:13). For other matters bearing upon this point, see Volume I, Topic III, Question 19; and Disputation 1 and 2, on the Necessity of Satisfaction ("De Satisfactionis Christi Necessitate," in *Opera* [1848], 4:385–435).

Eleventh Question: The Truth of the Satisfaction

Did Christ truly and properly satisfy God's justice in our place? We affirm against the Socinians

I. The necessity of the satisfaction having been asserted, we shall now discuss its truth, which is not only called in question by the Socinians, but expressly denied. They appear willing to retain the word "satisfaction" and indeed in order to conceal their real views often use it, but in a far different

sense from that of the orthodox (as will appear from the statement of the question).

Statement of the question.

II. The question does not concern a satisfaction of any kind whatsoever and improperly so called, by which Christ may have fulfilled all the conditions imposed upon him by the divine will in order to procure our salvation. For thus far they do not deny, but admit the satisfaction of Christ (as Crellius professes in his book against Grotius: "Responsio ad Librum Hugonis Grotii de Satisfactione Christi," 6 *Opera* [1656], 4:126–46). But the question concerns a penal satisfaction properly so called by which he not only fulfilled the will of God, but also his justice (Christ having taken upon himself our sins). This the Socinians deny; we affirm.

III. Second, the question does not concern a metaphorical satisfaction which is effected by the balancing of the account of the injured party, which precariously obtains some favor through the mere indulgence of God. Rather the question concerns a true and proper satisfaction made by the payment of a full price and which meritoriously obtains the liberation of the guilty on the ground of justice. This we preach from the word of God, but they reject.

IV. Third, the subject in controversy is not whether Christ died for us advantageously (i.e., for our good). Our opponents willingly admit that his death in various respects promotes our interests. Rather the question is whether he died for us substitutively (i.e., in our place, that by being substituted in our place, he suffered the punishment due to us). We affirm that he did.

V. Finally, the question is not whether Christ is our Savior either on account of his doctrine announcing to us the way of salvation or on account of the example of his life. He confirmed it by both his virtues and his miracles. Or on account of the communication of his efficacious power, because he will assuredly bestow on us this salvation in his own time. For Socinus grants all this to Christ (*Praelectionis theologicae* 21 [1627], p. 129). The question is whether he was most properly our Savior by his satisfaction and merits. Our opponents have openly fought against this doctrine; the orthodox have constantly defended it.

The truth of the satisfaction is proved: (1) by the redemption of Christ.

VI. The first argument is drawn from those passages in which Christ is said to have redeemed us—indeed at the price of his blood. For where the price (properly so called and indeed perfectly sufficient) is paid, there necessarily a true and properly so-called satisfaction has been made. A price indicates a relation (*schesin*) to distributive justice. The passages are various: "Ye were redeemed by a price" (*ēgorasthēte timēs*, 1 Cor. 6:20); "Ye were redeemed from your vain conversation, not by corruptible things such as silver and gold, but by the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without spot" (1 Pet. 1:18*, 19); "Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity" (Tit. 2:14); "In whom we have redemption through his blood" (Eph. 1:7); "The Son of man came to give his life a ransom for many" (*lytron anti pollōn*, Mt. 20:28). The name Jesus was given to him "because he saves his people from their sins" (Mt. 1:21).

VII. Although the word "redemption" is sometimes used in Scripture for a simple deliverance which is procured without the payment of any price (as Moses is called *lytrōtēs*, "a deliverer," Acts 7:25) and God is said to have redeemed his people out of Egypt (Dt. 7:8; Ps. 77:15 and elsewhere), it does not follow that it is to be taken in the same sense in this argument. Many things prove that it is to be understood properly and strictly. (1) This is the primary and specially proper signification of the words *lytroun* and *apolytroun*, from which we must not depart unnecessarily. This is not denied by our adversary. "To redeem anyone properly signifies nothing else but to free a captive, by paying a price to him who detains him" (Socinus, "De lesu Christo Servatore," 2.1 *Opera omnia* [1656], 2:141). (2) The condition of man, who is to be redeemed, demands this since he is a captive not only of Satan and death, but also of sin (as to both its guilt and its pollution), and therefore of the divine law and justice. He is condemned of God (*hypodikos tō theō*) and a child of wrath and cannot be released but by a satisfactory payment. (3) Such is the redemption procured by the price mentioned in 1 Cor. 6:20. But why should the apostle use *lytrou* and *timēs* (price of redemption and punishment) if no price was paid? The reply—that this is said figuratively because we are freed from the power of sin—is

taking for granted the very thing to be proved. Nay, the contrary is evident from this fact—that the price is compared to things very precious (as gold, silver and jewels, which have a relation to price truly and properly so called, 1 Pet. 1:18). (4) Not only is *lytrou* mentioned, but also an *antilytrou*, which does not denote any price in general, but one equal to the debt, securing a commutation of the debtor and a true compensation for the debt. This is the force of the preposition *anti*, which denotes substitution here. Aristotle uses the same word *antilytroun* to denote the redemption of a life by substituting another in its place (*Nicomachean Ethics* 9.2.4 [Loeb, 19:524–25]).

VIII. Hence it is evident that this redemption is not merely a gratuitous manumission (such as that of slaves who are freed by their masters) nor simply an act of power and bravery by which captives are taken out of the hands of an enemy, nor a bare exchange (such as that of prisoners of war). It is a real satisfaction such as a surety makes who pays in full for the debtor. For although there is a gratuitous liberation in respect of us who are saved freely and by the grace of God (Rom. 3:24; Eph. 2:8); and there is also liberation here in respect of the Devil, from whose tyranny we are delivered by the power of Christ, victorious and triumphant (Col. 2:15); and an exchange in respect of Christ, who was substituted in our place; yet in respect of God, the Judge, a real and perfect satisfaction was made.

2. Because Christ died for us.

IX. The second is drawn from those passages in which Christ is said to have died for us, not only for our good and advantage, but also in our place by a substitution properly so called (Rom. 5:6, 7; 8:32; 1 Pet. 3:18). But that this and no other is the sense of the phrases in this affair is gathered from the following reasons. (a) This is the ordinary signification of the preposition *hyper*, which is used here and which (when applied to persons) denotes substitution among the Greeks (as in Rom. 9:3 *anathema hyper adelphōn*, i.e., in the place of the brethren); "Scarcely for a righteous man will one die" (Rom. 5:7), i.e., in his place, as the Syrian renders it by *chlph*. (b) It is elsewhere expressed by *anti*, "in the place of" (as in Mt. 20:28) and by *antilytron*, a price of redemption (as in 1 Tim. 2:6), which necessarily implies a substitution. Thus life is given for life as is proper according to

the *lex talionis*, "an eye for an eye" (*ophthalmos anti ophthalmou*, Mt. 5:38). (c) He is said to have died for us in a manner peculiar to himself and incommunicable to all others, in which neither Paul nor Peter can be said to have died and been crucified for us (1 Cor. 1:13), yet either of them might be said to have died for our good (viz., for our edification and confirmation in the faith). Therefore a vicarious death is to be understood, which could happen in the case neither of the apostles nor of the martyrs. Though the apostles may be said to have even suffered for the church (Col. 1:24), yet it does not follow that the object of their death was the same with that of Christ. They suffered as martyrs to edify, confirm and console the church (as is explained in 2 Cor. 1:6, "Whether we be afflicted, it is for your consolation," *hyper tēs hymōn paraklēseōs*); but Christ laid down his life to redeem the church. And if we are commanded to lay down our lives for our brethren (1 Jn. 3:16) as Christ laid down his life for us, this means that we are not to refuse to undergo the danger of death; nay, constantly to court even death itself, whenever the glory of God, the salvation of our neighbor or the edification of the church seems to demand it (as was the case with the martyrs). Hence we may well infer that we should imitate the example of Christ in this respect; but it does not hence follow plainly that there are the same purposes of our death for our brethren as of the death of Christ for us. For neither can we pay a ransom (*antilyron*) for our brethren that we may free them from eternal death (Ps. 49:7), nor with our blood can we reconcile them to the Father and purge them from sin (all of which Christ did). Therefore our death may in some respects be compared to that of Christ, but not in all: in relation to an example of love, but not in relation to the merit of satisfaction. The particle *kathōs* ("as") denotes similarity, not equality (as often elsewhere, Mt. 5:48; 6:12).

3. Because he bore our sins.

X. Third, from those passages in which Christ is said to have borne our sins and on account of them to have been afflicted, to have been wounded, to have died—"He bore our sins in his own body on the tree" (1 Pet. 2:24). This is taken from Is. 53, in which the Chaldee paraphrase (cf. Walton, *Biblia sacra polyglotta* [1657], 3:142, 144 on Is. 53) and the ancient Jews consider the prophet as treating concerning the Messiah: "He bore our

griefs and carried our sorrows, he was wounded for our transgressions, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity," i.e., the punishment "of all our iniquities"; and "when thou shalt make his soul *'shm*" ("an offering for sin," vv. 10ff.). That all this implies a satisfaction is gathered from various things. (a) From the phrase "bearing our sins"; for although "to bear" and "to carry" are sometimes figuratively used for taking away and pardoning (as in Ex. 34:7 and Num. 14:18), it does not follow that we are to understand them in this sense here. There are most weighty reasons why we ought not to depart from the primary and most usual signification, according to which (as Socinus himself acknowledges, *Praelectionis theologicae* 21 [1627], p. 129) "to bear sin" is the same thing as "to bear the punishment of sins." Not only is the verb *ns'* used, which refers sometimes to a simple taking away of sin, but also the word *sbl*, which denotes the carrying and bearing of an imposed burden and thus clearly intimates the suffering of punishment. (b) From the manner of bearing them, which is described by wounded and bruised (vv. 5, 6), and the laying of them upon him. This could not be said unless Christ took upon himself the punishment of sin. Also what is said by Peter that "he bore them in his body on the tree" (viz., suffering the punishment). (c) From the simile because he is said to have borne sin in the same manner in which victims bore sins, since indeed he is said to have laid down his life (*'shm*) as a victim for sin in v. 10 (viz., by enduring death and shedding his blood in the place of sinners). (d) All things which indicate a true satisfaction occur here: the moving and meritorious cause (viz., our sins, not his own); he was wounded for our transgressions (vv. 4–6); and the bearing of punishment because he hath borne our griefs (v. 4); the imputation of our sins to Christ by God as a Judge—"The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all" (v. 6); the voluntary undertaking of Christ as our surety because he was afflicted and opened not his mouth (v. 8); an expiation for sin and a full payment of the debt; because he laid down his life for sin and was taken from prison and from judgment (vv. 8, 10). Now with what propriety could all this be said if Christ had laid down his life merely to exhibit an example of patience and love and not to make satisfaction for sin?

XI. Although we are indeed informed (Mt. 8:17) that this prophecy of Isaiah was fulfilled when Christ healed bodily diseases (which, properly speaking, he did not bear, but only took away), yet it does not follow from

this that the same may also be said of sins, which are the diseases of the soul. The diseases of the body are to be viewed in a different light from those of the soul. For in healing the former, it was not necessary that Christ should himself become sick; the power of Christ alone was demanded. But to heal the latter, justice required in addition that he should bear and take them upon himself before he could take them away from us. Hence he is held forth by the prophet as wounded and bruised, which was not necessary to the healing of the diseases of the body, but to bearing those of the soul only. And hence it is easy to gather what the Holy Spirit had regard to in this prophecy and how it is said to have been fulfilled when Christ healed diseases of the body (viz., he treats primarily and directly concerning spiritual debility, languors and disease). He treats sin, the punishment of which was laid upon him that he might suffer its desert in our place; but because bodily diseases are a part of the punishment of sin, he also regarded these secondarily and subordinately because he had the power of healing them. Therefore what the prophet declares in general concerning all diseases, Peter applies in particular to the diseases of the soul and Matthew applies to the diseases of the body, not excluding, but rather including the curing of diseases of the soul. He demonstrates that, by removing the cause, the effect was taken away. Spiritual and physical maladies are intimately connected with each other; the former draw after them the latter, while the latter presuppose the former. So Christ is said to have borne both, but in different ways on account of their different natures; the former indeed by efficaciously taking them away only, not by undergoing them in his own person; but the latter in both ways, both by bearing them himself and by taking them away. If Matthew says that Christ healed the diseases of the body that the prophecy might be fulfilled, we may not legitimately infer that the Holy Spirit refers to them alone. It is well known that in Scripture a prophecy is said to be fulfilled not only when it is fulfilled most perfectly and ultimately, but also when it begins to be fulfilled as to some part of it.

XII. Here are to be referred those passages in which Christ is said to have been made “sin” and a “curse” for us (2 Cor. 5:21; Gal. 3:13). For how can he be said to have been “made sin” (i.e., an offering for sin) by God as a Judge (Lev. 5:9) and “a curse” (i.e., a subject of the malediction and curse) pronounced by the law against sinners (and indeed not for himself, who was always most holy and supremely beloved by his Father, but for us) unless

having been substituted in our place, he took upon himself all the curse of the law due to our sins in order that he might bear it and by bearing take it away and thus procure for us a blessing with God (i.e., the remission of our sins) and a right to life? What has this to do with an example of patience or a confirmation of doctrine? Who does not see rather that here is taught a true substitution of Christ in our place and in consequence of this a true satisfaction and expiation of sin? Nor can it be objected that "Christ is said to have been made a curse, not because he properly bore that curse, which could not have been the case with him, a blessed and perfectly innocent being, but because he suffered the punishment of the cross, which, under the law, was accursed." For the very words of the apostle and the redemption from the curse of the law, which Christ procured for us by his death, evince the contrary. For how can he be said to have been made a curse (indeed for the purpose of redeeming us from it) unless he took it upon himself? Nor is it an objection to this that he is the only begotten Son and the ever-blessed God, because he did not endure the curse in and for himself as the Son of God, but as our surety for us (whose person he sustained) in respect of whom he who was blessed forever can be said to have borne the punishment of the malediction on account of our sins.

XIII. And hence we can clearly gather in what sense the expression is used "he was delivered for our offenses" (Rom. 4:25), i.e., not only occasionally (as Socinus contends) because our sins were the occasion of the death of Christ or finally (as if Christ died only that he might incline us to leave off the commission of sin or render us certain of its pardon); but meritoriously, so that our sins were the moving, meritorious cause for Christ's being delivered up to death that he might suffer the punishment due to them and take away their guilt. For he is said to have been delivered for offenses, as sacrifices were offered for sin, doubtless on account of their guilt and to take it away. Hence the guilt of our sins was the meritorious cause of the death of Christ and the expiation and removal of it the final cause.

4. From the sacrifice of Christ.

XIV. This is proved further from the sacrifice of Christ offered on the cross, concerning which the Holy Spirit so often speaks (Is. 53:10; Jn. 1:29; Eph.

5:2; and in the epistle to the Hebrews *passim*). For why should Christ be so frequently and so expressly set forth as truly and properly a Priest, far more excellent than all the Levitical priests, one who by his oblation appeased the wrath of God and obtained eternal salvation for us, unless a full expiation for sin has been made by his satisfaction and the truth of the old figures more clearly displayed? For since by these expiatory victims, neither were the doctrines confirmed, nor examples of obedience and love given, nor a covenant entered into, nor the wrath of God appeased by their own efficacy, they must have been instituted primarily to represent the sacrifice and satisfaction of Christ. This may be proved more particularly: (1) from the relation of Priest which Christ here sustains; for he was appointed in things pertaining to God (*en tois pros ton theon*) (viz., to appease him by an atoning [*hilastikō*] sacrifice); (2) from the relation of victim, substituted in the place of sinners to bear the punishment of death due to them, as evinced by the rite of imposing hands upon the head of the offering and making a confession of sin over it; (3) from the threefold effect of the sacrifice in respect to God, by *hilasmon* or the propitiation of his wrath; in respect to sin, by the expiation (*katharismon*) and removal (*hagnismon*) of its guilt; in respect to man, by the remission (*aphesin*) which followed from the propitiation of God and the expiation of sin. For neither could the person be freed and obtain pardon without the substitution of a victim, nor could God be appeased without the shedding of blood, nor could sin be expiated without the enduring of punishment.

XV. To no purpose is it here objected by Volkelius and others: (1) "that all propitiatory sacrifices did not prefigure the sacrifice of Christ; but only the solemn and annual, which was offered up on the day of expiation (Lev. 16) and which contained no satisfaction; since it could flow neither from the victims themselves, nor from the person of the chief priest." Paul opposes not some one propitiatory sacrifice, but all the sacrifices to that of Christ and hence he infers the abrogation of the former (Heb. 7:27; 10:4, 5, 11). Neither the perpetual sacrifice (offered up daily), nor other propitiatory offerings (*hilastika*) of lambs (which were of a private nature) could refer to anything else than the oblation of the immaculate Lamb of God for us. Nor is it an objection that they were not offered for all in common, but for individuals in particular. For as the sacrifices which were made for all in common signified that Christ was to make a propitiation for all his people,

so those which were made for each individual were designed to show that every one of Christ's people (pressed with the burden of sin) should seek and obtain reconciliation through the sacrifice of Christ. Further, although those sacrifices did not in the sight of God contain a satisfaction properly so called (since the soul of man is of too great a value to be redeemed with the blood of bulls or of goats), yet they gave a typical and ceremonial satisfaction pertaining to the purity of the flesh (Heb. 9:13)—a satisfaction which was to be ascribed neither to the victims offered, nor to the priest offering separately, but to both joined by the ordination of God.

XVI. Second objection: "An expiation is nothing else than a full deliverance from the death of sin, which deliverance cannot be attributed to the death of Christ in the way of merit, but only in the way of example and declaratively." But here the cause is confounded with the effect and what belongs to the judge (who frees the prisoner) with what belongs to the surety (who pays the ransom). For the judge sets the prisoner at liberty, while the prisoner (or someone in his name) pays the price of his redemption. Hence it follows that the purging of guilt and the removal of the accusation are effected by the bearing of punishment either in the person of the accused or in that of another. Again, if the entire end answered by the death of Christ was to declare that an expiation was to be made, it effected nothing more than the victims under the law, which might (nay did) attest the same thing. Yet the apostle Paul expressly declares that they could not make expiation for sin. If there were any propriety in this objection, the expiation might be attributed no less to Christ's resurrection than to his death (which nevertheless the Scripture nowhere does). Besides, the declaration has regard to men; expiation has regard to God. The former pertains rather to his prophetic office; the latter to his priestly office. If expiation is sometimes attributed to God himself (as in Dt. 21:8 and Ps. 51:9), who nevertheless did not make satisfaction, we ought not therefore to infer that it is of the same nature with that of Christ as the victim. According to the different nature of the subjects to whom the expiation is attributed, it is to be differently understood. For in respect of God, to expiate is to admit of an expiation made by a priest through pardon and the remission of sin. But in a priest and victim, it is to effect reconciliation meritoriously by the shedding of blood and the enduring of vicarious punishment.

XVII. Third objection: “Sacrifices were offered up only for smaller sins, such as were committed either through heedlessness or error, but not for the more aggravated and willful, for which no sacrifice was instituted. But that Christ died for all sins without distinction.” But this is supposed gratuitously, not proved. Nay, it is said expressly that the goat on the great day of annual atonement bore “all the iniquities” of the children of Israel (Lev. 16:21, 22). Elsewhere sacrifices are said to be offered up not only for those sins which are committed *bshghghh* (“through error”), but also for those committed “willingly” and which are denoted by *'shm, cht', ph'l, phsh'* and similar words. And though “the priest” is said to “have offered for the errors of the people” (*hyper tōn tou laou agnoēmatōn*, Heb. 9:6, 7), yet it does not follow that voluntary sins are excluded. The word *agnoēma* is used to denote sin of every kind because every sinner is ignorant. Hence they are called “fools” and *anoētoi* everywhere in Scripture. In the Septuagint, *agnoia* often answers to *phsh'* and *'shm*, which denote wickedness and rebellion. If we do not read of any sacrifices having been particularly instituted for some aggravated voluntary sins (such as homicide, idolatry, adultery, etc.) which were done with “uplifted hand” (*byd rmh*) and through pride, this was because God determined to punish them by a capital punishment and those who sinned thus had no need of this remedy, as their deaths were a satisfaction to the public.

5. From our reconciliation with God.

XVIII. Fifth, we argue from our reconciliation with God which Christ procured for us by his death. For since that reconciliation supposes the settling of the variance caused by sin between God and his creatures, this could not be effected without a satisfaction. The satisfaction (interposing) removes a twofold obstacle: on the part of God, whose justice must be satisfied; on the part of men, the guilt of whose sin must be expiated by suffering the punishment due to it. The apostle everywhere teaches us that Christ procured such a reconciliation for us (Rom. 5:10; 2 Cor. 5:18, 19; Col. 1:20, 21).

XIX. The objection of our opponents amounts to this—“that this reconciliation is effected by our conversion to God and not at all by appeasing the divine wrath because God is not said to be reconciled by us,

but we are reconciled to God; nay, he is said to procure for us this reconciliation, which is a sign not of enmity, but of friendship." Many arguments refute this capital error (*prōton pseudos*). (1) Scripture sets forth a twofold enmity and alienation, not only on the part of man (who by sin has become a hater of God [*theostygeis*, Rom. 1:30] and an enemy in his mind by wicked works [Col. 1:21]), but also on the part of God by his wrath (which is revealed from heaven against all iniquity, Rom. 1:18). Hence men are by nature "children of wrath" (Eph. 2:1) and God is said to be of purer eyes than to behold iniquity (Hab. 1:13). Yea, he is said not to be able to bear evil (Ps. 5:4–6). As therefore there was an alienation on both sides, so there ought to be a reconciliation on both sides: on the part of God, by a turning away of his wrath; on the part of men, by a conversion—all which the apostle clearly teaches (2 Cor. 5:18, 19). In consequence of God's reconciling us to himself through Christ (v. 18), Paul shows that the apostles, in the name of Christ, exhorted sinners to be reconciled to God. (2) If reconciliation was nothing but conversion, then it should rather be said to proceed from Christ's glorious life than from his bloody death and no reason can be given why sanctification should be proposed by the apostle as the end of our reconciliation (Col. 1:22), since nothing can be the medium and end of itself. (3) Such a reconciliation is meant as is effected by "not imputing to us our sins," on account of their having been imputed to Christ (since he was made sin for us, 2 Cor. 5:18, 21) and by the substitution of Christ in our place that he might die for us (as we collect from the comparison instituted between him and the man who would dare to die for a good man [Rom. 5:7], which implies a satisfaction, not a simple conversion). (4) Reconciliation is effected by making peace through the blood of his cross (Col. 1:20) and by an atoning sacrifice (*hilasmon*, 1 Jn. 2:2). But this does not intimate mere conversion, but primarily the appeasing of the wrath of God (which is brought about by the death of a victim).

XX. Although the Scriptures commonly speak of our reconciliation to God, rather than of God's being reconciled to us (because those offending have need to be reconciled to the offended), yet this does not exclude but rather includes a reconciliation of God with us. For there can be no offense without the injuring of justice and this injury must be repaired before God can reconcile men to himself and admit them to the communion of his

grace. Nor if God is said to have procured this reconciliation, does it follow that he was not angry with us but at peace and friendly to us because this indeed implies that he (moved towards us with a love of benevolence) decreed to procure for us a reconciliation, but not that he was forthwith to be deemed appeased and reconciled, only that he might become so, while yet (in the meantime) he could not but be offended at our sins.

XXI. In vain is it added that "Christ is called our propitiation (*hilasmon*) and expiatory (*hilastērion*) sacrifice, not because he appeased God (angry with us) but because he testified that he was already appeased and by no means angry with us." The blood of Christ was not shed to prove the remission of sin, but to obtain it, as was the case in the propitiatory sacrifices of the Old Testament dispensation. Otherwise, there would have been no need of Christ to die and to shed his blood, since this could have been sufficiently testified both by his doctrine and by his life. If the covering of the ark is improperly and declaratively called *hilastērion* (or an expiation because by it God declared his benevolence towards his people), we are not thence to infer that it was of the same nature with the expiation made by Christ, to whom this is attributed in the strictest sense of the word (not so much passively as actively because he made a propitiation by his blood). What was shadowed forth in the mercy seat only typically and symbolically (by the sprinkling of the blood of the victims), that Christ truly and properly effected by the shedding of his own blood. But although he obtained for us the application and fruit of that propitiation by his continual intercession in heaven, we may not therefore infer that he has made it only in heaven. Nor does Heb. 2:17 relate to this. For Christ is not there said to make reconciliation (*hilaskesthai*) in heaven or to expiate sins, but only that on this account it behooved him in all things to be made like unto his brethren that he might be a faithful High Priest in things pertaining to God and in this character make reconciliation (*ta pros ton theon eis to hilaskesthai tas hamartias tou laou*) (which he had done by his death and suffering, as the following verse intimates).

6. From the nature of Christ's death.

XXII. Sixth, the same doctrine is proved from the nature and adjuncts of the sufferings of Christ as well as from the form of death which he suffered (to

which nothing was wanting for a full and true satisfaction). (1) Not the essence and kind of punishment because the death denounced by the law was endured by him; not a common and ordinary death, but a violent and most bitter, inflicted as a punishment and accursed of God himself. In that death, besides the greatest ignominy and the severest pains inflicted upon his most sacred body, his soul was seized with the most appalling terror and sadness, and he was agitated with such anguish and fear that he had need of a comforting angel to appear to him. Sweat flowed from his body like great drops of blood. He offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him who was able to save him from death (Heb. 5:7). He was forsaken by God the Father, though not by a dissolution of the union, nor by withdrawing a participation of holiness, nor by withholding his supporting power, yet by withdrawing from him the beatific vision, by suspending the joy and comfort and the sense and fruition of full felicity. Such things can have no other adequate cause except in vindicatory justice demanding from Christ a most full satisfaction for us (unless we say that Christ was more effeminate and timid than innumerable martyrs who have sustained the same most painful bodily death; nay, if possible, torments more intolerable and yet with unshaken fortitude with the greatest alacrity and without any indications of grief or terror). Such blasphemy Christian ears cannot endure. (2) Not the time because although the time of Christ's sufferings was but finite in duration, yet it was infinite in value in consequence of the dignity of the person suffering. (3) Not the identity of the person sinning because although the law demanded this according to strict justice (*kata to akribodikaion*), the gospel through fatherly kindness (*epieikeian*), admitted a substitution (as was said before). It is sufficient that sin be punished, even if the sinner is not always punished.

7. From the attributes of God.

XXIII. Seventh, a satisfaction being asserted, mercy is displayed in an astonishing manner (which is so great that God spared not his own Son that he might spare us); justice, that it might remain unimpeachable, demanded even the blood of the Son of God; wisdom found out a wonderful plan of reconciling mercy with justice and untied a knot which otherwise could never have been loosed—a plan by which the conscience of man, terrified

by a sense of sin and of judgment and the divine curse, is tranquilized. But the atonement being taken away, what becomes of the truth of God which so uniformly threatens death and a curse against sinners? What becomes of justice which not only acquits the convicted sinner (sin being unpunished), but also bestows on him the most honorable rewards? Not a few absurdities follow: (1) that our redemption may be attributed no less to the death of the apostles and martyrs than to the death of Christ, since indeed they also confirmed by their blood the doctrines of the gospel and gave us illustrious examples of patience and obedience; (2) that Christ saved us by his life and miracles rather than by his death (since the preaching of his doctrines and the example of his life were far more illustrious); (3) that the priestly office is altogether taken away from this earth and confounded with his prophetic and kingly offices; (4) that believers under the Old Testament were not saved by Christ (whom the example of his virtues and the preaching of his doctrine did not reach).

Sources of explanation.

XXIV. Although the word "satisfaction" is not found expressly and identically (*autolexei*) in the Scriptures, it is sufficient that it is contained equivalently and implicitly in them under other words which either have no meaning or else denote a true and properly so-called satisfaction: such as *apolytrōsis, antilytron, hilasmos, timē, katara, thysia, prosphora* and the like (which we have mentioned above).

XXV. As Christ sustains a twofold relation (*schesin*) with respect to believers—of surety and sponsor (bound to make satisfaction for them)—and of head and Lord (operating in them by the animating and directing influence of his Spirit), so he proposed to himself a double end in his death and sufferings. The first, to pay the price of redemption for us to divine justice; the other, to set before us an example for imitation that we might follow in his footsteps. Hence his sufferings may be regarded either as satisfactory or as exemplary. Therefore although they are set before us as an example (1 Pet. 2:21) and his death for us is compared with the death which we ought to suffer for our brethren (God so commanding, 1 Jn. 3:16), it does not follow that there was not a true satisfaction in his death because the positing of one end does not exclude but supposes the other.

XXVI. It is one thing to speak of a personal satisfaction and payment; another to speak of another's vicarious satisfaction. The former takes away all remission and grace, but not so the latter. Thus a satisfaction can consist with grace so that favor is shown to one, while a satisfaction is demanded from another. Thus when remission and satisfaction are referred to the same thing, they are inconsistent (*asystatoi*) with each other, but not so when referred to different things. Satisfaction has God for its object; remission has men. Satisfaction is made to the justice of God and on that account sin is freely remitted. Thus justice and mercy kiss each other, while the former is exercised against sin, the latter towards sinners. Remission is gratuitous with respect to us because a just satisfaction is demanded of the surety, nothing is demanded of us (since a full payment has been made).

XXVII. If Christ makes satisfaction, he does not at once make satisfaction to himself strictly speaking as Christ, but as God and the Son of God. Thus not to the same one and according to the same one does he give and receive payment. He gives it as God-man (*theanthrōpos*); he receives it as the Word (*Logos*); he gives it as Mediator and receives it as a Judge. Now it is not absurd that the same person should make satisfaction to himself when the satisfaction is not of a private nature (by which a private loss is compensated or money that is due is paid) because thus he would take of his own and with it pay himself. Rather the satisfaction is of a public nature by which a public injury is repaired (as a judge who has violated the law may, as a private person, make satisfaction to himself as judge by suffering—either in his own person or in that of another—the punishment denounced by the law; such is the case here).

XXVIII. If Christ did not suffer eternal death, but only a temporal death of three days, still no less did he pay what we owed as to infinity of punishment. If it was not infinite as to duration, still it was such equivalently as to value on account of the infinite dignity of the person suffering. For it was the suffering not of a mere man, but of the true God, who purchased the church with his blood (Acts 20:28) so that what was deficient in finite time is supplied by the condition of the divine person (which added an infinite weight to a temporary passion). Yet we may not infer that as the person suffering was infinite, one drop of his blood was sufficient for our redemption. Although any suffering whatever might have infinite value subjectively by reason of the sufferer, still his death alone

could possess infinite value objectively in respect of the Judge inflicting it. The dignity of the person can increase the dignity of the punishment endured, so that the more exalted the person is who suffers, so much the heavier is the suffering to be considered; yet it cannot satisfy that species of punishment denounced by the law. Death alone answers to and fulfills the demands of law and justice.

XXIX. Although despair and gnashing of teeth are joined together with the punishments of the damned, it does not follow that Christ in bearing the punishment due to sin was bound to suffer these. They are not essential to the punishment inflicted by the Judge or borne by a most holy surety. But they hold the relation of adjuncts which attend it, on account of the circumstances of the subject suffering, who when he sees the impossibility of escaping from the punishment inflicted on him, easily sinks into utter despair and gnashing of teeth. It was far different with Christ, who felt secure of his deliverance and resurrection and in the midst of his agonies always testified his confidence in God.

XXX. Although a death of infinite value was due for every individual sinner, still no less sufficient is it for redeeming all the elect. The nature of a pecuniary payment differs from that of a penal satisfaction. The former is estimated by the amount paid by whomsoever the payment is made; nor can it avail more than the individual for whom the payment is made. But because the latter is estimated by the dignity of the person satisfying, on that account the dignity of the price is increased in proportion to his dignity and it can avail for many as well as for one. Although money has no higher value in the hand of a king than in that of a captive, still the head and life of a king are of more value than the life of a vile slave (as the life of David was reckoned of more worth than that of half the Israelite army, 2 S. 18:3). In this way, Christ alone ought to be estimated at a higher value than all men together. The dignity of an infinite person swallows up and absorbs all the infinities of punishment due to us. (2) It is not a new thing that what is necessary for one should be amply sufficient for many (when we speak of things which are communicated without division). One sun (which is necessary to the illumination of individuals) is still sufficient for the illumination of all. One victim was sufficient both for the priest and for the people. The sins of all the people were expiated by one annual expiatory sacrifice, although as many expiations were required as there were Israelites

because that one expiation was so for the whole congregation as that by the appointment of God it was for individuals also. (3) Scripture is so express on this subject that no one (unless he is willing to contradict the Holy Spirit) can deny it. For why should Isaiah teach that God laid on him the iniquities of us all (Is. 53:6) and Paul that one died for all (2 Cor. 5:14) and that by one offering of himself he has forever perfected them who draw near to God (Heb. 10:14) unless to indicate that the one death of Christ is sufficient to make a full satisfaction for all the elect (in the same manner as the disobedience of Adam made many sinners, Rom. 5:18, 19). Finally, one cannot satisfy for many who are of the same rank; but nothing hinders when they are different. One plebeian cannot satisfy for many plebeians; but a prince can satisfy for many plebeians. If this holds good among creatures who are all finite and mortal, how much more between creatures and their Creator, between whom there is an infinite distance?

XXXI. The rule laid down by Ezekiel concerning the punishment of the soul itself that sins (18:20) cannot be understood absolutely and simply. Otherwise all imputation of sin would be taken away (which the Scripture builds upon with so many examples). Rather it is to be understood relatively in the ordinary way of providence, not in the extraordinary way of grace. Or it is to be understood in a method peculiar to the Jews, with whom the Lord dealt in such a way as to stop their mouths and keep them from complaining that they had undeservedly suffered punishment on account of the sins of their fathers; but not in his common government of men, in which God testifies that he will visit the iniquities of the fathers upon the children (Ex. 20:5)

XXXII. So far is the doctrine of Christ's satisfaction from throwing open a door to impiety and spreading a couch for security and negligence that it is the most efficacious means of holiness and the death of sin itself (which Christ assigns as one among others of the ends for his death). "That being dead unto sin, we may live unto righteousness; that henceforth we may no more live unto ourselves, but to him who died for us and was raised again for our justification," as Paul so often reasons on this subject (Rom. 6; Tit. 2:14; 1 Pet. 2:24). See further the "Disputation of the Truth of the Satisfaction," Parts 1–9 (Turretin, *Opera* [1848–49], 4:439–663).

Twelfth Question: The Perfection of the Satisfaction

Was the satisfaction of Christ so perfect as to leave no room after it either for human satisfactions in this life or for purgatory after this life? We affirm against the Romanists

I. In the preceding question, we argued against the Socinians. In this, we deal with the Romanists, who, although pretending to hold the unity and perfection of the satisfaction of Christ and often exclaiming that serious injustice is done them when they are charged with saying that "something was wanting to the sufferings of Christ, by which he expiated our sins, to make his satisfaction full and complete" (as Bellarmine expresses it, "De Indulgentiis," 2.14 *Opera* [1859], v. 4, Pt. 2, pp. 162–63), yet in reality in many ways weaken and overturn it by maintaining that it must be restricted to sins committed before baptism and to the guilt of fault (*reatum culpae*) and not of punishment (*reatum poenae*), or to eternal punishment and not to temporal (of which we shall speak presently).

Statement of the question.

II. We must remark at the very outset that a satisfaction made to God differs from one made to man. The latter is either private (which is called a reparation and is due to a wounded and offended neighbor) or public (which is called canonical because contained in certain canons and rules of the ancient church and is very frequently imposed in the external court for the correction of sinners and the removal of scandals). The former is properly said about the *lytrō* (the price of redemption) by which Christ made satisfaction for us as our surety. However it is improperly ascribed to satisfactory works by which men are pretended to satisfy for their own sins or for those of others. Here we are to treat not of the former, but of that which must be made to God for the satisfaction of justice and the expiation of sin. For the question is not whether the satisfaction of Christ excludes all human satisfactions, either private or public and canonical, which are imposed upon sinners for their correction and to remove scandals from the church (for this we think was often both properly demanded in the ancient

church and may yet be laudably observed). Rather the question is whether, besides the satisfaction made by Christ, other satisfactions for sin are to be made to God and can and should be imposed upon believers. This we deny; our opponents affirm.

III. The question is not whether the satisfaction of Christ excludes the chastisements of believers, which are called medicinal and improper punishments (such as the correction administered to children in their father's house), for this we readily grant. Rather the question is whether it excludes the satisfactions or penal sufferings on their part which are intended not as medicine only or as a proof of their piety, but as a satisfaction to avenging justice imposed by God as a judgment, not domestic and paternal (such as a father exercises towards children in accordance with the rules of love and wisdom), but forensic (decreed by God as a Judge against the wicked according to the prescriptions of the law). This is the dogma of our adversaries which is impugned by us. They hold that although the satisfaction of Christ is of infinite value, yet various satisfactions are still to be made by believers, if not for guilt or eternal punishment (which they acknowledge are taken away by Christ), at least for temporal punishment. "If anyone shall affirm that, on account of the merits of Christ, there is no necessity that we should make any satisfaction to God, through temporal punishments inflicted by Christ and patiently borne by us, or through punishments enjoined by the priest, not voluntarily undertaken, such as penances, prayers, fastings, alms, and other pious exercises, and shall further say that the new life only is the best penitence, let that man be accursed" (Council of Trent, Session 14, chap. 8, Canon 13, Schroeder, p. 104).

IV. The Remonstrants also endeavor to weaken the perfection of this satisfaction not a little. For although they have not yet reached such a height of boldness as with the Socinians to reject the satisfaction entirely, still they labor with all their might to diminish and detract from its efficacy and fulness. They maintain that the satisfaction was not accepted by God on account of its inherent dignity, but merely through grace, so that it was not a true satisfaction, but only an imaginary payment. They mean that God forbore to punish after Christ had died, not because a real satisfaction had been made to him, but because it pleased him to be gracious and to receive the satisfaction of Christ as complete.

V. However, we think that the satisfaction of Christ was so perfect and sufficient that he most fully satisfied for all our sins by the one offering of himself, not only for our guilt, but also for both temporal and eternal punishment. Henceforth there are no more propitiatory offerings or satisfaction to be made for sin, either in this life or after it, although believers are often subjected to the chastisements of God to promote their penitence and sanctification.

VI. Such is the perfection of the atonement that it is adequate to the justice of God revealed in the word and to the demands of the law and answers to the miseries and necessities of those for whom it was made, not through the mere gracious acceptance of God (for thus the legal victims might also have availed to expiate sin, contrary to Heb. 10:4), but through a sufficiency of merit and condignity of work: (1) in respect to parts because it most fully satisfied all the claims of the law upon us: both as to obedience of life and the suffering of death, as to satisfactory virtue by which it has freed us from the guilt of death and the curse by enduring the punishments due to us, and as to meritorious power by which it has reconciled the Father to us, and has acquired for us a right to life; (2) in respect to degree, for Christ has not only done and suffered all that which the law demands, but so fully and perfectly as to mode and degree that nothing more in this respect can possibly be desired (on account of the dignity of the person satisfying and the severity of the punishment exacted). Hence follows the third relation (*schesis*), of the perfection in respect to its effects, which are viewed both in respect to God (in a perfect reconciliation with him, Rom. 5:10; 2 Cor. 5:18) and in respect to sin (in its perfect expiation and remission, Eph. 1:7; Heb. 1:3; 9:26); in respect to believers, in their full consummation and redemption (Heb. 9:12; 10:14) both as to deliverance from death and as to the acquisition of a title to life.

The perfection of the satisfaction is proved: (1) from the dignity of the satisfaction.

VII. Now that such was the perfection of this satisfaction many arguments prove. First, the dignity of the person satisfying; this was not only holy and most pure, but also truly divine in which all fulness dwells (Col. 1:19)—a

fulness of the divinity, a fulness of office, a fulness of merit and graces. We cannot doubt that the satisfaction which he has made is one of infinite value and efficacy and therefore of such fulness and all-sufficiency that nothing can be added to it. For although his human nature (which was the instrument in the obedience and sufferings) was finite, yet the satisfaction itself does not cease to be infinite (relative to the person, which is here the efficient cause and to which they ought to be attributed). They ought to be attributed because action and suffering belong to subsisting substances.

2. From its unity.

VIII. Second, the oneness of the offering made by Christ establishes our view. For why does Paul so often assert that Christ has offered himself once for us (Heb. 7:27; 9:26; 10:10, 12, 14) and that by one offering of himself he has for ever perfected them that are sanctified? Why does he always set before us the obedience of Christ as the sole ground of our justification (Rom. 5:18, 19) unless this obedience is full and perfect? For as repetition implies imperfection, so on the other hand oneness necessarily implies the plenitude and full accomplishment of the object.

3. From the approbation of the Judge.

IX. Third, the approbation of God as Judge confirms it. For if God testifies by any proof that he is most fully satisfied, no one can distrust the perfection of the satisfaction, since this only can be asked—that it be approved and accepted by the supreme Judge who demanded the satisfaction. That it has been approved and accepted by God is evident not only from the appointment of Christ to the mediatorial office (whom the Father often declares to be his beloved Son in whom he is well pleased), but especially by his resurrection from the dead. The latter is not only an indubitable proof of his divinity (Rom. 1:4), but also a most certain pledge and evidence of a most perfect satisfaction. For unless he had most fully satisfied even to the last farthing, is it credible that God (the Judge whose inexorable justice demands full payment) would have liberated him and raised him to that supreme glory which was the reward of his perfect obedience (Phil. 2:9)? As a creditor does not liberate a surety from prison

unless a full payment has been made, so neither could Christ be set free unless he had satisfied to the full. Therefore, since he rose again so gloriously and was raised by the Father himself, there is no room left for doubt concerning the perfection of the satisfaction and the full payment of the price of redemption (*lytrou*) (to the full discharge of which, the Father has given us indubitable testimony).

4. From its effects.

X. Fourth, the effects presuppose a satisfaction and consequently its sufficiency. For why is our reconciliation with God, or the appeasing of his wrath, or the expiation and remission of sins not partial, but full and complete; or the redemption and glorification of believers themselves attributed to the death and obedience of Christ (as is often done in Scripture, Col. 1:20; 2 Cor. 5:21; 1 Jn. 1:7; Rom. 3:24; 5:10; Heb. 1:3; 9:14; 10:14), if his satisfaction was not full and complete? For a perfect effect necessarily supposes a perfect cause.

XI. But this perfect satisfaction being thus established, the Roman dogmas of the sacrifice of the Mass, of human merit and satisfactions in this life and of the purgatorial punishments to be endured hereafter are at once overthrown. For such things cannot be allowed without either accusing his satisfaction of insufficiency or God of injustice (exacting a double price and a double punishment of the same sin). Hence whatever may be said by Romanists concerning the infinity and sufficiency of the satisfaction of Christ is overturned in fact by this comment of theirs.

XII. In vain do our opponents reply: (1) "that our satisfactions do not derogate from the infinity and satisfaction of Christ; nay, that the greater glory thence accrues to it, since all their virtue and efficacy is derived from the satisfaction of Christ, who not only has satisfied for us, but also gives us the power to satisfy for ourselves. Thus they are not allied causes and of the same order, but inferior and subordinate." The very thing to be proved is taken for granted—that Christ gives us the power of satisfying for ourselves. This is without foundation in Scripture and is repugnant to the nature of the thing, since it is one thing to make satisfaction, another to give the power to make satisfaction. Nay, these things are utterly inconsistent (*asystata*) with each other. For if he fully satisfied for us, why are other

satisfactions demanded? Nor is either fellowship or subordination of causes admissible here (where the primary cause is solitary, admitting no others). So far is this doctrine from adding to the greater glory of Christ that it really offers him an indignity by resorting to other allied or subaltern causes than those which belong to him alone as our perfect Redeemer. Nor if believers are fellow workers (*synergoi*) with God (in the application of this salvation to which they are bound to contribute something) can they therefore cooperate with him in its acquisition (to which they can bring nothing).

XIII. (2) No better can they escape by distinguishing "between the guilt of sin and of punishment, contending that though Christ has fully satisfied for our sin, he has not fully satisfied for our punishment; or if for eternal punishment, at least not for temporal, which must be suffered by believers themselves, either in this or in the other life." Besides the fact that Scripture attributes a full and entire remission of all sins to the satisfaction of Christ, on account of which there is now no more condemnation to them (Rom. 8:1) and they will be fully perfected, the distinction is absurd (*asystatos*) (such being the connection between sin and suffering that sin being removed as the cause, the punishment itself [the effect of sin] is necessarily taken away). Nor is remission of sin anything else than deliverance from all punishment because punishment cannot be justly inflicted where there is no transgression, nor would it be just to demand the payment of a debt already either paid or remitted.

XIV. (3) They also hold that "Christ made satisfaction for temporal punishment, not immediately, but mediately inasmuch as he makes satisfaction in and by us." But (a) this is a rash assertion without any authority from Scripture; (b) it is dangerous because men are associated with Christ in making satisfaction and a part of the work of redemption is taken out of his hands (for redemption and satisfaction are equivalent terms, since there is no other way to redeem than by rendering satisfaction); (c) it is false and contrary to Scripture, which asserts that Christ by himself has satisfied for sin and that there is no further satisfaction to be made by others.

XV. Further this perfection of the satisfaction asserted by us destroys also the nominal atonement devised by the Remonstrants. For where a perfect payment is made there cannot be a place for the exercise of grace in accepting what is merely nominal. For in making payments, grace is not

considered, but the fulness of the satisfaction, which arises not only from the dignity of him who pays but also from the equality and value of the price paid. This may also be further confirmed from the fact that Christ is said to have come to fulfill the righteousness (*dikaiōma*) or "the right of the law" (Rom. 8:3, 4, to wit, by doing what we ourselves could not do on account of the weakness of the law). Now if by the satisfaction of Christ, the righteousness of the law is fulfilled in us, it must be adequate to the claims of the law. For if it was received by God only through a gracious acceptation, not the righteousness of the law, but the righteousness of grace would have been fulfilled in us.

XVI. Further, a gracious acceptation cannot be granted because Christ received upon himself all the punishment due to us (Is. 53:6–8)—even that which was the most grievous, the curse (*kataran*) of the law itself (Gal. 3:13). Finally, if God might have accepted any imperfect satisfaction, there was no necessity for the Son of God to stand as our surety and be subjected to extreme tortures and a most painful death. For satisfaction to God could have been received from any other man.

Sources of explanation.

XVII. It is one thing to suffer for the church in order to purchase her by paying a price of redemption; another to do so in order to edify, console and confirm her by an example of constancy and obedience. Paul says that he himself suffered for the church (or the body of Christ, Col. 1:24) not in the former sense (for he elsewhere denies that anyone except Christ alone is crucified for us, 1 Cor. 1:13), but in the latter, as he himself teaches us —"for your consolation" (*hyper tēs hymōn paraklēseōs*, 2 Cor. 1:6). He says that he endured all things "for the elect's sake" (2 Tim. 2:10), not to redeem them from temporal punishment, but that (confirmed by his example) they may obtain salvation by Christ. Thomas Aquinas correctly remarks on this subject, "The sufferings of saints are profitable to the church, not indeed by way of redemption, but by way of example and exhortation" (ST, III, Q. 48, Art. 5, p. 2287).

XVIII. The sufferings of Christ (the remains of which Paul was bound to fill up, *antanaplēroun*, Col. 1:24) are not the personal sufferings of the natural Christ, but those of Christ mystical (i.e., of his body, the church),

which, after the manner of Christ, are to be endured by every Christian, whose members they are, and which were allotted to Paul in particular. On this account, he says he fulfills in turn or for his share bearing with alacrity that part of the cross which Christ had placed upon him. Christ is often thus put for his body (Acts 9:4; 1 Cor. 12:12) and "the sufferings of Christ" denote the afflictions of believers (2 Cor. 1:5; Heb. 11:26), not only in relation to their origin (because Christ, as supreme director of the theater of life, imposes them upon us and calls upon us to suffer them, Acts 9:16; 1 Pet. 2:21; Phil. 1:29); not only in relation to their object (because they are laid upon us on account of Christ and his gospel), but also in relation to our union and communion with Christ (because as we are one with him, so our blessings and sufferings are common to us and Christ). He is affected by our sufferings no less than by his own, and we are called to participate in his sufferings that we may be conformed to him in his cross before we are conformed to him in his glory (Rom. 8:18).

XIX. It is one thing for a person to atone for his sins by a true satisfaction; another to interrupt their course by works of repentance and charity. Daniel recommends the latter to Nebuchadnezzar (4:27), not the former. The word *prq* does not primarily signify "to redeem," but "to bear away," "to break off," and hence "to deliver." Therefore he exhorts the king to repentance and a change of life in order to make reparation to men by beneficence for the injuries and oppressions he had practiced and to break off his course of sinning that it might be better for him and that he might obtain exemption from the punishments hanging over him on account of his crimes (as well as a longer continuance of peace in his empire—"if it may be a lengthening of thy tranquility"). Here are to be referred the various passages in which remission of sins is promised to repentance, not as a meritorious cause or a satisfactory punishment, but as a condition annexed.

XX. It is one thing to speak of punishments properly so called and satisfactory, inflicted by a judge for the satisfaction of justice; another to speak of punishments improper and castigatory or medicinal. We do not deny that the latter are often appointed to believers, not by God, the Judge, but by God, the Father; not from hatred, but from love; not for vengeance, but for healing; not for destruction, but for correction. Hence Cyprian says: "The Lord chastises the saints that he may advance their holiness, and he advances their holiness that he may save them"+. Thomas Aquinas says:

“Before remission they are the punishments of sin, after remission they are the struggles and exercises of the saints”+. And Augustine happily explains the difference between the punishments of the wicked and the chastisements of the pious: “All, both good and evil, are equally afflicted, nor by their afflictions can they be distinguished because what both suffer is not a distinction. For a distinction of sufferers remains even in a similarity of sufferings and even though, under the same pains, there is not the same virtue and vice; for as in the same fire gold shines and stubble smokes and by the same fan the chaff is blown away and the wheat purged; nor are dregs to be confounded with oil, because both are pressed in the same press. Thus one and the same inrushing power proves, purifies and refines the good; oppresses, ruins and destroys the bad. Hence under the same affliction, the wicked detest and blaspheme God, while the righteous pray to and praise him. So much difference does it make, not as to the kind of punishments, but as to the character of those who suffer them” (CG 1.8 [FC 8:29; PL 41.21]).

XXI. Such chastisements sometimes indeed retain the name of punishments, but improperly. (1) Punishments in their own nature are inflicted by the supreme Judge upon miserable mortals on account of a violated law; so that even after being changed into believers, the old name is retained because (though not formally) they are materially the same. (2) There are many points of resemblance between them and punishments properly so called. First, they are grievous and troublesome to the flesh (which ought to subdue no less than proper punishments). Second, they are dispensed to believers not carelessly, but by the certain will of a gracious God in no other way than punishments are inflicted by the will of a Judge. Third, sin is the occasion of their infliction. Fourth, from the feeling of believers, who often apprehend God as an angry Judge. Fifth, both are proposed for an example. But the difference between them always remains —that in the punishments of the wicked, the satisfaction of his justice is intended by God (the Judge) as the end; while in the chastisements of the righteous, the correction of his disobedient children is designed by God, as a Father.

XXII. The death of David’s child (inflicted upon him after the remission of his sin, 2 S. 12:14) was a fatherly and medicinal punishment, not a satisfactory and judicial punishment. For sin having been once remitted, no

punishment could remain to be borne. Nor can we infer this either from the fact that it is said to have been sent upon him by God because, by his sin, he had given occasion to the enemy to blaspheme the name of the Lord. For thus the occasion and moving cause is indeed denoted, but not the final; or if the final cause is intimated, it is not the satisfaction of justice, but the reparation of the scandal given because it was becoming that the discipline of the house of God (which had been most basely violated) should be healed by a salutary example. Nor from this—that David deprecates it with great feeling and tears; for such is the constitution of our nature that it endeavors to escape whatever is painful and severe (just as a sick man deprecates the caustic powders, the pain of cautery and the bitterness of medicine, although nothing can be further from punishments than these).

XXIII. Although death cannot be inflicted upon believers to guard against the future, nor for our amendment; yet it does not follow that it is a punishment properly so called, imposed as a satisfaction. There are many other causes, both that the remains of sin in us may be destroyed (and thus we may pass from a natural and earthly state to one spiritual and heavenly) and that thus piety may be exercised and the Christian virtues may shine forth in the most brilliant manner; also because the necessity of dying for all may be a most powerful excitement to amend our life.

XXIV. The "judgment" which Peter says must "begin at the house of God" (1 Pet. 4:17) is not the legal judgment of vengeance proceeding from a wrathful judge, but a fatherly and evangelical judgment of chastisement; not for punishment and destruction, but for example and correction, that thus arrested by the Lord we may not be condemned with the world (as Paul says, 1 Cor. 11:32). The "revenge" mentioned by Paul (2 Cor. 7:11) is not properly a punishment of God as a Judge, but denotes either the canonical punishment of excommunication (inflicted by the church for the removal of scandal and for an example) or rather the exercise of repentance and contrition (in which a sinner is angry with and takes vengeance on himself for the offense committed).

XXV. Although those whose sins were remitted under the Old Testament dispensation still had to offer sacrifices for them, it does not follow that there is room for satisfaction after the remission of sin. Those sacrifices were not (properly speaking) a satisfaction for sin, but types of a future

atonement to be made by Christ, through the efficacy of which that pardon was procured.

XXVI. When it is said "by mercy and truth iniquity is purged" (or "redeemed," Prov. 16:6), this does not favor human satisfactions, whether the truth and mercy of God are meant (as some hold, for he would not take away but assert the satisfaction of Christ) or the mercy and truth of man (as others maintain, for then the condition to which remission of sin is given would be taught—but not the cause on account of which it is given). For as judgment without mercy will be exercised against the unmerciful, so the merciful shall obtain mercy (Mt. 5:7). The word *kphr* does not properly signify here an expiation, but either a covering and remission only (which God bestows upon true believers and the merciful) or the taking away and removal of the power of sin (as elsewhere, Is. 28:18). The exercise of love and sincere piety removes the contrary vices. The following clause confirms this when it adds, "By the fear of the Lord men depart from evil."

XXVII. Although nothing defiled can enter into the kingdom of heaven, yet there is no need of any satisfaction (after Christ's) in this life, or of a purgatory in another to purge away pollution. In the moment when the soul is separated from the body, believers are thoroughly purged of the remains of sin by the Spirit of Christ. The other arguments usually adduced to prove human satisfactions or purgatory will be examined and disposed of in their proper place.

Thirteenth Question: The Matter of the Satisfaction

Is the satisfaction of Christ to be restricted to the sufferings and punishments which he endured for us? Or is it to be extended also to the active obedience by which he perfectly fulfilled the law in his whole life? The former we deny and the latter we affirm

Statement of the question.

I. Concerning the matter and parts of the satisfaction, the opinions of theologians vary. Some restrict it to the sufferings or punishments which Christ endured for us. This opinion appears to have been first maintained by Cargius, a Lutheran minister, and after him by Piscator, a Reformed

professor at Herborne and his followers. Some of these place the whole righteousness in the death of Christ; others comprehend in it all the sufferings he endured through the whole course of his life and call this his "passive righteousness." However the active righteousness (which they place in the obedience yielded by him to the precepts of the law), they suppose to have been necessary as a condition in the person of the Mediator to the performance of his office; but not forming a part of his satisfaction or his merits which are imputed to us.

II. But the common opinion and the one received in our churches is that the satisfaction of Christ, which is imputed to us for righteousness before God, embraces not only the sufferings which he endured either in his life or at his death, but also the obedience of his whole life, or the just and holy actions by which he perfectly fulfilled the demands of the law in our place. Thus from these two parts, the full and perfect price of our redemption proceeds.

III. The subject of controversy is not: (1) whether Christ perfectly fulfilled both the general law binding him to serve God and the special law commanding him to submit to death; and whether the obedience of his whole life was necessary to him for the execution of the work of salvation and useful to us and rendered for our good. For our opponents grant not only that Christ perfectly fulfilled both laws, but also that the obedience of his life was necessary both for him (as a condition required in the Mediator for the performance of the prescribed functions) and in many respects profitable for us. But we inquire whether it was also rendered in our place and whether it forms a part of the satisfaction which he made to God for us. This they deny and we affirm.

IV. (2) The inquiry is not whether the mere sufferings belong to the satisfaction. For our adversaries acknowledge that no suffering can be satisfactory without action, inasmuch as in order to its being acceptable to God, it must include an active obedience or voluntary oblation which unites the highest love with the most perfect righteousness and holiness. They even say that the observance of the whole law was contained in that one action in epitome (*kat' epitomēn*). Rather the question is whether with the obedience which he exhibited in his death (by enduring the punishment due to us) ought also to be joined the obedience of his whole life by which he

fulfilled all righteousness and was perfectly conformed to the law. This we maintain and they deny.

V. (3) The question is not whether the original and habitual holiness of Christ was a quality and condition of the mediatorial person (both as man and as an Israelite; both as Priest and victim), which should be free from every stain. Rather the question is whether the righteousness of merit (which pertains to the execution of the office and is imputed to us for the remission of sins and for obtaining a right to life) arises from the punishments he endured. Whether it does not also flow from the holy actions which he did through his whole life and by which he most fully obeyed the law. Thus in Christ are to be distinguished what conduced directly and immediately to merit and satisfaction (as "that which merited" and what only pertained to them mediately as previous conditions; and "that by which he merited"). In the latter, we place the personal holiness of Christ.

VI. The question is reduced to this—Is the satisfaction of Christ made in our place to be restricted to his death alone (or at least to those sufferings which either preceded or accompanied his death)? Or does it embrace all that Christ did and suffered for us from the beginning to the end of his life? The learned divines mentioned before hold the former opinion; we maintain the latter.

VII. For a clearer understanding of our opinion we remark: (1) the satisfactory sufferings of Christ must be extended to all those which were inflicted upon him, not only on the cross, but also in the garden (yea, through his whole life). Here we cannot approve of the hypothesis of those who wish to restrict all the satisfactory sufferings of Christ to those which he endured during the three hours of the obscuration of the sun while he was on the cross and before he expired, by excluding the others from the satisfaction of justice (although they might pertain to the vindication of divine truth and to the accomplishment of the types). For however indubitable it is that those were the greatest agonies to which he was exposed during the time of darkness (*nychthēmerō*), still it is no less evident that the others were expiatory also. (a) The Scripture nowhere restricts his sufferings to the three hours of the cross, but speaks of them in general without any limitation (Is. 53:4, 5; 1 Pet. 2:21; 3:18; Mt. 16:21; Heb. 5:7; 10:8, 9). They even extend them to his whole humiliation and self-emptying

(*kenōsin*, Phil. 2:6, 7). (b) The agonies Christ endured in the garden (which are described by the words "trouble" [*taraxin*], "heaviness" [*adēmonian*], "amazement" [*ekthambēsin*], and "exceeding sorrowful even unto death" [*perilypēsin mechri thanatou*] on account of the weight of divine wrath and malediction which he sustained) were the principal part of the spiritual punishments which Christ must suffer for us. (c) The contrary opinion wrests from pious souls (placidly resting in all the sufferings of their Savior as satisfactory) the consolation thence derived and snatches from them the innumerable evidences of his amazing love.

VIII. Neither ought the following objections to be made here: either what is asserted in Zech. 3:9, "I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day"; or what Paul says, "We are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus once for all" (Heb. 10:10). These do not restrict his propitiatory sacrifice to the cross. The inference to be drawn from them is not that Christ's antecedent sufferings are not satisfactory, but only that the satisfaction was consummated on the cross (of which this was the fruit—that all the sins of all the elect were blotted out on that very day). This is the reason why Paul synecdochically refers the expiation of our sins to the one offering of Christ. It was the last and most piercing of all his sufferings, without which all the other antecedent sufferings would have been insufficient (as the payment of the last farthing completes the satisfaction, which is followed by the cancelling of the bond and the giving of a receipt). Although he was inaugurated into his mediatorial office in the thirtieth year of his age, we may not infer from this that before that time he was neither a Priest nor a victim. By the same mode of reasoning, it would follow that before thirty years of age he was not a Mediator. If Christ was in favor with the Father and his well-beloved Son (nay, even sometimes in his life glorified), it is not proved that he did not then bear the wrath of God because these two are not incompatible (*asystata*) with each other. Nor did Christ (viewed in himself) ever cease to be most dear to the Father even in his excruciating tortures, although as our surety he bore a load of wrath on account of our sins and was made a curse for us. Nor was it necessary that the punishments imposed upon Christ should always be so intense and oppressive that they could admit of no mitigation at certain intervals, by which he might be animated the more to encounter bravely the conflict set before him.

IX. Second, we remark that in the actions and sufferings of Christ two things are to be distinguished: their substance and form. Their substance we call the actions and sufferings as such considered in the class of being; their formality, the same, inasmuch as they are regarded in the class of morals or as to right and righteousness (*dikaiōma*), which arise from them in relation to the tribunal of God. As to the former, the actions and sufferings are many and various; but as to the latter, it is one form only, under which they come to be considered (namely, the form of righteousness [*dikaiōmatos*], which is a certain whole composed of all his actions and passions taken together). Hence one action or passion alone cannot be called fully meritorious or satisfactory because the concourse of a perfect obedience is required for this. Although various degrees and acts may be observed in the obedience of Christ (which he commenced at his birth, continued through his whole life and consummated at his death), still it is unique as to the completion (*apotelesma*) of the work of salvation and as to the righteousness (*dikaiōma*) flowering out from it.

X. Third, we remark that the obedience of Christ has a twofold efficacy, satisfactory and meritorious; the former by which we are freed from the punishments incurred by sin; the latter by which (through the remission of sin) a right to eternal life and salvation is acquired for us. For as sin has brought upon us two evils—the loss of life and exposure to death—so redemption must procure the two opposite benefits—deliverance from death and a right to life, escape from hell and an entrance into heaven. The various passages of Scripture which clearly express this twofold benefit belong here: "reconciliation for iniquity and the bringing in of an everlasting righteousness" (Dan. 9:24) is ascribed to Christ; "liberation from the curse of the law and the bestowment of blessing" (Gal. 3:13); "freedom from the law, and the adoption of sons" (Gal. 4:5); "salvation from wrath, and the gift of life" (Rom. 5:10); "forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified" (Acts 26:18).

XI. Now although these two benefits flowing from the obedience of Christ are indissolubly connected in the covenant of grace so that no one can obtain the remission of sin without acquiring a right to life, they are not on that account to be confounded as if they were one and the same thing. Rather they are to be distinguished because it is one thing to free from death, another to introduce into life; one thing to deliver from hell, another

to bear into heaven; to free from punishment and to bestow a reward. If no one can be freed from death without also being made a partaker of life, it does not follow that a deliverance from the death we deserve is not to be distinguished from the acquisition of glory. There are many degrees of life as well as of holiness. The possession of life does indeed follow liberation from death; but not at once the possession of a happy and glorious life (just as liberty certainly follows deliverance from prison, but not immediately a diadem and a throne—as Joseph might have been freed from his bonds but not at once set over Egypt). Between death and life simply, there is no medium; but between eternal death and a happy and glorious life, there is a life of bondage in a state of pilgrimage (not of heavenly rest) in which man is still bound to the performance of duty.

XII. While we think these two benefits should be distinguished, we do not think it should be anxiously inquired (as some do) by what acts Christ made satisfaction or merited. They attribute the satisfaction to his sufferings, the merit to his actions alone, so that by the former he freed us from death and by the latter acquired for us a right to life. The Scripture nowhere appears to distinguish the obedience of Christ into parts, but sets it before us as a unique thing by which he has done everything which the law could require of us. Again, as Christ by the obedience of his life has rendered what was due from us (and to which we were otherwise personally bound), by that very obedience he has satisfied for us the demands of the law. As his passive obedience proceeded from unspeakable love to us (which is the fulfilling of the law), we cannot deny that it was meritorious, as it had the relation of a *lytrou* and *timēs* (or price) by which a right to life has been acquired for us. Therefore these things should not be curiously distinguished because both these benefits conjointly depend upon the entire virtue of the cause—the obedience of Christ. For neither could sin be expiated before the law was perfectly fulfilled, nor could a right to life be acquired before the guilt of sin was removed. Therefore he merited by making satisfaction and by meriting made satisfaction. Herein lay the utmost merit—that he performed an arduous and most difficult work (by his most perfect obedience), impossible to all other beings and by no means obligatory upon himself, by his most perfect obedience. By this obedience, he both manifested his amazing love to us and his submission to the Father and in all things conformed to the special law of his own calling. Yet it

would have been of no avail to us had it not been sealed and consummated by his death. And the satisfaction is not to be ascribed only to the external oblation of his blood, but principally to an internal act—his spontaneous and unchangeable will by which we are said to be sanctified (Heb. 10:14); not only to the payment of a price (*lytrou*), but of the whole of the price (*lytrō*) (which is Christ delivering up and subjecting himself for us).

XIII. Nor is Socinus to be listened to here. He maintains that satisfaction and merit are incompatible (*asystata*) with each other because satisfaction is the payment of a just debt and merit is an undue work. Although this may rightly be said in respect to a proper satisfaction, it is not so in respect to a vicarious satisfaction in which a surety, while making satisfaction, can also merit both as to the debtor by paying (when under no obligation to do so) a debt for him—by an undue work acquiring for him freedom from the debt and thus graciously freeing him from all obligation—and as to the creditor (especially if a covenant has been made, such a payment having been stipulated) admitting it not only as a satisfaction for sin, but also as procuring a title to blessings not otherwise due. This is the case here as appears from Is. 53:10; Heb. 9:15; Col. 1:19, 20 and similar passages.

XIV. Fourth, we add that there are two things in the law—precepts, which prescribe duties; sanctions, which ordain rewards to those who keep the law and punishments to its violators. Also we note that man, who is under the law, can at the same time be bound both to obedience and punishment, not indeed in a state of upright nature, but in a state of sin (as was proved in Topic XI, on the law, Question 22, Sections 12, 13, etc.). For as he sustains a twofold relation (*schesin*) to God, both of creature and of a sinful and condemned creature, in the former he always owes obedience to God (nor can he ever receive a dispensation from it in whatever state he may be); in the latter, he is liable to punishment. On this account, it cannot be said that the same debt is paid twice. A penal debt is one thing, arising from past transgression; an obediential debt is another thing, arising from the indispensable obligation of the creature, extending to all times and from which the creature cannot be exempted even while suffering the punishment of its transgressions.

XV. Fifth, we add that there is a threefold subjection to the law—a natural, a federal and a penal. The natural arises from the law as a rule of holiness and belongs to the creature as a creature. Therefore, it is eternal

and indispensable because in every situation, the creature is bound to be subject to God and to obey him. The federal depends upon the law as prescribing the condition for acquiring happiness and belongs to the creature in a constituted state (in which he entered into a covenant with him and prescribed the performance of duty under the promise of rewards and punishments). The penal belongs to the sinful and guilty creature who is bound to suffer the punishment denounced by the law. The first is absolute and immutable. As long as there is a Creator and a creature, so long must the creature be subject to the Creator (and God can no more dispense with this right than he can deny himself). The second is economical and mutable which, as relating to man in a constituted state, must continue in force as long as man continues in the state and no longer; but after he has finished life and reached the goal, he is freed from this subjection. The third is necessary and inevitable on the supposition of sin (which punishment always follows). The first is founded in the essential right of God and in his natural, underived and necessary authority (*autokratorikō*) over the creature and in the natural dependence of the creature upon him. The second is founded in his free right or voluntary dispensation, whereby it pleased him to enter into a covenant with his creature and promise life under this or that condition. The third is founded in his judicial right and vindicatory justice by which the sin of the creature is avenged. All rational creatures (angels and men) are subject to the law in the first way; Adam, in a state of innocence, in the second; devils and reprobate men in the third.

XVI. According to this threefold relation (*schesin*), it is easy to understand how Christ was made under the law (*hypo nomon*) and how he was subjected to the law—whether for himself or for us. For as a man, there is no doubt but he was subject to the law for himself as a rule of holiness by a common and natural subjection (under which angels and the saints in heaven are who are bound to love and worship God). But it does not at once follow from this that he was subject to the law as commanding the condition of happiness by an economical and federal subjection, so that he merited life by obedience (since he had already obtained that by virtue of the hypostatical union), much less by a penal subjection (for he was most holy and absolutely free from all sin). So that when he undertook this twofold office of fulfilling the law to acquire life, as much as to the precepts by doing as to the sanction by suffering, all this was to be done for us by a

voluntary dispensation from the office of Mediator and in virtue of an agreement entered into with the Father himself that (offering himself as our surety) he would do and suffer in our place all those things to which we had been bound and which were necessary for our redemption.

Proof that the satisfaction consists in the obedience of his life: (1) from Rom. 5:19.

XVII. These remarks having been premised for a more ready understanding of the subject, we proceed to the confirmation of our opinion, which rests upon many passages of Scripture. (1) "For as by the disobedience of one many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one, are many made righteous" (Rom. 5:19). Here the satisfaction of Christ is referred to the obedience not only of his death, but also of his life. (a) He treats his whole obedience without any limitation; hence this obedience must be full and perpetual from the beginning even to the end of his life, but not incomplete and imperfect. (b) He treats an obedience which implies conformity to the law in every way, not only as to the sanction of punishment, but also (and indeed principally) as to the keeping of its commandments. (c) He considers what is called "the gift of righteousness" (v. 17), which cannot be said of the sufferings of Christ. (d) He considers what is opposed to the disobedience of Adam, but as that was a violation of the whole law, so also the former must be a fulfillment of the whole law. (e) He treats what was due from us, both as to punishment and precept. Nor does it help the matter to say "that the obedience is nothing else than the one righteousness" (*hen dikaiōma*, mentioned in v. 18, which is said to be "unto justification of life," *eis dikaiōsin zōēs*) and that the condemnation of sin under which we have fallen arose from one sinful act of Adam. The righteousness (*dikaiōma*) spoken of here does not signify only one act of righteousness, but the righteousness arising from a fulness of obedience. If by one sin guilt came upon all, righteousness does not pass from one act upon all because evil is from any kind of defect, but good requires a perfect cause.

2. From Phil. 2:8.

XVIII. Second, the obedience of Christ is to have been "even unto death" (*heōs thanatou*, Phil. 2:8), where not only is its intensity marked out as to degree (the greatest which can be rendered by a creature), but also its extension and duration (because from the beginning of life even to death he constantly persevered in it). This is evident both because that obedience is referred to the whole emptying (*kenōsin*) and humiliation of Christ (which appeared not only in his death but in his whole life) and from other passages where that obedience is described by the imprinting of the law upon his heart and his active observance of it (Ps. 40; Heb. 10:5). Elsewhere it is set forth as a race which Christ had to run (Heb. 12:1, 2) and as a work which he had to do (Jn. 17:4). These were not to be consummated by one act, but by a constant tenor of obedience through his whole life.

3. From Rom. 8:3, 4.

XIX. Third, Christ ought to be made in the likeness of sinful flesh that he might supply the inability (*adynamian*) of the law and fulfill in us the righteousness of the law (Rom. 8:3, 4). This impotence of the law is not to be understood subjectively as if it were in the law itself, but objectively in the sinner in relation to the law (for he could not keep even one of its commands). And thus the law is called weak, not as to the infliction of punishments, but as to the keeping of its commands. Christ, therefore, by supplying what the law could not do in us must accomplish what the law demanded of us and is called "righteousness" (*dikaiōma*) or the right of the law (viz., "a right to life") which arises from its fulfillment, not only as passive, but also as active. For since the law and commands of God are the same, punishments cannot be said to fulfill the law or its commands, but to satisfy the denunciations of the law. Who would say that a robber (capitally punished on account of his crimes) had obeyed the command or law of the king? Besides, since to act agreeably to law is a thing honest and praiseworthy, this cannot be asserted concerning the enduring of punishment, unless perchance one is to be praised because he is tormented in hell.

4. Because Christ fulfilled what was due from us.

XX. Fourth, the satisfaction of Christ ought to be extended to all that was due from us and that he ought to pay in order to obtain life for us. But the obedience of his life no less than the suffering of death was required for this; not only because the sinful creature is bound to both these, but also because both were necessary for the remission of sins and a right to life. For life is promised by the law, not to him who suffers, but to him who performs—"Do this and live." Therefore it would not suffice to have endured punishments by dying, unless the keeping of the commands was added. Nor must we rely here on the statement "that the method of legal and gospel justification is different. In the former, observation of the law was certainly required as the cause of life, but not so in the latter." The difference of our justification is not placed in the thing itself (which is the same in each case, viz., a perfect and numerically absolute righteousness, exactly answering to the conditions of the law concerning the manner of obtaining eternal life and to the eternal and immutable claims of God upon the creature—from which Christ could not derogate because he did not come to abolish but to fulfill the law, Mt. 5:17; Rom. 3:31), but only in the manner because what was due from us and was demanded under the law by personal obedience, that was demanded from Christ by the obedience of another.

5. From Rom. 1:17; 3:21; 5:18.

XXI. Fifth, the satisfaction of Christ is to be sought in his righteousness (as appears from Rom. 1:17; 3:21; 5:18; Phil. 3:9; Dan. 9:24). Hence justification is described by the imputation of righteousness (Rom. 4). But the righteousness of Christ does not consist in his sufferings, but in his actions; nor by suffering, but by doing do we obtain the righteousness of the law (as by sinning we contracted the guilt of unrighteousness). In this sense, Christ testifies that "all righteousness was fulfilled" by him (Mt. 3:15, viz., by doing the will of the Father as to all its parts). And Paul says, "Christ was made sin for us, that we might become the righteousness of God in him" (2 Cor. 5:21, i.e., in the same manner as those sins by which we violated the law were imputed to Christ, so the righteous actions by which he fulfilled it for us are imputed to us).

6. Because the righteousness of Christ is not divided.

XXII. Sixth, Christ is not divided (*memeristai*, 1 Cor. 1:13), so neither ought his righteousness to be divided, but to be bestowed on us whole (*holoklēros*) and undivided. The whole paschal lamb was to be eaten. In like manner, a whole Christ is to be received by us, both as to what he did and what he suffered. This tends to the greater glory of Christ and to our richer consolation, which they obscure and lessen not a little who detract from the price of our salvation a part of his most perfect righteousness and obedience and thus rend his seamless tunic.

Answer to objections.

XXIII. If our salvation and redemption are ascribed to the blood and death of Christ, this is not done to the exclusion of the obedience of his life because nowhere is such a restriction found. Elsewhere (as we have seen) it is extended to the whole obedience and righteousness of Christ. Rather it must be understood by a synecdoche by which what belongs to the whole is ascribed to the better part because it was the last degree of his humiliation, the crown and completion of his obedience (which supposes all the other parts and without which they would have been useless). For no righteousness merits unless it is preserved up to the very last breath, nor can any payment be perfect unless the handwriting is blotted out.

XXIV. Although the apostle attributes the blessedness of the saints to the remission of sins flowing from the shedding of blood (Rom. 4:6, 7), it does not follow that our righteousness and the whole and entire righteousness of Christ are founded in his passion alone. Paul does not argue from an equivalency, as if it was the same to impute righteousness and to pardon sins, but from a holding together (*allēlouchia*) and the indissoluble connection of the blessings in the covenant of grace by which it happens that no one's sins are pardoned without his obtaining immediately a right to life and becoming an heir of the kingdom of heaven. In like manner, Paul treats the love of our neighbor and the fulfilling of the law as the same thing (Gal. 5:14) because where the former exists, the other necessarily follows.

XXV. Although each obedience of Christ (that of his life as well as that of his death) was perfect in its kind, still neither alone could suffice for a satisfaction which required both the observance of commands and the enduring of punishments (by which liberation from death and a right to life might be procured). The positing of the one is not an exclusion, but an inclusion of the other.

XXVI. What one person owes for himself, he cannot pay for another if he is a private person. But this is not so if he is a public person who may act both in his own name and in the name of those whom he represents. Again he who pays what he himself owes cannot by the same thing satisfy for others, unless he has made himself a debtor for them. For although he may be a debtor, still because he voluntarily made himself a debtor in order to free another, while he pays what he owes, he satisfies for another. Thus Christ, who became man not for himself, but for us, must fulfill the law not for himself, but for us, in order to merit life (which he did). Third, although Christ (as to himself by a natural subjection) as a creature was under the law, still not by a federal and economical subjection in order that he might obtain life by the law and place himself as a surety in the place of sinners. This was a work of voluntary agreement and he owed no such thing for himself, neither as to person (because he is the theanthropic [*theanthrōpos*] Son of God and Lord of the law), nor as to his human nature (whether absolutely or respectively). Not absolutely, (1) because his human nature was adjoined to the person of the Logos (*Logou*) and as this was not subject to the law, so neither could the nature assumed by it be subject in that sense; and (2) because as in the assumption of human nature the humiliation of Christ consists, so also in those things which result from this assumption. Such is the subjection to the law, not respectively because Christ (as man) was not bound to the legal covenant, which pertained only to those whom Adam represented in that covenant (to wit, who naturally descended from him). Finally, he had no need to acquire for himself a right to life by his own obedience—this necessarily resulting from the union with the Word (*Logō*). Hence it follows that Christ owed all his federal obedience for us (as surety) because he represented our persons.

XXVII. Although Christ fulfilled the law for us as to obedience, it cannot be inferred that we are no longer bound to render obedience to God. It certainly follows that we are not bound to obey for the same end and from

the same cause (to wit, that we may live by it, from our federal subjection). But this does not hinder our being bound by a natural obligation to yield the same obedience to God, not that we may live but because we live; not that we may acquire a right to life, but that we may enter upon the possession of the acquired right. Just as (though Christ died for us) we do not cease to be still liable to death—not for a punishment, but for salvation.

XXVIII. A righteousness of innocence (when one is accused of no fault) differs from a righteousness of perseverance (to which a reward is due for duty performed). The remission of sin brings in the former righteousness by taking away the guilt of sins committed, but does not on that account draw after itself the righteousness of perseverance, as if he who obtains it had really performed all duties. It is one thing to free a person from the punishment due to the omission of duty; another to reckon him really righteous with the righteousness of perseverance to which life is promised (as if he had omitted no good or committed no evil). The former is obtained by remission, but not the latter (which would be repugnant to the truth and just judgment of God). Remission of sin does not make it no sin, but prevents its imputation. It only takes away the guilt of sin and consequently its punishment, but does not remove its pollution. Thus to be considered as "having committed no evil and as having omitted no good" can be understood in two ways: either as to punishment, so that we can no more be punished than if we had really committed no sin and omitted no duty (in which sense it is true that by the remission of all sins we are placed in that state because we are freed from all the punishment due on account of it); or as to reward, so that he who is reckoned to have omitted no duty and to have committed no sin shall be judged by God to have done all things necessary for the obtainment of life. Thus it is false that he whose sins are remitted is to be viewed in that place because remission causes the removal of the punishment, but not that God should determine that the sinner is free from all delinquency and has fulfilled all parts of his duty and is righteous (which would be repugnant to the truth—as if the guilty is to be esteemed righteous because the judge has pardoned him, a suppliant and confessor).

XXIX. God cannot be accused of demanding a double payment of the same debt because since the law binds sinners to obedience and punishments (as has just been said), the actions and sufferings of Christ do not constitute a double payment, but only one and a unique righteousness

(*dikaiōma*) by which liberation from death and a right to life have been acquired for us.

XXX. The law cannot be said to have been fulfilled by epitome (*kat' epitomēn*) in the voluntary suffering of Christ. It demands perfect obedience, not only by epitome (*kat' epitomēn*), but also as to each particular (*kath' hekasta*); not only as to degree and intensively, but also as to duration and extensively—from the beginning even to the end of life, which cannot be accomplished in one or another action.

XXXI. So far is the whole righteousness of Christ (which is imputed to us) from being well placed in his sufferings (and for this reason being rightly called active) that no righteousness is to be placed properly in suffering, but only in action. Nor can anyone be called righteous because he suffers, since pain is not a virtue. Besides, sufferings do not yield obedience to those commands of the law to which the promise of life is annexed, but they only satisfy its sanctions. Hence they cannot be called righteousness. If there is any righteousness in punishment, it is the righteousness of the punisher, not of him who is punished.

XXXII. Calvin, in many parts of his works, teaches the received opinion, especially in the following: "When it is asked how, sin having been removed, Christ has taken away the enmity between us and God and acquired a righteousness which has made him favorable and friendly to us, it may be answered generally that he has done this by the whole course of his obedience. This is proved by the testimony of Paul, 'as by the transgression of one, many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one, many were made righteous.' And indeed, elsewhere he extends the cause of pardon, which delivers us from the curse of the law to the whole life of Christ: 'when the fullness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law.' Thus even in his baptism he declares that Christ fulfilled a part of this righteousness because he obediently performed his Father's command. Finally, from the time that 'he took upon himself the form of a servant,' he began to pay the price of liberation in order to redeem us. Nevertheless, that the Scripture may define more precisely the mode of salvation, it ascribes this as peculiar and proper to the death of Christ" (ICR, 2.16.5, p. 507). "Nor yet," he afterwards adds, "is the remaining part of his obedience, which he performed during his life, excluded, as Paul comprehends the whole from the beginning even to the

end of his life when he says that ‘he humbled himself and took upon him the form of a servant, and was obedient to his Father unto death, even the death of the cross.’ And, indeed, his voluntary subjection occupies the first grade in his death also, because a sacrifice availed nothing, unless offered freely” (ICR, 2.16.5, p. 508). “I answer that accepting grace is nothing else but his gratuitous goodness by which the Father embraces us in Christ, clothes us with his innocence and causes us to accept it, that on account of it, he may esteem us as holy, pure and innocent. For it behooves the righteousness of Christ, which as alone perfect, so alone can stand in the sight of God, to be presented for us and to be set to our account in the judgment as offered by our Surety. Furnished with this, we, through faith, obtain perpetual remission of sin. By its purity, our defilements and stains of imperfection are washed away. They are not imputed to us, but as if buried they are hidden out of sight, nor will they rise against us in judgment” (ICR, 3.14.12, p. 779.). He confirms the same thing on the epistle to the Romans and the epistle to the Galatians (*The Epistles of Paul ... to the Romans* [trans. R. Mackenzie, 1961], p. 118 on Rom. 5:19; and *The Epistles of Paul ... to the Galatians* [trans. T.H.L. Parker, 1965], pp. 73–74 on Gal. 4:4).

XXXIII. The French Synods have repeatedly declared that the same truth should be retained inviolable, as the Privatensian (in the year 1612) and the Tonneinsian (in the year 1614), whose words are these: “Since man can find in himself, before or after his calling, no righteousness by which he can stand before the tribunal of God; he cannot be justified except in our Lord Jesus Christ, who was obedient to God the Father, from his entrance into the world even until his ignominious death on the cross: in his life and at his death, the whole law given to man having been perfectly fulfilled, as well as the command to suffer and lay down his life as a price of redemption for many, by this perfect obedience we are rendered righteous, inasmuch as the grace of God is imputed to us and received by faith, which he gives us; by this we are assured that, by the merit of the whole of this obedience, we have the remission of our sins and are rendered worthy of eternal life” (cf. Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata* [1692], p. 401).

Fourteenth Question: The Object of the Satisfaction

Did Christ die for each and every man universally or only for the elect? The former we deny; the latter we affirm

I. The question concerning the object of Christ's death or the universality of the satisfaction and redemption has been (and still is) agitated by various persons. This imposes upon us a necessity of discussing it also in order that nothing may seem to be lacking in this treatise concerning the satisfaction of Christ.

The opinion of the Pelagians.

II. Among the ancients, it appears that the universality of redemption was contended for by the Pelagians and Semipelagians. Hence Prosper (concerning the remains of the Pelagian heresy) says, "This is their definition and profession that Christ died for the whole human race and that no one is excluded from the redemption effected by his blood" (*Letter to Augustine* 6 [ACW 32:43; PL 33.1005]). And among the damnable errors which they boasted of having found in Augustine was this also: "The Savior was not crucified for the redemption of the whole world." Faustus (Rhegiensis) says, "They wander far from the path of piety who say that the Savior did not die for all" (*De Gratia Dei et Libero Arbitrio* 1.4 [PL 58.789]). And Hincmar enumerates it as one of the errors of Gottschalk that he preached that Christ did not pour out his precious blood to God the Father for the redemption and salvation of all men, but for those only who are saved, or for all the elect (cf. Flodoard, *Historiae Ecclesiae Remensis* 3.15* [PL 135.180–81]). To the same purpose are the anathemas of the pretended Council of Arles, recorded in the letter of Faustus, the standard-bearer of the Semipelagian council. But as Augustine in his time opposed himself to these, so did Prosper and Fulgentius (his disciples) and other preachers of the grace of Christ (pressing in their track) defend the truth bravely and heartily. The same was afterwards confirmed by Remigius, bishop of Lyon (*De Tribus Epistolis Liber* [PL 121.985–1068]) and the council Valentine III held in the year 855 (Canon 4, Mansi, 15:5).

Of the Jesuits.

III. The same controversy was afterwards renewed among the Romanists, some of whom defended the universality of redemption (with the Semipelagians), others its particularity (with Augustine and his genuine disciples). This controversy lay principally between the Jesuits and Jansenists, of whom the former (an offshoot of the Pelagians) warmly contend for the universality of Christ's death, while the latter with great firmness defend its particularity, following their founder, Jansen, who has argued this subject very largely and with great solidity in his *Augustinus* ("De Gratia Christi Salvatoris," 3.20 [1640/1964], pp. 369–80), his *Apologia Jansenii* published in 1644, Art. 17, 19, 20+ and in *Catechismo de Gratia*, c. 7, de Predesti. q. 65+.

Of the Lutherans.

IV. The controversy then passed from the Romanists to the Protestants, not only on account of the Lutherans, who with the Jesuits retain and contend for a universal satisfaction (as Eckhard, *Fasciculus controversiarum Theologicarum* 15.6 [1631], pp. 322–33; Brochmand, "De Gratia Dei," 2, Q. 17, 18, 19 in *Universae theologicae systema* [1638], 1:595–97 and others); but principally on account of the Arminians (known by the name of Remonstrants), who, about to recall popery indirectly and to contend for the idol of free will, drew most of their errors from Molinus, Lessius, Suarez and other Jesuits. This is among the rest concerning the universality of Christ's death and is placed among those that were rejected and condemned by the Synod of Dort, as may be seen in the second chapter of their "Rejection of errors concerning the Death of Christ" (*Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti* [1619–20], 2:139).

Of the Arminians.

V. The article in their remonstrance against the Synod of Dort is this: "The price of redemption which Christ offered up to his Father was not only in itself and by itself sufficient for the redemption of the whole human race; but was even paid for all men and every man by the decree, will and grace

of God the Father; and, therefore, no one is particularly excluded by an antecedent decree of God from a participation of the fruits of the death of Christ. 2. Christ, by the merit of his death, has so far reconciled God the Father to the whole human race that the Father on account of his merit, his own justice and truth being preserved, can enter and wishes to enter into and sanction a new covenant of grace with sinful men exposed to damnation" (*Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti* [1619–20], 1:129). Therefore they hold: (1) that Christ, by the counsel of God, so died for each and every one that not only is his death sufficient in itself on account of its own intrinsic value, but was also offered up sufficiently for each and every one inasmuch as God willed that what was in itself sufficient for all should be paid either in the place or for the good of each and every one (or of the whole human race) so that by its intervention it comes to pass that God ever afterward willed to deal gratuitously with the human race and hence that the death of Christ was not a promise of the new covenant, but its cause and foundation. (2) That Christ, by his own intention and that of his Father, has obtained a restitution into a state of grace and salvation for all men and each man (those passed by as well as those who are saved), so that no one (on account of original sin) is liable to condemnation or will be condemned, but all are freed from the guilt of that sin. (3) That Christ, according to the counsel of his Father, underwent death for all without a certain and definite design of saving anyone in particular. Thus the necessity and utility of the atonement made by the death of Christ might be in every respect preserved, even if the acquired redemption should never be actually applied to any individual. (4) That Christ, by his satisfaction, merited salvation and faith for no one with such certainty that the satisfaction must be applied to them efficaciously for salvation, but merely acquired for the Father a plenary will and power to treat anew with men, to enter into a covenant either of grace or of works and to prescribe whatever conditions he chose. The performance of this depends entirely upon the free will of man, and therefore it could happen that either all or no one should fulfill them. (5) That the acquisition extends further than the application (as salvation was obtained for all, which is applied to a very few). All these can be gathered from the Collation published at the Hague (*Collatio scripto habita Hagae Comitis* [1615]) and from the Remonstrance against the Synod of Dort (in the declaration of their opinion concerning the second article).

Of the universalists.

VI. Those of our ministers who defend universal grace yield to this opinion, if not entirely yet in a great measure. For as they hold a universal philanthropy (*philanthrōpian*) and love of God towards the human race, so they think Christ was sent into the world by the Father through that love (as a universal remedy to procure salvation for each and every one under the condition of faith); and that Christ with that intention died for all under the same condition (although the fruit and efficacy of his death will be enjoyed by a few only to whom God by a special decree determined to give faith). In this manner, they teach that the decree of the death of Christ preceded the decree of election and that God in sending Christ regarded not some more than others, but appointed Christ as a Savior equally for all; yea that he did not absolutely intend so much salvation in him, as the possibility of salvation (viz., the removal of impediments which justice opposed to their salvation) by a satisfaction afforded to him and thus opened a door of salvation that God (being appeased) might make a new covenant with them in consistency with the claims of his justice and think of giving salvation to them. For this end he took care by a universal call that Christ so given and dying for all might be offered to each and every one. But because he foresaw that no one would believe (on account of the innate depravity of the heart), they contend that God (by another special decree) determined to give faith to some by which they might believe on Christ and certainly become partakers of salvation, the rest being left in unbelief and on account of it most justly condemned. In this they rightly differ from the Arminians. All this can be clearly gathered from their writings. Thus Cameron says, "The death of Christ belongs, under the condition of faith, equally to all men" (*Opera* [1659], p. 389 on Heb. 2:9). Testard says, "The design of giving Christ for a propitiation in his blood was the making of a new covenant with the whole human race and the possible call to salvation and the salvation of all men, justice no longer resisting" (*Eirenikon seu Synopsis Doctrinae de Nature et Gratia*, Th. 77* [1633], p. 54). And: "In this sense, indeed, no one can deny that Christ died for each and everyone, that his faith may stand in the word of God" (Th. 79, ibid., p. 56). Amyrald says, "The redemption of Christ is to be considered in two ways: either as absolute, inasmuch as some truly embrace it; again as it is affected by a

condition, inasmuch as it is offered on these terms—that if anyone will embrace it, he shall become partaker of it. In the former mode, it is particular; in the latter, universal. In like manner, its destination is twofold: particular, inasmuch as it has a decree to give faith connected with it; universal, inasmuch as that decree is separated from it" ("Doctrinae de gratia universali," in *Mosis Amyraldi ... Dissertationes Theologicae Quatuor* [1645], pp. 37–38). This he had more expressly taught previously: "Since the misery of man is equal and universal, and the desire which God has to free them from it by so great a Redeemer proceeds from the mercy which he has towards us as his own creatures fallen into so great ruin, in which his creatures equally lie, the grace of redemption, which he has procured for and offers to us, should be equal and universal, provided we are equally disposed to receive it" (*Brief Traitte de la Predestination* 7 [1634], p. 77).

VII. Though all agree that Christ died for each and every one, still they do not explain their meaning in the same way. For some say openly that Christ died conditionally for each and every one and absolutely only for the elect (as appears from the above extracts). Others, however, seeing the great absurdities pressing upon this view, abstain from such a manner of speaking and prefer to say that Christ did not die for men on condition that they would believe, but absolutely, whether they would believe or not. Thus the approach to salvation might be free to all who would believe and the way to a new covenant might be opened equally to all (viz., the obstacle of justice being removed by the death of Christ, an obstacle preventing God from being reconciled to men). Yet they all come to the same point when they say that Christ made satisfaction for each and every one and obtained reconciliation, remission of sins and salvation for them; of which (if many are deprived) the cause is not to be sought in the insufficiency of the death of Christ, or in a defect of his will and intention, but only in the unbelief of those who perversely reject the offered grace of Christ.

VIII. But the common opinion of the Reformed is that Christ (from the mere good-pleasure [*eudokia*] of the Father) was appointed and given as a Redeemer and head, not to all men, but to a certain number of men. By the election of God, these compose his mystical body. For these alone, Christ (perfectly acquainted with his call) in order to fulfill the decree of election and the counsel of the Father, was willing and determined to die; also to add

to the infinite price of his death a most efficacious and special intention to substitute himself in their place and to acquire faith and salvation for them.

Statement of the question.

IX. Hence the state of the question is easily elicited. (1) It is not asked with respect to the value and sufficiency of the death of Christ—whether it was in itself sufficient for the salvation of all men. For it is confessed by all that since its value is infinite, it would have been entirely sufficient for the redemption of each and every one, if God had seen fit to extend it to the whole world. And here belongs the distinction used by the fathers and retained by many divines—that Christ "died sufficiently for all, but efficiently for the elect only." For this being understood of the dignity of Christ's death is perfectly true (although the phrase would be less accurate if referred to the will and purpose of Christ). But the question properly concerns the purpose of the Father in delivering up his own Son and the intention of Christ in dying. Did the Father appoint his Son for each and every one and, did the Son deliver himself up to death with the design and intention of substituting himself in the place of each and every one to make satisfaction and acquire salvation for the same? Or did he resolve to deliver himself up for the elect only, who were given him by the Father to be redeemed and whose head he was to be? Therefore, the question hinges upon this—not what is the nature and power of Christ's death in itself, but what was the purpose of the Father in appointing him and the intention of Christ in undergoing it. Hence it is sufficiently evident that it is not here treated of the revealed will (*euarestias*) of God only, but of his secret will (*eudokias*) under which the death and mission of Christ fall (as all must agree).

X. (2) The question does not concern the fruits and efficacy of Christ's death—whether each and all will be actually made partakers of these. Puccius (cf. *De fide natura hominibus universa insita* [1577]) and Huberus (cf. *Christum esse mortuum pro peccatis omnium hominum* [1590]) formerly held this view. Our opponents acknowledge that these are to be extended to believers only. Rather the question refers to the design of God in sending his Son into the world and the purpose of Christ in his death. Were these such that Christ by substituting himself in the place of each and

every one, made satisfaction and obtained the remission of sin and salvation for them all or for the elect only? They affirm the former; we affirm the latter.

XI. (3) We do not inquire whether the death of Christ gives occasion to the imparting of many blessings even to reprobates. For it is due to the death of Christ that the gospel is preached to every creature, that the gross idolatry of the heathen has been abolished from many parts of the world, that the daring impiety of men is greatly restrained by God's word and that some often obtain many and excellent (though not saving) gifts of the Holy Spirit. All these unquestionably flow from the death of Christ, since no place would have been given for them in the church unless Christ had died. Rather the question is whether the suretyship and satisfaction of Christ were (by the counsel of God and the will of Christ himself) intended for each and every one (as they hold); or for the elect only (as we assert).

Proof that Christ did not die for all: (1) from the restriction of his death to certain ones.

XII. The reasons are: (1) the mission and death of Christ are restricted to certain ones—to "his people," "his sheep," "his friends," "his church," "his body"—and never extended to all men severally and collectively. Thus Christ "is called Jesus, because he shall save his people from their sins" (Mt. 1:21). Elsewhere he is called "the Savior of his body" (Eph. 5:23), "the good Shepherd, who lays down his life for the sheep" (Jn. 10:15) and "for his friends" (Jn. 15:13). He is said "to die that he might gather together in one, the children of God that were scattered abroad" (Jn. 11:52) and "to purchase the church with his own blood" (Acts 20:28; Eph. 5:25, 26). Now if Christ died for each and every one, why do the Scriptures so often restrict his death to a few? How can he be said to be the Savior of his people and of his body simply, if he is the Savior of others also? How can he be said to have laid down his life for his sheep, for the sons of God and for the church, if (by the counsel of God and the intention of Christ himself) he died for others also? Would this be a greater proof of his love and a foundation for stronger consolation?

XIII. To no purpose is it here objected in general: (1) "that the Scripture, which in some places restricts the death of Christ to a few, elsewhere extends it to all." That universality (as will hereafter be shown) is not absolute, but limited; one which respects the classes of individuals, not the individuals of classes. (2) "That in those passages reference is made not to the acquisition alone, which considered separately is universal, but to the application, which is particular." Those bounds which the Holy Spirit uses in the texts cited above (such as "the Savior," "to lay down his life for some," "to give himself for some" and to save [*peripoiein*] some) properly denote satisfaction, the procuring and acquisition of salvation. Although they draw after them the application, they are no less efficacious since the acquisition and application are inseparable as being of the same extent (as will shortly be proved). (3) "That it can be said at the same time that Christ died for some absolutely and for all conditionally." This takes for granted what ought to be proved—that there was a twofold intention in Christ's death: one conditional which extended to all; the other absolute which was restricted to a few. Scripture never mentions this, but speaks of the application as conditional, yet never of the redemption. Nor would the nature of the thing allow this since (on their hypothesis) there was as yet no consideration of the elect in the decree concerning the death of Christ, according to which he died (indeed with the same intention with which the decree was passed, since the execution must answer to the destination; nor could there be any other affection and intention in Christ dying than in the Father destining). They hold that the elect were separated by a posterior decree from others. Again, who can believe that in the one most simple act by which God decreed all things (although we have to conceive of it by parts), there were two intentions so diverse (not to say contrary) that in one manner Christ should die for all and in another only for some? Nay, since Christ could not will to die absolutely for the elect without involving (by the law of contraries) a will not to die for the reprobate, it cannot be conceived how in one act he should will both to die for the reprobate and not to die for them. (4) "Although these passages speak of the elect, yet they are not to be understood concerning them exclusively of all others; as when Paul says that Christ was delivered for him, he does not exclude others from a fellowship in the same love (Gal. 2:20)." All the passages adduced, if not explicitly yet implicitly include an exclusion in the

description of those for whom Christ died (which cannot pertain to others). Although the blessing is promised to the seed of Abraham (the particle "alone" not being added), still it may be sufficiently inferred from the nature of the thing. So all these passages tend to the same point—to amplify the remarkable love of Christ to his sheep for whom he delivered himself up to death. But if they have nothing peculiar in this affair above others, what reason can be given why that immense love of Christ (who lays down his life, pours out his blood and gives himself up) should be applied specially to them? Nor does the example of Paul apply here. He does not speak of this as a privilege peculiar to himself, but as one common to himself and other elect or believing persons to whom he sets himself forth as an example that they might predicate the same thing concerning themselves in the same state.

XIV. Not more solidly is it objected in particular: (1) against Mt. 1:21—"Although Christ is called the Savior of his people in a peculiar sense, on account of salvation being actually and really bestowed upon them, yet there is no reason why he should not be the Savior of others also, on account of having obtained salvation for them, although on account of their unbelief they will never be made partakers of it; in the same manner as Paul says, 'God is the Savior of all men, but especially of them that believe,' 1 Tim. 4:10)." It is gratuitous to say that Christ is the Savior of those for whom salvation is indeed acquired, but to whom it will never be applied. Even the very word "to save" denotes the actual communication of salvation, and Christ is Jesus, not only because he is willing and able to save and because he removes all obstacles out of the way of salvation, but because he does really and actually save his people, not only by his merit acquiring salvation for them, but also efficaciously applying it to them, which was the intention of God in sending Christ and the end of his mission (as the angel clearly intimates by the imposition of the name Jesus). Nor does the passage in Paul prove the contrary (1 Tim. 4:10). There the word Savior (*sōtēr*), which in the latter clause is taken strictly and properly with regard to believers (as denoted by the word "especially" [*malista*]), in the first clause is taken in its wider sense of a "preserver"—"in him we live and move and have our being" (Acts 17:28); as in Ps. 36:6 (to which passage Paul alludes), God is said to *sōzein*—"to preserve man and beast." Hence Chrysostom, Oecumenius, Primasius and Ambrose say, "He is the Savior of

all at present" (i.e., as far as regards the present life), but of believers only "in the future" and as to eternal life; cf. Thomas Aquinas on this passage —"who is Savior of the present and future life because he saves with a bodily salvation as to all, and thus he is called the Savior of all men. He saves by a spiritual salvation also as to the good and is hence said to be the Savior especially of them that believe" (*Angelici Doctoris Divi Thomae ... Commentaria in Epistolas omnes D. Pauli*, II/V [1856], p. 34 on 1 Tim. 4:10).

XV. (2) To the passage in Jn. 10:15, it ought not to be objected that "the sheep, for whom he laid down his life, were not the elect alone." For the passage clearly teaches that it can apply to none but the elect. Christ is speaking of sheep who hear his voice and follow him, whom he knows and dearly loves, whom he must bring into one fold under one Shepherd (vv. 15, 16), to whom he would give eternal life and no man shall be able to pluck them out of his hand. This can be said of no others than the elect, who are called sheep both antecedently (in virtue of their eternal destination to life) and consequently (in virtue of their call in time). Nor may it be objected "that he is said to have laid down his life for his sheep because they alone shall enjoy the fruits of his death, while it is of no use to others on account of their unbelief. Thus to die for some either signifies to die with this intention that they shall be profited in reality, which is true only of the sheep." The phrase "to lay down life for some" can no more be referred to the apprehension of the fruits of Christ's death, than when it is said he gave himself a ransom (*antilytron*) for all (which is extended to each and every one). Nor is there any reason why the former should be referred to the intention and effect at the same time, but the latter restricted to the intention and desire only of assisting. Nor can it be conceived what difference there is between the two. For he who wills to die for anyone that he may profit him, wills by that very thing that he shall be profited in reality. He will in reality profit him if he can, otherwise a reason would have to be given why Christ obtains what he intended as to his sheep, but fails in his intention as to the rest. Or "that he could not die for his sheep as such because then, they would have been his sheep before he died for them and acquired them for his own. Hence he laid down his life for them merely as sinners, which character belongs to them in common with others, and that hence he must have laid down his life for others also." Although they were not as yet

actually his sheep, still they were so by destination. They were given to Christ to be redeemed and purchased by him as the Good Shepherd, who with his own blood must redeem them; therefore they were given to Christ by the decree of God before they were in his hands (Jn. 17:24). Nay, the very mission of Christ was founded upon that gift. "This is the will," says he, "of him who hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day" (Jn. 6:39). Otherwise unless a fixed number of those to be saved had been contemplated by God when he determined to send Christ, the effect of his death would have been uncertain and this whole mystery of redemption might have been rendered utterly fruitless by the perverse obstinacy of man.

XVI. (3) The objection against Eph. 5:25 and Tit. 2:14 is not valid —"that although Christ is said to have delivered himself up for his people and for his church, yet it is not to be restricted to it alone, with the inference that he gave himself up for no others." An exclusion is intimated with sufficient plainness by the words themselves and the nature of the thing. (a) For such a delivering up is meant as arises from the love of Christ towards his church, as his spouse; but such a love necessarily includes an exclusion. So when Paul says in the preceding verse, "Husbands love your wives," although an exclusion is not expressed, it is sufficiently implied. Who would hear without indignation the adulterer plead thus in vindication of his crime—"It is indeed said, 'Husbands, love your wives,' but it is not said, love those alone"? (b) Such a giving of himself is here meant as has for its end the sanctification of his church and its salvation (i.e., the application with the procurement). This clearly belongs to none but the elect and the church alone. And since he delivered himself up for none except for this end, he can be said to have delivered himself up for no one who will not obtain that end.

XVII. (4) The objection is futile which is brought against Mt. 20:28, 26:28 and Heb. 9:28—that "many here is not opposed to all, but to one, and a few" (as is done in Rom. 5:19 and Dan. 12:2*) and that "many is often put for all." The many treated here are described by such marks as cannot be common to each and every one: that he gave himself a ransom for many (*lytron anti pollōn*); in place of many by an actual substitution; that he shed his blood for many for the remission of sins; that he offered himself to bear

the sins of many (*eis to pollōn anenenkein hamartias*); for the actual abolition of sin. If many is sometimes opposed to one and a few (yea, is used also for all), it is not therefore necessary to understand it so everywhere. Nay, it is often so extended to many as to be a negation of all. Hence Jerome says, "He does not say that he gave his life for all, but for many, that is, for all those who would believe" (*Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaei* [PL 26.150] on Mt. 20:28)—who are none other than the elect, in whom God works both to will and to do. The interlinear gloss adds "for many, not for all, but for those who were predestinated to life" (cf. *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria* [1617], 5:339 on Mt. 20:28).

2. From the restriction of his death to those given to him by the Father.

XVIII. Second, Christ was given and died for no others than those who were given to him by the Father. However all men universally were not given to Christ, but only some. Therefore the truth of the major cannot be questioned. For since in the design of the Father (according to which Christ should die and truly did die) not only was Christ appointed as Redeemer, but he was also appointed for those for whose redemption and salvation he was to die. It is evident that he could die for none others than those who were in this sense given to him. And hence a twofold donation can be observed: one, of Christ to men; another, of men to Christ. Christ was given to men for the purpose of saving them and men are given to Christ that through him they might be saved. The former is referred to in Is. 9:6 and 49:6, and in all the passages in which Christ is said to be sent and given for us. The latter is referred to in others where mention is made of those given to Christ (as in Jn. 17:2, 6, 12; 6:37). Since, however, this twofold giving is reciprocal, each of them must also be of the same extent so that Christ is given for none but those who are given to him and all those are given to Christ for whom he is given. But the Scriptures in many places assert that not all men, but some men only were given to him (which is assumed in the minor) when it distinguishes them from other men: "As thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him" (Jn. 17:2); and "I have manifested thy name unto the men which

thou gavest me out of the world: thine they were, and thou gavest them me" (v. 6); when it designates them by "the people whom he foreknew" (Rom. 11:2); heirs and children of promise (Rom. 9:8); the seed of Abraham, not carnal, but spiritual, both of the Jews and Gentiles (Rom. 4:13; Gal. 3:8, 16; Heb. 2:16); his people and body or the church of Christ (Mt. 1:21; Eph. 5:23); vessels of mercy afore prepared to glory (Rom. 9:23, 24); chosen in him and predestinated to adoption and to conformity to his image (Rom. 8:30; Eph. 1:4, 5); and the posterity of the second Adam, all of whom are to be quickened in Christ, in opposition to the posterity of the first Adam, in whom all die (1 Cor. 15:22, 23). From all these, it is evident that the object of the giving of Christ is so restricted to a limited number that it cannot be extended to each and every one.

XIX. To no purpose do they reply that "the giving of Christ was conditional, not absolute; that the law and condition was that men would receive by faith the benefit offered to them, and since this is not done by the greater part, it is no wonder that they derive no advantage from it." It is gratuitously supposed that there was such a conditional giving, since Scripture nowhere mentions this condition. For although faith is proposed as a means and condition necessary to the reception and enjoyment of this benefit, yet it does not follow that it was a condition to the giving of Christ (since it is itself a gift of grace and a fruit of this giving). Further, if the giving of Christ was founded upon any condition, it would either depend upon man or upon God. The former can be said by none but a Pelagian. If the latter be asserted, then it comes to this—that Christ is said to be given to us by God as a Savior on this condition, that he will give him to us by the production of faith or under the condition of faith (which faith, however, he who alone is able to give it, will not give—a glaring absurdity).

XX. Our view is still further confirmed by the connection of the twofold relation (*scheseōs*) which Christ sustains to us (viz., the relation of a surety and that of a head). He is our surety that by satisfying he may acquire salvation for us. He is our head that by his Spirit working in us he may apply this salvation to us. He is not given as a head to all men, but to his members only (i.e., to the elect, who are made actual partakers of salvation). He cannot be a surety or sponsor of any other than these since the reason for both relations (*scheseōs*) is the same; nor ought there to be a greater extension of the one than of the other. The same thing can be proved

from the connection between the death and resurrection of Christ in which this same twofold relation exists. Indeed since he died as surety, he must rise again as head. However since there is the same reason for his death and resurrection, no other cause can be given why the former should be more extensive than the latter. Hence it is that Paul places these two as being of equal efficacy (*isodynamounta*) and extent: "Christ died for our sins and rose again for our justification" (Rom. 4:25); "he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them and rose again" (2 Cor. 5:14, 15). He cannot be said to have died for others than those for whom he rose again because no one becomes a partaker of the fruits of Christ's death except by his resurrection. Now that he did not rise again as a head (to confer the salvation obtained by his death upon all) is self-evident.

3. From the connection between his satisfaction and intercession.

XXI. Third, the same truth is established by the connection between his satisfaction and the intercession of Christ. For since they are parts of the same priestly office, they must also be of the same extent. He should intercede for those for whom he made satisfaction; nor should he make satisfaction for others than those for whom he intercedes. The same thing must be the object as much of his propitiation (*hilasmou*) as of his appearance in the presence of God (*emphanismou*) as they are connected indissolubly by Paul and John (1 Jn. 2:1, 2; Rom. 8:34). Now Christ himself expressly declares that he does not intercede for all, but only for those who are given him by the Father: "I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me" (Jn. 17:9). However, since to offer up prayers for anyone is much easier than to give blood and life for them, who will say that he dies for those to whom he denies his prayers? or that he would have denied his prayers to those for whose sake he was just about to pour out his blood at the very moment before his death?

XXII. Nor is it to be said here with the Remonstrants that "there is a twofold intercession of Christ, one universal, which is in respect of the whole world, concerning which Isaiah speaks (53:12), according to which

he is said to have prayed for his persecutors (Lk. 23:34); another particular, which is in respect of believers, which is spoken of in Jn. 17 and Rom. 8." It is gratuitously supposed that a universal intercession can be granted. For as he is always heard by the Father (Jn. 11:42), if he would intercede for all, all would be actually saved. Nor is this universal intercession proved from Is. 53:12, where it is said that he would intercede for the transgressors; not for all, but for the many of whom mention is there made and whom he is said to justify (v. 11). Nor is it proved from Lk. 23:34. He does not pray for all those who crucified him, but for those who sinned from ignorance (as Christ adds there), who also obtained the fruit of his prayer (Acts 2, 3). If Christ (from a humane affection and an impulse of love) prayed also for those who perished, it does not follow that the intercessory prayers which he offered up as Mediator (and in that special office) are to be extended to others than those elected and given him by the Father. To these Christ himself restricts his intercessory prayers.

XXIII. Nor does he escape better, who says that the world of unbelievers only is excluded from the prayers of Christ, those who are guilty of rejecting the gospel and hate believers (Jn. 10:14), but not the world beloved of God, for whom he gave his own Son (Jn. 3:16). But these prayers did not have any other object than to obtain the gift of perseverance for believers. Since that world is opposed to those given by his Father in election, it necessarily ought to be extended to all the reprobate, who were not given to Christ (and this antecedently to their unbelief), whether they should be disbelievers in the gospel presented to them or merely guilty of violating the law of nature. And since that reprobation was made from eternity, they could never be viewed in any other light by God. Nor does the world (whom God is said to have so loved as to give his Son) form any objection to this exclusion because (as will be seen in the proper place) this does not extend to all men universally, but indiscriminately to the elect. If he prays for the apostles, who were then believers and asks for them the gift of perseverance, it does not follow that he prays for believers only as such and in consequence of their faith. Nay he prays for all who would believe "that they may be sanctified through the truth and made perfect in one" (Jn. 10:19, 21). Since this cannot be done without the gift of faith, he must have prayed for faith to be given to them. Further, since he declares that he sanctifies himself for them that they also might be sanctified through the

truth (and as none are sanctified but the elect), we must conclude that he meant those prayers for them alone that faith and other gifts necessary to salvation and perseverance might be bestowed upon them.

4. From the inseparableness of the gift of the Son and the gift of the Holy Spirit.

XXIV. Fourth, from the inseparable connection between the gift of the Son and the Holy Spirit. For since these two gifts (the most excellent of all) are given by God to us for salvation and are always joined in Scripture as cause and effect (Jn. 16:7; Gal. 4:4, 6; Rom. 8:9; 1 Jn. 3:24), they must be of equal extent and go together so that the Son is not given to acquire salvation for any others than those to whom the Spirit was given to apply it. Nor can any reason be adduced why there should be a greater extension of the gift of the Son than of the gift of the Spirit. Now it is evident that the Spirit is not given to all, but to the elect alone. Therefore the Son ought not to place himself as surety for others that a harmony may be maintained between the work of the Son and that of the Spirit. And here belongs the argument of Paul in which from the giving of Christ he infers the bestowal of all saving benefits: "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" (Rom. 8:32). The apostle reasons from the greater to the less (viz., he who gave his Son [which was undoubtedly the greater gift], how shall he not give faith and all other saving blessings, which is the lesser?). And this the rather because (as we shall presently prove) Christ by delivering himself up has merited for us all these gifts together with salvation. Hence we must conclude either that all things shall be given with Christ to the reprobate if he died for them; or if they are not given (which is granted by all), neither was Christ given for them. Nor can the knot be untied by alleging that the apostle treats of a special delivering up for believers. Besides the fact of the gratuitous assumption that there was a universal delivering up of Christ (as was said before); since faith is a fruit of that death, it cannot be put before it as an antecedent condition. Further, since according to the order laid down by our learned opponents themselves, the decree concerning the death of Christ was antecedent to the decree concerning the bestowal of faith, it cannot be

conceived how at one and the same time and in the selfsame most simple act, he could be delivered up for all, and only for some.

5. From the supreme love of Christ.

XXV. Fifth, from the supreme love of Christ. He so dearly loved those for whom he died that a greater love cannot be conceived. “Greater love,” says he, “hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends” (Jn. 15:13). And Paul so commends that love as truly wonderful and unheard-of among men: “For scarcely for a righteous man will one die: yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die. But God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us” (Rom. 5:7, 8). But this cannot be said of each and every man, since all can see that Peter was more beloved by Christ than Judas. It is inconceivable how it can be said that he loved those most dearly whom as an inexorable Judge he had already delivered up (or was about to deliver up by an irrevocable decree) to Satan to be eternally tormented. Nor can it be said that they treat of external acts of love. Besides the fact that external acts presuppose internal, if Christ exerted that exterior act to each and all (a greater than which cannot be granted), it follows that nothing more could be done by Christ for the elect than for the reprobate (which everyone sees to be absurd). Nor if he loves some of the elect more than others as to the internal gifts of the Spirit (a diversity of which is required for the perfection of his mystical body) does it follow from this that the greatest degree of love with which he is affected towards both should not be the laying down of his life for them.

6. From the nature of his suretyship.

XXVI. Sixth, from the nature of Christ’s suretyship the same doctrine may be derived. For since it implies the substitution of Christ in our stead, so that he died not only for our good, but in our place (as was said before and invincibly proved against the Socinians), so that he transferred to himself by his suretyship all the debt of those whose persons he bore and took it away from them and as he effaced it most fully as if his own no less than if the sinners themselves had done this very thing, it cannot be conceived how

they for whom he died and made satisfaction in this way could still be subjected to an eternal curse and obliged again to bear the deserved punishments. Nevertheless, this must be said if he died for others than the elect, since this openly impeaches the veracity and justice of God. For if the debt has been transferred to Christ in consequence of his suretyship and discharged by him, everyone must see that it has been so taken away from the first debtors that payment cannot anymore be demanded from them; rather they must forever afterwards remain free and absolved from all obligation to punishment. Pertaining to this are all the passages of Scripture which assert that our sins were so transferred to Christ that the chastisement of our peace was upon him and by his stripes we are healed (Is. 53:5, 6); also when he is said to have been made sin and a curse for us that we might be made the righteousness and blessing of God in him (2 Cor. 5:21; Gal. 3:13).

7. Because he procures salvation for those only to whom he applies it.

XXVII. Seventh, Christ died for those only for whom he obtained and to whom he applies salvation. But he procured salvation for and applies it to the elect alone. Therefore, he died for them only. The reason of the major rests upon a double foundation: that (1) the death of Christ was appointed by God in order that he might obtain salvation for us; (2) the procuring cannot be separated from the application. For the end of the acquisition cannot be other than the application and to no purpose would a thing be obtained which is never applied. Thence it follows that if salvation is obtained for all, it must be equally applied to all. If it is not applied to all, but only to the elect, then it was not obtained for all, but for the elect only. In vain it is objected: (a) that the death of Christ was not appointed so much to obtain salvation, as to remove the obstacle which justice interposed to prevent God from thinking about our salvation. For it would follow that Christ did not so much acquire redemption and salvation for us as the possibility of salvation only and placed it in the power of the Father to make a new covenant of grace with men. This was not long since condemned in the Remonstrants as injurious to the efficacy of his

mediation. Therefore how can Christ be said to have given himself a ransom (*antilytron*) for us, to have obtained eternal salvation for us and other things of the same kind (which denote not only the possibility of salvation, but the salvation actually obtained by him for us)?

XXVIII. (b) Equally futile is the objection "that Christ obtained redemption for all with this intention—that it might be applied to all, provided they would not reject it." This cannot be said with regard to multitudes to whom Christ has neither been offered, nor even known by name. Then Christ would thus have proposed a fruitless object to himself concerning a thing which was not only never to happen, but also could not happen without his gift (which nevertheless he determined not to give them). As if this was the design of Christ—I wish to obtain redemption for all to the end that it may be applied to them, provided they believe; and yet to multitudes I am resolved neither to reveal this redemption, nor to give those to whom it is revealed that condition without which it can never be applied to them (i.e., I desire that to come to pass which I not only know will not and cannot take place, but also what I am unwilling should take place because I refuse to communicate that without which it can never be brought to pass as it depends upon myself alone). Now if this would not be becoming in a wise man, how much less in Christ, supremely wise and good? Nor if the defect of its application does not happen by the fault of Christ, but accidentally (viz., by the wickedness and unbelief of men), does it cease to be less injurious to the honor of Christ; as if he either could not foreknow or could not remove those impediments which obstruct the application of the salvation he obtained and thus make it fruitless. But they deny that it is vain because although it fails of success, yet it was not made rashly and undesignedly because however men act, Christ attained by his death what he principally intended (as pardon and salvation are now prepared for each man if he will only believe and repent—which the inexorable rigor of divine justice prohibited before). All this does not remove the absurdity because, since no other can be the object of the acquisition than the application, it cannot but be in vain if it does not accomplish this object. And Christ needed to die for men not only that salvation and pardon might be procured for them under a condition (which they could not comply with), but that they might actually obtain pardon and salvation.

XXIX. This may be more firmly established by the manner of the acquisition. For if it is extended to each and every one, it must be either absolute or conditional. The former cannot be asserted because then each and every one would undoubtedly be saved. Neither is the latter true: (1) because a conditional acquisition would not properly be an acquisition, but only the mere possibility of acquisition, provided the condition is complied with. (2) He acquired that condition either for all or for some only. If he acquired it for all, therefore all must be made actually partakers of salvation because such a condition could not be acquired except absolutely and unconditionally (and so to be conferred upon all). For a condition of a condition is not admissible, otherwise the thing would run into an endless chain of conditions. Nor can any condition be granted which would not coincide with the thing to be acquired. If for some only, the acquisition is not plenary and sufficient and is especially destitute of a necessary part of itself. Again, it would be vain and illusory (viz., done under a condition, impracticable and never to be performed and which God not only foresaw would never be complied with, but which he, who alone is able to give it, had decreed not to grant). Finally, Christ is thus feigned to have had a double intention in his satisfaction: first, conditional for all, then absolute for the elect (which can never either be proved from Scripture, nor reconciled with the unity and simplicity of the decree concerning the death of Christ).

8. Because he did not merit faith for all.

XXX. Eighth, Christ died for those only for whom he merited salvation and with salvation all the means necessary to obtain it—especially faith, repentance and the Holy Spirit, the author of both (without which salvation is unattainable). Now this cannot be said of each and all, for then all would undoubtedly be saved; rather it may be said of the elect only. Therefore … etc. That Christ merited faith for men by his death, many arguments prove. (1) He is called "the author and finisher of faith" (*archēgos kai teleiōtēs pisteōs*, Heb. 12:2; Acts 5:31). Now if he is the author of our faith, he must be the acquirer of it for he gives us nothing which he has not by his merit acquired for us. (2) He is the meritorious cause of salvation; therefore also of all the parts of which salvation consists. But faith and spiritual life

(which he works in us) are the chief part of our salvation. (3) Christ is the cause and foundation of all spiritual blessings (Eph. 1:3), among which the first and most special is faith. Hence to believe on him and to suffer for his sake are elsewhere said to be given on the part of Christ (Phil. 1:29). (4) As Christ was to send us the Spirit, so he was also to merit him; hence the Spirit is proposed to us as one of the fruits of Christ's death (Jn. 16:7)—therefore also all his gifts and especially faith. Nor is the Spirit (as sanctifying and consoling) to be distinguished here from him as illuminating, as if Christ had merited the former only and not the latter. For since all these operations proceed from the same Spirit, he who acquired for us the Spirit (the author of these gifts) must also have acquired with him all his gifts. As faith is the principle and root of our sanctification, he who merited the sanctifying Spirit must also have merited faith itself, which purifies the heart. (5) Christ could not be a true and full Savior unless he had acquired faith for us (without which it is impossible to obtain salvation). And this was the constant doctrine in the Reformed churches—that Christ had merited for us faith no less than salvation, and that he is the cause of all the gifts bestowed upon us by the Father. Hence the venerable fathers of the Synod of Dort, in their exhibition of true doctrine, say, "Christ acquired for us faith and all the other saving gifts of the Holy Spirit, by his death" ("Secundum Caput: De Morte Christi," 8 in *Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti* [1619–20], 1:290). In their Rejection of Errors, they condemn "those, who teach that Christ by his satisfaction, merited for none certainly salvation and faith, by which his satisfaction is efficaciously applied for salvation, but that he only acquired for the Father a power, or an entire willingness, to enter into a new covenant with man, and to prescribe whatever new conditions he might wish, the performance of which depended upon the free will of man; and that thus it could happen, either that none, or all might fulfil them. For they think too meanly of the death of Christ, recognize in no way the primary fruit of or the benefit obtained by it and recall the Pelagian heresy from the shades of Orcus" ("Secundum Caput: De Morte Christi," Reiectio Errorum, 3 in ibid., 1:291).

XXXI. But to no purpose do some distinguish here the decree to deliver Christ up to death, from this death itself (which took place in time), so that the former was antecedent to the election of certain persons, but not the latter (which follows the decree of special election). For Amyrald himself,

speaking of Christ's death in time, says, "Redemption ought to be equal because all ought to repent, as equally miserable creatures of God" (*Brief Traitte de la Predestination* [1634], p. 77). And the very nature of the thing proves this. For since the sense and affection of the Son must be the same with that of the Father for all (as the same author says, ibid., Part 2, p. 356), the death of Christ in time must be conformed to the eternal destination of the Father, as he would not make a satisfaction except according to the paternal prescription. Therefore since the decree of the Father concerning the delivering up of Christ to death arose from a common affection towards all men before any consideration of the election of some to faith, Christ himself, in his death, could have no other intention and end than to follow the design of the Father. Again, according to this conception, Christ in his death must have considered some as elect, others as reprobate. For since election is not without reprobation, Christ could not think about the election of some without at the same time thinking about the preterition and reprobation of others. If, therefore, he willed with a special affection to die for those whom he knew to have been elected (considered as such), he must also have nilled by some other affection to die for others whom he knew were reprobated as such. Nor do they help themselves by saying that Christ did not die for the reprobate in a compound sense and formally (inasmuch as they are reprobate), but in a divided sense and materially (for those men who in another moment of the decree are reprobated). For in addition to our inability to conceive how such abstractions can belong to a unique and most simple act of the decree of God, it would thus follow that Christ could not die for the elect as such (here we reason by the rule of contraries). And it appears inexplicable how Christ in his death could have regard to a first and fourth decree as to the elect (i.e., should have willed to die for them, considered both materially as men and formally as elect); while as to the reprobate, he dealt abstractly and considered them only as men, not as reprobates (for election and reprobation walk hand in hand and mutually imply each other).

XXXII. But because certain learned men have observed that their hypothesis (which makes faith not a fruit of the merit of Christ's death, but a gift of the Father) is pressed by various inconveniences, is an indignity to Christ and injurious to salvation, they have sought another way of escape by teaching sometimes that "Christ did obtain faith and repentance for all

conditionally, for the elect absolutely." At other times, they say "that he did not obtain these in the way of satisfaction and of meritorious cause, but in the way of final cause, that faith might be given to the elect to bring them to Christ." But neither of these can be said with truth. Not the former because it cannot be conceived under what condition faith could be obtained for us, since it is itself a condition. But although faith is usually proposed after the manner of a condition (under which salvation is promised in Christ), yet it is also proposed after the manner of a benefit in the covenant of grace, which Christ obtained for us by his death. Hence Christ must be regarded as having acquired for us not only salvation if we believe, but also faith that we may believe. Not the latter because an acquisition in the way of final cause and not in the way of satisfaction and of meritorious cause is thus far a distinction unknown in theological schools. Since every acquisition properly so called is founded upon the satisfaction and merit of the obtainer. Then if Christ did not obtain for us faith in the way of meritorious cause, he did not merit faith. But neither can he be said to have obtained faith for some in the way of final cause, since no elect were yet attended to by Christ when God decreed that procurement (which he was to effect by his death). Again, either for all (for whom salvation is obtained in the way of satisfaction) faith is obtained in the way of final cause or not. If the former, all will be saved; if the latter, to what purpose is salvation acquired for them by way of satisfaction for whom faith is not acquired by way of final cause (without which salvation cannot be obtained)? Again he either obtained that faith for all by way of final cause or for the elect only. If for all, all therefore shall obtain it; if for the elect, Christ must by dying have done something more for these than for those, since nevertheless in the moment of the decree concerning his death he had an equal regard to all. So in whatever way this hypothesis is considered, difficulties will always remain. How can faith be equally acquired for each and every one which yet all do not equally obtain? Or if it has not been acquired for all, how vain and delusive is that acquisition of salvation which is made only on the condition of faith (which yet he who obtained the salvation knew it was not possible for the sinner to exercise without his grace and which he, who alone can give, has decreed not to give)? We must, therefore, come to this conclusion —either faith must be said to be in our power (as Pelagius held) or it must

be said to have been obtained by Christ that it might be given to us by the Father.

XXXIII. Nor is the difficulty relieved by the example they bring forward of a prince paying the price (*lytron*) of redemption for all the captives, although he does not effect by it that all wish to be freed from captivity. A comparison should not fail in an all-important circumstance; for it is evident that the prince, although he might earnestly wish, is not able to give to the captive the will of applying the price (*lytron*) to himself. However Christ is able. But if a prince could be supposed, who could not only pay the ransom (*lytron*) for the captives, but could also give them the will to avail themselves of it (nay, further, suppose that the prince knew that they had not and could not have this will unless he bestowed it upon them, which yet he would not do); who would say that he seriously willed to liberate those captives and had given the ransom (*lytron*) with an intention and design to emancipate them? Again if the comparison is pressed, it may be easily repulsed. For as to the corporeal liberation of a captive, it does not suffice to pay a ransom (*lytron*), but it is also necessary to break off the chains which bind him in prison; otherwise the payment of the price will be ineffectual. So for the liberation of the soul from the spiritual captivity of sin, it is not enough to pay a ransom (*lytron*) to divine justice, but the chains of sin and unbelief (by which they are hindered from being able or even wishing to enjoy the liberty purchased) must also be unloosed and burst asunder.

9. From the expiation of all the sins of those for whom he died.

XXXIV. Ninth, if Christ died for all, then he expiated all their sins and therefore must have made satisfaction for unbelief and final impenitence (which prevent man from applying to himself redemption), and so they will no longer stand in the way of such an application; for on the supposition of satisfaction having been made for them, they must be pardoned. Nor can it be objected to this that “the blessing will be applied, if the condition on which redemption has been procured be complied with.” It involves a contradiction that this condition should be complied with where the unbelief and impenitence are supposed to be final. And thus Christ is

absurdly pretended to have died to expiate the incredulity of a man, provided he would not be unbelieving, but believe (as if I should say, I have found an infallible remedy for the cure of a blind or leprous person to be applied on this condition—that he will not be blind or leprous). Further, the want of the condition cannot hinder the application of redemption to unbelievers, since Christ is supposed by his death to have satisfied for that unbelief and therefore to have expiated this very failure. But since everyone must see that this cannot be said of the reprobate, it is clearly inferred that Christ did not die for them.

10. From various absurdities.

XXXV. Finally, if Christ died for each and every one, it follows: (1) that Christ died for multitudes on condition that they would believe, to whom neither Christ nor his death has ever been made known and who therefore could not believe. (2) That he died for those whom he knew were to be sons of perdition (whom God had passed by) and who would never to all eternity receive any of the fruits of his death and so exercised the greatest love towards those whom both he and the Father (by an eternal preterition and reprobation) intolerably disliked. (3) That he died for those who were already tormented in hell and actually damned without any hope of salvation and thus bore the punishment as surety in their place, who were already suffering punishment for themselves and must suffer it without end. (4) Christ would be called the Savior and Redeemer of those who not only never will be saved, but who never by any means can be saved. Or he would be called an imperfect and partial Savior, who by satisfaction is indeed the author of the acquisition, but not of the application; since, nevertheless, he cannot be truly called the Savior of any but those whom he makes partakers of salvation and who are actually saved.

Sources of explanation.

XXXVI. Christ is nowhere in Scripture said to have died for all, unless in the same place a limitation is added from which it may be inferred that it is to be understood not universally of each and every one, but restrictedly according to the subject matter. Sometimes it refers to the multitude of the

elect, which has its own universality. When it is said "that he died for all" (2 Cor. 5:15), they only are meant "who are also dead," not with a death "in sins," but with spiritual "sin." The object of the apostle is not to prove the corruption of individuals, but to demonstrate with what obligation believers are bound to their duty—whether as to justification through the imputation of the merit of Christ's death (as if they had made satisfaction in their own persons) or as to sanctification through the crucifixion of the old man by the efficacy of the cross of Christ, who live not unto themselves, but unto Christ; for whom Christ not only died, but also rose again and whom "the love of Christ constraineth." Expressions of this nature indicate that they can belong to no others than the elect and believers (to whom alone it belongs to die in Christ and with him, Rom. 6:6, 8). Thus in 2 Cor. 5:19, where God is said "to be in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses to them," no other world can be meant than those who are really reconciled to God and to whom he does not actually impute their sins. It is plain that this agrees with none but the elect. Hence they are pronounced blessed to whom the Lord does not impute sin (Ps. 32:2). In the same sense, "all are said to be made righteous by the righteousness and obedience of one," as all are made guilty by the transgression of one (Rom. 5:18, 19). Undoubtedly all those who "receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness" (*tēn perisseian tēs charitos kai tēs dikaiosynēs*, v. 17) and who are really justified (v. 19) are no others than the elect and believers, who belong to and make up the whole body of Christ. For Adam is opposed to Christ, head to head: to wit, as sin and death have passed upon all who descend from Adam, so righteousness and life pass upon all who belong to the second Adam. This is elsewhere expressed by the apostle by the phrases dying and being made alive: "in Adam all die" (1 Cor. 15:22), i.e., all who die, die in Adam and on account of his sin; and "all in Christ shall be made alive," i.e., all who will be made alive either in grace or in glory, will be made alive no other way than in and on account of Christ. All those for whom Christ is said to have tasted death (Heb. 2:9) are "sons." They are either brought or to be brought to glory, the "captain" of whose "salvation" is Christ. They are "sanctified," whom he calls "his brethren" and "whom God has given him" (vv. 10, 11).

XXXVII. Sometimes a syncategorem "all" is used indefinitely and indiscriminately without a distinction (*diastolēn*) of nations, conditions,

sexes, characters and other particulars. By it men are distinguished from one another, but not without all exception. Thus Paul sets it forth: "Whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed. For there is no difference [*diastolē*] between the Jew and Greek: for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him" (Rom. 10:11, 12*). Thus understand the passage "In him there is neither Jew nor Greek, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all" (Col. 3:11), i.e., no difference of nation or condition promotes or hinders salvation, but Christ is all, i.e., bestows all things necessary for salvation upon all believers without any regard to nation or condition. This is explained in Rev. 5:9 when the twenty-four elders in their song say, "Thou hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation," i.e., from all the tribes of Israel and from men of all languages, whether they are civilized (who are usually called *laoi* or barbarous, to whom the word *ethnous* is frequently applied).

XXXVIII. The same meaning attaches to the passage (so often in the mouths of our opponents) where Christ is said "to have given himself a ransom for all" (*polythryllētou*, 1 Tim. 2:6). For all those are meant in whose place Christ substituted himself to bear the punishments due to them and to pay the price of their redemption; for all the orthodox have maintained against the Socinians that this is the import of the word *antilytron*. Now he cannot be said to have done this for each and every one; for thus no one could anymore be condemned and bear the punishment of his own sins. (2) Paul speaks of all those for whom Christ is Mediator by intercession and by satisfaction, for we have seen above that these are the two inseparable parts of his priestly office. And yet the Remonstrants acknowledge that he does not intercede for all men. (3) All those are denoted "whom God wills to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth." But experience teaches us that this cannot be said of each and every one, and it has been proved before by us (Volume I, Topic IV, Question 17, Section 34ff. where the subject is minutely examined). Thus the phrase cannot be understood universally of the individuals of classes, but indiscriminately and indefinitely of classes of individuals (i.e., of some men, as Beza rightly translates *tous pantas* here by *quosvis*—"some" of whatever nation, state and condition they may be; cf. *Annotationes maiores in Novum ... Testamentum: Pars Altera* [1594], p. 444 on 1 Tim. 2:4).

Calvin (on the passage) proves this by most solid reasoning: “The apostle simply means that no people of the world nor order of men is excluded from salvation because God wills the gospel to be offered to all without exception” (*The Second Epistle of Paul ... to the Corinthians and ... Timothy* [trans. T.A. Smail, 1964], pp. 208–9 on 1 Tim. 2:4). And afterwards: “The universal particle must always be referred to kinds of men, and not to persons; as if he had said, not only Jews, but Gentiles also, not only plebeians, but princes too, are redeemed by the death of Christ” (ibid., p. 210 on 1 Tim. 2:5).

XXXIX. The world for which Christ is said to have been sent and to have died (Jn. 3:16, 17; 4:42; 6:33) cannot be extended universally to the whole human race, since innumerable persons of that world perish. Rather it denotes either the universality of the elect or (indefinitely and indiscriminately) all peoples, Jews as well as Gentiles (as was proved at length, Topic IV, Question 17). Thus there is an allusion to the promise made to Abraham, that in his seed (i.e., Christ) all families of the earth should be blessed (Gen. 12:3; 26:4; 22:18); also an allusion to the nations, whose father he is said to have been made (Rom. 4:16). Now this belongs not to all men universally who are in the world, but to all the promised seed without distinction of nation. This appears in fact both from the fact that all are not justified and saved by faith (as its blessing is explained in Gal. 3:8, 16) and that Paul explains all that seed by that which is “of faith” (Rom. 4:16) and which “is called in Isaac” (Rom. 9:7). Thus the world for whose life Christ gave his flesh to death (Jn. 6:51) is none other than the world to which he is said to give life (v. 33). The bread of God is he which comes down from heaven and gives life to the world. This cannot be extended to all men universally and severally, since the giving of life imports its actual application and communication, which belong to the elect only. In this sense, he promises to give eternal life to his sheep (Jn. 10:28). Nor (unless absurdly) can that be said to be given which is only obtained for or offered to one, but never actually imparted. In this sense, Christ is said to be “the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world” (Jn. 1:29). Since the word *airein* signifies not a simple taking, but also a taking away, the sins of the reprobate cannot be said to be removed entirely (which still remain upon them). No other world can be meant but that of the elect, made up of Jews and Gentiles indiscriminately, whose sins he is said to have borne in

his own body on the tree that they, being dead to sin, might live unto righteousness (1 Pet. 2:24). These are said to be blessed because their transgression has been taken away (Ps. 32:1).

XL. When John says, "Christ is a propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world" (1 Jn. 2:2), he does not wish to extend this to each and every one, but to those only who can console themselves by the intercession of Christ and the remission obtained through him (who are none other than the elect). For these only can Christ be an expiation (*hilasmos*) and propitiation, whose comforter (*paraklētos*) and Advocate he is with the Father (because these two are joined together by the apostle as equal and inseparable). Yet Christ is not an Advocate for all (as those learned divines confess on Jn. 17:9). Again, God must be actually propitiated and reconciled to those for whom Christ made a propitiation (unless we suppose that Christ failed in his purpose and poured out his blood in vain—contrary to the apostle, who asserts that he for whom Christ died cannot be condemned [Rom. 8:34]; this cannot be said of those who are excluded from the covenant and upon whom the wrath of God abides). Finally, the scope of the apostle (which is to console believers against the remains of sin) proves that this cannot be extended to all. For what solace can a man receive from that grace which is common to the elect and the reprobate, if he knows that Christ in dying has done nothing more for him than for the unbelieving and reprobate? Therefore, the phrase of John has no other reference than to the believing inhabitants of the whole world; or, as Calvin says, "The sons of God dispersed through the whole world" (*The Gospel According to John ... and the First Epistle of John* [trans. T.H.L. Parker, 1961], p. 244 on 1 Jn. 2:2). This is true lest anyone should think that this blessing was to be restricted to the apostles alone or to the Jews alone or to those believers alone to whom John wrote his epistle. But it was much more extensive—as far as the world extends, to believers redeemed out of every tribe, tongue, people and nation (i.e., out of the whole world). It makes little difference whether by "our sins" are understood the sins of the apostles or those of then living believers of the Jews of the dispersion (to whom undoubtedly this epistle was directed with the epistles of Peter and James, and which on this account are called catholic because they are not inscribed to any particular city or person) as distinguished from those who had already believed before the time of Christ; or who would afterwards

believe to the end of the world. For the question still comes to the same point—it is sufficient that the whole world cannot designate the universality of all men since John and those to whom he writes are distinguished from it (who nevertheless are included in the universality of men). This was the opinion of Calvin on this passage: " 'Not for our sins only' is added by way of amplification, that believers might be firmly persuaded that the expiation made by Christ extended to all who would embrace the gospel by faith" (ibid.). And afterwards: "The object of John was none other than to make this blessing common to the whole Church; therefore, under 'all' he does not comprehend the reprobate, but designates those who would afterwards believe and who were scattered over the various regions of the world. For then truly, as it is proper, the grace of Christ is illustrated, when he is preached as the only salvation of the world" (ibid.).

XLI. Although Christ came to save "that which was lost" (*to apolōlos*, Mt. 18:11) and saves none other than lost and miserable sinners, yet it is not necessary on this account that he should save all who are lost and sinners. Nay, he expressly testifies that he did not come to call those out of the lost who (ignorant of their own lost state) are swollen with a high opinion of their own righteousness, but those only who labor under the load of sins and feel their heaviness (Mt. 11:28). Hence he says that he indeed came to save "that which was lost" (*to apolōlos*) in order to mark the character and condition of those who will be saved, but not "all that which was lost" (*pan to apolōlos*) to designate their number.

XLII. It is one thing to perish actually and eventually, another occasionally and by reason of duty when he gives occasion to one of destroying himself and by which he would, if left to himself, perish. Paul, who speaks concerning the perishing of a brother for whom Christ died (Rom. 14:15; 1 Cor. 8:10, 11), does not mean actual perdition (as if one for whom Christ died could actually perish) since no one can snatch his sheep out of his hand (Jn. 10:28). Nor can anyone of those perish whom the Father gave him to be redeemed (Jn. 17:12) because they are kept by the power of God through faith (1 Pet. 1:5), especially since he speaks of "a brother" who although weak (Rom. 14:1), yet God is able to make stand (v. 4). Rather Paul means occasional perdition when by an unseasonable and preposterous use of Christian liberty in things indifferent the conscience of a weak brother is wounded and offended, and he is exposed to the danger of

perishing, as far as in us lies. So the Scriptures often use words which denote an effect and action to designate the occasion or motive by which the thing could be brought about. Thus he is said to be guilty of adultery (as far as in his power) who has looked upon the wife of another man to lust after her (Mt. 5:28); and he is said to "make God a liar" (i.e., as far as he can) who does not wish to believe the word of the gospel (1 Jn. 5:10). Therefore a brother is said to perish by our knowledge when we do nothing to preserve him. This is expressed by destroying: "Destroy not a weak brother with thy meat" (Rom. 14:15).

XLIII. When false prophets are said "to deny the Lord that redeemed or bought them" (*ton autous agorasanta despotēn*, 2 Pet. 2:1), he cannot mean a redemption (properly so called) from the malediction of God and from eternal death. No one is so redeemed who was not given by the Father to Christ to be redeemed and who consequently will be kept by him and saved for ever as a member of his church and one of his peculiar people. Rather he means a liberation from error and idolatry by an external call of Christianity and a setting apart to the work of the ministry for which they were in a certain measure bought by Christ (as the Lord), who had acquired them and made them his own by calling them into his house (as masters formerly bought servants and employed them in domestic duties). That this is the meaning of the apostle is collected from various considerations: (1) he makes mention of a *despotou*, a word signifying a master and an owner rather than a Savior (to whom redemption properly so called belongs). (2) The word *agorazein* taken simply is used of any kind of deliverance and purchase. (3) The kind of redemption here meant is that through which those bought are said "to have escaped the corruptions that are in the world through the knowledge of God and our Savior," by which "they have known the way of righteousness" (vv. 20, 21*). This can belong to no other than a deliverance from the errors and idolatries of paganism and a calling to the truth, defecting from which through apostasy and the introduction of most pernicious heresies, they are said to deny their Master who bought them and called them to his service.

XLIV. One sanctification by the blood of the covenant is internal, spiritual and real, belonging to those who are actually redeemed and regenerated by Christ; another is external and apparent as to profession. The former necessarily supposes that Christ died for those who are thus

sanctified; but not so the latter because many hypocrites obtain sanctification by reason of an external calling or a reception of the sacraments (to whom, nevertheless, Christ with his benefits does not belong, since they are destitute of faith). When Paul speaks of those who count profane the blood of the covenant wherewith they were sanctified (Heb. 10:29), he cannot mean the former sanctification, which is inadmissible upon the hypothesis of the Reformed, but the latter—such as belongs to those who (professing the gospel, sprinkled in the sacrament of baptism) renounced it by a denial of Christ and apostasy from the gospel. Just as he who takes the bread of the Eucharist unworthily is said to be guilty of the body and blood of Christ (1 Cor. 11:27, 29). Besides, since the expression of the apostle is hypothetical, not absolute, it points out indeed the connection of the antecedent with the consequent or what would happen to such as committed so great a crime. Yet it establishes nothing in reality with respect to those who are redeemed and true believers, no more than what he asserted in Gal. 1:8.

XLV. What each one is bound to believe absolutely and simply, at first and immediately without anything supposed, that is true, I grant. But not likewise what anyone is bound to believe with a certain limitation, mediately and on the supposition of various acts. But it is false that all men are bound to believe that Christ died for them simply and absolutely. In the first place, all those are not bound to believe this to whom the gospel has never been preached, to whom Christ has never been made known, but only the called: “For how can they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how can they hear without a preacher?” (Rom. 10:14). Second, not even all the called are bound to believe absolutely and immediately that Christ died for them, but mediately (the acts of repentance and faith being supposed) because to no one but him who believes and repents does this command belong. And so far is this from being true with respect to the unbelieving and impenitent that he who orders them to believe this miserably mocks them since the wrath of God abides on them and they are bound to believe that they are condemned already (Jn. 3:36). Nor if they are bound to believe that Christ has died for them on the supposition that they would truly repent and fly to him, does it follow that this is absolutely and simply true whether they believe or not. Hence they who are ordered to believe are not all men simply, but relatively (to wit, “the weary” and heavy

laden with the burden of sin, Mt. 11:28; "the thirsty" and they who feel their need of drink, Is. 55:1, i.e., who are penitent and feel their misery).

XLVI. Nor is the reply satisfactory here that "faith in Christ is demanded of all the called and that not a faith of any kind, but a true and justifying faith, which it cannot be unless it terminates on Christ as dying for me." Although faith in Christ is demanded (and certainly a true and justifying faith), it does not immediately follow that it is required as to the exercise of all its acts immediately and at the same time and especially as to the special and ultimate act of believing in Christ as having died for me. For although it is included in the acts of justifying faith, still it is not its first act which is immediately and in the first instance demanded of the called; rather it is the ultimate act which presupposes many others. That this may be understood more clearly, above all things the various acts of faith must be distinguished. First, one is direct, which has for its object the word of the gospel and Christ proposed in it, by which I fly to Christ and embrace his promises; another reflex, which has for its object the direct act of faith by which I am persuaded that I truly believe and that so the promises of the gospel belong to me. Again the direct act is twofold: one consisting in the assent which faith gives to the word of God and the promises of the gospel as true in relation to the giving of salvation to all who repent and by a living faith fly to Christ and embrace him; another in refuge and trust by which (acknowledging Christ as the only and all-sufficient Savior) we fly to him and rest in him that from him we may obtain both pardon of our sins and the possession of salvation. Now the faith commanded in the gospel is commanded as to the first and second acts (which are direct) before it is commanded as to the third act (which is the reflex) and necessarily supposes the two former as it cannot exist unless preceded by them. Hence we gather that in the aforesaid argument there are four terms: the major speaks of the direct act of faith which is commanded in the word (to wit, as to assent and refuge); the latter, however, concerning the reflex act as to the sense and assurance (*pepoithēsin*) of faith. For Christ is not revealed and promised in the gospel as having died for me in particular, but only in general for believers and penitents. Hence by consequence, the fiducial act in Christ being posited, I can and must infer that he died for me when by the reflex act I know and feel from the fiducial act that I have truly and sincerely fled to him. Now that the faith enjoined upon us in the gospel is

not an immediate belief that Christ died for me in particular appears with sufficient clearness even from this—that when it is enjoined either by Christ or his apostles, no mention is made of its particular application to this or that man, but only of a general relation either to duty or to the blessings promised believers; as Peter in his remarkable declaration of faith (Mt. 16:16) professes nothing more than that he believes Jesus to be the Christ, the Son of the living God: "We believe and are sure that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God" (Jn. 6:69). Thus Paul demands no more of those who believe unto salvation than "to confess with the mouth the Lord Jesus and to believe with the heart that God raised him from the dead" (Rom. 10:9). So when the saints are commanded to believe in the name of the Son of God (Jn. 3:18; 1 Jn. 5:13), they are bound indeed to believe that Christ is the true Messiah and to fly to him as the only author of salvation to those who, through faith and repentance, betake themselves to him, but not that he died for them immediately (save after the preceding acts have been exercised).

XLVII. Hence it is evident that the command to believe in Christ embraces many things before we come to the ultimate consolatory act by which we believe that he died for us. First, we are commanded to believe all that the Scripture reveals to us concerning our misery and inability to secure our own salvation. Hence arises a salutary despair of ourselves and an acknowledgement of the necessity of a remedy. Second, they who thus despair of themselves are commanded to believe that Christ, the Son of God, is the alone all-sufficient Savior given by God to men, in whom they can obtain perfect salvation and remission of sins who sincerely fly to him and are led to repent seriously of their sins. Third, they who are thus contrite and penitent and despairing of themselves are commanded to fly and to come to Christ as the rock of salvation, to embrace his merit as all-sufficient, to incline and sweetly rest upon it, from it alone expecting remission of sin, righteousness and salvation. Fourth and finally they, who perceive that they do repent and rest upon Christ truly and solely, are then at length bound to believe that Christ died for them and that on account of his death their sins are remitted. From all this, it is quite plain that faith in Christ first presupposes a sense of misery and a desire of deliverance and that the command to believe does not respect all promiscuously, but all who feel their misery and desire deliverance from it, who hunger and thirst, who labor and are heavy laden, who are broken in spirit and contrite in heart

(Mt. 11:28; Is. 61:1). Second, that this command does not immediately and in the first instance demand of us the faith by which we believe that Christ died for us, but the faith by which we fly to Christ, embrace him and rest upon him (which is nothing else than that movement by which the repenting sinner, dejected under a sense of his misery and aroused by the call of the gospel, renouncing every other remedy and trust, flies to Christ as the rock of salvation and with his whole heart earnestly desires and seeks the grace offered in the gospel). Or to express it more concisely, "the flying of the repenting sinner for refuge to God as the fountain of all grace and to Christ as the ark of safety opened in the gospel." If I am conscious that I have exercised this (which is the formal act of faith), then I can and ought to elicit the other act of faith by which I believe that Christ died for me (repenting and flying to him), which is called the consequent act because it follows the direct by which I believe in Christ and take myself to him as the only and all-perfect Savior; and the consolatory act because it pours into the soul of the believer unspeakable joy and consolation. Therefore since no one can have this special and reflex act of faith unless the other preceding acts have been exercised together with the desire of true repentance, it appears that all are not bound to believe that Christ died for them, but only believers and penitents (i.e., all who, through the knowledge of sin and a sense of the divine wrath, are contrite in heart, fly to Christ and seek from him remission of sins and rely on his merit alone for salvation).

XLVIII. In vain will anyone reply: (1) "that the command of faith in Christ embraces all its degrees and acts; and therefore that all those acts and among them the last, by which we believe that Christ died for us, is required of all to whom the command to believe is preached." Such is the nature and dependence of these acts upon one another that there is no place for the last without the former; nor for the third without the second; nor for the second without the first. Therefore, when the command to believe is announced, the first act is demanded of the sinner, not that he may stop there, but that having performed it, he may go on to the second (but not having performed it, by no means). For neither can he nor ought he to believe that Christ is his Redeemer who does not wish to believe that Christ is the Son of God and the Redeemer of men; nor should a man believe that he is his Redeemer in the hypothesis, who does not believe that he is the Redeemer of all who believe on him in the thesis; but who finds in himself

the preceding acts (which are the foundation of this last), then and then only, can and ought to exercise that last one also.

XLIX. (2) "That as many as are commanded to believe in Christ are commanded to have justifying faith, since indeed no other can be saving; but justifying faith necessarily implies a particular application that we believe not only that Christ died in common for men, but for us in particular because otherwise it would not differ from the historical faith of reprobates; nay, nor from the faith of devils, who can believe the same thing." I answer that the justifying faith commanded in the gospel embraces indeed those various acts of which we have spoken, but each one in its own order. First, the direct and formal act called justifying, which consists in the practical judgment of the intellect concerning Christ as the sole and most perfect Redeemer of those who believe, repent and seriously fly to him; also in the refuge of the will flying to Christ and resting in him alone. Second, the reflex and consolatory act which follows of itself when the first is performed. For from the time that I feel myself persuaded by the gospel promise, fly seriously to Christ, expect righteousness and life from him alone and rest upon him, I can and should certainly infer that Christ died for me, since from the gospel I am assured that he died for all who believe and repent. Hence the answer is easy to the argument—Whosoever is bound to have justifying faith is bound to believe that Christ died for him. I deny that this is true of the immediate and direct act of faith; but I admit it to be true of the reflex and secondary act or in the compound sense (and the first act being presupposed), but not in the divided sense (and that first act being excluded). Nor therefore does the faith of believers agree with that of reprobates and devils. For although the reprobate can theoretically believe that Christ is the Son of God and the Redeemer of men, yet they are never so truly practically persuaded of it by a fiducial assent to the word of God that they fly to him and rest upon him alone. For if they were truly persuaded that Christ is the only and perfect Savior of believers and penitents (and that out of him there is no salvation), since the will necessarily follows the dictate of the practical intellect and all naturally seek happiness, it would be impossible for them not to fly to Christ and embrace him for salvation with their whole hearts. Hence it also appears that the faith of devils has nothing in common with that of the elect, since

they know that Christ is given to men alone (nor can they elicit any fiducial trust in reference to him).

L. (3) "That no one can place his trust in Christ who does not know beforehand that Christ died for him or is his Savior. For man always is anxious about his salvation until he knows the intention of God and the will of Christ, whether the death of Christ was designed for him by the purpose of God." I answer that there are two parts or acts of Christian reliance; the first is in flying to Christ and receiving him; the latter is in the acquiescence and joy which spring from a sense of having received Christ. The former is the act of faith by which we fly to Christ as the only Savior, cleave to him and appropriate him to ourselves for salvation. The latter is the act by which flying to Christ and resting on him, we trust that we have (and to eternity will have) communion with him in his death and its benefits as well as acquiesce in him, being firmly persuaded that he died for us and by his death reconciled us to God. The former is called by some "faith on Christ"; the latter "faith respecting Christ." The latter regards Christ as having died for us, but not the former. For no one can know that Christ has died for him, unless he has first believed on him. For since he is promised only to believers and penitents, I must first fly to Christ and apprehend his merit with the desire of serious repentance before I can determine that his death belongs to me by the decree of God and the intention of Christ. Not that my faith makes Christ to have died for me (for his death went before all faith in the class of meritorious cause and the grace of faith is a fruit and effect of the death of Christ), but because it is a mark and condition from which I recognize *a posteriori* that Christ's death was from eternity destined for me. Nor if I cannot as yet determine that Christ died for me, must I on that account always remain anxious and my faith be wavering and unsettled. It may firmly rest upon the general promises of the gospel made to believers and penitents. Hence by certain consequence I can gather *a posteriori*, if I find in myself that faith and repentance that these promises belong to me.

LI. (4) "That by our hypothesis the foundation of the sinner's consolation is subverted because we are bound to proceed from a particular to a universal: Christ died for some; therefore he died for me. According to the laws of good reasoning, we should proceed from a universal to a particular: Christ died for each and every man; therefore, also for me." But (a) it is a gratuitous assumption that we proceed here from a particular to a

universal (which everyone sees to be absurd). For we argue entirely from a universal (but in a certain order and respect) to a particular: Christ died for all who believe and repent; but I believe and repent; therefore he died for me also. (b) It is false that a ground of consolation can be drawn from the absolute universality of the death of Christ because no solid consolation can be drawn from that which is common to the godly and ungodly (nay to the innumerable multitudes who have been and shall be damned equally with those who shall be saved). For since he may be supposed to have died even for Judas and Pharaoh (who have perished notwithstanding), how can the fear of damnation be taken away from me by this? If you say that this fear may be taken away by faith, we must proceed to another syllogism concerning all believers (not concerning all men): Christ died for each and all who believe; but I believe; therefore he died for me, for whosoever believes on the Son shall not perish, but have everlasting life. This is precisely our method. (c) No solid peace can be derived from that which is insufficient for salvation which neither prevents, nor alone can prevent, the preterition or damnation of innumerable multitudes (such as universal objective grace is without subjective). What will it avail the sinner to know that no one can be a partaker of that death without faith? Will he not always be anxious to know whether he is of the number of those to whom God wills to give faith, since it is not given to all? May not all the difficulties (*scrupulus*) which can be opposed to particular mercy and redemption be equally urged against a particular decree of bestowing faith? Therefore if the conscience cannot be solidly established (except on the supposition of the universal mercy of the Father and the universal redemption of the Son), it never can be except on the supposition of a universal call and grace of the Spirit. If the difficulty thence arose—Who knows whether Christ died for me, because he did not die for all?—may it not also arise thence, Who knows whether God wills to give me faith and whether I am of the number of the elect or of those passed by? Besides the fact that all such difficulties arise from a desire to know what it is not given to man to know (since it becomes no mortal to search *a priori* into the secrets of election and reprobation), man should proceed here *a posteriori* and examine himself as to whether he has truly repented of his sins or not. If he has, he ought to entertain a sure confidence of the grace of God and his own election. If he has not as yet, he ought to use the means prescribed by God to hear, read,

ponder the word and pour out ardent prayers to God for the obtainment of the gifts of repentance and faith. Nor can any difficulties be brought forward on this subject, the solution of which does not rest upon our learned opponents equally with us (unless with the Arminians they wish to recognize universal subjective sufficient grace, which dogma as evidently Pelagian, they have through the grace of God constantly thus far professed to reject). Therefore a solid foundation of consolation can be sought, not from the universality of the death of Christ, but from the universality of the promises with respect to those who believe and repent.

LII. Although the reprobates who do not believe the gospel will be deservedly condemned for their unbelief, it does not follow that they were commanded to believe that Christ died for them. There are various acts of incredulity besides that: for example, he who does not believe that Jesus is the Son of the living God and the Messiah sent by God, but a false prophet and an impostor or that faith in him is a condition necessary to salvation, is deservedly considered guilty of unbelief, although he may never have thought of Christ's dying for him. For belief in him (which Christ so often demands and for the want of which he rebukes the Jews) embraces many things; nor was it at once to be believed by individuals among the Jews that Christ was their Mediator and Redeemer; nay this could not be believed unless many other things had preceded. For they must first have believed that salvation was not in the law, or in legal ceremonies and works; that it was to be sought only in the Messiah promised by the prophets; that Jesus of Nazareth was that Messiah and that all believing in him would be saved. All these somewhat general acts of faith must have preceded the belief that Christ had died for him. Nor can it be said that all these acts are comprehended in the command to believe on Christ and especially the appropriating and special act. As we have said above, although all these acts are included, still they are commanded in a certain order, some before, others after; nor the latter without the former, but only after the former have been exercised; and on the supposition of the first acts not having been performed, there could be no place for the latter.

LIII. Although by the preaching of the gospel, God offers Christ to the called with his benefits, it does not follow that he must have died for them in order that the offer may not be insincere. He is not offered absolutely and simply, but under the condition of faith and repentance; not as a narrated

truth which, whether believed or not, always remains true, but as a promised truth which is ascertained to be true only when its condition is complied with (as Cameron declared). From this it follows that there is an indissoluble connection between faith and salvation and that all are bound to faith who wish to enjoy Christ and his benefits, and who are called to Christ; but that God, by his eternal and immutable decree, has destined Christ to be the Savior of all who are called or that he intended that Christ by his death should acquire eternal salvation for each and every man, can in no way be inferred from this call. For the word of the gospel which is preached to the called does not declare his eternal decree concerning each of the called—namely, that in it he destined redemption through Christ and salvation for each and every man. Rather it indicates the command of God to them with a promise annexed; or what is the duty of those who wish to be partakers of the redemption and salvation procured by him. Nor are we to suppose that on this account such an offer is adverse to his decree. Although it does not answer to the decree concerning persons by which he destined Christ as the Savior of the elect alone and his death as the price of their redemption and decreed to bestow upon them faith (because the expression and execution of this decree is not the external call through the word, but the internal of the Spirit, which is therefore called calling according to purpose [*kata prothesin*]), still it answers most completely to the decree respecting things or respecting the order and means of salvation by which it pleased God to connect Christ and faith together and to offer him to all the called. Christ speaks of this decree in Jn. 6:40: "And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one that seeth the Son and believeth on him, may have everlasting life." Thus the conditional promises made to those who believe and repent show to all the called the connection of faith with salvation according to the ordination of God and who of them will obtain remission of sins and salvation (to wit, believers and penitents). But they no more make known that Christ died for all the hearers of the gospel than that they shall all believe and obtain pardon of sin. However from the remission which they who believe and repent obtain, it follows certainly that Christ died for them. It would also follow of the others, if they would believe and repent. But he reasons falsely who would infer hence that Christ died for all, on condition that they would believe, because he would argue incorrectly from the conditioned to the absolute.

LIV. We take pleasure in weaving here into a crown the judgment of Diodati and Tronchin, the very celebrated theologians deputed to the Synod of Dort, who, in the name of the whole Genevan Church, presented to the venerable Synod this as the common faith of the church never to be given up: "Christ, out of the mere good pleasure (*eudokia*) of his Father, was appointed and given to be the Mediator and Head of certain number of men, constituting his mystical body by the election of God" (*Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti*, Head II, Th. 1 [1619–20], 2:130). "For these, Christ, fully aware of his vocation, willed and decreed to die, and to add to the infinite value of his death a most efficacious and special intention of his will" (Head II, Th. 2, ibid.). And: "The universal propositions, which are found in Scripture, do not signify that Christ died for each and every man and made satisfaction for them according to his Father's purpose and his own intention. But they must be restricted to the totality of Christ's body; or to be referred to that economy of the new covenant, by which, without regard to any external distinction of peoples, the Son receives for his inheritance all nations, that is, to all nations and peoples in common, at his pleasure, he reveals and sends the grace of preaching, and out of them gathers his church, which is the foundation of the general call of the gospel" (Head II, Th. 6, ibid., p. 132). For other matters pertaining to this subject, see Topic IV, Question 17 and Topic XII, Question 6.

Fifteenth Question: The Intercession of Christ

Why and how does Christ intercede for us?

I. The other part of Christ's priestly office consists in intercession. Concerning this three things may be remarked: (1) its necessity; (2) its unity; (3) its mode and nature. Of its unity, we treated under the unity of the Mediator (Question 4). We must now discuss briefly its necessity and its nature or mode.

The necessity of Christ's intercession is proved: (1) from its institution by God.

II. Various arguments prove the necessity of his intercession. (1) The institution of God, who wished two parts to be in the priesthood—satisfaction and intercession; just as under the Old Testament the high priest was bound to do two things in virtue of his office—first, to offer a victim upon the altar of whole burnt offerings; second, to carry the blood of the offered victim into the holy place and to burn incense upon the altar of incense. Having finished his sacrifice on earth upon the cross, Christ must intercede in heaven. Hence Paul testifies if he were on earth, he should not be a priest (Heb. 8:4) because he ought not to exercise his service (*leitourgian*) in an earthly temple (one made with hands), but in the heavenly.

2. From the method of our salvation.

III. (2) The method of our salvation; it was not sufficient to obtain salvation once, unless it could be perpetually preserved and applied. Christ obtained the former by his satisfaction, but the latter he should procure by his intercession. By the former, he obtained salvation; by the latter he preserves it. By the former, he purchased the right to life and reconciled us to God; by the latter, he actually admits us to a participation of life and continually keeps us when once established in the grace of God.

3. From our unworthiness.

IV. (3) The consideration of our unworthiness; since we are not such as could approach God by ourselves (who is a consuming fire), it was necessary that a Mediator should interpose for our help to secure our access to God so that we might come with confidence to the throne of grace. And because we offend God every day, we need an advocate to intercede for us every day.

4. From the accusation of the Devil.

V. (4) The accusation of the Devil; for as he continually criminates and accuses us to God, we have need of a most efficacious advocate to plead our cause before God, against the charges of a most unjust adversary—to

stop his mouth (Zech. 3:2) and to wash away the guilt of the crimes laid to our charge (Rom. 8:33).

What is intercession?

VI. Concerning the nature of his intercession, the Socinians err maintaining that it is to be understood figuratively and as properly belonging to his kingly office and that nothing else is meant by it than that "Christ, furnished with divine power, zealously accomplishes all things pertaining to the method of our salvation," as Volkelius expresses it (*De vera Religione* 3.38 [1630], p. 149). They wish this to be designated by the word "intercession" that it may appear that Christ has the power to govern us and to procure our salvation, not at all from himself, but from the Father. Thus they overthrow the whole priesthood of Christ, making him a pure King. But the orthodox think that a real intercession is to be held as a part of his priestly office, distinct from the kingly.

Christ intercedes as a Priest.

VII. The reasons are: (1) Christ is everywhere introduced as performing the office of intercession, not as a King, but as a Priest: "Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us" (Heb. 9:24, 25). The apostle manifestly alludes to the high priest of the Old Testament, who, having offered the sacrifice, entered into the holy place with the blood of the victim to intercede for the people. Hence it is described by appearing (*emphanismon*) before the face of God, which cannot be referred to an exercise of his regal power, but properly to a priestly intercession.

VIII. (2) In the same sense, he is called our Advocate (*paraklētos*) with God (1 Jn. 2:1) that he may supplicate for the pardon of our sins and plead our cause as an Advocate and defender with God against the slanderous charges of Satan, "the accuser [*katēgorou*] of the brethren" (Rev. 12:10). The Holy Spirit is indeed distinguished by the same name (Jn. 14:26), but with a different meaning. For as the word sometimes signifies an adviser or teacher and master, sometimes an advocate, then again a comforter, Christ is properly called a *paraklētos* under the second notion on account of his

intercession. But the Holy Spirit is so called under the first and third because they belong to him both as teacher and master (who must lead us into all truth) and as consoler to encourage us by the promises of grace and to excite in us groanings which cannot be uttered, by which we may cry unto God.

IX. (3) In Rev. 8:3, the intercession of Christ is represented to us by the angel with the golden censer, to whom was given much incense to offer with the prayers of the saints on the golden altar before the throne. These are truly sacerdotal, not kingly acts. For it is elsewhere proved that this can be referred only to Christ, the objections of our opponents being refuted.

X. (4) If his intercession is nothing else than an employment of the kingly power, these two offices (carefully distinguished in Scripture) would be confounded. Nor should Christ have been adumbrated by and compared with priests, but with kings only.

Sources of explanation.

XI. The intercession ascribed to Christ does not derogate from his glory because it is not supplicatory and after the manner of a request (like that of saints on earth and men praying for themselves); but an efficacious address after the manner of jurisdiction (as it is commonly called) by which Christ repeatedly represents to God his blood once shed that by its virtue and efficacy our sins may be pardoned and the gift of perseverance granted to us. This proves an economy of office, but does not lessen his glory. On this account, Paul claims both distinctly for Christ, his sitting at the right hand and his intercession for us (Rom. 8:34), in order to indicate that both properly belong to him: the former belongs to him as a King; the latter to him as a Priest.

XII. As the humanity of Christ does not hinder us from invoking and adoring him as a supreme and omnipotent King because he is not a mere man, but the eternal God equally with the Father; so his divine and regal power does not prevent him from interceding for us because he is God-man (*theanthrōpos*) and as such the Mediator between God and men.

What is the mode of his intercession?

XIII. As to the mode of his intercession: (1) the circumstances of prayer are not to be considered as belonging to it, as if he knelt after the manner of suppliants, raised his hands or eyes to heaven and prostrated himself before God (which would be inconsistent with the glory he obtained by his sitting down at the right hand of God); but only the substance of prayer, by which he declares and asks for the blessings necessary to us. (2) This intercession is made either in express words or interpretatively; more in things than in words by a representation of his death in heaven, in which the blood of Christ is said to speak (Heb. 12:24). (3) In whatever manner it is made, we must not suppose that it is made to obtain anything by way of new merit because Christ finished all things in his death (as he himself testifies, Jn. 17:4; 19:30, as does Paul, Heb. 7:28; 10:14). Rather we must hold that what he acquired for us by the merit of his death may be actually and efficaciously applied to us for salvation.

XIV. This intercession consists of various acts. (1) The appearing of Christ for us by which he places himself before God the Father as the only satisfier for our sins, representing the blood once shed (i.e., the merit of his death) and asking that at the sight of it he would pardon our sins and bestow upon us all blessings necessary to salvation, until he has conducted us into the possession of full felicity: "Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am; that they may behold my glory" (Jn. 17:24). Hence the Lamb is seen standing in heaven, as it had been slain (*hōs esphagmenos*, Rev. 5:6) because his blood is ever fresh and living (i.e., of eternal virtue and efficacy). (2) Our defense and protection against the thunderbolts of the law and the accusations of Satan, pleading our cause at the tribunal of God. (3) His suretyship for us by which as he demands grace from the Father and the gifts of the Spirit necessary to our perseverance, so in turn in our name he promises to God obedience and fidelity. (4) The offering of our persons and the sanctification of our prayers and of our entire worship, inasmuch as he presents all our prayers to God as spiritual sacrifices, perfumed with the most fragrant odor of his own sacrifice, so that in and through him they may be pleasing and acceptable to God (1 Pet. 2:5). Hence he is represented as an angel with a burning censer (Rev. 8:3) to whom is given much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of saints. Elsewhere he is called an altar upon which all our sacrifices must be

placed and on which alone the rational worship we render to God can be pleasing to him.

XV. Hence it appears how widely and greatly the prayers which believers offer for each other differ from the intercession of Christ. For Christ alone intercedes for us, relying upon his own merit and righteousness, by himself alone and on account of himself obtains what he seeks, approaches God by himself immediately and without any other intercessor, by himself stands in our place and appears before God, by himself offers to God our persons, prayers and actions. But believers neither rely upon their own merit, nor seek nor obtain anything by and on account of themselves, but only in the name of Christ. Nor do they dare approach immediately to God without Christ, nor presume to stand in our place before God, nor can they present to him our persons and prayers. Hence the Romanists unite the intercession of Christ with secondary intercessors with no less sacrilege than when they unite his sacrifice with secondary priests; nor is this crime diminished by their distinction between mediators of intercession and mediators of redemption (as has already been seen).

XVI. But when intercession is ascribed to Christ, it must not be so restricted to his human nature as to remove it wholly from the divine considered in personal union with it. Although it cannot belong to the latter with respect to essence absolutely (since it is one with the Father under this relation [*schesei*]), prayer cannot be predicated of it (by which he demands something from the Father). Still there is nothing to prevent our ascribing intercession to it according to the economy of grace because to pray is just as consistent with it as to take the form of a servant and to undertake the mediatorial work.

Sixteenth Question: The Kingdom of Christ

Whether the economical kingdom of Christ is temporal and earthly or spiritual and heavenly. The former we deny; we assert the latter against the Jews

I. The third part of the mediatorial office is his kingdom (to wit, that dignity and authority with which he governs the church by his word and

Spirit and defends and preserves it against all enemies). Its necessity, truth and nature must be considered.

Christ's kingdom is twofold: natural and economical.

II. But before all things we must distinguish the twofold kingdom, belonging to Christ: one natural or essential; the other mediatorial and economical. Christ possesses the former over all creatures with glory and majesty equal to that of the Father and Holy Spirit. The latter (according to the economy of grace) he administers in a peculiar manner as God-man (*theanthrōpos*). The former extends equally over all creatures; the latter is terminated specially on the church. That is founded on the decree of providence, this on the decree of election. That is exercised by Christ inasmuch as he is God (*Theos*) and the Logos (*Logos*); this inasmuch as he is God-man (*theanthrōpos*). Hence it is called his "mediatorial and economical kingdom" because it is a dominion peculiar to the Mediator and as it were his own according to the dispensation of grace. The other belongs to him by nature and is on that account called "natural." The mediatorial belongs to him from the free institution of God because he constituted him King over the church (Ps. 2:6).

The necessity of the mediatorial kingdom is proved.

III. The necessity of Christ's mediatorial kingdom depends upon three particulars: (1) the decree of God, who elected him from eternity; (2) the method of our salvation, which requires not only the annunciation of it by Christ as a Prophet and the acquisition of it by him as a Priest, but also the application and conservation of it forever by him as a King; (3) the most dangerous enemies (more powerful than the world and hell), against whom we need the protection and guard of a King; such, Christ alone can be, the Lord of heaven and earth, the King of kings and the Lord of lords (Rev. 17:14).

Its truth is gathered from prophecies and types.

IV. That Christ ought to be a true King appears not only from the first promise, concerning the seed of the woman which was to bruise the head of the serpent or concerning the victory to be gained by Christ over Satan (which clearly pertained to the kingly office of Christ particularly); it also appears from the various remarkable prophecies which ascribe this dignity to the Messiah (Pss. 2; 45; 72; 89; 110; Dan. 2; Jer. 23:5, 6; Zech. 6; 9; Is. 11). It also appears from the many illustrious types given concerning it, but especially in the kingdoms of David and Solomon who (all confess) above all others prefigured Christ: the former, Christ suffering and struggling; the latter, Christ victorious and reigning in peace.

It consists of two parts: destination and calling.

V. As the constitution of the kingdom is resolved into two parts—eternal destination and calling, and inauguration in time—so its administration and exercise consist principally in four things: (1) in the calling and gathering of the church; (2) the conservation and government of the same; (3) the protection and defense of it against all its enemies; (4) the full and perfect glorification of it, to be made on the last day. The first three pertain to this life through grace; the fourth to the future life in glory.

Statement of the question.

VI. The question here is not Ought Christ, the Messiah, to be a King? For the Jews agree with us that he should. Rather the question concerns the manner of that kingdom—whether it should be mundane and earthly, or spiritual and heavenly. The former is held by the Jews, who from an erroneous view of the prophecies concerning the glory of the Messiah, expect a temporal and earthly King. He will bring them (now exiles) back to their native land with a great slaughter of their enemies and will give them every kind of happiness. This opinion prevailed among the Jews even in the time of Christ, not only among their own leading men, but also among the apostles themselves, who hopefully anticipated earthly administrations and contended for supremacy; yea, even after his resurrection they asked him, “Wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?” (Acts 1:6). However because of the various allusions in

the Old Testament to the sufferings of the Messiah (inconsistent with the glory of such a kingdom), the more modern Jews have invented a twofold Messiah—one of whom will be the son of Joseph, humble and poor and exposed to various persecutions; the other, the son of David, strong and powerful, who will reign with magnificence in the world. This delirium is easily refuted from the consent of the ancients (who recognized only one Messiah) as well as from the Scripture itself, which speaks of only one to whom two states would belong—humility and glory. Hence the orthodox infer that his kingdom is not mundane and earthly, but spiritual and celestial.

Proof that the kingdom of Christ is not earthly but spiritual: (1) from Gen. 49:10 *and Dan. 9:26.*

VII. First, from the prophecies of the Old Testament, the Messiah was to come when the scepter should be removed from Judah and the legislative power taken away (Gen. 49:10); as was actually the case in the time of Christ, the Jews being under the power of the Romans. Hence he could not be a temporal King because to be a King and to be subject to another are inconsistent. Daniel refers his appearance to the time when the city and temple were to be overthrown and no trace of them would remain (Dan. 9:26).

2. Because it was adumbrated by earthly kingdoms.

VIII. Second, the kingdom of Christ was adumbrated by various temporal kingdoms. Now corporeal and earthly things are not types of things both corporeal and worldly homogeneous with them, but of better and more excellent (namely, of spiritual things). The figure must be inferior to the thing figured by it; the shadow to the substance. Since the government of the Old Testament (adumbrating the kingdom of Christ) was corporeal, the kingdom of Christ must be spiritual.

3. Because the things pertaining to this kingdom are spiritual: the King; his throne; his scepter; his

subjects.

The mode of his administration; laws.

Blessings.

IX. Third, all that pertains to this kingdom is spiritual, not mundane and earthly: (a) the King humble and poor (Zech. 9:9), who should come without form and comeliness as a rod out of the stem of Jesse (Is. 11:1); who came in the form of a servant to minister, not to be ministered unto (Mt. 20:28); who subjected himself to the authority of the Romans and paid tribute to them (which everyone sees to be incompatible [*asystata*] with an earthly kingdom). (b) His throne is not earthly and visible, but divine and heavenly; at the right hand of God where he should sit (Ps. 110:1). (c) His scepter is not material, but mystical (to wit, the word of the gospel, Is. 2:3). This is truly called "a scepter of strength" (Ps. 110:2) because it is the power of God unto salvation and the arm of the Lord (Rom. 1:16; Is. 53:1). (d) His subjects are not earthly and carnal men, but spiritual and heavenly; regenerated by the Spirit, born not of flesh, but of God (Jn. 1:13*), whose citizenship (*politeuma*) is in heaven (Phil. 3:20); a willing (*ndhbhvth*) people (Ps. 110:3), who would spring from the womb of the morning (i.e., from the light of the gospel) and spiritually adorned with the beauties of holiness. (e) The mode of administration is entirely spiritual, not by might nor by power, but by his Spirit (Zech. 4:6; Hos. 2:18; 2 Cor. 10:4). (f) The spiritual laws are those which regulate not only the external, but also the internal acts of a man and transfer them from earthly and corporeal to heavenly and divine things—a service not carnal and bodily consisting in external ceremonies, but spiritual in Spirit and in truth (Jn. 4:24; Rom. 12:1; 1 Pet. 2:5). (g) The blessings promised are not temporal (although they are sometimes represented by figures of them), but spiritual and heavenly: remission of sins, eternal righteousness, the gift of the Spirit, salvation and everlasting life.

4. From the end of the kingdom.

X. Fourth, the Messiah was to come for the purpose of abolishing the tyrannical kingdom of Satan (introduced by sin), to expiate sin and to bring in everlasting righteousness (Dan. 9:24). Now these things could only be done spiritually; for as Satan, the prince of this world, reigned among men through their errors and sins, so Christ is the King of the church (Satan having been conquered through the death of the cross, Col. 2:15) and reigns spiritually in the hearts of believers by faith, love and the practice of good works.

5. Because it is the kingdom of heaven.

XI. Fifth, the Messiah's kingdom is the kingdom of heaven (as it is everywhere in Scripture distinguished by this name and recognized by the Jews themselves), which therefore pertains not to the world, but to heaven. It is heavenly (a) in origin because not human power and wisdom, but divine providence alone inaugurated it; (b) in state because it consists entirely in things celestial, mystical and divine, and not in things earthly and corporeal; (c) in act because wholly occupied with the distribution of heavenly blessings (Rom. 14:17).

6. Because it is not of this world.

XII. Sixth, the kingdom of Christ is not of this world (Jn. 18:36). Christ does not deny that his kingdom is in this world, for he was appointed by God to rule in the midst of his enemies (Ps. 110:2); but he does deny that his kingdom is "of this world" and (as he adds in the end of the verse) "my kingdom is not from hence" (*enteuthen*). He does not say, "My kingdom is not" here, but "it is not" hence; "it is in the world" but "not of the world," as Augustine says ("Tractate 115," *On the Gospel of St. John* [NPNF1, 7:424; PL 35.1939]). It is not of the world as to origin because it is not constituted by the world and by men living in the world like the kingdoms of the world. Rather it has God as its sole and immediate founder, by whose authority it was erected and by whose power it is strengthened. It is not of the world as to mode because the kingdoms of the world consist of and are defended by a multitude of subjects, number of provinces, crowds of cities, abundance of riches, bristling forts, armed garrisons and other external

means, without which they would necessarily fall. But the kingdom of Christ (as we have already said) is conducted in a spiritual manner, recognizes no other honors and resources than righteousness, holiness, peace of conscience, salvation and eternal life; no other arms than the word and Spirit; no other fortifications than the protection of God. Pilate had this understanding of it; he clearly perceived that no prejudice could be created from it against the empire of Caesar; otherwise he would not only have agreed with the accusation of the Jews charging Christ with rebellion against Caesar, but would have been the first to think of taking him out of the way. However since, having dismissed this accusation of the Jews and Christ's own confession concerning his kingly office, he pronounces him just and innocent and desires him to be cleared from condemnation (for he knew that for envy they had delivered him, Mt. 27:18), he sufficiently demonstrates that he did not believe it was a temporal kingdom opposed to the sway of Caesar which Christ ascribed to himself.

Sources of explanation.

XIII. When the angel says, "The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of David, and of his kingdom there shall be no end" (Lk. 1:32), he does not wish to teach that the kingdom of Christ would be temporal like that of David; but that the kingdom of Christ was typified by the kingdom of David, so that the kingdom of David ought to be perfected and consummated by Christ's kingdom, not temporally (because it is evident that it was to be taken away at the coming of Christ), but in a spiritual and mystical manner (as Christ himself is called "David"). Thus what is said concerning the eternity of his kingdom must be understood not as to the letter and type, but as the antitype and the truth itself (which ought to be fulfilled in Christ in a far more excellent manner).

XIV. Although temporal kingdoms are subjected to Christ, his kingdom ought not on that account to be temporal. They are not subjected to and administered by him temporally and in an earthly manner, but spiritually and divinely; even as the earth is under heaven and is ruled by him, it is not therefore done in an earthly but in a heavenly way. Indeed he reigns differently in the pious and the wicked: in the former by the sweet and

healthful influence of the Spirit, as head; in the latter, by his own powerful virtue as Lord; but over both he exercises a spiritual, not an earthly sway.

XV. The various oracles concerning the restitution and perpetual duration of the government and kingdom of the Jews, adduced by the Jews to prove the temporal kingdom of the Messiah (such as Dt. 30:3–5; Ezk. 37:24, 25; Dan. 7:27; Mic. 4:6–8), neither can nor ought to be understood literally (*kata to rhēton*), but mystically and spiritually. (1) It is usual with the prophets to speak of the things of the New Testament in legal terms and under the covering of corporeal things to adumbrate things spiritual and heavenly. If these are pressed to the letter, they would give either no sense or an absurd one. (2) The promises given there concerning spiritual blessings cannot be fulfilled in the carnal, but in the spiritual Israel. (3) If Christ ought to have erected a temporal kingdom in Judea, he would not have suffered Jerusalem to be levelled to the ground, the temple to be overthrown and all that belonged to the Jewish state and polity to be abolished. (4) The reasons for the institution of the Jewish polity cease by the advent of Christ and by the calling of the Gentiles.

XVI. Although the Messiah is opposed to earthly kings (Ps. 2:6) and it is said that he will break them with a rod of iron (v. 9), it does not follow that his should be a worldly kingdom. Although it is not earthly, nothing prevents him from subduing earthly kings in a spiritual manner (as God is the conqueror of all monarchs in a spiritual manner). And what is added concerning the rod of iron must be understood metaphorically with this meaning, just as a potter's vessel is dashed in pieces when struck by an iron rod. Thus also these nations shall be broken by the word of the gospel, which is the scepter or rod of his strength. This is confirmed from this—that the things predicated of the Messiah in Ps. 2 are promised in Rev. 2:26, 27 to all who overcome to denote their spiritual power in the other world.

XVII. Ps. 72 must be understood immediately and literally of Solomon, a type of Christ; mediately, however, and mystically of Christ, his antitype. Thus in the explication, we must consider what things are consistent with and agreeable to the type and what to the antitype. As to the former, corporeal and earthly things are designated (such as he himself was); but as to the latter, spiritual and divine things are designated.

Seventeenth Question: The Eternity of Christ's Kingdom

Is the mediatorial kingdom of Christ to continue forever? We affirm

I. The second condition of Christ's kingdom is its eternity, concerning which we have a controversy with the Socinians. In order to impair the dignity and divinity of our Mediator, they maintain that this kingdom will come to an end on the last day and its ultimate act will be the judgment of the whole world; then his kingdom and regal authority will be given up to the Father. With them agree (although with a different feeling and intention) those of the orthodox who think that Christ's mediatorial kingdom will end with the world in order that a place may be given to his essential kingdom alone, by which God will be all in all.

II. And although this question (as agitated among the orthodox) is problematic (concerning which either side can be taken without destroying the foundation of faith, provided that it is firmly held against the Socinians that Christ will forever be the King of his church—whether as Mediator or as God), still the affirmative appears to us to be the more suitable to the oracles of Scripture and the truer.

Statement of the question.

III. On the state of the question, we observe first—the mediatorial kingdom of Christ can be viewed either as to its very substance or as to the form and mode of administration. This can be either immediate and internal or external and mediate, carried on by the intervention of the ministry of angels and of men and occupied in protecting the church against enemies (by whom it is continually assailed on earth) and in dashing to pieces and utterly destroying them. The mode of administration can be changed and abrogated, the substance of the kingdom ever remaining. In this way faith (it is said) will be changed into vision, not as to substance of knowledge (which always remains the same; yea, will even be more perfect), but as to mode, inasmuch as faith will no longer rest upon the word and be attended with obscurity, but will behold God himself face to face. The question here does not concern the mode of its administration (which all confess will be

changed), but only concerns the substance of the kingdom (which some contend will cease). We hold that it will remain forever.

IV. Second, mediation includes three principal parts: (1) the acquisition of salvation; (2) the application of it when acquired; (3) the conservation of it when applied. We are not treating of the first and second, for Christ so performs them in this life that there will be no more room for them in the life to come. In this sense, we readily grant that the mediation of Christ will cease because there will be no more need of acquisition or of any new application. But we treat of its conservation, in reference to which we contend that Christ will perpetually conserve the blessings obtained for us and so will reign forever over his church.

The eternity of Christ's kingdom is proved: (1) from 2 S. 7:12, 13; Lk. 1:33; Dan. 7:14.

V. The reasons are: (1) the Scriptures often predicate eternity of that kingdom (as in 2 S. 7:12, 13 where it is said "the throne of Christ will be stablished forever"; to which these words of Lk. 1:33 answer, "of his kingdom there shall be no end"; in Dan. 7:14, it is said "to the Son of man was given a kingdom, which shall not pass away, nor be destroyed"). Nor can it be objected: (a) that not an absolute, but a defined eternity is meant because it refers to Solomon, whose kingdom did cease. Although this may be said of the type (viz., of Solomon, who was a figure of Christ), it cannot apply to Christ, the antitype, to whom eternity properly so called belongs (which the words both in Samuel and in Luke designate). (b) That Christ will reign as God, but not as Mediator. Christ is referred to not as God simply, but as Mediator inasmuch as he ought to sit upon the throne of David (i.e., to fulfill in a mystery what David had in a figure, which belongs not to his essential but to his mediatorial kingdom).

2. From Dan. 2:44.

VI. Second, "this kingdom was never to be destroyed, nor left to other people" (Dan. 2:44). For reference is made here to the kingdom of Christ, which he should hold after the destruction of the four monarchies and

kingdoms represented in the statue of Daniel. All Christians agree on this, whether by the fourth kingdom is understood the Roman Empire or the kingdom of the Seleucids and Lagids (i.e., from Lagos, father of Ptolemy I), the successors of Alexander (about which all are not agreed). It is said that it will never be destroyed, in opposition to earthly kingdoms which (of whatever nature or dignity they might be adumbrated by gold, silver, brass and iron [i.e., by metals of different value and price]) were to be overturned, whether by external violence or by internal discord and their own weakness (by which permanency is denied to earthly things). But this is such a kingdom that it can be overthrown neither from within nor from without, being fixed (*asaleuton*) and immovable (Heb. 12:28).

3. From the functions of mediation.

VII. Third, the various functions of the mediatorial office were to be perpetual. (a) As to prophecy because it is said that he will illuminate the saints forever; the city will not need the sun and the moon for "the glory of God will lighten it and the Lamb will be the light thereof" (Rev. 21:22, 23); and the Lamb shall feed them and lead them unto living fountains of water (Rev. 7:17). (b) As to the priesthood by a perpetual representation of his sacrifice as the foundation of the glory we shall possess that was not only to be purchased, but also conserved forever. For things are conserved forever because things are conserved by the same means and methods by which they are acquired. Hence it is called an "unchangeable" (*aparabaton*) priesthood (Heb. 7:24). (c) As to his kingdom, he will always reign in the church as her head and surety by an indissoluble (*adialyton*) union; not surely as God only, but also as Mediator. Hence it is distinctly set forth as "the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ" (Rev. 11:15; 12:10) and the consummation of marriage is set forth by the marriage of the Lamb with the church (Rev. 19:7). Since this should be eternal and indissoluble, it involves the eternity also of the operation and relation of Christ as Mediator (as of a husband towards the church, his spouse).

4. From the bond of union with God.

VIII. Fourth, Christ is the bond of our perpetual union with God. For since the creature by himself can neither approach God nor continue in communion with him, it was necessary that as by Christ he once approached God, so by the same he should adhere forever to him through his power and efficacy. Nor can the members of Christ's mystical body derive life and glory from any other source than from the influx of the head, with whom they ought forever to remain united. Nor is 1 Cor. 15:28 ("God will be all in all") opposed to this because this must be understood with respect to external means which are available in this life (to wit, the word, the sacraments and the like), by which we see God in a mirror and enigmatically only and cleave to him by faith; intimating that God will immediately and by himself make us fully partakers of his own blessedness, but not to the exclusion of Christ, the head of the church, from whom all blessings in her are derived.

Sources of explanation.

IX. When it is said that Christ will sit at the right hand of the Father until the Father shall make his enemies his footstool (Ps. 110:1), the dominion of Christ (in which he ought to reign among his enemies) is indeed affirmed during the whole time of this life, yet the eternity of his kingdom in the world to come is not denied. Thus often in Scripture these particles *khy, 'dh, achris hou* or *heōs hou* ("until," "even until") cover indeed the present or past time (concerning which a doubt might arise); but they do not deny and exclude the future. Thus it is said that Christ will be with his disciples even unto the end of the world (Mt. 28:20) to assure them of his presence in the midst of perils and trials, but not to the exclusion of his communion with them forever. The same meaning attaches to Gen. 28:15 and Ps. 123:2. Because, then, a doubt might arise how Christ could hold a kingdom in the midst of the assaults of so many enemies, the Holy Spirit wished to confirm our faith in this particular (the eternal duration of his kingdom not being denied).

X. The "kingdom" which "Christ will deliver up to God and the Father" (i.e., to God his Father, 1 Cor. 15:24) can be understood in two ways: either materially and subjectively for the church itself, constituting the mystical body of Christ; or for its subjects, as elsewhere the kingdom of Christ is

often put for his people. Thus the sense is that Christ (the work of salvation having been consummated) will bring to the Father the church perfectly consummated and redeemed from all enemies, to be fully blessed according to the oracle of Isaiah. This is claimed for Christ: "Behold I, and the children which God hath given me" (Heb. 2:13); but still in such a way that he will always remain its head. Or it may be understood formally, not as to the very substance of the kingdom, but only as to the mode of its administration, which is concerned with collecting, governing and defending the church from her enemies (which will have no more place after all her enemies are vanquished). Thus he will deliver up the kingdom, not by a deposition and abdication of it, but by an exhibition of it as consummated. He will return it to God, who had delivered it to Christ (the method of administration entrusted to him) and will ascribe to his glory whatever he has done. What is expressed in the beginning of the verse concerning the "end" does not pertain to the end of his kingdom, but to the end of the world; the end of all Christ's enemies who will then be so overthrown that they can never recover themselves; the end of every power and empire, which Paul asserts will be abolished; the end, in fine, of all the instrumentalities which God appointed for the protection of the good and the restraint of the wicked (which will then cease because God will be all in all).

XI. The subjection attributed to Christ (1 Cor. 15:28) must not be referred to the person of the Son (as if from a King he would become a subject) because in this sense he always was and will be equal with the Father. Rather it must be referred either to his mystical body or the church (which is frequently designated by the name of Christ, 1 Cor. 12:12), which will then be perfectly subjected to God; not by a subjection of depression, but of glory and perfection so that as all things were subjected to the saints by God in the person of their head (Ps. 8:4–6; Heb. 2:5–8); so the head may be subjected to God in the person of his members. Or it may be referred to the humanity of Christ, which (as created) ought to be subjected to God forever; or to his office and mediation, according to which he should be subjected to the Father in heaven no less than on the earth, as inferior to him not by the deposition of his office, but by a subordination of it.

XII. It is said that "God will be all in all" (1 Cor. 15:28) exclusive of the external means—the word, sacraments and the like by which God

communicates himself to us here. For he will then communicate himself to the saints without such means; we will no longer behold him in a mirror and darkly, but will see him most clearly face to face (but not to the exclusion of Christ, the head and Bridegroom of the church, who will always be the bond of our communion with God). Further, God will be "all in all," not absolutely and simply (as if even the devils themselves will be saved), but as to subject matter, with regard to believers and saints, whom he will make most fully to partake of his own happiness (in opposition to the manner in which he communicates himself to us with restrictions and limitations, in accordance with the condition of life; as to parts, but not as to degree; as to grace, but not as to glory). But then God will be all in all saints; as to fulness of blessings (which are required for every species of happiness) since God will give himself wholly to them; as to fulness of degrees that those blessings may be such as to admit of no addition as to intensity, no more than as to extent; as to fulness of subjects that to all the saints all these blessings and to individuals all things undividedly may be communicated, both in body and in soul for their perfect consummation.

XIII. The work of salvation having been finished and consummated, there is no further need of the economical mediation (which relates to the acquisition and application of salvation); but the truth of our union with Christ, the head, always remains, by which the benefits once bestowed are conserved forever.

XIV. Although Christ as Logos (*Logos*) with the Father and the Holy Spirit will exercise an essential kingdom over the saints, still this will not prevent him from reigning over them as God-man (*theanthrōpos*) and as Mediator; as now the kingdom of nature, which exists in the world, does not take away the kingdom of grace in the church.

XV. Nothing hinders the kingdom of Christ from being called at the same time both temporal and eternal; the former with respect to the mode of government which obtains in this life among enemies; the latter properly and by itself because it will never have an end, either as to the King himself or as to his subjects or as to his glorious administration (Dan. 7:14; Lk. 1:33; Rev. 21, 22).

Eighteenth Question: The Adoration and Worship Due to Christ as Mediator

Is Christ to be adored as Mediator? We distinguish

I. Since among the effects and consequences of the hypostatical union is wont to be placed the honor of adoration and the religious worship due to Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpō*), our Mediator, a controversy may be urged concerning it and has been urged before this; not only by the Socinians (who either deny that Christ ought to be adored or deny that his divinity can be proved from such adoration and worship), but also among the orthodox.

Occasion of the question.

II. Not only the Romanists gave occasion to the question (who diligently inquire concerning the adoration of the human nature of Christ; cf. Thomas Aquinas, ST, III, Q. 25, Art. 1–3, pp. 2153–56); also the Lutheran Ubiquitarians, who dispute concerning the adoration of the body of Christ, or of Christ according to his human nature and as he is Mediator (cf. Eckhard, *Fasciculus controversiarum Theologicarum* 6.12 [1631], pp. 134–40 and Balduinus in Cas. Consci. li. 2, c. 5+ and others); but especially the Socinians. For when the orthodox strive to prove the eternal deity of Christ and his consubstantiality (*to homoousion*) from the honor and adoration due to him, they (to escape this argument) make an exception to the consequence of the major by distinguishing between the worship and adoration which is given to the eternal God, the Father (as the first cause), and that which is given to Christ, the Mediator, as such (i.e., as the second, middle and subordinate cause of all that pertains to salvation). Each adoration is indeed divine, but not supreme; only the former and not the latter are supreme so that Christ is not to be acknowledged as the ultimate end of adoration (cf. "Of the Person of Christ," Sec. IV, Chap. 1, *Racovian Catechism* [1818], pp. 156–57; Socinus, "De Jesu Christi Filii Dei … adversus Andream Volanum," *Opera omnia* [1656], 2:371–422). Hence the argument proposed by them—the adoration given to Christ as Mediator does not belong to God as such (or because he is such) and consequently

does not prove his deity or consubstantiality (*homoousion*); but adoration is given to Christ as Mediator, therefore … etc. This was answered by some through a denial of the minor. Hence arose the question concerning the adoration of Christ as Mediator, about which there is a division—some affirming and others denying.

III. Although we must confess that aside from the Socinian controversy concerning the adoration due to Christ (of which we have already spoken), this question (as agitated among the orthodox) is problematic and less principal (concerning which it may be disputed on both sides without injury to faith; yea, it even admits of much logomachy). Still it is easy for anyone to understand that it is of some importance (after the snares of the Socinians have been detected and their hiding place in that distinction concerning the worship of Christ as Mediator has been found out) that we should be able to dispute against them more strongly and successfully.

Statement of the question.

IV. That the state of the question may be more rightly held (in positing which various errors are usual), we observe: (1) that the question does not concern the adoration of Christ, the Mediator, nor what is the material object (if it is proper so to speak) of the adoration, to which the adoration is directed; for concerning this all the orthodox agree against the Socinians that Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpon*), our Mediator, is to be adored with religious adoration and such as is due to God alone. Rather the question concerns the formal object or the relation under which Christ is to be adored —whether it is only the deity of Christ or also his humanity and mediation, or the mediatorial office. Whether he is to be adored as God only or also as Mediator. And because these particles—"as," "inasmuch as," "because," etc.—are accustomed to be taken more widely and specificatively (that the object about which something is done may be specified); or more strictly and reduplicatively (when it is limited by the relation according to which the predicate agrees with its subject), they are not taken here in the first, but in the latter sense. The question is not whether Christ as Mediator specificatively (i.e., who is Mediator) is to be adored, but reduplicatively (as such and under that formal relation).

V. (2) The question does not concern the motives and reasons on account of which Christ can and ought to be adored and worshipped. For all agree that these are to be sought not only from the preeminence (*hyperochē*) of his divine majesty, but also from the various benefits bestowed by him upon us, whether in creation or in redemption. Rather the question concerns the foundation which establishes adorability or concerns the ultimate term to which the adoration is directed and on which it terminates. Some make this the deity alone, others the Mediator also.

VI. For the decision of the question, four things must be accurately distinguished here: (1) the object which is adored; (2) the foundation or the formal relation under which he is adored; (3) the motive and reasons on account of which he is adored; (4) the adjunct without which he is not adored. The object is the person of the Mediator, not as God or man simply, but as God-man (*theanthrōpos*). The foundation of adoration is the deity alone because nothing besides God is to be adored. The motive is not the excellency of the divinity alone, but the various offices and benefits of Christ and especially the mediation itself. The adjunct is the body or his human nature, without which the person is not adored. We consider this subject under four propositions.

VII. First, "adoration is due to Christ, the Mediator, and properly belongs to the person of the Mediator, and pertains to it." Concerning this there is no dispute among the orthodox who (against the Socinians) defend the justice and necessity of the adoration of Christ from the express oracles of Scripture: Pss. 2:11, 12; 97:7; Heb. 1:6; Mt. 2:2, 11; 8:2; 9:18; 14:33; 15:25; 28:9, 17; Lk. 24:52; Jn. 2:23; 9:38; Acts 7:59, 60). This is so not only as he is the Logos (*Logos*) and the Son of God, but also as he is the God-man (*theanthrōpos*) and Mediator because faith is due to him as such and distinct from the Father (Jn. 14:1); worship is due to him as Judge and the Son of man (Jn. 5:22, 23), as God incarnate coming into the world (Heb. 1:6), as the Lamb (Rev. 5:12), as the Redeemer (1 Cor. 6:20), as Lord, who on account of his humbling himself is exalted and has obtained a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow (Phil. 2:7ff.); and as the spouse of the church (Ps. 45:11). Now this adoration is properly due to his person and belongs to it. "For honor is properly given to the whole subsisting thing," as Thomas Aquinas well expresses it ("actions

and passions belong to individual, incommunicable subsistences," ST, III, Q. 25, Art. 1, p. 2153).

VIII. Second, "the foundation and formal relation of adoration is not either the human nature or the mediatorial office, but the divinity only." Nothing created is by itself adorable; only the divine essence, infinite, omniscient, omnipotent and eternal (which has supreme excellency [*hyperochēn*] and majesty above all things) can admit of legitimate adoration because it is a confession and celebration of omniscience, omnipresence and omnipotence (since God alone can know and hear prayers everywhere and can and will assist the suppliants and so it is an attribute [*idiōma*] and necessary consequence of divinity). Since this does not belong to the human nature (which is created and finite), it is not by itself and on account of itself adorable. Hence the Nestorians adoring Christ, as the Son of the blessed virgin, whom they distinguished from the eternal Son of God, were condemned as man-worshippers (*Corpus Iuris Civilis, II: Codex Iustinianus* 1.1.5ff. ["De Summa Trinitate"], pp. 6ff.). Hence we cannot agree with those who hold that the humanity of Christ should be so adored by itself as to be the terminus and object of the adoration, in order that they may gather from this that the divine attributes are really communicated to Christ's human nature. The same thing ought to be said of the mediatorial office. For since it is a work of God among creatures by which he is externally denominated and a contingent and temporary adjunct (which could be and not be), it cannot lay the foundation for legitimate adoration. Hence the adoration of the Mediator does not terminate in the mediation, but in the deity. For if I ask, Why may Jesus be adored? and the answer is returned, Because he is Mediator; it can be inquired further, Why may the Mediator be adored? No other answer can be given than that of the ancient Christians to the Arians: Because he is God consubstantial (*homoousios*) with the Father. Here is the ultimate terminus beyond which we cannot go.

IX. Third, "although mediation is not the foundation of adoration, still it has the relation of motive, on account of which it ought to be paid to Christ." For since the benefits of God move us to worship and glorify him and the redemption (conferred upon us by the mediation of Christ) is the most excellent of all blessings, it ought above all to impel us to adore our Redeemer. In this sense, Peter exhorts suffering believers "to commit their

souls to God as unto a faithful Creator" (*hōs pistō ktistē*, 1 Pet. 4:19), where creation is brought forward as a motive for entrusting their souls to the hands of God. Thus it is said, "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor: for thou hast created all things" (Rev. 4:11). Also it is said (referring to the Lamb), "Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue" (Rev. 5:9). Hence if it is asked the reason on account of which Christ is worshipped, the proper answer is: Because he is the Mediator. So many and so great blessings flow to us from the mediation of Christ that worship and adoration cannot be denied to him without sacrilege.

X. Fourth, "although the human nature of Christ is not the object of adoration (terminating on it), still it is the inseparable adjunct without which adoration is not paid and which is adored with the Word." For as it enters into the constitution of the Mediator as God-man (*theanthrōpou*), the adoration cannot be paid to the Mediator without being extended in some manner to the human nature (which being intimately united by the hypostatical union to the Logos [*Logō*] has obtained such an eminence as to be adored with it). Augustine illustrates this by the simile of a king who is adored with his diadem and purple robes (Sermon 246, "De Verbis Domini [58]," PL 39.2200). However since the union of the Word with the flesh is far more close than that of a king with his clothing, nothing hinders our saying that the adoration of the Word is extended to the flesh also in its own way. This is rightly set forth by Athanasius to Adelphus against the Arians: "We do not adore a creature; by no means. For such errors belong to the heathen and Arians; but we adore the Lord of the creature, the incarnate Word of God. For although the flesh itself by itself is a part of created things, still it has become the body of God. Nor do we pay adoration to this body as separately distinguished from the Word, nor, when about to adore the Word, do we separate the Word far from the flesh, but since we know, as it is said, 'The Word was made flesh,' we acknowledge him as God even in the flesh" (*ho Logos sarx egeneto, touton kai en sarki genomenon epiginōskomen Theon*) (Letter 60, "To Adelphius" [NPNF2, 4:575; PG 26.1074–76]).

XI. And hence it is clearly gathered what is to be determined concerning the adoration due to Christ and concerning the celebrated question agitated

about it. For if that particle limits the subject as to the foundation and term of the worship and the formal and proper relation in which adorability belongs to the Mediator, it is rightly said that Christ as Mediator is not to be adored because the mediation of Christ does not found and ultimately terminate our adoration, but the divinity only (which makes the person of the God-man [*theanthrōpou*] adorable). But if the same particle (as is often the case) is put for specifying the person to be adored or for indicating the reasons and motive by which we are impelled to the adoration, it cannot be denied that Christ in this respect should be adored as Mediator because both the person is adored and various motives are drawn for the adoration from the mediation itself. Thus those passages are to be interpreted which are adduced to favor the adoration of the Mediator.

XII. The Socinians can receive no help in opposing the eternal deity of Christ from this: that if he be adored as Mediator, he ought to be adored as man, since humanity is included in the conception of Mediator. Although the "whole" Mediator and God-man (*theanthrōpos*) is to be adored (i.e., the person of Christ, which is divine and consequently adorable); yet not at once the whole of the Mediator or whatever enters into the constitution of the person of the Mediator, so as to be a formal object of worship. It suffices that a Mediator cannot be conceived without determining him to be God. And so far from its following that the divinity of Christ cannot be proved from his adoration (because he is adored as Mediator), on the contrary we must necessarily conclude from this that he is God because he cannot be a Mediator without being God and the name and conception of Mediator involve his deity.

XIII. It cannot be denied that Christ is to be adored as Mediator because in this respect he is inferior to the Father. From that economical inferiority as to office and assumption of body, no detriment was done to his deity and essential adorability. For if he was made consubstantial (*homoousios*) with us in respect of his flesh, he always remained consubstantial (*homoousios*) with the Father in respect of his divinity.

XIV. The formal object of adoration (which contains in itself its cause) differs from the object of consideration, a certain relation of which is held in the adoration. Divinity is the first, but humanity is the second. Nor if one adoration alone is given to the person of the God-man (*theanthrōpou*) are the natures on that account confounded or made equal. For as the union

does not confound the natures (nor the honor and glory of the natures in the one person of Christ), so the adoration no more confounds the natures and the honor due to them than faith. But as it regards Christ as God and man distinctly in the one person, so it ascribes to him according to both natures what belongs to him.

XV. Although the human nature or the flesh of Christ is not adored "by itself" (*kath' heautēn*), nor "on account of itself" (*di' heautēn*), because since it is a creature, it is not adorable by itself or in its own nature —"nothing created is adorable," says Epiphanius (*pan to ktiston ou proskynēton, Panarion* 64.8 [PG 41.1084])—still it is rightly said to be adored in the Logos (*Logō*), with whom it is personally united. Thus the ultimate term of adoration is not the flesh, but the deity, which is not only the proper object of adoration, but also its true and proper cause; both by reason of its infinite excellence (*hyperochēs*) and majesty (to which by itself adoration is due) and because all the efficacy of the mediation (however common to both natures) flows properly and originally from it.

XVI. If some of the orthodox have said, "The humanity or flesh of Christ is adorable," they do not understand it in this sense—as if it was the proper object which should terminate the adoration on itself and by itself. But inasmuch as it is the flesh of the Word (which is adored in the Word and with the Word), they mean to intimate that the worship which ought to be paid to Christ is not to be separated into various species. This was formerly done by the Nestorians, who professed to reverence Christ with one adoration as God, with another as man. This is done by the Romanists, who rendering supreme worship (*latreian*) to the deity, give inferior worship (*hyperdouleian*) to the humanity. Thus they pay to the humanity a lower worship than to the cross (to which they hold *latreian* is due).

XVII. To the argument of the Socianians—"Whoever is adored as Mediator is not the supreme God; but Christ is adored as Mediator; therefore he is not the supreme God"—whatever reply is made (whether by a negation, who wish Christ to be adored as Mediator) or by a destruction of the minor (which others wish), the doctrine of Christ's divinity stands untouched. For they, who deny that he is adored as Mediator with respect to his office, nevertheless firmly defend the adoration of the person of the Mediator with respect to his divine nature or inasmuch as he is the Logos (*Logos*). No less satisfactorily do others answer to the major, that so far

from the inference from the adoration of Christ, the Mediator, being that Christ is not the supreme God, the invincible conclusion rather is that he is the true and eternal God—since a mere man could not be our Mediator, he must be God.

XVIII. We ought not to be so anxious concerning the relation under which we ought to adore Christ, but continually worship and reverence him in fact with devout submission of mind, with true faith and constant obedience as the eternal Son of God, our Redeemer, even to the last breath.

XIX. It is one thing for worship to be due to the name of Jesus formally considered (for the word itself); another materially (for the person signified by such a name) as the name of God is often put for God. When Paul says, "To Christ is given a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow" (Phil. 2:9*, 10), he does not take "name" in the former, but in the latter sense (as appears from the parallel passages, Is. 45:23 and Rom. 14:11, where the object of genuflection is said to be Jehovah and the very person of Christ, not his name—"every knee shall bow to me"). Hence the practice of the Romanists is not free from superstition. They uncover the head and bow the knee at the utterance of the name "Jesus," while the no less holy and venerable names "God" and "Christ" are not so received.

FIFTEENTH TOPIC

CALLING AND FAITH

FIRST QUESTION

What is calling and of how many kinds? Also, how do external and internal calling differ?

I. We have thus far spoken of the office of Christ. We must now treat of his benefits, which pertain to the application to us of the salvation acquired (which is begun here by grace and will be consummated by glory in heaven). The first of these is calling; not a special calling to some office (whether political or sacred, in which sense Paul frequently says that he was "called" to be an apostle, Rom. 1:1), but a general call to salvation. Its great excellence appears even from the fact that the church itself obtained its name from the word *klēsei* or "calling" (and is no other than "the assembly of the called").

What calling is.

II. This calling is an act of the grace of God in Christ by which he calls men dead in sin and lost in Adam through the preaching of the gospel and the power of the Holy Spirit, to union with Christ and to the salvation obtained in him. In it, the two terms "from which" (*a quo*) and "to which" (*ad quem*) are to be considered. The term "from which" (*terminus a quo*) is the state of sin and condemnation in which we lie (Eph. 2:1); darkness (Eph. 5:8; 1 Pet. 2:9); the world (Jn. 15:19); and the things which are behind (to wit, earthly and mundane, Phil. 3:13). The term "to which" (*terminus ad quem*) is union with Christ (1 Cor. 1:9); holiness (Rom 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:2; 1 Thess. 4:7); marvelous light (1 Pet. 2:9); the kingdom of God (1 Thess. 2:12); eternal glory in Christ (1 Pet. 5:10); eternal life (1 Tim. 6:12).

III. Hence it is at one time called a "holy calling" (2 Tim. 1:9), not only by reason of the principle (because God the author of calling is holy, 1 Pet. 1:15), but also by reason of the end (because it tends to holiness). At another time, it is called the "heavenly calling" (*klēsis epouranios*, Heb. 3:1), the "high calling" (*hē anō klēsis*, Phil. 3:14) because it is from heaven and calls to heaven (in allusion to the Olympic games, in which the prize [*brabeion*] was not only suspended above the goal, but the athletes ran below and were crowned in a higher place where the judges [*brabeutai*] and superintendents sat, from which they urged the runners to the race by the voice of the herald).

Why so called.

IV. If the question is asked why the Holy Spirit willed to employ this nomenclature for the description of this work, many answers can be given. (1) To designate the misery of man; for being separated and far removed from God by sin, he was to be recalled from his wanderings that he might return to God, just as God seeks and calls to the fleeing Adam, "Adam, where art thou?" (2) To point out the means which God uses in the conversion of men (to wit, the voice of the gospel and the preaching of the word, than which nothing fitter and better adapted to a rational creature could be given in order that man who is gifted with speech [*logikos*] might harmonize with the word [*logō*]). (3) To exhibit the various relations (*scheseis*) under which calling can be viewed: either as a certain new creation (in which God calls those things which are not as though they were, Rom. 4:17)—bringing us out of the nothingness of sin to life and shining into our hearts (in the same manner as he formerly commanded the light to shine out of darkness, 2 Cor. 4:6); or as a wonderful resurrection in which we are called by the almighty voice of Christ that we may arise from our sins (Eph. 1:20; 2:5), just as by his voice he raised Lazarus from the tomb, "Lazarus! Come forth" (and on the last day the dead will be raised by the sound of Christ's voice, Jn. 5:25); or as the supreme dignity of sons of God and a glorious office to which we are called, in union with Christ, as by calling dignities and offices are accustomed to be given to men in the world; or as a stadium and race course which is set before us (Phil. 3:14; Heb. 12:1), as the runners in the Olympic games were accustomed to be

called to the race by the voice of a herald that they might press forward from the starting line to the finish line.

How distinguished.

V. However, this calling is distinguished in different ways by different persons. By some, it is made threefold: real by works, verbal by the gospel, spiritual by the Spirit. The first is extended to all in the world; the second is restricted to the called in the church; the third is peculiar to the elect and believers only. However it takes for granted that there is a calling to salvation by the works of nature (which we have already confuted).

Into external and internal.

VI. A twofold calling is therefore acknowledged by us, corresponding to the twofold state of the church—the visible and invisible (viz., an external and internal). The former takes place only by the ministry of the word and sacraments (which are external means of application). The latter, however, takes place with the additional internal and omnipotent power of the Holy Spirit. That knocks only at the ears of the body; this knocks at the heart also. That exerts only itself objectively; this works effectively also. That persuades morally; this persuades and draws efficaciously also.

VII. Now although they agree in various particulars both on the part of God calling (because each has God for its author, who calls men to his kingdom) and on the part of the men called (who are both dead and lost in sin as to internal qualities, and weak, unwise generally and ignoble as to external qualities, 1 Cor. 1:26); and on the part of the instrument, which in both is ordinarily the word; and on the part of the end, which is the glory of God and the salvation of the called; still they differ in several particulars. (1) With respect to the author; for in the external, God acts imperatively only, exacting from man duty, but giving no strength to perform it; but in the internal, operatively also with the command of duty supplying the necessary strength and working within what he enjoins without. (2) With respect to the mode; the former is done by the word only, the latter by the Spirit also. (3) With respect to amplitude; that belongs to many, this to few —"many are called, few are chosen." That is broader, extending even to the

reprobate who are in the church (in which sense the gospel is compared to a threshing floor which contains chaff with the wheat and to a net, which gathers good and bad fish, Mt. 13:47). This is coextensive with election as its effect (which is therefore called "calling according to purpose," *kata prothesin*, Rom. 8:28) by which all the elect and they alone are called. (4) With respect to the event; that always remains inefficacious, this is efficacious and certainly attains its end: "Every man that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me" (Jn. 6:45). (5) With respect to duration; that is temporal and revocable (as appears in the fickle [*proskairois*] and in apostates who return to their vomit); this, however, is immutable and not to be repented of (*ametamelētos*, Rom. 11:29). That constitutes the visible and external communion of the church in a profession of religion and the use of the sacraments; this constitutes the invisible and internal communion of the church in faith and love. From that they are called saints equivocally; from this properly and univocally.

Whether external and internal calling are distinguished only by the event.

VIII. A question is here agitated by our opponents about the distinction of this twofold calling—whether the internal and effectual calling is distinguished from the external only *a posteriori* and eventually; or whether it is also distinguished *a priori*, by reason of the will and the divine decree and the nature of calling itself. For the Lutherans think the internal and external on the part of the thing are one and the same, so that all externally called are also internally called. Being asked, however, how it happens that the external calling is efficacious in one and not in another, they reply that this arises from the will of man. The Arminians explain the matter more clearly. Calling is inefficacious in some but not in others, not because God works more in the latter, but because the good will of man superadds efficacy and because they freely receive the word which the others reject. But the orthodox hang that difference not on the free will of man, nor do they measure it by the event only, but seek it in the very decree of God and the nature of calling and the difference in subjective grace (which operates far more efficaciously in some than in others).

IX. The reasons are: (1) the internal calling is according to purpose (*kata prothesin*, Rom. 8:28) (depending therefore on God's decree) and is eternal and without repentance (*ametamelētos*, Rom. 11:29). It is not, therefore, efficacious only eventually. (2) The event itself depends entirely upon the decree of God, who so powerfully directs the calling that it accomplishes its own end in those who are elected ("As many as were ordained to eternal life, believed," Acts 13:48). (3) Otherwise man would make himself to differ—contrary to Paul ("Who maketh thee to differ? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive?" 1 Cor. 4:7). Nor would it be of "God alone who hath mercy, but of man that willeth and runneth" (Rom. 9:16); since nevertheless, God works in us to will and to do (Phil. 2:13). The objections brought forward by our opponents will be examined when we come to treat of the efficacy of calling.

X. Calling is again distinguished into ordinary and mediate, and extraordinary and immediate. The former God employs in the ordinary dispensation of his grace by the intervention of external means (or the ministry of men). The latter, however, is usually exercised beyond the order, with respect to certain individuals whom God immediately and of himself (without the intervention of men) calls and turns to himself (such as was seen in the thief, in Paul and others immediately called by God).

Second Question: The Calling of the Reprobate

Are the reprobate, who partake of external calling, called with the design and intention on God's part that they should become partakers of salvation? And, this being denied, does it follow that God does not deal seriously with them, but hypocritically and falsely; or that he can be accused of any injustice? We deny

Statement of the question.

I. This question lies between us and the Lutherans, the Arminians and the patrons of universal grace, who (to support the universality of calling, at least as to the preaching of the gospel in the visible church) hold that as many as are called by the word are called by God with the intention of their salvation. For otherwise God would trifle with men and not deal seriously

but hypocritically with them, offering them grace which, nevertheless, he is unwilling to bestow.

II. Now although we do not deny that the reprobate (who live in external communion with the church) are called by God through the gospel; still we do deny that they are called with the intention that they should be made actual partakers of salvation (which God knew would never be the case because in his decree he had ordained otherwise concerning them). Nor ought we on this account to think that God can be charged with hypocrisy or dissimulation, but that he always acts most seriously and sincerely.

III. To make this more distinct, we must remark: (1) the external call is extended to the reprobate as well as to the elect; but in a different manner—to the elect primarily and directly. For their sake alone the ministry of the gospel was instituted to collect the church and increase the mystical body of Christ (Eph. 4:12). They being taken out of the world, preaching would no longer be necessary because the word of God cannot return unto him void (Is. 55:11). But to the reprobate, it is extended secondarily and indirectly because, since they are mingled with the elect (known only to God, 2 Tim. 2:19), the call cannot be addressed to men indiscriminately without the reprobate as well as the elect sharing in it (in order that the end ordained by God may be obtained); as a fisherman in casting his net intends only to catch good fish, but indirectly closes in his net the bad also mixed with the good.

IV. (2) The end of calling can be considered in two ways: either on the part of God or on the part of the thing (which is called the end of the worker and the end of the work). Although each is conjoined in the elect, yet in others they are separated (as in the legal proclamation, the end of the thing is life by the law, but the end of God after man's fall cannot be the happiness of man, which through sin has become impossible to him by the law; rather the conviction of man's weakness and leading of him to Christ is the end of the law; so in the gospel call, the end of the thing is the salvation of man because by its nature it tends to the bringing of him to salvation by faith and repentance; but not at once with respect to all the called is it the end of God, but only of those to whom he decreed to give faith and salvation).

V. Further, that end on the part of God is either common to all the called or special with respect to the elect or the reprobate. And as to the common,

we ought not to doubt that it is the demonstration of the mode and way of salvation and the promise of salvation to those who profess the prescribed condition. But the special with respect to the elect proceeds further (viz., to the actual bestowal of salvation upon those whom on that account he calls not only imperatively but also operatively; not only by prescribing duty, but by performing that very duty, working within us by his Spirit what he externally enjoins by his word). However with respect to the reprobate, his end is their conviction and inexcusability.

VI. Now as this calling springs from a threefold principle, so it obtains a threefold end. (1) It springs from the authority of a legislator who has the right to prescribe to man his duty. (2) It springs from the goodness and grace of a Lord who does not cease to bless the creature (although unworthy and guilty) by showing him the way of salvation and showering upon him various blessings. (3) It springs from the justice of a Judge who wishes to convict the stubborn and rebellious and to render them without excuse. Hence a threefold end flows. The first is the prescription of duty that he may know what God demands from him and what he owes to him (namely, to believe and repent). The second is the promise of blessing on the condition that he knows what God has determined to give to believers and penitents. The third is the detection of the wickedness of the heart (Lk. 2:35) and its inexcusability (Jn. 15:22), its stubbornness being supposed, so that both the man himself in his conscience and others may really know that the vengeance of God against that servant is just (who while he knows his master's will and ought to do it, still neither does nor wishes to do it, Lk. 12:47).

VII. Hence it appears that the question does not (in general) concern the end of calling on the part of the thing (which we do not deny to be salvation); but on the part of God; not whether God wills to bestow any grace upon reprobates above those who are destitute of this blessing (such as the heathen and other infidels), but whether he intends to give saving grace or salvation to them and calls them with this purpose, that they may really become partakers of it (and if it happens otherwise, it is beyond God's intention and accidentally). This our opponents maintain; we deny. Again, the question is not whether the event of external calling is the same with respect to all and whether all the called are affected in the same manner. For they, with whom we argue, confess that it is widely different

and that those indeed who spurn the heavenly call (or do not proceed as far as saving repentance) are thus made inexcusable; that others, however, who obey, obey by the special grace of God (the power and efficacy of his Spirit turning their minds and souls to obedience—hence it appears that the salvation which they obtain was destined for them). Rather the question is whether the disparity of the event does not prove a disparity of intention in the caller. Or whether all are called with the intention and purpose that they should partake of salvation. This they assert; we deny.

Proof that God acts seriously in the calling of reprobates, although he does not intend their salvation.

VIII. The reasons are: (1) God cannot in calling intend the salvation of those whom he reprobated from eternity and from whom he decreed to withhold faith and other means leading to salvation. Otherwise he would intend what he knows is contrary to his own will and what he knew in eternity would never take place (and that it would not take place because he, who alone can, does not wish to do it). This everyone sees to be repugnant to the wisdom, goodness and power of God.

IX. (2) God does not intend faith in the reprobate; therefore neither does he intend salvation (which cannot be attained without faith). Now that he does not intend faith is gathered from the fact that he does not give it to them, nor did he decree to give it; nay, he determined to withhold it. It is of no avail to reply that God did not intend to produce it in the reprobate, but still he intends and wills that it should be possessed by them. That intention either respects the very futurition of the thing (in which sense God cannot be said to intend it because since it is not to be given to the reprobate, he would fail in his intention) or it respects only the will to give them this command (in which sense we do not deny that God intends this); but thus it is reduced under the approving and preceptive will of God (of which we do not treat here).

X. (3) Christ, in calling the reprobate Jews, testifies that he had as his proposed end their inexcusability (*anapologian*). It is said, “He came for judgment, that they which see might not see” (Jn. 9:39) (i.e., who profess

that they see, still do not see and are more and more blinded). "If I had come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no cloak for their sin" (Jn. 15:22). Nor ought it to be said that Christ does not speak of the intention of God calling, but concerning the event of the call for God might have a most holy intention to which nevertheless the event would not at all answer. Nothing can happen to God accidentally and beyond his intention. Hence such an event ought to be intended by God from eternity. What is added—that they had not had sin, if Christ had not come—must not be understood absolutely and simply, but relatively (to wit, as to a despised and rejected gospel not announced to them—as was the case on that account to be guilty of sins committed against the law).

XI. (4) They who are called with the intention of salvation are "called according to purpose" (*kata prothesin*) because that intention is the act of election and the effecting of the purpose (*protheseōs*). Now it is certain that no reprobates are called according to purpose (*kata prothesin*) because thus they would both love God (Rom. 8:28) and be necessarily justified and glorified—for whom he called, them he also justified, etc. (v. 30), which cannot be said of them.

XII. (5) Salvation according to the intention of God is promised to none others than those having the prescribed condition: such as are weary and heavy laden (Mt. 11:28), thirsty (Is. 55:1), believing and penitent (Acts 2:38). Since this cannot be said of the reprobate, it cannot equally be said that they are called by God with the intention that they should be saved.

XIII. (6) It can no more be said that God calls each and every man with the intention that they should be saved, than that they should be damned. For a conditioned promise includes the opposite threatening, so that every unbeliever will be condemned as every believer is to be saved. Therefore as it is absurd to say with respect to the elect that God calls them with the intention that they should be damned (since he had decreed to fulfill the condition in them), so it is no less absurd to say that he calls the reprobate with the intention that they should be saved (since God knew they would never have that condition; nay, he, who alone can give, has decreed to withhold it from them). It can no more be concluded that God wills all to be saved for the reason that he promises pardon of sin and salvation to all promiscuously (if they repent), than that he nills the salvation of all for the

reason that he denounces a curse and death upon all (unless they repent and believe).

Sources of explanation.

XIV. Although God does not intend the salvation of the reprobate by calling them, still he acts most seriously and sincerely; nor can any hypocrisy and deception be charged against him—neither with respect to God himself (because he seriously and most truly shows them the only and most certain way of salvation, seriously exhorts them to follow it and most sincerely promises salvation to all those who do follow it [to wit, believers and penitents]; nor does he only promise, but actually bestows it according to his promise); nor as to men because the offer of salvation is not made to them absolutely, but under a condition and thus it posits nothing unless the condition is fulfilled, which is wanting on the part of man. Hence we cordially embrace what is said on this subject by the fathers of the Synod of Dort: "As many as are called through the gospel are seriously called. For God shows seriously and most truly in his word, what is pleasing to him, to wit, that the called should come to him. He also seriously promises to all who come to him and believe rest to their souls and eternal life" ("Tertium et Quartum: De Hominis Corruptione et Conversione," 8 *Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti* [1619–20], 1:[302]).

XV. He, who by calling men shows that he wills their salvation and yet does not will it, acts deceitfully, if it is understood of the same will (i.e., if he shows that he wills that by the will of decree and yet does not will it; or by the will of precept and yet does not will it). But if it refers to diverse wills, the reasoning does not equally hold good. For example, if he shows that he wills a thing by the will of precept and yet does not will it by the will of decree, there is no simulation or hypocrisy here (as in prescribing the law to men, he shows that he wills they should fulfill it as to approbation and command, but not immediately as to decree). Now in calling God indeed shows that he wills the salvation of the called by the will of precept and good pleasure (*euarestias*), but not by the will of decree. For calling shows what God wills man should do, but not what he himself had decreed to do. It teaches what is pleasing and acceptable to God and in accordance with his own nature (namely, that the called should come to

him); but not what he himself has determined to do concerning man. It signifies what God is prepared to give believers and penitents, but not what he has actually decreed to give to this or that person.

XVI. It is one thing to will reprobates to come (i.e., to command them to come and to desire it); another to will they should not come (i.e., to nill the giving them the power to come). God can in calling them will the former and yet not the latter without any contrariety because the former respects only the will of precept, while the latter respects the will of decree. Although these are diverse (because they propose diverse objects to themselves, the former the commanding of duty, but the latter the execution of the thing itself), still they are not opposite and contrary, but are in the highest degree consistent with each other in various respects. He does not seriously call who does not will the called to come (i.e., who does not command nor is pleased with his coming). But not he who does not will him to come whither he calls (i.e., did not intend and decree to come). For a serious call does not require that there should be an intention and purpose of drawing him, but only that there should be a constant will of commanding duty and bestowing the blessing upon him who performs it (which God most seriously wills). But if he seriously makes known what he enjoins upon the man and what is the way of salvation and what is agreeable to himself, God does not forthwith make known what he himself intended and decreed to do. Nor, if among men, a prince or a legislator commands nothing which he does not will (i.e., does not intend should also be done by his subjects because he has not the power of effecting this in them), does it follow that such is the case with God, upon whom alone it depends not only to command but also to effect this in man. But if such a legislator could be granted among men, he would rightly be said to will that which he approves and commands, although he does not intend to effect it.

XVII. An absolute promise cannot be serious unless founded upon the will and intention of the promiser to give what is promised. But it is different with a conditioned promise. It suffices for the preservation of his sincerity that there be the intention in God to connect most certainly the thing promised with the condition, so that the latter nowhere occurs without the former attending it. Hence it happens that on account of this connection and dependence, the offer of salvation made to believers is most serious, for no one will have faith who will not most surely obtain salvation.

XVIII. The word of external calling ought to be the sign of some decree upon which it is founded; but not forthwith of a decree concerning the saving of individuals, but concerning the means and their connection with salvation. The foundation of calling in general (inasmuch as it is directed indiscriminately to men) is the decree concerning the collecting of a church by the word. The foundation of calling with respect to the elect is the special decree concerning the bestowal of the salvation acquired for them by Christ upon some certain persons. The foundation with respect to reprobates is the decree concerning the order and connection of the means of salvation and concerning the proposal and enjoining of these means upon men. Therefore the word of calling is the sign of that decree by which he made an indissoluble connection between faith and salvation (which because the word proposes, no simulation can be ascribed to God, since he proposes nothing which is not most true).

XIX. Since faith in Christ (which is prescribed to us in calling) is not prescribed to us as to all its acts together and at once, but by degrees and successively (and as to general and direct acts before the special and reflex acts; as to the acts of assent and refuge before the act of acquiescence in Christ as having died for me; nay, neither are these commanded except the antecedents being exercised), it is false to say that the promise of salvation with respect to us is made under a condition which cannot be fulfilled without falsehood. For that Christ is a true and perfect Savior of all flying to him seriously by faith and repentance (which is prescribed to be believed by men in the direct act of faith) can be believed without falsehood, even by those for whom Christ has not died.

XX. The promises and threatenings added to God's commands express nothing more concerning the mind and intention of God than the commands themselves (which show what is his preceptive will, but not what is his decretive will—which ought properly to be called the will of God). Therefore as the Holy Spirit employs these towards the elect as motives suitable to the human mind to bring about their conversion, so in no other way does he will they should serve with those whom God does not intend to convert and actually to bring to salvation than partly to exhibit the necessary connection between faith and salvation, partly to render them inexcusable.

XXI. The invitation to the wedding proposed in the parable (Mt. 22:1–14) teaches that the king wills (i.e., commands and desires) the invited to come and that this is their duty; but not that the king intends or has decreed that they should really come. Otherwise he would have given them the ability to come and would have turned their hearts. Since he did not do this, it is the surest sign that he did not will they should come in this way. When it is said "all things are ready" (Lk. 14:17), it is not straightway intimated an intention of God to give salvation to them, but only the sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice. For he was prepared by God and offered on the cross as a victim of infinite merit to expiate the sins of men and to acquire salvation for all clothed in the wedding garment and flying to him (i.e., to the truly believing and repenting) that no place for doubting about the truth and perfection of his satisfaction might remain.

XXII. Although the intention of pastors who call ought to be conformed to the intention of God (by whom they are sent to call men) in this—that they are bound from the order of God to invite all their hearers promiscuously to repentance and faith as the only way of salvation; and that they ought to intend nothing else than the gathering of the church or the salvation of the elect (in bringing about which they are co-workers [*synergoi*] with God). Still in this they also differ—the omniscient God distinctly knows who are the elect among gospel hearers and who are the reprobate. The former alone he wills to save individually, not the latter. However, ministers (being destitute of such knowledge) do not know to whose salvation their ministry will contribute, not being able to distinguish between the elect and the reprobate, charitably hoping well for all, nor daring to decide concerning the reprobation of anyone. Thus they address all the called promiscuously and indiscriminately even by God's appointment, still intending the salvation of no others than the elect (like God). Thus they do nothing in this ministry which does not answer both to the command and intention of God, although God (conscious of his decree) proceeds further than they and distinctly intends the conversion and salvation or the inexcusability of particular persons.

XXIII. The foundation of consolation is not weakened in the preaching of the gospel, although there is a certain diversity between the intention of God and that of the minister. However it suffices for its foundation that they agree in the general intention and primary object of gathering a church to

God which he may sanctify and glorify and of calling all who repent and believe for that end to salvation. Now the diversity which occurs about the knowledge of individual reprobates or elect persons (whom God alone knows and not ministers) cannot overthrow consolation or furnish just cause of despair, no more than the particularity of election and the immutable decree of reprobation. For as the intention of God is not (the decree of reprobation being rescinded) to admit the reprobate by calling into communion with him; so neither ought that to be the intention of the ministers, who ought to intend properly the salvation of no others than the elect (although in accordance with charity, they can also wish for the salvation of others and to promote it as far as in them lies).

XXIV. It is one thing for God to indicate in his word (even to those who will not believe) that faith and repentance are the most sure and infallible means of obtaining salvation; another for God to make this internal declaration of his word with those who will not believe for this purpose—that they may actually believe and be saved. For if he seriously intended this end, he would add to the external preaching the internal power of the Spirit, without which it remains always inefficacious.

XXV. It is not indeed repugnant to the wisdom of God to will to command and to command actually what nevertheless he certainly knew would not be done by those whom he commanded. In such a command, he wills to unfold his right and man's duty, no less than his own goodness and justice. But it is repugnant for God simply and absolutely to will and intend what nevertheless he not only knew would never happen, but even what he himself decreed should never happen.

XXVI. Although God offers the word to the reprobate for this end—that by their obstinacy they may be rendered inexcusable—he does not therefore offer it that they may reject it, for this is a sin which God neither intends nor does. Rather he offers it that the latent perversity of their hearts may be manifest (Lk. 2:35) and that by this rejection of the word (arising from man himself), he may have the occasion of displaying his justice in the infliction of punishment. Now although man could not receive the word without grace (which God does not will to bestow upon him), he must not therefore be considered as calling in order that he may reject him. Rejection does not follow of itself from the nature of calling, but accidentally from the depravity of the man himself. For although he could not receive the word

without grace, still the rejection springs from no other source than his stubborn wickedness.

XXVII. Man does not cease to be inexcusable although he does what God intended because he does not do what God commanded; as Herod and Pontius Pilate are nonetheless inexcusable although they did nothing but what the hand of the counsel of God had decreed before to be done (Acts 4:28). The decree is not the rule of our actions, only the precept.

XXVIII. To render man inexcusable, it is sufficient to take away from him the pretext of ignorance, not however to take away inability. For man is accustomed to plead ignorance, but never inability. For man (such is his pride) always persuades himself that he can do what is prescribed and is sufficiently convinced that he sins through stubborn depravity when he fails in his duty. The pretext of ignorance certainly ought to be allowed because it excuses, provided it is not affected and voluntary. However it is not so with regard to impotency, when it is voluntary and brought on (*epispastos*). A man is not bound to know what is not revealed. But he is bound to perform even that which through sin he is made unable to do; and consequently it can be exacted from him.

Third Question: Sufficient Grace

Is sufficient, subjective and internal grace given to each and every one? We deny against the Romanists, Socinians and Arminians

Distinction between sufficient and efficacious grace.

I. Among the various distinctions of the grace employed in calling, that is the most common by which it is distributed into sufficient and efficacious (which gave rise to this question). Something must be premised concerning it that it may be evident in what sense it is proposed by our opponents and rejected by us, as in a sound sense it can be admitted by us.

In what sense it is used by Romanists.

II. Bellarmine distinguishes between sufficient and efficacious grace thus: "Sufficient grace is that by which God so calls, excites and is prepared to assist men by directing, protecting and cooperating, that the man thus excited can really will to believe, be converted, do good, although he does not in fact will to believe, be converted and do good; hence this grace remains inefficacious. The effectual is that by which God so calls, excites and is prepared to help man by directing, protecting and cooperating, that man thus excited and called, really and infallibly wills, believes, is converted and does good works" ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 1.2 *Opera* [1858], 4:273.)

III. But this division should be deservedly suspect by us. (1) It obtrudes upon us the Pelagian poison. For what he called "the possibility of believing" (given by the grace of the Creator to all men), according to the will of each one, that they call the sufficient help or grace given to all men for this purpose—that they may be able to believe if they wish. What he called help, grace, suasion, doctrine and law, this they call moral suasion and efficacious help. But whatever that help may be, they maintain that it is such that it depends upon the will of men to profit or not profit by it (if the man wills or does not will), which is pure and unmixed Pelagianism. (2) All grace sufficient for conversion ought to be efficacious; otherwise sufficient grace in fact would be insufficient (to produce whose effect certain other grace ought to be superadded). (3) Christ strikes at this distinction when speaking of efficacious grace (which he had given to the apostle to free him from the severe thorn by which he was afflicted). He calls it by no other name than sufficient ("My grace shall be sufficient for thee"), by this very thing showing that all the sufficient grace of God is also efficacious; otherwise this would not have brought a great consolation to Paul complaining of the grievous temptation by which he was assailed. Nor does it help the matter to say that some sufficient thing is efficacious, not all. For if it is a legitimate division, the members ought not to coincide and no sufficient grace ought to be inefficacious.

In what sense it can be admitted.

IV. Still we do not deny that in a certain sense the division can be admitted if a sufficiency, not absolute and simple is meant, but a relative sufficiency

both with regard to external means and internal illumination for a knowledge of the truth and temporary faith (Heb. 10:26; Lk. 8:13) and for conviction and inexcusability (*anapologian*, Jn. 15:22). But for conversion, we recognize no sufficient grace which is not equally efficacious.

Statement of the question.

V. The question does not concern any kind of grace or help which can obtain in nature as well as in grace. For it is certain that God has nowhere left himself without excuse (*amartyron*) towards men in whatever state. Nor can it be denied that a convincing and coercing light can often be granted to the heathen by which they are restrained from many wickednesses and enormous crimes; and that the reprobate mingled with the elect are favored with the external preaching of the word and sometimes an internal illumination of mind by which they mourn over their sins and congratulate themselves at least for a time concerning the word admitted, as appears in the temporary. But the question here concerns salutary help and grace, sufficient for conversion.

VI. The question does not concern objective and external grace proposed to man by way of object (of which we treated in the preceding question), but concerns subjective and internal grace which is received by way of a faculty or act in man. The question does not concern the act and event itself —whether all actually believe. For all agree that innumerable persons remain unbelieving. Rather the question concerns the potency—whether they could believe. Not—whether that grace is bestowed upon all in equal measure. For our opponents acknowledge that the help of divine grace is not equally present to all, nor in any moment whatever is sufficient to the rising again from sin (as Bellarmine has it, "De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 2.2 *Opera* [1858], 4:298–99). But whether it is at least sometimes conferred upon individuals.

VII. The question returns to this—whether the gratuitous favor of God regards individuals so kindly as to communicate to all, whether heathen or Christians, infants or adults, reprobate or elect, in their state after the fall, according to place or time, mediately or immediately, ordinarily or extraordinarily, grace not of any kind whatsoever, but grace saving and

sufficient for conversion; not external only, but subjective and internal. Our adversaries wish this; we deny it.

VIII. The Romanists maintain that help sufficient for salvation (according to place and time) is given to all, so that there is no one who does not sometime at least have this help, either immediately in the case of adults or mediately in the case of infants in the parents, who can procure baptism for their children. Bellarmine thus expresses it: "Sufficient help as to place and time is given to all mediately or immediately" ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 2.5 [Prop. 5] *Opera* [1858], 4:301).

IX. The Arminians (pressing in the same footsteps after the Socinians) assert that God (who had the universal will of saving each and all, and of redeeming the same) willed also by a universal call to bestow means sufficient for faith and repentance upon each and all. However, he does this in such a way that the use of these means should be subject always to the free will of man, in whose power it is to use or not use that grace, to believe or not. Nay, they seem to go somewhat further than the Romanists themselves. For the latter acknowledge that God was absolutely free in granting that sufficient grace to men and that there would be no injustice in him if he withheld it from all. But the Remonstrants contend that God was bound in the new covenant to supply that grace; that he might not labor under the unjust suspicion that he demanded something of us beyond our strength (as Amoldus Corvinus expresses it against Molinaeus).

X. The design of both in adopting this Pelagian error is to offer incense to the idol of free will and to establish their dogma concerning the indifference (*adiaphoria*) of the will by proposing a grace such as can always be rejected or received by man. The principal foundations of this opinion are two: (1) God exacts nothing from man which cannot be done by him; (2) faith and repentance (which are the conditions of the new covenant) were not enjoined in the first covenant, nor belong to natural duty. Thus no one is bound to them, unless strength is again conferred upon him.

XI. However, the orthodox deny both that God is bound to bestow such grace upon all and that he wills in fact to confer it and actually to impart it to each one. Rather he bestows it only on those who are the called according to his purpose (*kata prothesin*) (viz., to the elect).

Proof that sufficient grace is not given to all.

XII. The reasons are: (1) saving grace is not extended beyond the decree, since it is its effect. But God did not decree that all should obtain salvation because as he loved Jacob, he hated Esau. As he elected some and destined them to salvation, so he reprobated others and destined them to wrath; as he pities certain persons, so he hardens others to whom no one would say that sufficient grace is given. Nor can it be replied that the decree of God is not absolute, but suspended on the good or bad use of free will. The very thing in question is taken for granted (and what we refuted in the proper place when we discussed the decree of reprobation).

XIII. (2) External objective grace is not common to all, as we have already seen. Therefore much less subjective and internal grace. Hence God is said in past ages to have permitted the Gentiles to walk in their own ways (Acts 14:16), which he still does as to the Turks, Persians and Indians. And yet who would say that sufficient grace is given to them whom God permits to walk in their own ways, when he winks at the times of ignorance?

XIV. (3) All men have not faith (2 Thess. 3:2), but only the elect (Tit. 1:1) (to wit, they who were ordained to eternal life, Acts 13:48). Now if sufficient grace is given to all, therefore also the grace of believing. Nor ought it to be replied here that grace is indeed given sufficiently on the part of God, but there is an obstacle in their perversity of will by which this one rejects the offered grace which another embraces. The question always recurs concerning the cause of that diversity—Whence does it happen that one receives grace above the other? For he either has it from himself or from a fuller grace of God. If from himself, therefore man (contrary to Paul) makes himself to differ. If from God, therefore the former grace cannot be said to be sufficient since he needs another superadded to the determination of the man. And if it was sufficient, why did it not remove the perversity of the one as well as that of the other?

XV. (4) The grace which is given to all is either equal and alike in all or unlike and unequal. If unlike, it cannot be called sufficient and universal, but some common, some particular. If alike and equal, why are its effects so unequal? You will say from the dissimilar dispositions of men and will because this one receives, that one rejects it. Therefore either the remedy was unlike (which did not heal both) or the disease of nature was unlike (as

Pelagius held and the apostle denies, Rom. 3:12). And to whatever direction our opponents turn themselves, they must come to this—that unless discriminating peculiar grace is given to those who are converted, the discretion of man must be resolved into the free will of man on the assumption of sufficient grace which our opponents urge (which is the very error of Pelagius).

XVI. (5) Not a few of our opponents reject this dogma, as the entire school of Jansen, when he proves sufficient grace to be monstrous: "As explained by the more modern, it is a distinct kind of help from others which from the first fall of man until the day of judgment never had, nor will have any effect upon the human will" (cf. "De Gratia Christi Salvatoris," 3.3 *Augustinus* [1660/1964], p. 258). He shows from the nature of grace that sufficient grace according to the more recent sense is granted to none (ibid., 3.4, pp. 262–67). He proves that innumerable persons are destitute of that sufficient grace and that it was devised by Semipelagians (ibid., 3.10–12, pp. 300–23). In the following chapters, he refutes the arguments of the Jesuits for sufficient grace. Alvarez had already asserted this (*De Auxiliis divinae gratiae et humani* 8.71 [1610], pp. 497–505). It is also evident that this dogma was disapproved of by many others, such as Bennius, Osorius and Delphinus.

XVII. (6) To this sufficient grace either something is added that it may be efficacious or nothing. If anything ought to be added, then it is not sufficient. If nothing, then its efficacy will depend on man, not on God and his grace. And it will be called efficacious grace only from the event, not from its own nature. Thus that distinction will not be a distinction of grace, but of the event itself so that it will always be the same grace, which sometimes obtains the events, sometimes not.

XVIII. (7) To innumerable persons neither a heart to understand is given, nor eyes to see (Dt. 29:4), nor a knowledge of the mysteries of God (Mt. 13:11), nor the drawing of the Father (Jn. 6:44), which are the only means sufficient for conversion. Nor must it be said here that God on his part willed and was prepared to give that heart and eyes, but that man opposed it. The question is not what God was prepared to give, but whether he really gave it (which is here expressly denied). Nor could the rebellion of man stand in the way of its bestowal if he wished. Grace is given for no other purpose than to remove it; nor can it be removed without it. Nor is what is

added any more conclusive that a clear and distinct knowledge of the mysteries of the gospel was indeed denied to others (which was granted to the apostles), but not on that account was all grace denied by which they can know those mysteries. For whatever grace was granted to them, it cannot be called sufficient since it is granted that it was given to them to know these mysteries. As to the drawing of the Father, since no one can come to Christ, except the Father draw him; and no one is drawn who does not come because whoever has heard from the Father and is taught, comes to him (as it is added in the same place)—it is evident that all are not drawn by the Father because all do not come to Christ. Consequently sufficient grace is not granted to them.

Sources of explanation.

XIX. It is one thing to suffice for conviction in the order of external means; another for conversion to suffice in the order of internal means. The words of Is. 5:4 ("What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it?") treat of the first, not of the second sufficiency: (1) to wit, concerning external means and those indeed which are conferred not upon all, but only upon the called in the church; not of internal means because he compares himself to a vinedresser, who plants a vineyard in rich soil, surrounds it with a ditch, guards it with a hedge, erects a press and a tower (i.e., plants it with the word, cultivates it with kindness, girds it with protection and does all those things which are required from a careful vinedresser in order that the vineyard may bring forth good fruit); but he does not speak of the vegetation and vital influence which draws after it most certain conversion. (2) The Hebrew words *mh l'svth* must not be translated "what could I have done more," since God could have done something more by internally turning and renewing the heart; but "what was to be done" or "what ought I to do which I have not done," which could be desired by the best husbandman (i.e., in the order of external means which take away all pretext from sinners; not as to internal disposition which man ought to contribute from himself—nor is God bound to restore what has been lost by man's fault). Or it signifies that nothing remains to be done further after these means had been abused than to destroy it, as he adds in v. 5. (3) The expectation here ascribed to God after the manner of

men must be understood in a manner becoming to him (*theoprepōs*), not to designate the weakness of an expecter and the uncertainty of the event, but as denoting only the exaction of duty and the patience and forbearance of God, who tolerates the sinner, giving him time for repentance, nor does he immediately (applying the ax) cut down the barren tree (Lk. 13:7). However, although he had not granted all the grace necessary for converting man (because he was not bound to that), still he could rightly expect grapes and justly complain concerning the unperformed duty because the equity of duty flowed spontaneously from the blessing of God. Nor did the Israelite church perform all that it could in this regard and what could be performed by man out of a state of grace—as to abstain from the more grievous sins and mourn over them (such as is attributed to the Ninevites themselves). He is not therefore said to have waited as if he was deceived in his expectation because he could not be ignorant of the result; but he waited that the heinousness of the sin might be intimated and the justice of inflicting punishment upon the people.

XX. When it is said "Christ stands at the door and knocks" (Rev. 3:20), it cannot be inferred that sufficient grace is granted to all. (1) He is there treating of those already called who were in the church, not of those about to be called. (2) That standing and knocking not only designates internal notions, but is properly referred to external exhortations (which are made partly by the word, partly by afflictions) of which he had spoken in the preceding verse. Therefore he knocks in different ways at the hearts of the elect and reprobate; at the former externally and internally by the word and by the Spirit so that, by knocking imperatively by the word, he may also open them operatively by the Spirit (as was the case with the heart of Lydia). At the latter, however, he only knocks externally by the word that they may understand their duty, the promised benefit, the heinousness of their sin and the justice of punishment if they neglect the voice of God. Nor is it absurd for God to knock, although he knows that man will not open. He does not cease justly to admonish man of his duty and to convict the rebellious of obstinacy.

XXI. Although men cannot come by their own strength, nor does God afford them the power to come (because he is not bound to that), still the calling is not unavailing because by calling he draws the elect to come to him, while he renders the reprobate inexcusable if they do not come. They

are bound to come and yet are unwilling to come (which suffices for their just condemnation). Nor is it equitable that the sin of a man should profit him and so be unaccountable because he has made himself impotent by his own wickedness. This impotence, so far from excusing him, the rather aggravates and increases his guilt because it is induced (*epispastos*) and voluntary, by which as he cannot, so he does not wish to believe. The case is different with involuntary and merely natural inability in a blind or dead man, to see or act. When a man is destitute of faculties, he is not bound to exercise them. Now the obligation (by which the creature is bound to his Creator) can be expunged by no occasion, much less by the wickedness of man because man is never deprived of the faculty of understanding and will, but only of its good disposition.

XXII. It is absurd to say that sufficient grace is given to all, if not immediately at least mediately, because to him who does what he can, God will not deny grace and is prepared to give the light of the gospel to those who properly use natural light. (1) This dogma of the Pelagians can be confirmed by no passage of Scripture; nay, it is overturned by innumerable passages in which gospel grace is not ascribed to the good use of nature or to the merits of men, but to the sole mercy of God and his most free good-pleasure, (2 Tim. 1:9; Rom. 9:16; Eph. 2:1, 4; Is. 65:1). (2) God would be said to be prepared for that which he still knows never will happen and which he has himself decreed not to do because he knows the condition to be impossible to man. (3) The gospel would have been revealed to the wiser and more sincere among the heathen (who seemed better disposed towards it, while yet he had denied it to them), while he often bestowed it upon infants and the most corrupt (Mt. 11:25).

XXIII. Nor can they press the words of Christ into a confirmation of this dogma, where he promises to give more to him that has ("Whosoever hath, to him shall be given," Mt. 13:12) because he refers not to the gifts of nature, but of grace; not to the increase of the former, but of the latter. Nor can this be obscure to one duly considering the connection and design of the words of Christ in the two passages in which they occur. For in Mt. 13:12, Christ gives the reason why to the apostles it was given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, while to others it was not given: "Whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath"

(i.e., "what he seems to have" [*ho dokei echein*], as Luke explains, "shall be taken away," 8:18). Now these "not having" are designated by Mark by those "who are without" (Mk. 4:11); they are opposed to those having, who are within (i.e., to the true elect who are in the church). Thus Christ intimates that God's saving benefits are closely connected with each other, so that he who has received the first, the others will be added to him, until the measure of all gifts is complete in him (as in a chain from the drawing of the first link the rest must necessarily be drawn, Rom. 8:29).

XXIV. Thus in the parable of the talents (Mt. 25:29), the same expression is repeated and by "having" not only the possessor of, but also the one properly using the talents entrusted to him (both for his own and for the salvation of others) is meant. For he who makes no good use of what he has, has not for both himself and others. It is a common saying, "What he has is as much wanting to the avaricious man as what he has not." Hence Augustine says, "Everything which does not fail by being given away, while it is possessed and is not given, is not yet possessed in the way it should be possessed, and therefore is said not to be possessed" (CI 1.1* [FC 2:27; PL 34.19]). Hence it is evident that what belongs to the gifts of grace are falsely drawn to the gifts of nature; as if by a leap God would promise to one having in the state of nature a gift in the state of grace (as if apart from grace something could be done which has the power and effect of conciliating the grace of God). For it is clear that Christ meant nothing else than to describe the indissoluble connection of the gifts of grace and their progress and increase even to perfection.

XXV. It is one thing for the kindness, patience and longsuffering of God (by which he puts off the punishment of crimes on the part of the guilty) to invite man (in a state of sin) to repentance, inasmuch as he supplies the reasons and time for repentance; another for God (on his part and as far as he can) to give help sufficient for conversion to man through such patience. It is plain that this external longsuffering and tolerance of God is not sufficient to soften the heart of man and to give a better direction to his affections.

XXVI. In the new covenant, God is not bound to supply sufficient strength to man for fulfilling it that there may be an equality of credit and debt (as Bellarmine has it). There is not prescribed a different obedience and faith as to essence from that prescribed in the first covenant (for

compliance with which man in the beginning had received sufficient strength). Since he lost this by his own fault, God is not bound to restore it to him by demanding the duty from him. The equality of credit and debt is to be estimated not according to the state of sin, but according to the state of creation. For what was then credited to man is wholly due to God (although by his own fault he is not able to pay). Whether Adam had the power to believe in Christ—about this we have a dispute with the Arminians; cf. Topic VIII, Question 2.

XXVII. The examples of the eunuch and Cornelius (drawn from Acts 8:26–39 and 10, as if on account of their good use of natural light, the light of grace was given to them) are not pertinent here. They cannot be reckoned among unregenerate infidels when the gospel was published to them, but among proselytes whom, already imbued with a knowledge of the Jewish religion, God willed to grant a further knowledge of the gospel and of Christ now revealed; so that they might not only believe generally in the promised Messiah, but particularly in Jesus of Nazareth as the true Messiah sent by God. Other things belonging here may be found in the preceding Question and in Question 6, Topic XII.

Fourth Question: Effectual Calling

Is effectual calling so denominated from the event (or from congruity) or from the supernatural operation of grace itself? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists and Arminians

Three opinions of the Romanists concerning effectual calling.

I. That the true nature and method of effectual calling may be ascertained, the discrepant opinions in reference to it must be considered. Bellarmine enumerates three principal opinions held by Romanists ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 1.12 *Opera* [1858], 4:290–94). The first is that of Molina, Lessius, Becanus and most of the Jesuits. They maintain that it is called "effectual calling" simply from the event. The second is that of Bellarmine, Suarez and others who follow them. They deduce it from its congruity. The

third is that of the Thomists and Dominicans, who draw it from physical predetermination.

1. From the event.

II. Bellarmine says that the first makes "effectual calling to consist in the assent and cooperation of man; so that it is called effectual from the event because it brings about its effect, and does so because the human will cooperates with it; so that it is in man's power to render sufficient grace effectual." But this opinion brings back the very error of Pelagius, who transferred the principal cause of conversion to the free will of man. Hence it is properly rejected by Bellarmine himself and opposed by various arguments—especially by this: "If that opinion was true, free will would clearly make the difference between the believer and the unbeliever contrary to Paul, 'Who maketh thee to differ? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive?' (1 Cor. 4:7). For if two hear the same address and have the same internal inspiration, and one believes, while the other does not, could not he who believes say, 'I made myself to differ from the unbeliever because I willed to believe, he did not?' And yet the apostle says this could not be done." This argument entirely overthrows this most pestilential error and even alone can suffice to demonstrate its falsehood, so that we here dismiss the many others which are drawn from the total inability of man in reference to good and the insuperable power of grace (of which we will speak hereafter).

2. From congruity.

III. The second opinion (which Bellarmine rather insinuates than establishes at the end of chap. 12 cited above) is that of those who place the efficacy of grace in "the congruity of calling, to wit, in a certain external moral suasion, which can be rejected by the free will and still have an infallible effect because God uses that suasion, which he knows is congruous with their minds, whom he decreed to draw efficaciously, and which he certainly knows will not be despised by them" ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 1.12 *Opera* [1858], 4:293–94). These are the words of Bellarmine in the cited passage. Explaining his meaning more clearly, he teaches "that the efficacy

of suasion results not so much from the vehemence of the persuasion as from the disposition of the will which God foresaw, namely when God so proposes something by internal persuasion that he sees the will to be fitted for consenting" (ibid., 4.11, p. 370). And in the same place he adds, "The infallibility of the thing does not arise from the vehemence of the divine motion, but from a foresight of the aptitude of the will itself" (ibid.). If it is asked in what that congruence of the will consists, Suarez says that some think it consists only in a certain proportion which there is between the illumination effected in such a way by God in a man of such a complexion, nature and condition; God however, comprehending these most exactly in each man, knew also what mode of calling was adapted to him so that if his heart was thus touched, he would consent. However, that calling should be a means accommodated to the efficacious intention of God (which the not being fulfilled confounds), and that congruity alone induces a certain moral certainty, to which it is not absolutely repugnant that the free will resists the calling thus congruous. He therefore says that every efficacious calling consists in this: "that God foreseeing by his infinite wisdom what each cause or will is about to work in every event and occasion, if it is constituted in it, also understands, when and to what call each will is about to yield assent if given to it. Hence when he wills to convert a man, he wills also to call him at that time and in that manner in which he knows that he will consent and such a calling is called efficacious because although from itself it does not have an infallible effect, still as it underlies such divine knowledge, it will infallibly secure it" ("De Concursu et Efficaci Auxilio Dei," 15.3+ *Opera* [1856–78], 11:231–41). Hence it appears that this congruity according to these authors consists principally in three things: (1) in suasion; (2) in such a contemporaneousness of suasion, in such a person so disposed, in such a place and time; (3) in middle knowledge, by which he foreknows how the will is about to incline itself, placed in such a time and on such occasions.

IV. But this opinion is deservedly discarded by the orthodox. First, it coincides with the first, which Bellarmine rejects (although he is inconsistent) because no less than the preceding it ascribes the efficacy of grace to man's will; thus the reason with which he solidly attacks the first opinion recoils upon himself. For if it is in our power to assent to and obey congruous calling or not (as he himself says while he suspends the efficacy

of the call upon the disposition and aptitude of the human will congruously called, in that manner and at that time in which God foresaw that it would yield assent), surely not only the partial, but the whole cause of the difference will be from man and not from God. Nor is it difficult to show that no other efficacious cause can be assigned here besides the human will. For what cause can be assigned: prevenient and assisting grace? This is supposed to be common to the uncongruously and the congruously called (which leaves the free will in its own indifference). The congruity? But the whole of that congruity only induces from itself (as Suarez says) a certain moral certainty to which it is not absolutely repugnant for the free will to resist the calling thus congruous. The concourse of various circumstances and the suitableness of the time and of this place rather than that? But these are external adjuncts and accidents destitute of all causality. The foreknowledge of God? But since foreknowledge is not the cause of things and supposes its object, it does not make it. Man cannot be said to be about to do anything because God foreknew it, but God on this account foreknew it because man was about to do it (besides this, middle knowledge is a mere figment, as has been proved). Therefore no other cause for this difference and conversion can be given besides the pleasure and free will of man, who is called at that time and in the place in which God foresaw he would assent.

V. Second, this opinion supposes that there can be granted some aptitude for conversion in the unrenewed will. This is Pelagian and diametrically opposed to the Scriptures, which so often assert the absolute inability (*adynamian*) of man to good and are accustomed to express it by no other name than that of death. Now who would say that there is any aptitude and disposition in the dead man to raise himself? or in a nonentity to create itself?

VI. Third, it is repugnant to the action of God in the conversion of man, which consists not in a simple and bare moral suasion (which is merely objective), but in an omnipotent and irresistible power. It is nothing less than the very creation and resurrection of man, which therefore operates not only objectively, but also effectively with man (as we will soon prove). Now who can believe that to regenerate and resuscitate man, to take away his heart of stone and to give him a heart of flesh, is nothing else than to morally persuade to conversion (i.e., to invite to conversion by precepts,

arguments, promises and threatenings; as when the orator, by an eloquent peroration, not only exhorts but also persuades)? But far different is the language of Augustine when he says, "Not by the law and doctrine sounding without, but by an internal and secret, a wonderful and ineffable power, God works in the hearts of men not only true revelations, but also good wills" (*On the Grace of Christ* 25 [24] [NPNF1, 5:227; PL 44.373]).

VII. Fourth, if the efficacy of grace depended upon the congruity of calling and the concourse of various circumstances, they would be converted who seem more fitted and disposed to receive the gospel and about whom more circumstances gathered. But on the contrary, God hides his mysteries from the wise and reveals them unto babes (Mt. 11:25). He calls nations alienated from Christ and the covenants, without God and having no hope, plunged in the densest shades of superstition and idolatry, and rejects the covenanted Jews to whom all the external helps for receiving Christ had been abundantly supplied, while no circumstances seemed to be wanting to their congruous calling: the knowledge of the law; the oracles of the prophets; the testimony of John the Baptist; the presence, miracles, death and resurrection of Christ established by so many most satisfactory arguments; the earnest zeal of the apostles in instructing them—which were all wanting to the Gentiles. Who would not have judged from these circumstances that the Jews were more congruously called and so ought the rather to be converted, while, on the contrary, it happened that very many of the Gentiles and very few and almost none of the Jews were converted? This miracle of grace Paul celebrates in the words of Moses and Isaiah: "But I say, Did not Israel know? First Moses saith, I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are no people, and by a foolish nation I will anger you. But Esaias is very bold, and saith, I was found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me. But to Israel he saith, All day long I have stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people" (Rom. 10:19–21*). Now what is the congruity of calling and aptitude to obedience in those not seeking?

VIII. Efficacious grace (by which the will is so moved as to yield its consent infallibly) can be called congruous in a certain sense, inasmuch as God, by efficaciously moving the will, moves it congruously to consent. As it is congruous to the nature of the will, there is no support given by this to the opinion of Bellarmine because that congruity is not derived from the

disposition of the will itself or from the circumstance extrinsically approaching the efficacious help. Thus it varies according to the diverse circumstances and qualities of the subject and so the motion which is congruous with respect to one, is incongruous with respect to another and vice versa. But it brings with it that help which is called efficacious and which on that account is distinguished from the inefficacious (which is given to the unconverted). The objections commonly urged here will be solved more conveniently in the following question.

The third opinion, from physical predetermination.

IX. The third opinion is that of the Thomists and Dominicans, who make the efficacy of calling to consist in physical predetermination. They assert that efficacious grace is a physical and real action of God which determines the will to will and select the good breathed into it by exciting grace because God cannot physically predetermine the will without the will itself being determined and willing that to which it is determined—as that grace cannot fail in producing its effect. Thus Bellarmine explains their meaning ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 1.12 *Opera* [1858], 4:290–94). This opinion (although rejected by Bellarmine as destructive of free will) comes nearest to the truth, although perhaps it is less accurately expressed by a physical predetermination for the reason that it seems to confound the natural acts of providence (necessary from the condition of the second nature both to all agents and every state of man) with the supernatural acts of grace, which in the state of sin are the rational and moral mode of acting (which even in conversion is employed by God as fitting to nature). Hence Jansen brings forward various distinctions between the medicinal assistance of God and that physical predetermination ("De gratia Christi salvatoris," 8.3 *Augustinus* [1640/1964], pp. 822–25), as it is handed down by his defenders. Francis Zumel far more suitably unfolds his own meaning and that of his associates: "That this efficacious grace of God properly proceeding efficiently from him, and moving us beforehand, and predetermining, on account of its priority of causality alone, should be called a physical predetermination, the authors of the opposite opinion think, of which word they were the first inventors; for before their time we spoke differently, saying that the actual grace of God moving us beforehand

must be determined to be efficacious and that God properly moves us efficiently by the act of his grace. Wherefore there is no reason why they should repeat so often physical predetermination, which is not physical, that is, natural, but supernatural and divine; not exactly moral, but supernatural, efficient properly from the efficacy of divine grace, which perfects nature, does not injure the will, but itself is so much the more free and acts the more freely, as it is more subjected to the actual grace of God" ("Tam ad primam partem, quam ad primam secundae sancti Thomae," *Variorum Disputationum* [1609], 3:109).

The opinion of the orthodox expressed in five propositions.

X. The orthodox suspend the efficacy of calling neither upon the event, nor upon its congruity. But they derive it from the supernatural power of grace and the divine and ineffable motion of God, which so sweetly and at the same time powerfully affects the man that he cannot (thus called) help following God who calls and being converted. Although its nature cannot indeed be fully perceived by us, we embrace it in five propositions.

First proposition.

XI. The first proposition: "The ways of the Lord in grace as well as in nature are inscrutable (*anexichniastoi*). Nevertheless if we cannot understand the reason and the how (*to pōs*) of those things which God has willed to conceal from us, the thing itself and the fact (*to hoti*), which has been plainly revealed to us, is not on that account to be denied by us." For if in the order of providence, we cannot comprehend the reason of the counsels of God and the mode of his reasons and are compelled to confess that it is incomprehensible (*akatalēpton*), why can this not be said with far greater propriety concerning the ways of predestination and the mode of efficacious grace and the Holy Spirit operating in us? Especially since Christ testifies that the Spirit is like the wind which "bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth" (Jn. 3:8), to intimate that it operates in us in

wonderful and ineffable ways; although its force is felt most powerfully, still its way cannot be known or explained. Therefore they are disappointed who would wish the mode of its operation to be accurately described to them and what its secret movements are, what and how great that heart-turning power of the Spirit acting in the hearts of the elect, and in what degrees and moments he carries forward his work. For this is felt by experience rather than capable of being explained by reason (no otherwise than a pregnant woman is ignorant of the way in which the vital fetus will be conformed and will grow). Still it is false to proceed from the ignorance of the mode not revealed in the Scriptures and unnecessary to be known by us in order to salvation, to a denial of the thing itself which is so clearly revealed in the Scriptures.

Second proposition.

XII. Second proposition: "The movement of efficacious grace in man is not after the manner of an act or only simultaneous concourse, but also after the manner of a principal and of previous concourse or predetermination." It is opposed to the old and new Pelagians, who, denying all previous concourse (in grace as much as in nature), maintain that God concurs in good no other way than by way of act (which indeed reaches the effect, but not the cause), so that the grace of God and the will of man must be conceived as two allied and coordinate causes in the production of the effect, like two horses drawing the same chariot. But as we have established the necessity of a previous concourse or predetermination in the way of providence (Topic VI, Question 5), we think it should be even more firmly held in the works of grace. For since the will by sin is become not only weak, but plainly impotent and dead (as was seen in its own place—Topic X, of the freedom of the will, Question 4—and will be proved further), God would in vain concur only by way of act or of allied cause with the free will in order to its conversion. By way of principle, he would flow into the will itself for its renewal and vivifaction in order that (itself being renewed and acted upon by God) it might act as a cause not allied and coordinate, but subordinate, drawing all its power and efficacy from the influx of grace (which the Scriptures usually designate by creation, regeneration, resurrection and similar phrases). Augustine frequently insinuates this: "A good will

precedes many gifts of God, but not all; for what does not precede is itself in them" (*Enchiridion* 9 [32] [FC 2:397; PL 40.248]). He also says, "God, not by the law or doctrine sounding without, but by an internal and hidden wonderful and ineffable power, operates in the hearts of men, not only true revelations but also good wills" (*On the Grace of Christ* 25 [24] [NPNF1, 5:227; PL 44.373]). Thus Hugo St. Victor: "Repairing grace first produces a good will that it may exist; then inspires it, that it may be moved; first, it works it, then by it" (*On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith* 1.6.17 [trans. R.J. Deferrari, 1951], p. 106 [PL 176.274]).

Third proposition.

XIII. Third proposition: "As conversion can be considered under a twofold relation (*schesei*), either as habitual or as actual, so both God and man certainly concur, but in such a way that in both the glory of the whole action ought be ascribed entirely to God alone." Habitual or passive conversion takes place by the infusion of supernatural habits by the Holy Spirit. On the other hand, actual or active conversion takes place by the exercise of these good habits by which the acts of faith and repentance are both given by God and elicited from man. Through the former, man is renovated and converted by God. Through the latter, man, renovated and converted by God, turns himself to God and performs acts. The former is more properly called regeneration because it is like a new birth by which the man is reformed after the image of his Creator. The latter, however, is called conversion because it includes the operation of the man himself. Now although in the order of time, they can scarcely be distinguished in adults (in whom the action of God converting man is never without the action of man turning himself to God), still in the order of nature and of causality the habitual ought to precede the actual and the action of God the action of man. A thing ought to exist before it can work, and as the soul cannot elicit acts of the understanding and will (unless furnished with the natural powers of intellect and will in the sphere of being), so it cannot properly understand and will in the sphere of morals unless renewed by supernatural dispositions and habits. An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit, unless from an evil it is first made a good tree. The second act necessarily supposes a first. Also an object which ought to be apprehended by a faculty requires the faculty itself

(rightly disposed) antecedent to its reception. Therefore this is the first degree of efficacious grace by which God regenerates the minds of the elect by a certain intimate and wonderful operation and creates them as it were anew by infusing his vivifying Spirit, who, gliding into the inmost recesses of the soul, reforms the mind itself, healing its depraved inclinations and prejudices, endues it with strength and elicits the formal principle to spiritual and saving acts (in which sense we are said to be "the work of God [*poiēma theou*] created in Christ unto good works," Eph. 2:10). Also we obtain the new birth, from which acts of faith and love flow forth (1 Jn. 4:7; 5:1). Thus this habitual conversion consists in principles of action which God confers upon the faculties of corrupt man. They are supernatural qualities or habits and dispositions, from which results an active power of converting himself (such as the Scriptures mean by the "new heart," the "seed of God," "eyes," "ears," "mind" and the like denoting something inherent and permanent).

XIV. But because this first degree would be of no avail without the second, habitual is followed by actual conversion (by which man puts forth acts, God drawing forth from the healed and changed will itself the very act of believing and conversion and the soul itself thus moved freely eliciting its own act). In this sense, God is said to give not only the power of believing, but the belief (*to pisteuein*) or the act itself (Phil. 1:29) and "to will and to do" (*to thelein kai energein*, Phil. 2:13), inasmuch as the Holy Spirit excites the intellect and the will and the remaining faculties (endowed with new qualities and sanctified) to the eliciting of good actions. Just as in restoring sight to the blind, Christ did two things: he first opened their eyes and so restored the power of seeing; then he caused the man to see at the same moment. So in the resurrection of Lazarus, the soul was first restored to the body, then he elicited vital actions. Thus God by his omnipotent acting produces in the man (or in the will) new qualities; then he excites those faculties to action.

XV. However although in every instance God and man concur, still they concur in different ways. God is the sole cause of habitual conversion. He effects it by the heart-turning power of his Spirit without any cooperation from man. Here man (since it treats of his renewal) is only passive and subjective inasmuch as he is a mere subject receiving the action of God. But with respect to the actual, the principal cause is indeed God, but the

proximate and immediate cause is man, who (excited by the Holy Spirit and imbued with the habits of faith and love) believes and loves. Hence although the act of believing is produced by God, yet because it is exercised by man as the proximate cause, it is ascribed not to God, but to man. Thus man holds himself here, both passively to receive the motion of prevenient and exciting grace (for the will does not act unless acted upon) and actively and efficiently because he actually believes and works under God. Still thus he is said to be the cause of his own conversion that he is not such from himself, but from grace, both because the power of believing is only from God and because the very act of believing depends upon God himself exciting the faculty to its operation. Hence nothing can be concluded from this for the power of free will.

XVI. Hence it appears that man is not like a log and a trunk in his regeneration, as our opponents falsely charge upon us. (1) The will is the receptive (*dektikon*) subject of grace; this cannot be said of a trunk. (2) The Spirit does not force the will and carry it on unwillingly to conversion, but glides most sweetly into the soul (although in a wonderful and ineffable manner, still most suitably to the will) and operates by an infusion of supernatural habits by which it is freed little by little from its innate depravity, so as to become willing from unwilling and living from dead. (3) The will so renewed and acted upon immediately acts, converting itself to God and believing.

XVII. Although the word and the Spirit have their own parts in this twofold conversion so that no one may feign for himself an enthusiastic regeneration because the Spirit does not act without the word (at least in the ordinary and common mode of acting which he employs with reference to adults). For that he can extraordinarily operate without the word by secret movements and internal operations (as was frequently the case with inspired [*theopneustous*] men), no one, I think, will disavow and deny. Still the method and causality of each is not the same. For the Spirit indeed is the principal efficient cause which acts in each conversion, both by infusing strength for acting well and by exciting to operation the strength conferred, thus captivating the mind unto the obedience of Christ and changing the strength (*rhopas*) and inclination of the will and affections—so that what in the gospel seemed repulsive and absurd to the natural man is now judged by the spiritual man to be most pleasant and wise and so most worthy of our

love and admiration. But as to the word, although it also efficiently concurs both in the acts preceding regeneration and consequently in the actual conversion (which we hold is brought about by the Spirit through an infusion of habits), it properly obtains no efficiency; nor yet does it belong to the class of those instruments which reach to the effect itself than of those at whose presence the principal cause operates. And thus the Spirit is indeed rightly said not to work without the word, but not by the word only, but immediately and distinctly from the word (as will hereafter be more fully proved).

Fourth proposition.

XVIII. Fourth proposition: "The movement of efficacious grace is properly to be called neither physical nor ethical, but supernatural and divine (which in a measure includes both those relations [*schesin*])." It is not simply physical because it is concerned with a moral faculty which ought to be moved in a way appropriate to its nature; nor is it simply ethical, as if God acted only objectively and used mild suasion (as the Pelagians maintain). Rather it is supernatural and divine, rising above all these classes. In the meantime, it partakes somewhat of the ethical and the physical because the Spirit in our conversion operates both powerfully and sweetly, pleasingly and invincibly. It pertains to a physical mode that God by his Spirit creates, regenerates, gives us a heart of flesh and infuses into us efficiently the supernatural habits of faith and love. It pertains to a moral mode in that it teaches, inclines, persuades and draws to itself by various reasons as if by the chains of love. Hence Augustine is accustomed everywhere to express it by the phrase "delightful conqueror" (cf. *On the Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism* 2.32 [19] [NPNF1, 5:57; PL 44.170]) who has conjoined with the highest pleasantness and sweetness, the greatest efficacy and power which expels all the obstinacy of the heart. Thus neither that strength nor efficacy compels the man unwillingly, nor sweetly moves him now running spontaneously; but each joined together both strengthens the weakness of man and overcomes the hatred of sin. It is powerful that it may not be frustrated; sweet that it may not be forced. Its power is supreme and inexpugnable that the corruption of nature may be conquered, as well as the highest impotence of acting well and the necessity of doing evil. Yet still it

is friendly and agreeable, such as becomes an intelligent and rational nature.

XIX. Nor ought this to seem amazing: (1) the servitude of sin that cannot be escaped (which holds him bound as if by the brazen yoke of sins) is however connected with his pleasures; and the impotence of acting well and the necessity of doing ill is most near and voluntary. (2) The sinner both as the subdued captive of sin is led under sin, is without strength (*asthenēs*) and is entirely destitute of strength for good; and as an enemy (*asebēs*) of God and impious, he feels the deepest enmity towards God and is accustomed to war against him (*antistrateuesthai*, Rom. 7:23), not only averse from God by impotence, but also averse by malignity. A more fitting remedy for this evil could not be employed than if the invincible grace of God should be imbued also with an incredible sweetness to overcome the weakness of man and correct his wickedness. For unless that grace by which we are converted were furnished with the highest power, sin (which has struck its roots so deeply in us) could not be overcome and rooted out. Unless the same would yield fruit of the sweetest joy so that the most loathsome delight of sin might be overcome by the opposite pleasure, the man would be drawn not voluntarily, but unwillingly and in a manner little suited to his nature.

XX. Scripture clearly intimates this when it usually describes the operation of grace in those terms which approach the physical mode and designate the supreme power of God (when it calls it "creation," "resurrection," "regeneration," "drawing," etc.) and which pertain to the ethical mode (as when it explains it by "illumination," "doctrine," "persuasion" and similar words). Nay it frequently joins together the relations (*schesin*) both of sweetness and efficacy in the same passages, as when the spouse joins "running" with "drawing" (Cant. 1:4*); Christ joins the "yoke" and the "burden" with "easiness" and "lightness" (Mt. 11:30); we are said to be drawn, but also at the same time to be taught (Jn. 6:44, 45); to be persuaded by the power of the Spirit, but also by the demonstration (1 Cor. 2:4); to be converted by the exceeding great power of God, but with an illumination full of joy (Eph. 1:18, 19); to be bound, but also to be enticed (?Jer. 20:7); to be constrained, but with the cords of a man (*philanthrōpias*) and with bands of love (Hos. 11:4; 2 Cor. 5:14)—by which as with golden chains believers being bound are drawn to Christ, far more

truly than orators are said to draw men by their eloquence. Hence the same gospel by which we are converted is called both the "power" and "wisdom" (1 Cor. 1:18, 19, 24); or "the arm of God," than which nothing is stronger; and "honey" or "milk," than which nothing is more pleasant (Ps. 19:10; 1 Pet. 2:2). The same Spirit by whom we are renewed is a Spirit of strength and a Spirit of grace; a scepter of virtue and the oil of gladness; a Spirit of power (*dynameōs*) and of love (*agapēs*) (2 Tim. 1:7)—in order to designate its omnipotent and most friendly power.

XXI. And hence we can clearly gather how liberty in this affair conspires in a friendly manner with necessity. Our opponents are unwilling to acknowledge this. As often as they see the sweet operation of grace described, so often do they exclaim that it is not therefore invincible and as they say irresistible. As often as they hear its insuperable efficacy preached, then they vociferate that the liberty of the will is impaired and man converted into a trunk and log. But whoever attends to this twofold relation (*schesin*) of efficacious grace will readily perceive that these are not opposed to, but are in the highest degree consistent with each other: our calling is a work of divine omnipotence, that no one may make it resistible; and it claims us for itself by a loving and most tender necessity of persuasion, that no one may imagine it to be forced or involuntary. Such is the nature of the things which are usually presented to the mind that the more strongly they act, the more sweetly do they flow into the mind. Thus no power is greater than love, or necessity stronger than charity, which, poured upon us like oil, pervades us with the sweetest delight and like the strongest bond constrains us (2 Cor. 5:14). Thus the first truth can neither be known nor happily possessed, unless both with the highest freedom and with the strongest necessity. Thus the omnipotent and efficacious operation of the Spirit is not opposed to that sweet method by which God acts through precepts, exhortations and other things of the same kind; by which God speaks after our mode, although with all these he acts after his own.

XXII. However, whatever is that motion of efficacious grace, still it is such and so great that it is entirely invincible and insuperable; nor can any will of man resist God willing to convert him. This is the principal mark and properly the characteristic of efficacious grace by which it is distinguished from all the other gifts sometimes bestowed by God even upon the reprobate. For since the others can in different ways affect man

and influence by illumination, coercing and even in some degree changing (at least as to external morality), this alone converts and recreates man; indeed with so great efficacy as infallibly to obtain its result and overcome any resistance of the will (which will be more fully demonstrated in what follows).

Fifth proposition.

XXIII. Fifth proposition: "Although the Spirit in effectual calling does not act without the word, still he does not act only mediately through the word; but he also acts immediately with the word on the soul, so that the calling necessarily produces its effect." I say the Spirit does not act without the word. For since (as we have just now intimated) God wills here to act in a manner suitable to a rational nature and, according to the apostle, "faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God" (Rom. 10:17), it is evident that the word ought necessarily to concur with the Spirit for our conversion from the order of God and the constitution of the covenant of grace (Is. 59:21) and without it the Spirit does not work faith in adults. Nor is there any doubt that its wise and fit dispensation by a clear and solid proposition of the truth opportunely made, conduces greatly to the success of the good work. But whatever may be its efficacy, still it is not sufficient without the immediate operation of the Spirit. Nor can the word (proposed with whatever evidence and opportunity and clothed with whatever circumstances and supports) ever produce that effect unless the secret, ineffable and hyperphysical operation of the Spirit attends to affect the soul immediately and turn it by its omnipotent power. And no wonder, since two things are necessarily required for conversion: on the one hand, the object which is externally presented to the mind; on the other, the faculty which receives it within. And such and so great is the corruption introduced into the soul by sin that although there always remains in it a natural power of understanding and willing, still the moral habit or disposition of judging and willing properly has so failed that it can no longer be moved to a right exercise of itself by the presentation of the object (as it usually can in the natural order and in the instituted state of man) unless the faculty itself is first renovated. On this account, there is always need for a twofold grace in the conversion of man: the one objective and extrinsic, consisting in the

proposition of the object; the other subjective, acting immediately upon the faculty to render it capable of receiving the object, not only that it may be able rightly to elicit its own acts in reference to it, but also to elicit them actually. Each depends upon the Holy Spirit working in two ways—both in the word and in the heart; in the word as the objective cause; in the heart as the efficient cause of faith. In the word, acting morally by the revelation of the object and suasion; in the heart, working efficaciously and hyperphysically by an infusion of good habits, the creation of a new heart and the powerful impression of the proposed object.

XXIV. That this was the opinion of the ancient church against Pelagius (who denied that immediate grace) is plainly gathered from Augustine. For Pelagius referred the whole operation of grace either to nature (which was the gift of God) or to the law and doctrine by which God illuminates the mind and demonstrates and teaches what we ought to do and persuades us of all that is good: "He assists us by his doctrine and revelation, while he opens the eyes of our heart, while he demonstrates the future to us that we may not be taken up with present things, while he lays bare the snares of the Devil, while he illuminates us with the multiform and ineffable gift of heavenly grace" (*On the Grace of Christ* 8 [7] [NPNF1, 5:220; PL 44.364]). The orthodox contend that a far different grace is to be acknowledged. "Not only that we may know the things to be done, but also do what is known; not that we may believe the things to be loved, but also love the things believed. This grace, if it must be called doctrine, is surely so called that God is believed to infuse it deeper and more intimately with ineffable sweetness, not only by those who plant and water externally, but also by himself who secretly gives its increase, so that he not only shows the truth, but also produces love. For thus God teaches those, who are the called according to his purpose, at the same time teaching both to know what to do, and to do what they know," as Augustine expresses it (ibid., 12 [13]–13 [14] [NPNF1, 5:222; PL 44.367]). And: "Therefore let them read and understand and confess that not by the law and doctrine sounding externally, but by an internal and hidden, a wonderful and ineffable power, God works in the heart not only true revelations, but also a good will" (ibid., 24 [25] [NPNF1, 5:227; PL 44.373]). This he confirms in the *City of God*: "The Holy Spirit operates internally that the medicine, administered from without, may be availing. Otherwise even if God himself, using the

creature subdued to himself, should address in some human manner the human senses, whether those of the body or those which we have in sleep most like these, and would not rule and act upon the mind by a more inward grace, all the preaching of the truth would do no good to man" (CG 15.6 [FC 14:423; PL 41.442]). This very thing Prosper admirably pursues. "Persuading and teaching not only by this kind counsel and exhortation, as if grace had the rule of the law, but changing the mind within and reforming it and making a new out of a broken vase, by the power of creating; this not the admonition of the law, not the words of the prophet, not the nature furnished him accomplishes, but the one who made, restores" (*Carmen de ingratis* 14.335–41 [trans. C.T. Huegelmeyer, 1962], pp. 62–63 [PL 51.114]).

XXV. That this was the opinion of the fathers of the Synod of Dort is evident from what they held concerning the corruption and conversion of man against the Remonstrants, who explained the operation of grace by moral suasion (which was always resistible) nor recognized any other mode of acting than an objective and moral and mediate through the word (as they testify in *Collatio scripto habita Hagae Comitis* [1615]). They say, "We believe with the Word of God that the Spirit of God puts forth no strength in us for conversion, except by the Word, since this is the only seed of our regeneration" (ibid., p. 308). And on p. 314: "The efficaciousness of the power of God can be determined either as the efficient cause of our faith, which we here reject, or as the foundation upon which faith is built," i.e. (as they a little while after explain), "exciting faith by way of object" (ibid.). Episcopius more clearly unfolds this adding the corollary: "Whether any immediate action of the Spirit upon the will or mind is necessary or promised in the Scriptures, in order that anyone may be able to believe the word externally presented? We maintain the negative" ("Disputationum theologicorum," 46 *Operum theologicorum, pars altera* [1665], Pt. II, p. 437). He says elsewhere (contending after the Socinian Catechism—cf. *The Racovian Catechism*, Sect. V, chap. 6 [1818], pp. 284–88) "that anyone can, provided only he has the use of reason, without any peculiar immediate or internal enlightenment, most easily understand and perceive all the meanings of the Scriptures, which are necessary to be known, believed, hoped for, or done, in order to salvation" (?'Status controversiae de

Perspicuitate S. Scripturae,' in "Institutiones Theologicae," *Opera Theologica* [1678], pp. 264–65.)

XXVI. In order to meet this most dangerous error, the fathers thus explain the mode of operation of grace: "When God follows out this his good pleasure in the elect, or works true conversion in them, he not only sees that the gospel is preached externally to them, and powerfully enlightens their minds by the Holy Spirit, that they may rightly understand and discern the things of the Spirit of God, but the efficacy of the same regenerating Spirit penetrates to the inmost recesses of the man, opens the closed heart, softens the hard heart, circumcises the uncircumcised, and infuses new qualities into the will, makes it alive from dead, from evil good, from unwilling willing, and acts upon and strengthens it, so that as a good tree it may bring forth the fruits of good actions. And it is that regeneration, new creation, raising from the dead, and vivification, so greatly spoken of in the Scriptures, which works in us without us" (*Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti*, Head III–IV, Theses 11 and 12 [1619–20], 1:303). And in the rejection of errors, the Synod condemns those who teach "in the true conversion of man, new qualities, habits, or gifts cannot be infused by God into his will, and so faith, by which we are at first converted, and in virtue of which we are denominated believers, is not a quality or gift infused by him, but only an act of man, nor can it in any other way be called a gift than with respect to the power of coming to him. For these things contradict the sacred letters which testify that God infuses into our hearts new qualities of faith, obedience and the sense of his love (Jer. 31:33; Is. 44:3; Rom. 5:5)" (ibid., Rejection of Errors, 6, p. 306). Also it condemns those who teach "that the grace by which we are converted to God, is nothing else than a mild suasion, or as others explain it, a most excellent mode of acting in the conversion of man, and best adapted to human nature, which is performed by suasion, and there is nothing to hinder even moral grace alone from making natural men spiritual; nay, God produces the consent of the will in no other way than by moral reasons, and in it consists the efficacy of the divine operation, which overcomes the operation that God promises eternal and Satan temporal good. For this is altogether Pelagian, and contrary to the whole of Scripture, which besides this, acknowledges also another and far more efficacious and more divine mode of acting of the Holy Spirit in the conversion of man: 'A new heart

also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you' (Ezk. 36:26)" (ibid., Rejection of Errors, 7).

XXVII. This opinion Calvin frequently endorses against Pighius. For as the latter acknowledged with Pelagius no other means of our conversion than the external and objective, the former (on the contrary) maintains that God works in the elect in two ways: "externally by the word, internally by his Spirit" ("Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae … adversus … Alberti Pighii," CR 34.345). "Illuminating the mind by his Spirit, forming the heart to the love and worship of righteousness, that they may become new creatures; the Word exciting them to desire, seek and obtain the same renovation" (ibid.). And since he had brought forward the objection of Pighius, by which he supposed he had been bound and reduced to a contradiction (namely, that "either the preaching of the Word was prior or posterior to the action of the Spirit; that this second is inconsistent, because believers would to no purpose seek and long for regeneration, which they had already obtained; that the former is the case, and is not in accordance with my doctrine, which holds that man under the old nature is not able even to seek the good?… I, however, answer, the Word is preached to believers already regenerated, and that too efficaciously and with fruit, not that they may be born new creatures, but that they may grow and increase" (ibid.). And afterwards: "While Paul glories that the ministry of the Spirit was committed to him, he mutually reconciles these two things by one word, and declares what he meant by it: namely that God efficaciously inscribes upon the hearts of men by his Spirit, what by his mouth he speaks to their ears, not before, nor after, but at the same time. By preaching, therefore, the seed is sown; the Spirit of God however within causes it to strike root, germinate and fructify" (ibid.). And a little after: "Let us only retain that connection of the secret operation of the Spirit and of external preaching which Paul describes, and we will be freed from all difficulty" (ibid., p. 346). And after he had related how Pighius wished God to convert men, "By his goodness and patience, by not punishing them on the spot, but giving time and place for repentance; still by many means, exhortations, kindnesses, and chastisements urging, soliciting and stimulating them to the same," he adds, "here the whole and entire Pelagius discloses his sacrileges. For he holds to external means only, by which God invites men, and includes in these the whole grace of conversion; preserving a profound

silence concerning the more inward motion of the heart, the renovation of the Spirit" (ibid., p. 384).

XXVIII. These propositions being thus established, if the question is now asked whether besides the objective and mediate grace by which the Spirit acts upon minds by the word preached with whatever opportunity and accompanied by whatever circumstances and helps, there is required another grace subjective and immediate by which he operates immediately upon the faculties themselves to dispose them to a saving reception of the word and by whose efficacy conversion is necessarily and infallibly brought about. We answer affirmatively, as the church formerly determined against the Pelagians and most recently against the Remonstrants.

Immediate grace is proved: (1) from the corruption of man.

XXIX. The reasons are first, because the magnitude of the corruption and impotence introduced by sin proves it. For if what the Scriptures teach concerning the most miserable condition of sinners and their total and absolute impotence for good is true (when they call them not only sick and weak, but "dead in sins," Eph. 2:1, 2; "blind," nay, even "darkness" itself, Eph. 4:18; 5:8; "who do not receive and cannot receive the things of the Spirit of God," 1 Cor. 2:14; "the servants of sin," Jn. 8:34; Rom. 6:19; "the enemies of God," Col. 1:21; "who are not and cannot be subject to his law," Rom. 8:7; in one word "who can neither think nor do anything good of themselves," Jn. 15:5; 2 Cor. 3:5), how can the hypothesis stand which maintains that nothing else is required for the conversion of a man than moral suasion and the proposition of the gospel object fitly and opportunely made? Now if nothing else is required to heal the soul, how is it said to be entirely impotent for good; nay, dead? Who could believe that the dead can be raised by the sole proposition (however opportunely made) of the object, which acts only morally and objectively? Who (on the contrary) does not acknowledge the necessity of some omnipotent grace to infuse new life into him and new powers for believing and working? And as for eliciting vision in the blind and the exercise of life in a dead man, a simple proposition of the object is not sufficient, but there is required first of all the restoration of

the visual faculty which is corrupted and the renewal of life extinguished by death; so for the spiritual vision of faith, a revelation of the doctrine in the word is not sufficient unless the corrupt faculty is cured within and disposed to receiving the object. Nor is it sufficient for the resurrection of the dead man to excite him (as if buried in a deep sleep) by a loud cry, unless with the external voice an internal and almighty power is conjoined, which can restore life to him. I confess that the difference between spiritual and bodily blindness and death lies in this—that in the latter the visual and vital faculty has been wholly destroyed, but the rational faculty has only been corrupted and not extinguished by sin. But this does not hinder the impotence from being invincible in both, so that the man not only does not, but he even cannot will because although the natural power of understanding and willing remains in man, still the moral habit or disposition of understanding and willing properly is evidently lost. This cannot be restored by an objective presentation of the truth alone, but demands a real infusion of power. To say here (as the Remonstrants and others) that the state of the sinner is described by death, to denote not so much his impotency as his negligence and indifference (as they are often called "deaf" and "blind" who do not hear or see or who are unwilling to hear or see, although they might—the antecedent being put for the consequent because the dead and blind do nothing)—what is it but to do violence to Scripture and to change expressions (which it repeatedly uses to describe the greatness of our corruption) into mere hyperboles beyond all reason? For why should it so often propose to us the sinner as wholly weak (*asthenē*) and destitute of strength (who can neither know anything true, nor do anything good), if this was always in his own power and truly from himself (*ek tōn eph' hēmin*), so that there is not wanting to us the capacity of knowing but only the actual knowledge? Nor would the faculty need grace to confer that power or capacity of acting, but only to excite it by the presentation of the object. Now who does not see that in this way the truth of original sin taught in the Scriptures and constantly believed in the church would in a wonderful manner be obscured and destroyed?

XXX. Besides, it is evident that no object ever concurs to forming and disposing its own faculty to exercise itself, but supposes it disposed and rightly constituted (since indeed it cannot act on the faculty except by the apprehending power of the faculty itself, by which it may be received and

which acts on it with a due proportion, which is here required). Whatever may be the presentation of the object in the mind, it will always be unavailing unless it is conceived as already disposed for it; not assuredly by the word (concerning the reception of which we are treating), but by the immediate action of the Spirit, who prepares the faculty. For if a thing can work before it exists and every second act supposes a first, how could man, a sinner, elicit the act of faith and love unless he had first received the moral principle and habit or disposition to believe and love (which he lost by sin)? Who would say that the faculty ought to act in order to be renewed and regenerated? Ought it not rather to be renewed and regenerated before it can act, since it can do nothing good unless begotten again? To no purpose is recourse had here to the natural faculty, which can always receive the object presented and is born fitted to be moved of itself by it. Although it can always understand and will as to being (*to einai*) and in the sphere of being, yet it can (as to wellbeing [*to eu einai*] in the sphere of morals) neither know anything true, nor do anything good on account of its congenital habit of sin and its invincible impotency to evil. And thus we must come to this—either to deny with Pelagius the total corruption of our faculties and their impotence for good, so that the soul can act on the word by its own strength to the acknowledgement of the truth; or to acknowledge the necessity of an immediate and subjective grace by which it is disposed to the reception of the truth.

XXXI. However, so far is the word proposed to the corrupt mind from being able to move it, that the word itself (if not by itself, at least by accident) confirms and increases those prejudices. The word of the cross preached to the natural man is a stumbling block and foolishness, according to Paul: “We preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness” (1 Cor. 1:23); “The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned” (1 Cor. 2:14). Here he teaches that the mystery of the gospel proposed by the Holy Spirit through the preaching of the word as the supreme wisdom of God (and is such really) can be regarded by the natural man in no other light than mere foolishness and so is rejected by him as a thing most worthy of the contempt and aversion of men. Now if such prejudices arise and are confirmed by the preaching of the word, how can it happen that they could

be taken away simply by it? The Scripture sufficiently testifies that our original corruption consists not in mere prejudices and false ideas (otherwise infants in whom they are not found, would be free from that sin), but in depraved habits and in the general disorder of our faculties and in the total and highest propensity of the soul to evil born in all mortals (whence the prejudices take their rise), which the word (with whatsoever great evidence presented) never could change unless the heart-turning power of the Spirit intervened (who creates and reforms the heart anew and by taking the reason captive bends it into obedience to Christ).

XXXII. This very thing is still more clearly confirmed from the original corruption born with infants. For it is evident (as the Scriptures so often testify) that they are "children of wrath" (even as others), "dead in sins" (Eph. 2:1–3) and "conceived in iniquity" (Ps. 51:5), "unclean" and "born of the flesh" (Job 14:4; Jn. 3:6), who consequently cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven unless they are first regenerated (Jn. 3:5; Rev. 21:27). How then can they be purged of their uncleanness and be born of water and the Spirit (i.e., of water which is the Spirit; or of the Holy Spirit exercising the power of water; as it is elsewhere said, "Christ will baptize with the Spirit and with fire," i.e., with a fiery Spirit, Mt. 3:11), if no other than objective grace is granted through the knowledge of the truth (of which they are certainly not capable)? Surely we must either deny original sin in infants or we must hold that they are sanctified by immediate and real grace that they may be received into the kingdom of God. Examples of this are often seen, in Jeremiah, John the Baptist and others gifted with the Holy Spirit even before the use of reason. Now if such grace is infused into them that works their regeneration, why could it not be communicated also to adults for the production of the same work? For although the Spirit does not work in adults without the word, still nothing stands in the way of the Spirit operating in them distinctly from the word, as it operates without the word in infants by a most efficacious power. This is as easy and prompt to him as it is incomprehensible and wonderful to us, as Calvin remarks most excellently (ICR 4.16.18, p. 1341).

2. From the mode of operation of grace.

XXXIII. Second, the mode of the operation of grace in our conversion further invincibly proves this when it is described as a "creation," a "resurrection," a "new birth," the "taking away of the heart of stone" and the "giving of a heart of flesh," a "drawing," a "giving of the Spirit" and other like expressions. These imply the invincible and supreme power of God. For if the whole action of God consists in the clear proposition of the gospel opportunely made, why is omnipotence required for that? What is there in it surpassing the ordinary mode of man's acting? Is not this to obscure and almost reduce to nothing God's almighty action? To what purpose then are those magnificent words used by Paul to describe the omnipotence which God exerts in us when he says that it is "an exceeding greatness of power" (*hyperballon megethos dynameōs*), indeed "according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead" (*kata tēn energeian tou kratous tēs ischuos autou*, Eph. 1:19*, 20), if God does not act otherwise than morally and objectively as men are accustomed to act? Can he be said to create us, if he does nothing else towards us than to teach and persuade? Verily the wisdom of God (which is accustomed to express things in the most appropriate words) does not allow us to believe that he willed to use such emphatic and efficacious phrases to describe so weak and mild an action; but demands that we say that a certain most efficacious power (if not physical, yet hyperphysical and most real) is denoted. Nor if the Scriptures order us to make to ourselves a new heart, does it follow that this depends on man, not on God; or that regeneration is begun by the work which God commands man to do and when man does it he little by little receives life, as the Remonstrants hold. That command denotes what he is bound to do, not what he is able to do. It is exacted from man while he is dead (which he does not unless vivified, God himself doing in us what he commands).

XXXIV. The similitude of generation, so often employed in this argument, has no little force. For as in man's generation or that of other things which are begotten, two things are necessarily required: the seed which comes from without and the internal virtue of the womb or of the earth, which receives and makes it alive (which the seed does not give but supposes). To no purpose would it be thrown into the earth or womb, unless an internal and vital force existed to receive and give it roots. Thus in regeneration with the word (which has the relation of the seed), there is

required the internal and quickening power of the Spirit to dispose the heart to receive it so that it may not fall among thorns or rocky places and on the hard road where it will be either choked or immediately dried up, but on "good soil" (to wit, a "good and honest heart" [Lk. 8:15]—not however made such by its own nature, but by the Spirit through immediate grace). So the barren or effete womb (such as that of Sarah) could never have conceived from the seed unless with the seed should be given a certain internal power to strengthen the debility of the womb and render it capable of receiving the seed and of conceiving from it by its plastic (*plastikēn*) force. Paul testifies this of Sarah when he says, "Through faith she received strength to conceive seed" (Heb. 11:11). Thus the heart of man, which is not only barren and effete, but wholly dead and destitute of strength to conceive any good, could never conceive the fetus of a new creature unless the quickening power of the Spirit should be applied to it for conceiving.

3. From the passages in which grace is set forth as necessary for the reception of the word.

XXXV. Third, here pertain the various passages of Scripture in which grace is proposed as necessary for the reception of the word; as when the psalmist seeks "that his eyes may be opened, that he may behold wondrous things out of the law" (Ps. 119:18) and Paul prays for the Ephesians to be given "the Spirit of wisdom and revelation"; to wit, that the eyes of the understanding may be "enlightened," that they may know "the hope of his calling," and the "riches of the glory in the saints" (Eph. 1:17, 18). Christ is said "to have opened the understanding of the disciples, that they might understand the Scriptures" (Lk. 24:45). He is not said to have only "explained the Scripture" (*dianoixai tas graphas*) as he did to the disciples at Emmaus (v. 32) which belonged to external preaching; but to have "opened their understanding," which implies the power and efficacy of the Spirit operating within and illuminating the understanding. God is elsewhere said "to open the ear" (Is. 48:8; 50:5) for those whom he disposes to hear the word preached and see miracles, unless God gives eyes to see, ears to hear and a heart to understand (Dt. 29:3, 4). In the same sense, God is said "to have opened the heart of Lydia, that she might attend unto the

things which were spoken by Paul" (*prosechein tois laloumenois hypo tou Paulou*, Acts 16:14). From this it is clear that the opening of the eyes and of the heart is set forth as a means to attention or understanding of the word and to obedience of faith, without which they could not be obtained. For if the heart ought to be opened to attend to the word, it could not therefore be opened by the word, but ought to be opened antecedently to the reception of the word. The nature of the thing itself demands this; for since attention to the word cannot be in a closed but in an open heart, it must necessarily be supposed to be open in order to attend to it. Nor can that opening be secured only by the word, since it could not secure that except as received into the heart by attention (which already supposes the opening). Therefore since that opening signifies the removal of all the obstacles which hinder the ingress and fruit of the word (which occur in the understanding and will, as well as in the affections), it ought necessarily to be made by grace as distinct from the word.

XXXVI. Vain is the objection urged here by the Remonstrants that this opening of the heart could be made also by the word, as elsewhere Paul is said "to have been sent to the Gentiles to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light" (Acts 26:18). And thus it does not differ from attention, but is used for one and the same thing. Thus God is said to have opened their heart when they attended to the words of Paul. Nothing else is meant than that the preaching of Paul was efficacious and that the praise of this efficaciousness should be ascribed to God, the prime mover of all things. For although the opening of the heart is objectively ascribed to the word also in its own manner (inasmuch as it can be done by a moral cause because it usually takes place not without the word, but at its presence) and is ascribed to the ministers of the word instrumentally because they are the instruments employed by God in this work, still it cannot be brought about simply by the word or by the word presented by men of God, unless the word approaches with the internal power of the Spirit distinct from the word (by whose intervention the word presented from without to the mind may be received by it with faith). Luke distinctly declares this when he says that Lydia first "heard Paul" (i.e., was present at his preaching and received his word into her ears). For the orator would strike the ears in vain unless the Creator would unlock the heart. In vain would the word beat at the door of the heart closed by unbelief and ignorance, unless it were opened by the

grace of God working the very thing which it enjoined. On this account, he adds that God opened her heart that she might attend to the things taught by Paul, marking the end and effect of that opening. And thus three things are here distinctly enumerated as occurring in effectual calling: (a) the action of Paul preaching; (b) the action of God opening the heart; (c) the action of Lydia with opened heart embracing the word by faith. These three flow spontaneously from the words of Luke, so that we are not to have recourse to the figure hendiadys—that the opening of the heart and the attention are used for one and the same thing (which everyone can see would be forced and unsuitable to the words of Luke). If elsewhere man is commanded to open his heart (Rev. 3:20), this is to denote his duty, not his strength. Again, it properly relates to those already called. Third, it is not done without the grace of God, which as it knocks acting objectively, so it opens the heart for itself working subjectively.

4. From the passages in which the power of the Spirit is distinguished from the word.

XXXVII. Fourth, immediate grace is favored by those passages in which the power of the Holy Spirit working in us is openly distinguished from the word: “Our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost” (1 Thess. 1:5*). This could be said with very little fitness, if the Spirit would act in no other way than by the word and objectively. Thus elsewhere, speaking of the ministers of the word: “Paul plants, Apollos waters, but God gives the increase; neither he who plants, nor he who waters is anything, but God giving the increase. We are then co-workers with God” (1 Cor. 3:6, 7, 9). Here God and men not only are opposed, but the action of man planting and watering by the word is openly distinguished from the internal action of God giving the increase (i.e., the power to germinate, grow and bring forth fruit). Hence the planter and waterer are said to be nothing in virtue of their operation; not absolutely and simply, as if their ministry were useless, but comparatively with reference to God because they can contribute nothing besides the external work. This would be of no avail without God, who not only concurs with them in planting and watering externally, but (what is the principal thing in this

work) produces life and increase, in which he has no fellow worker (*synergon*). And thus Paul exhorts the Corinthians to concord and to avoid the disputes and factions which were seen among them by occasion of their pastors. For since all are "one" (v. 8) (i.e., in office and work, serving one Lord with conjoined strength and laboring in the same business), it was not right that they should make parties or that on account of them they should be divided into factions. Hence Calvin with propriety infers "that God works in two ways in his elect, externally by the word, internally by the Spirit" (*Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae ... adversus ... Alberti Pighii* [CR 34.345]). And a little after: "By preaching the seed is sown that it may, however, take root, germinate and fructify; the Spirit of God works within" (ibid.). Here belong also the words of Cameron which clearly suppose immediate grace: "That the ministers of the gospel, however, are called co-workers with God must be understood differently. For thus a comparison is instituted between the outward preaching of the word and its power and efficacy in the minds of men, the former of which is indeed from God, but by the intervention of human work, the other comes immediately from the Spirit of God alone. In this appears a certain image of cooperation, man speaking without, the Spirit persuading within" ("Disputationis de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," Th. 20 *Opera* [1659], pp. 332–33).

5. From the passages which speak of the internal action of God.

XXXVIII. Fifth, no less solidly do those passages establish this which ascribe to God a certain internal action in the conversion of man: when God is said "to work in us to will and to do" (Phil. 2:13); "to fulfil in us the work of faith with power" (2 Thess. 1:11); "to work in us that which is well-pleasing in his sight" (Heb. 13:21) and others of the same kind. To these ought also to be referred those in which God promises "to put his laws within us" and "write them in our hearts" (Jer. 31:33); "to give us a new heart" and "to put a right spirit within us, that we may walk in his statutes, and keep his judgments" (Ezk. 36:26, 27). These either have no meaning or they imply a certain intimate and most efficacious action upon our hearts. Nor can it be said that the mediate operation of the Spirit (which is made by

the word) is rightly called internal also because it not only knocks at the ears of the body, but is borne also into the mind itself which it affects. For in the same way, the speech of any man addressing and teaching and persuading others, carried to the mind itself by the senses could be called internal (which, however, no one would say). For it is clear that by these expressions, an antithesis is presented between God's mode of acting and man's. Man's consists only in the external proposition of objects, while God intimately pervades the heart itself and immediately affects it. Nay, thus is the efficacy of the Spirit working in the covenant of grace best distinguished from God's mode of acting in the legal covenant. For in the latter, the Spirit indeed by God-inspired (*theopneustous*) men promulgated the law outwardly and moved also in some degree the mind itself within; but because he only commanded and did not operate or supply strength for acting, on this account it is called by Paul "the letter" (2 Cor. 3:6) "engraven in stones" (v. 3). But because in the covenant of grace, the Spirit not only commands duty by the preaching of the word, but intimately and immediately works docility and obedience, he is on that account said to write the law upon our hearts and to make us to walk in his precepts.

XXXIX. This very thing is more clearly proved from the gift of the Spirit, which is conferred upon us by Christ, who as he is distinguished from the word, so he operates distinctly from it. Not only is it a certain power which exerts itself in man, but a divine person who comes into our hearts that he may dwell in them as his temples (1 Cor. 3:16; 6:19) and abide with us forever (Jn. 14:16); but also because he exercises those operations in us which prove his intimate and immediate grace. For how could one and the same Spirit be said to work all things in us, both as to extraordinary and peculiar gifts and as to ordinary and those common to all believers (1 Cor. 12:11), to bear witness with our spirit that we are the sons of God, to speak and cry out in us, help our infirmities, intercede for us with unutterable groanings (Rom. 8:26), to establish and seal us unto the day of redemption (2 Cor. 1:22; Eph. 4:30), to search the heart, and like fire, oil, light, life penetrate to the inmost recesses of the heart and other things of this kind, if all his virtue extended no further than to a mediate action by the word and if he were not the immediate principle of regeneration, imbuing our souls with life, faith, holiness and joy? Yea, the antithesis instituted by Paul between the flesh and the Spirit (Rom. 8) demands that as the flesh is

the internal and immediate principle of all sins in the carnal man, so the Spirit is the internal and immediate principle in the believing and regenerated man of all good works, by which they live and walk and regulate all their actions according to the word of God. Here belongs the passage that the Comforter will teach his people all things and will lead them into all truth (Jn. 14:26; 16:13). To prevent anyone from referring this to some privilege peculiar to the apostles, John extends it to all believers: "But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things; nor have ye need that any man teach you; but the same anointing teacheth you of all things" (1 Jn. 2:20*, 27). By "anointing," it is clear that the Holy Spirit is meant, teaching believers not only externally by the word, but internally and immediately. In this sense, they are elsewhere called the "taught of God" (*theodidaktoi*, Jn. 6:45), not only because they are instructed by the word of Christ, but also because they are internally taught by the Father and drawn to Christ.

6. From its necessity and possibility.

XL. Sixth, if mediate grace is not to be admitted, it is either because it is unnecessary or because it is not possible, or because it does some violence to the human will and to free will. But no such thing can be said. Its necessity has been demonstrated already from the magnitude of our corruption and impotence and confirmed from the necessity of regeneration in infants (which cannot proceed from any other source). Its possibility is clear not only from the extraordinary and immediate conversions of those who straightway and as it were in one moment and in the twinkling of the eye and without the previous preaching of the word were renewed and drawn to Christ (as was the case with Zacchaeus, the robber and Paul); but also from God-inspired (*theopneustois*) men who had the secret and immediate inspirations of the Holy Spirit (as the prophets and apostles and other holy men, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost [*pheromenoi hypo pneumatos hagiou*, 2 Pet. 1:21] and in whom the Holy Spirit spoke, and whom the Holy Spirit enabled to speak, Mt. 10:19, 20). For if immediate grace acted in them, why can it not act also in others, since the same Spirit who was the author of prophecy in the men of God is also the author of faith in believers? Hence also we gather that such grace is not

repugnant to our liberty; for if it could operate without injuring the will and liberty of those holy men, why can it not equally act in believers (their nature and liberty remaining untouched)?

7. From absurdities.

XLI. Finally (not to offer more arguments which might be adduced further) the various absurdities, by which the opposite view is pressed, sufficiently demonstrate its falsity. For if no other operation of the Spirit in calling is granted except the mediate by the word and by moral suasion, the cause of the difference between the hearers of the same word (of whom some are converted, others remain unbelieving) will not depend upon grace, but on man (contrary to Paul, 1 Cor. 4:7). For since the word (by which grace alone is supposed to work) is often proposed equally to both at the same time and place, by the same preacher and with the same arguments and motives, nothing can occur here which is not common to both and consequently which can make a difference between one and another. Nor does it help the matter to recur here to the diversity of circumstances preceding or attending the word, which by God's Spirit are so aptly and opportunely arranged with respect to the one and not to the other that as to the former the effect necessarily follows, but not as to the latter. For although we confess that various circumstances concur to this work and are most wisely arranged by God and greatly contribute to the success of the good work, still we deny that this variety of circumstances or their concurrence can be called the proper and adequate cause of the difference. For all these circumstances (whatsoever they may be) have to do either with the object (i.e., the word) or with the subject (i.e., man). As to the object, no variety of circumstances can be granted on our hypothesis because we suppose the same word to be preached to both, by the same pastor, at the same time and place and in the same manner. As to the subject, they are either extrinsic and accidental only (having no necessary connection with the effect and which on that account cannot be the causes of the difference between the one and the other) or intrinsic and essential and on the positing of which it cannot but follow (such as those are which affect and dispose the subject differently). Now concerning these the question again arises whether the diversity they produce in the subject (such as, for example,

attention, docility and submission of mind) are from nature or from grace. If from nature, Pelagius conquers and man makes himself to differ. If from grace (since this cannot depend upon the word, which we said was common to both), this itself is the immediate grace for which we contend (which was the cause of that difference).

XLII. Again, if a variety of circumstances produces a diversity of effect, then wherever they occur, a diverse effect also will follow and where they are alike, the same effect ought to exist. But the case is otherwise. For in various circumstances, the effect does not cease to be the same and in the same circumstances the effect is often different. How many are there to whom a happy birth, good instruction, blessings and castigations and similar good or evil things equally happen, who are nevertheless affected by them in different ways, either to good or to evil? How many also, who placed in circumstances plainly different, are still equally converted by grace? For example, the two robbers crucified with Christ were in the very same circumstances, the same object was presented to their eyes, the same words struck their ears and they seemed in all respects equal. And yet one believed and was converted; the other remained unbelieving and obstinate. What reason can be assigned for this difference? Or what was the different birth of each or instruction or different kind of life or other hidden circumstances? But besides these being taken for granted, they are not proved. If these were in the highest degree true, they would be of no avail because they could not give the true and proper cause of such a great difference. For the various circumstances which did not prohibit (when an equal occasion of acting badly was given) both from equally indulging in robbery, how could they have impelled the one to impiety and the other to faith when an entirely equal occasion for conversion to God was given? Therefore there could have been no other cause of that difference than the secret influence of the Holy Spirit, who in a similar state, still did not will to give similar grace, in order to show that he breathes where he wills and has compassion on those whom he wills and hardens whom he will. Again, how did it happen that at the same addresses of Peter and of Paul, at the same time and place, and with the same circumstances delivered to large crowds, still some of them believed and others remained unbelieving? No other reason can truly be given for this difference than an internal disposition of

the mind, which if it is not from subjective grace, must be said to depend upon nature (contrary to the Scriptures).

XLIII. (3) If the efficacy of calling depends upon a concourse of circumstances which are opportunely arranged by the wisdom of God (as he sees is agreeable to the state, inclination and mental disposition of this or that one), Bellarmine and most Romanists with him rightly maintain that the efficacy of calling depends upon its congruity. For God, in calling man, "employs that suasion which he sees is suitable to the inclination of those whom he decreed to draw efficaciously … and as he sees the will to be fitted for consenting" (as we have already proved out of Bellarmine; cf. Section 3 above). However since this comment has thus far been constantly rejected as most false, how suspect ought that hypothesis to be which, if it does not plainly agree with it, still anyone can easily judge that it approaches very near to it?

XLIV. (4) If the entire action of the Spirit is dispensed by the word with certain circumstances, in no other way would Christians be brought into the church than philosophers into their schools; nor will the action of God, converting sinners, differ from the action of the orator drawing men by his eloquence to assent, or of a master teaching his disciple. For in both cases there will be a moral and objective action by which the doctrine is proposed and confirmed by various reasons fitted to persuade. In both, circumstances are sought and laid hold of whether from time or place or the state and disposition of persons, which may be more congruous and opportune for the production of the effect. In both, the arguments are carried not only to the ears of the body, but to the soul itself by way of knowledge (by which prejudices are driven from the mind and the truth impressed upon it). A difference cannot arise here from the nature of the object (which is far more excellent in the Christian system than in human systems). The question is not about the nature of the object, but about the mode in which it is received by man and works in him; or from the variety of reasons and motives which the Holy Spirit uses in the word to persuade (which is far more efficacious in the gospel than in philosophy, as drawn from the authority of God speaking; for in philosophy these are merely external, which can indeed make a gradual and accidental difference, but not an essential and specific difference, since the mode of persuasion by reasons remains the same in both). A difference cannot arise here from the concourse of circumstances

which are not only observed by God, but so aptly arranged as to draw the effect necessarily after them (which cannot be done by man, in whose power they are not placed and on whom they do not depend). Although it belongs to God, as the supreme ruler and Lord, to arrange these circumstances, it belongs to man only to observe them and use them when presented. Hence it happens that he does not always persuade because he cannot obtain the concourse of these circumstances; still it is certain when he persuades that happens from no other source than from the concourse of these circumstances (which being presented he opportunely uses). Now who would say that the invincible grace of God does not differ in any way from the ordinary mode of acting of weak men? Why then is the Holy Spirit of grace so anxiously sought (as is usually the case) as often as the word is preached that he may internally dispose and open their hearts, while the pastor strikes the ears of the body, if his whole operation is limited to the arranging of circumstances?

XLV. (5) If the conversion of man must be ascribed to God, not to man, because with the presentation of the word he arranges the circumstances (from the concourse of which the infallible event follows), why should we not say with equal propriety that God is the author and cause of evil because he no less certainly arranges the objects by which the wicked are allured to vice and even certain vices and circumstances from which sin necessarily springs? Everyone knows that it did not happen without the providence and special dispensation of God that Judas was tempted by money, the Jews moved with hatred against Christ, and Herod and Pontius Pilate consented to give Christ up to death. For Peter testifies that they did nothing except what the hand and counsel of God (i.e., his efficacious counsel) had before decreed to be done (Acts 4:28). Nor can it be doubted that the selling of Joseph by his brethren and his being carried down to Egypt was brought about by the providence of God through the arrangement and concourse of all those circumstances (which drew that effect after them). Hence Joseph acknowledges that God himself sent him to Egypt and turned into good what his brethren had meant for evil (Gen. 50:20). Now if the providence of God (which is concerned about evil by the arrangement of objects and circumstances) did not make him the author of sin, why should the arranging of objects and circumstances which draw us to Christ make him the author of our conversion? And if the wicked

(although impelled to evil by various temptations arranged by the singular providence of God) do not cease to be the authors of their own sin, why should believers (who are supposed to be drawn to Christ in no other way than by a proposition of objects and the arrangement and concourse of certain circumstances) not be equally the authors of their own conversion?

XLVI. From all these it is easy to conclude that the true cause of the difference between the hearers of the word can be no other than the hidden and immediate power of the Holy Spirit affecting some in preference to others. For whatever other reasons can be adduced, either from birth and temperament or from education or precepts and examples or from blessings and calamities or from other similar circumstances and aids, besides the fact that they can belong to unbelievers equally with believers, it is certain they are not such as have causality properly so called (which obtain the very effect and necessarily convert the heart of man, as they can in some degree move and excite it). I confess that the attention and docility by which men become "taught of God" (*theodidaktoi*, Jn. 6:45), which occurs in some rather than in others, is a cause of this difference. But since this cannot be from nature, but from grace (since we are all equally deaf to the voice of God, yea, also wholly dead), even from this is invincibly proved the necessity and truth of immediate grace.

Sources of explanation.

XLVII. The efficacy ascribed to the instrumental cause does not detract from the principal cause, nor does it exclude but suppose it. Therefore, all the praises bestowed upon the word (as that it is the seed of our regeneration, illuminates the mind, sanctifies the heart, as a two-edged sword pierces even to the dividing asunder of the soul, and the like) evince that conversion does not take place without the word and that the Holy Spirit employs it as a most efficacious instrument for its production. But they do not therefore imply that he works in any other way than by the word, since every objective presentation of the word (even the most efficacious) would always be useless without the immediate power of the Spirit (as has been seen).

XLVIII. Although the word is not sufficient for conversion without immediate grace, God cannot be therefore charged with employing

insufficient means for producing the effect he intends, nor can sinners offer any pretext of an excuse. The word does not cease to be sufficient in its own order (to wit, on the part of the object). And if it remains inefficacious in the reprobate, that does not happen by itself from a defect in the word, but accidentally from the fault of man (which so far from excusing him, only aggravates his guilt the more).

XLIX. Although man in a state of sin is never destitute of the natural faculty of understanding and of willing (by which he is borne to the object proposed to him) and can in some measure receive it at least as to the force of its terms and a merely historical knowledge, still it is so corrupt that no moral capacity or disposition remains in it anymore for acting well (until by immediate grace it is disposed for the saving reception of the word and a practical knowledge of it).

L. Since the Spirit never acts immediately upon us without the word, his movement cannot be called brute and irrational (such as towards trunks and logs), but always conjoined with knowledge and light since that immediate operation has in view nothing else than to impress the proposed word upon the heart, captivating the blind reason into the obedience of Christ and so changing (*rhopēn*) by victorious delight the strength or propensity of the will to evil; that what was before followed with hatred and contempt as the highest evil is now pursued with the most ardent love as the highest good.

LI. The Spirit works immediately upon us, not so much before or after the word as together with it. Thus the conversion produced by the Spirit is effected in its own order by the word also: by it objectively and morally; by the Spirit efficiently, who on this account is called “the spirit of faith” (2 Cor. 4:13) inasmuch as the same object (which is presented externally by the word and is received by man at least theoretically and historically) is impressed upon the mind by the Spirit internally that it may be believed by it practically and savingly.

LII. As the word does not exclude the necessity of immediate grace, so neither does immediate grace exclude the use of the word and other external means, but supposes them. Although the word and the accompanying circumstances being taken away, conversion cannot ordinarily happen, it does not follow that when these are posited, conversion immediately follows (unless accompanied by immediate grace).

LIII. Though the impotence of man were purely moral, it would not follow that it could be healed by moral reason alone through objective grace solely. Nay, since it is inexpugnable in the sphere of morals, it demands some power stronger than a moral power (i.e., a hyperphysical and divine) to conquer it. Nor can a remedy be brought to it by moral reasons more than to one naturally dead by natural means. Nor if the suasion of the Devil's word alone begat that impotence can it forthwith be taken away by the sole suasion of the divine word. In his upright state, mutability was essential to man, by which he could easily be turned from good to evil. But in his corrupt nature, no strength anymore remains to rise from the vilest to the best estate. (2) It is gratuitously supposed that a merely moral impotence was contracted by sin, since it both is and may well be called physical also (as was proved Topic X, Question 4), both because it is in us by nature, and it is invincible and insuperable to man no less than merely natural; and because it introduces a real and physical disorder and corruption, not indeed into the substance of the soul itself (as Flaccius Illyricus held, whose comment is deservedly exploded, nor can it be charged upon us except most falsely), but into the faculties themselves, both the lower appetites (by a rebellion of the affections) and the higher faculties of the mind and will (through depraved habits born with them). These cannot (unless by a hyperphysical and most efficacious operation) be restored to integrity so as to be turned from sensible and corruptible good to the eternal and spiritual.

LIV. Immediate grace (as taught by the orthodox) has nothing in common with enthusiasm (*enthusiasmus*), but differs from it in various ways. (1) Enthusiasm seeks new revelations outside of the word; but immediate grace seeks none because it always attends the word (nor does it do anything else than impress it upon the mind). (2) In enthusiasm, the objects impressed upon the mind do not come from without, but are suggested internally by the Spirit through secret inspirations. But here the object is supposed always to come from without and to be drawn from the word. (3) Enthusiasm takes place by sudden movements which precede and often exclude meditation and reasoning themselves. But the operation of the Spirit does not exclude, but draws with itself reasoning and the grateful consent of the will. Finally (not to offer now any more points of difference), enthusiasm does not produce a change of heart but affects the mind while the will remains always unchanged. Hence it also falls upon the impious (as

in the case of Balaam and others), but the operation of grace necessarily implies a change of heart and a desire for holiness.

LV. Since the Spirit, who operates immediately in us, is the same in all the elect (inspires them with a love of the truth and with obedience of faith, bestows upon them other gifts), he is falsely traduced as a private Spirit. This is most unjustly charged upon us by the Romanists.

LVI. Although deliberate and rational motions of the appetite suppose a previous knowledge of the intellect in a natural and well-consitituted order, it does not follow that it is always so in a perturbed order and in the state of sin. There are various undeliberate motions arising from corrupt affections which pervert the very judgment of the intellect; nay, impel and determine it to corruption according to the trite saying, "Each one judges as he is affected." Hence by the judgment alone intellects cannot be corrected, but they ought to be cured by immediate grace.

LVII. Although the mode according to which immediate grace acts in us can be neither perfectly conceived nor expressed, its truth must not on that account be denied. There are innumerable things, the truth of which cannot be denied by anyone and yet their mode can evidently be understood by no one.

Fifth Question

Whether in the first moment of conversion man is merely passive or whether his will cooperates in some measure with the grace of God. The former we affirm and deny the latter against all Synergists

I. This question lies between us and the Romanists, Socinians, Remonstrants and other offshoots of the Pelagians and Semipelagians who, not to injure or remove the free will of man in calling, maintain that it has a certain cooperation (*synergeian*) and concourse with the grace of God. Hence they are called Synergists.

II. The question does not concern the second stage of conversion in which it is certain that man is not merely passive, but cooperates with God (or rather operates under him). Indeed he actually believes and converts himself to God; while being acted upon, he acts; and being regenerated and moved by God, he moves himself to the exercise of the new life. Rather the

question concerns the first moment when he is converted and receives new life by regeneration. We contend that he is merely passive in this, as a receiving subject and not as an acting principle.

III. Again, the question is not whether man is able to convert himself without grace. The Romanists acknowledge the necessity of a certain prevenient and exciting grace; nor would anyone dare to assert this, unless he wholly denied the taint of original sin. Rather the question is whether he is able to cooperate with that exciting grace.

IV. The question is not whether any dispositions are necessary in man by which he may be prepared for conversion. We confess that in spiritual no less than in natural generation, we reach spiritual birth by many preceding operations and that God (who wills to perform that work in man not by violent seizures, or enthusiastical movements, but in a way suitable to our nature; and who carries it on not in one moment, but successively and by degrees) uses various dispositions by which man is little by little prepared for the reception of saving grace (at least in ordinary calling). Thus there are various acts antecedent to conversion and, as it were, steps to the thing (*gradus ad rem*) before he is brought to the state of regeneration, either external, which can be done by man (such as to enter a church, to hear the word and the like), or internal, which are excited by grace in the hearts of those not yet converted (such as the reception and apprehension of the presented word, a knowledge of the divine will, a certain sense of sin, the fear of punishment and a desire of deliverance). Rather the question is whether in the very moment of conversion and as to the steps of the thing (*gradus rei*), man has anything from himself with which he can cooperate with efficacious grace so that the work can be ascribed not only to grace, but also to free will excited by grace. This the Romanists and other Pelagianizers affirm; we deny it with the orthodox. The latter recognize no efficient cause properly so called other than God himself regenerating or the Spirit of regeneration. And they make man to be regenerated the merely passive subject of the regenerating Spirit and of the new qualities infused by him (although after the new qualities have already been infused, he holds himself as the free active instrument of his own actions).

V. The Socinians (who with Pelagius deny original sin propagated in us by impure generation and assert that whatever depravity or taint is in us is contracted by frequent acts of sin and a certain custom of sinning)

recognize no other regeneration than a change of a depraved custom and life and a reformation according to the doctrine of Christ (as Socinus, *De Baptismo aquae Disputatio* [1613] and Smalcius, *De Christo vero et Naturali Dei Filio* 2 [1616], pp. 13–18 define it). Therefore according to this, they hold that even in the first moment, man cooperates with God.

VI. As to the Romanists, the Council of Trent clearly expresses its own opinion: "If anyone says that the free will of man moved and excited by God cooperates not at all, by assenting to God exciting and calling, by which it disposes and prepares itself for obtaining the grace of justification and cannot dissent if it wishes, but as an inanimate something does not act at all and is merely passive, let him be anathema" (Session 6, Canon 4, "Concerning Justification," Schroeder, pp. 42–43). So too Tirinus: "To be excited, drawn, invited by God, is not free to me, for they are the motions sent to us immediately from God alone. Still I am free to consent or not to consent to him exciting and to follow or not to follow him drawing and exercising suasion" (*Theologicae elenchticae ... controversiarum fidei*, Cont. 14, no. 4 [1648], p. 152).

VII. However because our adversaries frequently distinguish grace into "exciting and assisting, operating and cooperating, prevenient and subsequent," we must before all things ascertain in what sense it can either be admitted or ought to be rejected. If by exciting, operating and prevenient grace, they understand the first movement of efficacious grace by which we are excited from the death of sin to a new life and really converted before any cooperation and concourse of our will; and by assisting, cooperating, and subsequent, its second movement, which is cooperated with by the converted and assists them to act, we would readily admit this distinction. For we see that Augustine often employed it: "We read of both in the sacred writings, both his mercy goes before me and it follows me; it goes before the one unwilling that he may will successfully" (*Enchiridion* 9 [32] [FC 3:397; PL 40.248]). And in the same place, he tells us that it was rightly said by the apostle: "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy, so that the whole is due to God, who both prepares a good will of man to be assisted and assists it when prepared" (ibid.). "That we may, therefore, will, he operates without us; when, however, we will, and so will as to do, he cooperates with us; still without him either operating that we may will or cooperating when we will, we

have no ability to do the good works of piety" (*On Grace and Free Will* 33 [17] [NPNF1, 5:458; PL 44.901]). But it is employed in a different sense by them, so that by exciting, prevenient and operating, they mean only sufficient grace acting by illumination and moral suasion (which does not subject the free will to itself so as to efficaciously incline and determine it to acting, but is subjected to the free will so that it is always in its power to receive or reject that grace; to consent to or dissent from it), and by cooperating grace, that which cooperates with the yet unconverted will, and with which in turn the will not as yet converted cooperates. Bellarmine plainly intimates this when he says, "He calls all that they may come to him, not that they can come by the powers of nature alone, but to put them in mind that they should cooperate with prevenient grace" ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 2.3 *Opera* [1858], 4:300). The Synergists openly acknowledge this; cf. Jansen, "De gratia Christi salvatoris," 4 in *Augustinus* (1640/1964), pp. 393–485, who treats this argument fully and shows how far they recede from the opinion of Augustine (who also uses this distinction).

VIII. However, we more fitly distinguish the grace of God, not into "grace giving to the grateful" or "making grateful" (to wit, the gratuitous love of God by which he follows us in Christ and to which we hold ourselves objectively); but "given to the grateful" (which embraces all saving benefits flowing into us from him gratuitously, giving as from a most copious fountain. Such grace inheres in us, into first that by which we are efficaciously called from a state of sin and brought into a state of grace (which is well called prevenient and operating, but in a sounder sense than by the Romanists) and second that by which being already converted we are strengthened and directed in the state of grace (which is appropriately called in an orthodox sense cooperating and subsequent).

The cooperation of man is impugned: (1) by his corruption.

IX. These points being fixed, we proceed to confirm our opinion and build it up on four principal arguments. The first is drawn from the greatness of our corruption, which excludes all cooperation on our part. We are by

nature sinners and children of wrath, nothing but flesh, whose imagination is evil even from infancy (Jn. 3:6; Eph. 2:3; Gen. 6:5); who cannot even think anything good of ourselves (2 Cor. 3:5); dead in sins (Eph. 2:1); bearing a stony heart (Ezk. 36:26) and in general laboring under a total impotence to good (Rom. 5:6). Therefore we can neither cooperate nor dispose ourselves to conversion; cf. objections in Topic X, on free will, Question 4.

2. By the nature of regeneration.

X. (2) By the nature of regeneration; since this is a change or renovation of nature, it ought to be the work of God alone and not of man. Both because that regeneration is simply impossible for man (1 Cor. 2:14; Rom. 8:7; Jer. 13:23) and because as in the beginning he alone created man after his image, so in it he alone can reform him (Col. 3:10). And as in natural generation, children cannot beget themselves, or contribute anything to their birth, but are merely passive, so in supernatural regeneration no one can regenerate himself, but it is the work of our heavenly Father alone. Hence it is everywhere taken away from man and ascribed to God (Ps. 100:3; Jn. 1:12, 13; Jam. 1:18; 1 Pet. 1:3, 23; Jn. 3:5, 6; Tit. 3:5).

3. By the infinity of power required in it.

XI. (3) By the infinity of power required in it; it is a work of divine omnipotence, which on this account belongs to God alone and cannot be ascribed to the finite human will as its proper cause. Hence it is called a "creation" (2 Cor. 5:17) and a "resurrection" (Col. 2:12), which can admit of no cooperation (*synergeian*) anymore than they who are created and raised can cooperate in their own creation and resurrection.

4. By the attendant absurdities.

XII. (4) By the absurdities attending it; on this supposition, the glory of conversion is divided between the creature and the Creator and man would have in himself matter for glorying because he had made himself to differ and would possess something which he had not received. The falsity of this,

however, the apostle Paul often and expressly testifies (1 Cor. 4:7; Eph. 2:8, 9; Rom. 3:27; 4:1, 2).

Sources of explanation.

XIII. First Corinthians 15:10 does not help the Synergists. (1) Paul treats of his own ministry, not of conversion. (2) He refers all the success of the work, not to himself, but to grace. Paul does not say that grace had labored with him that he might come with it into a fellowship of praise and of labor; but on the contrary, he refers to that which he had said concerning himself —that he had labored more than all (by which *epanorthosis* he wishes to give the entire praise to the grace which was with him). On this account, the words *hē charis tou theou hē syn emoi* are not to be rendered (with the Vulgate) "the grace of God with me" (supply "wrought," as a Lapide and Tirinus hold), but "the grace of God, which is with me" (which the force of the article intimates to signify that whatever labor he performed, he wished to be ascribed not to himself, but to the grace of God which was with him).

XIV. It is one thing to speak of the cooperation of men with God in the work of ministry; another of their cooperation in the work of conversion. In the former sense, they are called "co-workers with God" (*synergoi theou*, 2 Cor. 6:1; 1 Cor. 3:9) because God uses their labors and ministry in preaching the gospel and edifying the church, although in the bestowal of life and blessings and increase God has no co-worker (*synergon*, 1 Cor. 3:9*). But in the latter sense, no one can be called a fellow worker with God in the first stage of conversion, in which the power to believe is given unto us.

XV. When the Spirit is said "to help our infirmities" (Rom. 8:26), it does not refer to those about to be converted, but to converts and believers whose infirmities the Spirit assists, especially when he intercedes for them and teaches them to pray (not knowing how). If men are said to be assisted by God, it must not be referred to the first and prevenient grace by which they are converted, but to the concomitant by which, when converted, they are bound to promote and work out their own salvation.

XVI. It is one thing for man to have a free will; another to be able to cooperate with grace through his free will. We do not deny that man when first converted has free will, otherwise he would not even be a man. But we

deny that he can cooperate with God or hold himself indifferent to the receiving or rejecting of his grace.

XVII. Although man cannot cooperate with God calling, it does not follow either that all diligence and zeal in the exercise and cherishing of faith is taken away or that the precepts and promises have no place; or that they are not to be praised who will to believe and repent and that they do not sin who are unwilling. (1) The diligence and zeal of man do not pertain to man's cooperating with God when he is first converted; but that, excited and converted by God, he may act and work out his own salvation. (2) The precepts and promises are rules of duty, not a measure of strength and no faculty is derived from the precept or strength from duty. For God most wisely admonishes man both of his duty and impotence by his commands and employs them as means to bring about what he commands.

XVIII. Although in his regeneration man preexists (which cannot be said of natural generation), he exists as the passive subject of another's operation, not as the principle of his own operation. And if he puts forth vital acts, they belong to the natural and animal life, not to the spiritual life of grace (in respect of which he is said to be wholly dead).

XIX. So far is the will of man from being injured by the grace of God (the cooperation of man having been excluded) that it is the rather made perfect when delivered from the bondage of sin into the liberty of grace (God, who made the will, not taking away its nature and mode of acting, but confirming it). Nor (unless absurdly) is it said to be turned into a log, since it is not only the rational (*logikon*) subject (which is capacious and conscious of grace), but also the living and moral instrument (which God uses to perfect actual conversion in him)—either of which cannot be said of a log.

XX. Although the Holy Spirit is repeatedly promised and given also to believers now renewed and converted (as to the progress and increase of regenerating grace [Lk. 11:13; Jn. 7:38, 39] to promote and perfect the good work which began in them; or to the confirmation and sealing of the same grace even unto the day of redemption and as to the gift of consolation, referred to in Eph. 1:13, 14), it does not follow that it is not also given to the unrenewed for regeneration, as the Spirit of regeneration and illumination. Yea, since regeneration cannot be produced except by the

Spirit (Jn. 3:5, 6), who is the author of our spiritual life (Gal. 5:25), it is supposed necessarily to be given.

XXI. The actual mortification of the old and the vivification of the new man, consisting in the laying aside of vices and the emendation of life and morals (to which man cooperates), follows indeed habitual regeneration as its proper fruit (Gal. 5:22, 23; Col. 3:5) and cannot be separated from it. Still it is distinguished from it as the effect from the cause and an act from a habit (Eph. 2:10; Rom. 6:4; Ezk. 36:26; Jer. 32:39). For we are made new creatures by God that we may thus walk in newness of life.

Sixth Question

Whether efficacious grace operates only by a certain moral suasion which man is able either to receive or to reject. Or whether it operates by an invincible and omnipotent suasion which the will of man cannot resist. The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists and Arminians

I. This is the principal hinge of the controversy, agitated after the Romanists by the Arminians concerning the mode of conversion (which was defined by the Synod of Dort, *Acta Synodi Nationalis ... Dordrechti*, Head III–IV [1619–20], 1:297–300).

Statement of the question.

II. On the state of the question, it must be observed: (1) that the question is not whether grace concurs to the production of faith, but in what manner and how long it concurs. For the Arminians seem to grant all things to grace and confess that free will can do nothing of itself. But when they come to an explanation of the mode, according to which grace acts, then they maintain that it always so operates that man is free either to admit it or to reject it, either to draw or not to draw the bolt. Hence of two to whom the same grace is offered, if one is converted while the other remains unbelieving, the reason is not to be found (according to them) in the grace (which is the same), but in the disposition of the subject or man, because the one draws the bolt, the other does not (i.e., one rejects the grace which the other admits). Thus what they seem to give largely with one hand

(preaching that the beginning, progress and complement of all our good is from grace), they secretly steal away with the other, maintaining that the mode of that operation is "resistible" (under which word they hide the consent and cooperation of the will by which man can always either reject or receive grace—i.e., make himself to differ).

III. Now although the expressions "resistibility" and "irresistibility" of grace are both barbarous and little adapted to unfold what is sought (for by them, that is called resistible which can be hindered), still since it is one thing to resist, another to overcome, we are compelled to use them *ad hominem* that we may draw off the mask from our adversaries (who under this novelty of words, endeavor to propagate the poison of an ancient heresy).

IV. (2) The question does not concern the power of resisting (or the inchoate and incomplete resistance)—whether man is able to resist God calling and actually resists him. For this we willingly grant and experience to our great detriment—that man not only can resist, but is not able not to resist. Rather the question concerns a total and complete resistance or the success of the resistance (to wit, whether man can so far resist, or actually does resist, as to conquer and overcome grace, and the will always remain undecided). This our opponents assert and we deny.

V. (3) The question does not concern external and objective grace—whether man can resist the word and other external means employed by the Spirit for his conversion. For no one denies that resistance can be so made to them that they often remain useless and inefficacious. Rather the question concerns internal and subjective grace—whether when God applies it for conversion, man can so struggle against it that the event intended by God does not follow.

VI. (4) The question is not whether grace is resistible in respect of the intellect or affections; for the Arminians confess that the intellect of man is irresistibly enlightened and his affections irresistibly excited and affected with the sense of grace. But it is treated of the will alone, which they maintain is always moved resistibly, so that its assent remains always free. There is granted indeed irresistibly the power to believe and convert itself, but the very act of believing and converting itself can be put forth or hindered by the human will because they hold that there is in it an essential indifference (*adiaphorian*) as to admitting or rejecting grace. The falsity of

this has been demonstrated in its proper place. Thus we strenuously deny that efficacious grace is resistible in this sense.

VII. The question then returns to this—whether the mode of operation of efficacious grace is always resistible. That is—whether all the operations of grace being supplied (which God employs to effect conversion in us), still that conversion remains so in the power of man that he can close or not close the door (i.e., receive or reject it) and thus convert or not convert himself. This our opponents hold, while we deny. Nay, we maintain that efficacious grace so works in man that although he cannot help resisting from the beginning, still he can never resist it so far as to finally overcome it and hinder the work of conversion.

The irresistibility of grace is proved: (1) on the part of man;

VIII. The reasons are: first, on the part of man—he labors under a total and invincible impotence for good (as has been fully proved in Topic X, Question 4), which is expressed at one time by death, then by blindness, again by a heart of stone and similar phrases. As it cannot be overcome by moral suasion alone (acting only objectively), but requires an omnipotent power (operating effectively if not physically, yet supernaturally and divinely), it thus supposes nothing in man by which he can receive grace and render it efficacious from resistible. For what disposition can there be in a dead man for living, in one blind for seeing, in a stone for feeling? And as for the operation of the senses when they are impaired, the proposition of an object is not sufficient, but the healing of the impaired faculty itself is required antecedently in order that it may rightly apprehend the object and elicit its own act (as was shown above in Question 4). Thus in the faculties of the rational soul corrupted by sin, the proposition of a moral object does not suffice. There is required in addition an efficacious physical or rather hyperphysical renovation of the corrupted faculty.

2. On the part of God.

IX. Second, on the part of God converting—he employs in this work such efficacy and power, as is evidently insuperable (which on this account is described by the most emphatic [*emphatikōtatois*] terms and implies an invincible force and infallible success: as when he is said "to create" men [Ps. 51:10; 2 Cor. 5:17; Eph. 2:10]; "to regenerate" [Jn. 3:5; Tit. 3:5; 1 Pet. 1:3]; "to raise again" [Eph. 1:19, 20; 2:4, 5; Col. 2:12, 13]; "to take away the heart of stone and give a heart of flesh" [Ezk. 36:26]; "to draw" them [Jn. 6:44]). Therefore, as no one can resist a creator, begetter and raiser, so neither can they resist God converting. Although the action of God in our conversion does not agree in all respects with creation, resurrection and generation (and various differences occur here), the force of the argument cannot be broken. In similar metaphors, the circumstances are not to be pressed (in which there can be many disparities); rather the scope only is to be attended (which is no other than to describe the immense and invincible efficacy of grace which exerts itself in the conversion of men like the power which God employs in creation and resurrection). Nor do those magnificent descriptions of this operation (repeated so often by the apostle) have any other reference: as when he says, "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor. 4:6*); and when he asserts that he employs in our conversion the same power which he used in raising Christ from the dead—"That you may know what is the exceeding greatness of his power he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead" (Eph. 1:19, 20). Here Paul so extols the power of God that he seems never to satisfy himself. Not only does he mention power, but (that we should not suppose it was here common and ordinary) he adds greatness (*megethos*) of power and indeed exceeding power (*hyperballon*) (i.e., surpassing our comprehension). And as if this was not sufficient, he subjoins the omnipotent and invincible mode in which this immense power operates, not only by mild suasion, but "according to the working of the power of his strength" (*kata tēn energeian tou kratous tēs ischuos*) (i.e., of his mightiest strength, an example of which was seen in the resurrection of Christ), so that the same infinite power which exercised itself in the raising of Christ ought to operate equally in raising men from the grave of sin. Now if God acts no further in converting us than to leave man undecided, so that it is in his own power to admit or reject grace, what need was there for that

piling up of words and with what appearance of truth could he say that that invincible power is exercised in us after the manner of the resurrection of Christ? Indeed either all these things have no meaning or they demonstrate the irresistibility and insuperable efficacy of grace.

X. Nor can it be said as the Remonstrants wish: (1) "that he treats of the resurrection of the body, not of the conversion of the soul." The scope and the connection of the words manifestly show that he treats of our conversion and by no means of our resurrection. This is confirmed where the apostle, returning to his proposition, says, "Even when we were dead in sins, he hath quickened us together with Christ" (Eph. 2:5), which cannot be understood of the resurrection; nor can the following: "we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus" (v. 10). Finally, if he had wished to denote the resurrection, he would not have said that power is exerted in us now; rather he would have said it will only be exerted in the future.

XI. (2) "That he treats not of the production of faith because he addresses believers who already believed, but of the conservation and increase of faith" (as in 2 Thess. 1:11). Although he addresses those who are already believers, it does not prevent him from recalling to their memories the manner in which they believed and the invincible power of God by which they believed (that on this account they might be the more excited to glorify God). Again, if so great a power is required in its conservation and increase, no less (yea, a far greater) is required for its production. (3) "That the act of conversion cannot depend upon God alone, as a resuscitation of the dead depends upon the raiser alone because it is enjoined upon and often ascribed to man himself." But although it is enjoined upon man as a debt due, this does not hinder God from claiming it as his peculiar work. God by commanding such things as he himself will give shows the obedience due and partly gives it also by commanding it. And although actual conversion is ascribed to man in the second stage (because being acted upon he acts), nevertheless habitual conversion is never ascribed to man in the first stage.

XII. The passages which explain our calling by a "drawing" clearly prove the same efficacy: "No man can come to me, except the Father draw him" (Jn. 6:44). For if anyone properly considers this expression, he will readily discover that it cannot consist with the faculty of dissenting if you wish. For he to whom that faculty is left can indeed be said to be "led," but

not to be "drawn" (which indeed denotes no coercion and violence because from unwilling man becomes willing); rather it implies the infallibility of the event so that he who is drawn necessarily follows and cannot help coming—"Draw me," says the spouse, "and I will run after thee" (Cant. 1:4); and where he describes the effect of this drawing—"Every man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me" (Jn. 6:45). In the latter, two things of the highest importance are taught: (1) the necessity of grace, without which it is impossible to come to Christ (i.e., to believe) because no one can come unless he is drawn; (2) the efficacy and insuperability of the same because whoever is drawn and taught by the Father comes to Christ. Augustine well remarks: "He does not say, 'hath led,' that we should understand there that the will in some way precedes. Who is drawn, if he is already willing? And yet no one comes unless he wills. Therefore he is drawn in wonderful modes that he may will, by him who knows how to work internally upon the very wills of men, not that men unwilling may believe (an impossibility), but that they may become willing from unwilling" (*Against Two Letters of the Pelagians* 1.37 [19] [NPNF1, 5:389; PL 44.568]).

XIII. It cannot be objected here: "All are indeed drawn who believe, but not they alone." The words themselves prove the contrary; for as by saying, "No one comes to Christ, except him whom the Father hath drawn" (Jn. 6:44), he proves that only those drawn by the Father come to Christ, so by adding, "Whoever hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me" (v. 45), he asserts that all who are drawn necessarily and infallibly come. These two propositions mutually help each other, so that they alone and all the drawn may be said to believe in Christ. No more solid is the objection: "That drawing is not irresistible because it is made by hearing and learning, neither of which can be done in an irresistible manner." The institution of men differs from that of God. Men do not draw by teaching since they can exercise suasion but not persuasion; while they who are taught of God are drawn (i.e., they necessarily follow and obey because they are taught not only mediately by the word, but immediately and internally by the Spirit [1 Jn. 2:20] and by being taught they are drawn). "His own pleasure draws each one," says the poet (Virgil, *Eclogue* 2.65 [Loeb, 1:14–15]). "The mind is drawn even by love," says Augustine ("Tractate 26.4" *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:169; PL 35.1608]).

Demonstration does not compel, but draws and influences by a friendly necessity. When God teaches, he demonstrates (i.e., not only exhorts and moves, but persuades and carries through); when man learns from God, he is not indeed drawn with twisted neck, but is conquered by the truth and vanquished by a triumphant delight, than which nothing is sweeter, nothing more efficacious. Hence he says all hearers come (i.e., not only obtain the power to come, but the act itself). Augustine properly remarks, "Every man that hath learned of the Father, not only can come, but comes, when now both the possibility and affection of the will and effect of the action is attained" (*On the Grace of Christ* 1.15 [14*] [NPNF1, 5:223; PL 44.368]). So that here the greatest sweetness is conjoined with the highest efficacy, the former indeed by doctrine and the latter by drawing (i.e., such a doctrine as is true forcible conviction [*peithanankē*], which by influencing persuades and turns to obedience). Finally to no purpose is it added, "If the drawing signifies an action produced in man before he can come to Christ, he will be already converted before he comes to him (i.e., converted before he is converted)." For what hinders us from saying converted in the first stage (i.e., born again) before he is converted in the second stage? Yea, it is necessary for God to come to us before we can go to him that he may apprehend and prevent us by his mercy before we apprehend him—that he may be found of those not seeking him (Is. 65:1). For no one is a believer except the one who has obtained mercy from God.

3. Because God gives a new heart.

XIV. Third, the invincible operation of God is taught in the passages in which God is said to give us a new heart and to take away the heart of stone and to make us walk in his statutes: "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes" (Ezk. 36:26, 27). Here the arguments are as weighty as the words are many. "I will give," he says, not only offer and prepare; a "heart," not only a mind, but the very sanctuary of the soul; "a new heart," not, I will patch up the old and change it into a better, but I will give an entirely new and another; not uniting mine with your heart, but removing wholly the hard, dry and totally senseless

stony heart; "I will put in you an heart of flesh" (i.e., flexible, soft and obedient, endowed with active feeling); and that this grace may be more powerful and efficacious, "I will put my Spirit," not I will make it to pass like a stranger, but will put it as a Lord and ruler, not in your nostrils, but "within you" to exercise a governing power in you. And lest you should suppose that only the power of doing well is conferred upon you, I will procure the act itself; "I will cause to walk in my statutes," not I will exhort, but I will persuade; not I will impel that you may be able in the way you wish, but "I will cause you to walk," I will work in you to will and to do, I will cause you to do. Now what place could there be for such a magnificent promise if God acts in us only by mild suasion and resistibly? Who does not see that the invincible and insuperable grace of God cannot be expressed by different words? It is the same with the promise in Jer. 31:31ff. where God promises that under the new covenant he will write his law upon the hearts of his people that all may know the Lord. This assuredly denotes not a resistible, but an invincible action which most certainly obtains its effect. For God inscribing the law, it must be inscribed and believers must be taught and converted.

XV. Fruitless is the objection: (1) "that the grace of conversion cannot be described in these passages because God always gave to the elect even under the old covenant a new heart, while here a special blessing is promised peculiar to the new covenant." Although the giving of faith and a new heart is not a blessing peculiar to certain elect persons, but common to all, still some privilege must here be recognized with respect to believers of the New Testament dispensation—if not as to the thing, at least as to the mode and degree of the thing, inasmuch as he gives a new heart far more illustriously and solemnly and to a far greater number than under the Old Testament. Now what are not illustrious, sometimes the reason of them is not given in the Scriptures, as if they were not; as "the Spirit" is said "not yet to have been given" (Jn. 7:39) because he had not been given so gloriously and copiously. (2) "That a giving of the heart is commanded" (Ezk. 18:31). That is commanded as the duty of man which is promised as a blessing of God. By the precept is signified what man owes; by the promise whence he ought to expect what he cannot have from himself. Besides since such a command is addressed to those already called, they are not ordered to make a new heart for themselves so much in the beginning of conversion,

as in its progress by the desire of sanctification and repentance. Finally, on the hypothesis of the Arminians, God commands also that we should have a spiritual understanding and affections kindled to spiritual good and yet they hold that these are breathed into us by God in an irresistible way. (3) "That these promises are not absolute but conditional" (Ezk. 11:18–21). A condition is indeed proposed and required by God, but this he himself supplies and creates in the elect by the secret power of the Spirit. The Spirit, therefore, is promised to those who put away the things that ought to be put away, not because they had done this before (for how could they do it before God removed the heart of stone, the cause of all these abominations), but that they may be endowed with the power of the Spirit so that this removal is a condition consequent, not antecedent (which itself also in this place is promised rather than demanded). The reason is plain. This promise contains the principle of all good in man and the cause of all that is demanded from him (to wit, the Holy Spirit, who not only perfects, but also begins in us every good work). (4) "That this promise was made to the whole people and yet in many was not fulfilled, since a hardening of Israel occurred." If not fulfilled in Israel according to the flesh (because all are not Israel who are of Israel, Rom. 9:6), still it was most certainly and infallibly fulfilled and is fulfilled every day in Israel according to the Spirit (who are the true people to whom the promise was made, whom God foreknew, Rom. 11:2; 1 Pet. 2:9).

4. Because God gives the very act of willing.

XVI. Fourth, God gives us not only the power of believing or of doing well, but the very act: "Unto you is given not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake" (*to eis auton pisteuein, alla kai to hyper autou paschein*, Phil. 1:29); "It is God which worketh in you both to will and to do" (*ho energōn to thelein kai to energein*, Phil. 2:13); "May God make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight" (Heb. 13:21). Here also belong other passages where it is said that faith is "the gift of God" (Eph. 2:8) and that "God gives repentance" (Acts 11:18). Now if God not only appeals to and exhorts, but himself works (*energei*) in us; not only works the power but the very act of willing and believing, who does not see that his action is irresistible which

necessarily produces its own effect? For if man can always resist or can actually resist, this would undoubtedly be done because the will willed to resist. And yet how can the will will to resist (i.e., be unwilling to admit grace, in which God efficaciously works to will)? And this is that remarkable special grace granted to the elect in the covenant of grace, by which they not only can believe if they will, but will since they can. This the Catholics constantly maintain against the Pelagians: "God commands man to will; but the Lord works in man even to will: he commands him to do, but he works even to do" (Epist. Synod. Afric. Episcop.; cf. Fulgentius, Letter 15, "Episcopi Africani" 13 [PL 65.440]).

XVII. Nor must it be said here: (1) "An act is said to be given, when it is given so that we can perform it." On the contrary (from the canon of philosophers), "From the power to the act, the consequence does not hold good." God gave to Adam the power not to sin, but he did not on that account give him the act of not sinning; otherwise he never would have sinned. Nor must it be said: (2) "That action of God is not irresistible because it ought to be connected with the operation of man, who ought also to work out his own salvation and indeed with fear and trembling." The zeal and obedience of man does not exclude but supposes the necessity of irresistible grace—that man not only may be able to perform it, but may actually perform it according to the promise of the new covenant. Fear and trembling are no more inconsistent with the irresistibility of the cause than with the certainty and infallibility of the event perceived by us (with which the very example of Christ teaches us it can consist: he, although sure of victory, still was seized with fear, as we read in Heb. 5:7, 8). And on this account the more because that is not a fear of uncertain doubt and distrust, but of humility and pious solicitude (which is one of the means by which God produces in us most efficaciously that willing and doing). Nor must it be said: (3) "The act of faith cannot be irresistibly effected because it would thus not be an action, but a passion." This divine action does not injure but strengthens the liberty of the will, and nothing hinders the same action from being performed freely (i.e., of his own accord by man) and yet being done by the invincible grace of God, which in the highest degree reconciles the infallibility of the event with the liberty of the will. For God so acts in us as not to overturn the singular nature of things, but to leave to each its proper method of acting: "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty" (2 Cor.

3:17). Therefore in what way soever the act of believing is introduced by God, still because it is exercised by man, it is ascribed to man. Nor must it be said: (4) "Not faith, but salvation is said to be the gift of God" (Eph. 2:8). If salvation is the gift of God, then also faith itself, which is the first part of salvation. Again because believers are said to be "the work of God created in Christ" (v. 10), it necessarily includes faith as the principle of our regeneration; otherwise if faith were not the gift of God, man could glory in himself (contrary to the apostle). Nor must it be said: (5) "It treats of those already believing and converted for whom Paul prays" (Heb. 13:21; 2 Thess. 1:11). For if we cannot, even when converted, do the will of God unless he works it in us, how much less before and in conversion itself?

5. From absurdities.

XVIII. Fifth, we argue from the absurd consequences of the opinion of our opponents. (1) If grace always works resistibly in us so that it depends upon the free will of man to either use this or resist that, it will follow that in conversion more is to be ascribed to the will of man than to God and that he who uses grace rightly makes himself to differ from others (contrary to Paul, 1 Cor. 4:7) and has some cause for glorying. For if after all the operations of grace, the will of man is left in equilibrium, it necessarily follows that not God through grace, but man through free will is the principal cause of faith and conversion; he contributes what is the greater, God contributing the lesser. Again, if the will is left doubtful in order that it may determine itself, who does not see that man is properly the cause of his own distinction, since grace which is held to be common and resistible could not accomplish this? And since suasion acts only objectively, it cannot be considered the efficient cause, but man must be. And yet Paul, on the contrary, says, "Who maketh thee to differ from another? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive? Now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?" But although the apostle there treats of the difference between eminent teachers and those who had received fewer gifts, there is nothing to hinder it from being applied in the highest sense to the difference between believers. For the expression is general and what is said concerning one class of goods, the same is said truly of all others both natural and supernatural—especially of the grace of election,

which is the greatest of all and the root and cause of the rest. Again from the lesser, if the believer can do nothing in acquiring or increasing his graces (concerning which he can glory), how much less in laying the foundation of faith, which is far more difficult?

XIX. (2) This opinion weakens the diligence of prayer and gracious actions. For why should believers seek from God the act of faith and conversion, if it depended not upon grace but upon their own free will? And how could they thank God for this gift if they owed it to their own will and not to the power of God? Nothing occurs more frequently with Paul than desires and prayers, no less than gracious actions (which he puts forth for the faith and conversion of men, Eph. 1:17; 3:16, 17; 1 Thess. 3:12, 13; 5:23; 2 Thess. 1:11; Heb. 13:21; Rom. 1:8; 1 Cor. 1:4, 5, 7; Eph. 1:3, 15, 16; 2 Cor. 1:3, 4; 2 Thess. 1:3). And yet if the act of faith is always in man's power (however great the grace of God employed), for what purpose is it sought from God or is thanks rendered for it?

XX. (3) The prescience of God would thus be rendered uncertain and doubtful. For if all these operations of grace having been exercised (by which the will was formed and fitted to be moved), yet the will on account of its innate liberty cannot be moved, he could not certainly know in what direction it would incline because there can be no certain knowledge of a thing which can be otherwise (as has been fully proved in Volume I, Topic III, Question 13, concerning middle knowledge, Section 12).

XXI. (4) The grace of Adam would thus be confounded with the grace of Christ. For it was given to Adam also to be able to stand, as to us it is given to be able to believe. Our condition, therefore, under grace will not be better than his lot in nature; or less exposed to chance and mutability. However it is evident that there is a great difference between nature and grace: the former always mutable, the latter always certain and immutable because in the former man was left in the hand of judgment, but in the latter he is guarded by the power of God. Nor has he only from God a help *sine qua non* (i.e., the power of acting well) but also a help by which (that is, the very act also to will what he can).

XXII. (5) Thus God will not operate more efficaciously in the conversion of men than Satan operates in their seduction because Satan also uses suasion, exhortations, promises and threats to pervert men. Nor can the reason of the difference lie in this—that God promises eternal and

incorruptible goods and Satan only temporal and corruptible goods. Although they are false and perishable goods which he promises, still he exhibits them as true and eternal, ensuring the happiness of man (as when he promised our first parents that they would be as gods). Again, whatsoever goods are promised, the mode of action with God remains always the same, if he acts in no other than a suasive and resistible manner. Nor if Satan (acting resistibly) perverts far more, does it follow that God also acting irresistibly does not act stronger than he. The case of sin (in which man lies and to which he is most inclined by his own nature, even without the impulse of Satan) differs from that of holiness to which sinful man is so averse that he cannot be brought to it except by a certain omnipotent power. And although those are far fewer who feel it in comparison with the reprobate, Satan must not on that account be said to be stronger than God because this does not arise from impotence, but from liberty (according to which he decreed to exert that efficacy of grace only in these few).

Sources of explanation.

XXIII. It is one thing to resist the Holy Spirit externally commanding in the word; another, however, to resist him operating in the heart. One thing to resist the Spirit convincing and coercing only; another to resist him converting and renewing also. The Jews indeed are said to have resisted the Holy Spirit in the former way: not in the latter (Acts 7:51). This is clear from the following words ("Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? And they have slain them which shewed before of the coming of the Just One?") and from the example of Stephen. For they resisted the Holy Spirit speaking by Stephen because they were unwilling to receive his word; nay, they rushed upon him like wild beasts (which is the force of the word *antipiptein*). It is indeed said that they were not able to resist the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spake (Acts 6:10, 11), but then to resist does not properly signify to be opposed to or to stand against, but to overcome or to conquer (as in Lk. 21:15). Although these Jews were convicted by the force of the truth by Stephen speaking by the Holy Spirit, it does not follow that the Spirit employed all that grace which was necessary for conversion. There was required in addition a circumcision of

the heart or of the soul, which they are here said to have lacked (Acts 7:51), no less than their fathers (Dt. 29:4).

XXIV. Although the Holy Spirit had not decreed or intended to convert them, still no less can they be said to have resisted the Holy Spirit (not indeed intending their conversion, but prescribing their duty and showing the way of salvation and using all external means necessary for their conversion). Therefore they resisted the revealed will, which is the rule of duty; not the hidden will, which decrees events. Nor, if they could not believe without the special grace of the Holy Spirit, which was denied to them, does it follow that God could not justly complain of their contumacy. (1) They could not have opposed such or so great resistance to the Holy Spirit speaking in the prophets, as they did. (2) They were not the less bound to the prescription of duty and their voluntary and affected inability could not excuse them.

XXV. "The eyes to see and ears to hear" spoken of in Ezk. 12:2 cannot refer to the grace of conversion or the eyes of faith. For it is added in the same place concerning "the house of Israel" that it is a "rebellious house" which consequently did not have the "eyes of the mind" or the faculty of understanding and perceiving the things presented (which, on account of their own wickedness, they were unwilling to use). Otherwise if God had given to them the spiritual eyes and ears of the new man, they could not help seeing and hearing. Nor, if eyes to see and ears to hear (which he is said to have denied the people, Dt. 29:4) signify the grace of regeneration, does it follow that they are to be taken in the same sense here because the circumstances are diverse.

XXVI. It is one thing to resist God admonishing and calling externally; another to resist God intending conversion and calling efficaciously and internally. The former is asserted when the prophet says, "He had spread out his hands all the day unto a rebellious people" (Is. 65:2*); not the latter. The "spreading out of the arms" denotes the mild and benevolent invitation of God by which he allured them from without, whether by the word or by blessings, inciting them not occasionally, but every day by the ministry of his servants. But it cannot denote the powerful and efficacious operation by which the arm of the Lord is revealed to those who are taught of God and drawn by the Father and by which it is said that he manifested himself to those who asked not for him and was found of them that sought him not

(which the prophet had said concerning the efficacious calling of the Gentiles, v. 1).

XXVII. Although Christ professes that "he had wished to gather together the children of Jerusalem, and they would not" (Mt. 23:37), it does not follow that grace is resistible. (1) Jerusalem is here openly distinguished from her children and by it are denoted the elders, scribes, priests and other leaders of the city (who are gifted with the better name of city [as Mt. 2:1, 3] and who wished to be considered the fathers of the people). Nor does Christ say that those whom he wished to gather together were unwilling to be gathered together. But only that Jerusalem was unwilling that her children should be gathered and "thou wouldst not" (*kai ouk ethelēsate*) (to wit, ye leaders). And thus Christ does not so much complain of those who being called had not come, as of those who resisted the calling of others as much as they could (the key of knowledge being taken away); not entering as to themselves and prohibiting others who entered (i.e., who desired to enter) as much as in them lay, as we read in Lk. 11:52. But still Christ did not cease, notwithstanding the resistance of the leaders of the city, to gather whom he wished, as Augustine has it (*Enchiridion* 24 [97] [FC 2:449–50; PL 40.277]). (2) Although Jerusalem is not distinguished from her children, but is taken for the inhabitants themselves, it would not follow that they resisted efficacious grace, both because not the decretive but the preceptive will is denoted (which repeatedly put them in mind of their duty) and because "gathering together" differs from "conversion." The former pertains to the external call by which men are collected into one by the word and brought into fellowship with the church. The latter pertains to the internal call wrought by the Spirit, whom men cannot resist. Christ indeed wished them to do what he commanded (i.e., it would be pleasing to him) and he had also decreed to command it. But still he was unwilling as to the event (i.e., he had not decreed that the thing which he had commanded should actually be done). For, if he had seriously wished it, no reason can be given why they would not have been gathered together, since no one can resist his will.

XXVIII. When the Pharisees are said "to have rejected [*athetēsai*] the counsel of God against themselves [*eis heautous*]" (Lk. 7:30), we are not to understand the decretive will, which is immutable and irrevocable (Is. 46:10; Heb. 6:17), but the preceptive will, which is often designated by the

word *boulēs* or "counsel" (Prov. 1:24, 25; Acts 20:27; Rev. 3:18). They are therefore said to have despised the counsel of God to their own destruction, inasmuch as they rejected the command of God proposed by John by which he called them to faith and repentance, and thus closed the way of salvation shown to them by him and to their own great harm despised that grace of God.

XXIX. The curse, pronounced by Christ upon Chorazin and Bethsaida concerning their obstinacy and unbelief (Mt. 11:21), proves indeed that it was most aggravated and intolerable by an odious comparison with a most corrupt people who were considered by the Jews themselves as infamous and detestable above all others. But it cannot prove that the grace which Christ exercised towards those cities and which they so persistently resisted, was sufficient for conversion. Nor can it be gathered from his saying that the Tyrians and Sidonians would have been converted if the same mighty works had been done among them and a similar grace granted. (1) These words ought not to be understood so much properly of actual future conversion (which cannot be produced by miracles alone) as hyperbolically and popularly (to exaggerate the unbelief and impenitence of the Jews themselves, which surpasses even the corruption of the most abandoned Gentiles). Such comparative exaggerations are familiar in the Scriptures. Thus the Lord addresses the prophet: "I have sent thee to the house of Israel; not to many people of a strange speech and of an hard language. Surely, had I sent thee to them, they would have hearkened unto thee" (Ezk. 3:5*, 6). Not that these Gentiles would really have been more inclined to hear the prophet, especially since they would not understand him; but to convict the Jews the more for their obstinacy. In the same sense, this prophet asserts that the Israelites were doubly worse than the Samaritans. He says, "Judah hath justified her sisters" (Ezk. 16:51) by sinning far more grievously than they (who had almost reached the climax of iniquity). For no other reason did Christ say, "If these should hold their peace, the stones would cry out" (Lk. 19:40). And nothing occurs more usually and frequently in ordinary conversation: If I had done this or that, I would either have softened rocks or taught brutes or the deaf would have heard and the blind have seen and the like. We do not mean that rocks could be softened or brutes could be taught or the deaf hear and the blind see, but by this odious comparison we mean to express the inflexibleness of the inexorable

Judge and the stupidity of the scholar. Evidently in a like manner Christ says here that the Tyrians and Sidonians would have been converted if these miracles had been done among them, not to intimate that their conversion would take place on this supposition, but to set forth the greatness of the sin of the Jews; as if he would say, There is no nation so savage and of so stubborn a neck (I except neither Tyre, nor Sidon, nor Sodom itself) which would not have been converted or at least moved by so great signs and wonders as were done by me among you, against which you inhabitants of Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum still harden yourselves. Further, the foundation of that curse is not necessarily in grace sufficient for conversion, which the Jews received and the Tyrians and others did not. But it must be sought either from the appearances (*ek tōn phainomenōn*) according to the probability of the thing and in a human manner by way of accommodation or from the certain knowledge of Christ with respect to the disposition of the subjects, which he knew was worse and more obstinate in the Jews than in the others; who as they had less light, had also sinned less and would be punished also more mildly. (2) It can also be rightly said that it is not treated here of saving and internal conversion, but only of external repentance. First, because it is expressed by "sackcloth and ashes" (which are external signs of repentance). It is one thing, however, to express conceived grief in sackcloth and ashes and to begin repentance in some manner; another to be converted by efficacious grace. Also because it is ascribed to the sight of miracles, which are only an external means and are not sufficient for conversion, unless an internal and heart-turning power accompanies them. Now although such repentance would not have been sufficient for their conversion and salvation, still it was sufficient for the condemnation of the Jews who, excited by so many miracles of Christ, did not put forth even the least motion of external repentance.

XXX. The act of obedience which is produced by that efficaciousness (which being posited, the act cannot but exist) does not cease to be free and so a true act of obedience, if that efficaciousness neither brings any violence to man, nor introduces a brute and physical necessity, but leaves to him his own spontaneity and purpose (*proairesin*) (which we maintain grace does). For man does not cease to will most freely what he wills, although he wills it necessarily; nor does the grace which makes him willing from unwilling, take away, but rather restores liberty because it is liberty willingly and with

joy to serve God. The fundamental error (*prōton pseudos*) of our opponents is that liberty is placed in indifference (*adiaphoria*) and cannot consist with necessity (which we have frequently refuted by the example of the angels and saints in heaven, whose act of obedience is indeed necessary and infallible, but still most free).

XXXI. Although grace irresistibly inclines and bends the will of man, still we must not imagine any coaction here. (1) In coaction, the principle is only extrinsic, to which he who is compelled contributes nothing; while here there is also an intrinsic principle because grace is the soul of our soul (*anima animae nostrae*). (2) Coaction is not in congruity with nature, but conversion perfects nature. (3) It is impossible and absurd (*asystaton*) for the will to be forced because thus it would be nolition (*noluntas*), not volition (*voluntas*).

XXXII. Although no others can be converted than these who are actually converted, it does not follow that others are called to no purpose and hypocritically. There are different ends of that calling (as was said before), which free God from all deceit and hypocrisy.

XXXIII. One resistance is partial and incomplete (which can for a time be opposed and struggled against); another total and complete (which can not only for a time resist the operation of grace, but directly hinder and make it void). We do not deny that man can resist God calling. Yea, we confess that he cannot but resist with the former resistance, but not with the latter.

XXXIV. Whom God ordinarily calls by the word of the gospel alone, these he does not will to convert with that efficaciousness, which being posited, they cannot help believing and turning themselves. But it is not the same with those whom he calls at the same time by the word and the Spirit (which he does towards all the elect) because the Spirit applies all that efficaciousness which overcomes all resistance of the will. The Spirit concurs with the word and the word with the Spirit; not collaterally, as if the word does something which the Spirit does not do, but subordinately; not indeed by a successive ordination, so that the Spirit begins there at length where the efficacy of the word ceases, but by a simultaneous subordination, as that of the instrument to the principal cause (which is here the Holy Spirit, who works in two ways—both in the word and in the heart: in the word by suasion, in the heart by persuasion; in the word objectively, in the

heart efficaciously). If the word alone concurred, its force would be wholly resistible; but because the word (in the elect) is never destitute of the Spirit, on that account grace never remains inefficacious in them.

XXXV. The irresistibility of grace can never induce security or negligence and a contempt of means because the irresistible and immediate action of God on the soul does not exclude but supposes the external means (which God uses to carry on this work).

Seventh Question: On Faith

In how many ways may faith be taken and how many kinds of it are enumerated?

I. As calling is to faith and faith is the first effect of calling by which man answers to the call of God, the discussion of calling rightly precedes the inquiry concerning faith (which is indissolubly connected with it). For as God calls by his word and offers the promise of grace, thus man responds by faith and receives and applies to himself the offered promise. The Scriptures often introduce this colloquy: "I will say, It is my people; and they shall say, The Lord is my God" (Hos. 2:23; Zech. 13:9; cf. Ps. 27:8; Jer. 3:22; Rom. 8:15, 16).

The necessity and dignity of faith.

II. So great is the necessity of faith in the matter of salvation that as Christ alone is the cause of salvation, so faith alone is the means and way to Christ. Hence it is celebrated as the bond of our union with Christ because he dwells in us by faith (Eph. 3:17); as the condition of the covenant of grace under which salvation is promised to us, the fruit of election (Tit. 1:1), the instrument of justification (Rom. 5:1), the principle of sanctification (Acts 15:9) and the infallible means of salvation (Jn. 3:16). Thus it is in some measure deservedly a universal virtue, which either formally includes or consequently and necessarily draws after it all the duties of the believer. Hence according to its various acts and relations (*scheseis*), it is compared rightly now to the eye (in respect of the

knowledge of Christ), then to feet (in respect of approach and refuge), then to hands and mouth (in respect of reception and application).

Its homonymies.

III. However, faith (to premise a few things concerning the homonymy of the word) is taken in different ways in Scripture. Sometimes it is taken for the "fidelity" which we observe towards others, by which that which is said is done (as Cicero expresses it, "the constancy of words and deeds," *De Officiis* 1.28.98 [Loeb, 21:100–101]), which is the foundation of justice; this is often attributed to God (Rom. 3:3). Sometimes it is taken for the faith which we apply to others by an assent to a thing done or a future thing, resting upon the veracity of the speaker. Either it is taken objectively for the faith "which is believed" or the doctrine of the gospel (which is the object of faith [Gal. 1:23; 1 Tim. 1:19; Gal. 3:25] and its external profession [Rom. 1:8]). Or it is taken subjectively and habitually for the faith "by which it is believed," which is again distinguished by some into the faith "by which we believe God" or "by which we believe in God" (as Lombard observes, *Sententiarum*, III, Dist. 23.4 [PL 192/2.805]), so that to believe God is to believe that God is; to believe in God is to have faith in God speaking; and to believe in God is to place confidence in him. Hence Augustine says: "We believe Paul, but not in Paul" ("Tractate 29.6," *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:185; PL 35.1631]). But this difference is not perpetual. For although to believe God and in God differ, Scripture often uses one for the other (as it is said of Abraham that "he believed God" [Rom. 4:3], where the topic is justifying faith; so elsewhere in various places).

Kinds of faith.

IV. Faith is more properly distinguished into that which is a bare assent to revealed and known truth, possessed even by devils (called "historical faith," which is referred to in Jam. 2:19). Or into that which with assent (of the goodness of the object) has come delight and joy, but which is evanescent, called "temporary [*prokairos*] faith," which is spoken of in Mt. 13:20. Or into that which indicates an assent to some particular promise

concerning a miraculous event to be wrought above order either by us or in us or about us, called the "faith of miracles" (Mt. 17:20; 1 Cor. 13:2). Or finally into that which involves a fiducial apprehension of Christ and his benefits, called "justifying and saving faith" (of which the Scriptures are full). This distinction is founded both on the usage of Scripture (which repeatedly speaks in different ways of faith) and from its varied relation to the object. For when the object is offered to the mind simply under the idea of truth, the faith occupied about it is called historical; when it is proposed under the idea of a good in respect of some particular promise and as to an extraordinary and miraculous event, the faith of miracles apprehends it. When it is presented under the idea of a useful and pleasurable good, temporary faith is concerned with it. When, finally, it is exhibited under the idea of a moral good, it pertains to justifying faith.

V. Falsely, however, do our opponents maintain that these various kinds do not constitute a diverse, but one and the same faith, since they are mutually separable from each other (cf. Bellarmine, "De Justificatione," 1.4 *Opera* [1858], 4:464–65). For there is historical faith in devils and many unbelievers who still are destitute of temporary and justifying faith (Jam. 2:19), as they are also destitute of the faith of miracles, which they cannot work. In some, temporary faith is found in those in whom there is no justifying faith (Lk. 8:13), or the faith of miracles (Acts 8:19). In others is found the faith of miracles without justifying faith (as in Judas and in those spoken of in Mt. 7:22). In innumerable believers, there is justifying faith without the faith of miracles.

VI. Now although these various kinds of faith can concur in one subject (as in the case of the apostles and others, and then they are not many habits, but constitute one and the same faith at least by aggregation), it does not follow on its own part that they do not differ, since they may be so clearly distinguished by the formal object and the mode of operation. Thus saving faith can be said to contain eminently the faith of miracles because it can be raised by God so as to work miracles. But the faith of miracles does not reciprocally include justifying faith, since the former is found in various reprobates.

VII. Although saving faith is one and undivided (*isotimos*) in all, both on the part of the object (which was the same in the Old as well as in the New Testament as to substance, Eph. 4:5) and on the part of the subject

specifically, this does not hinder the equivocal word “faith” from being distinguished in its equivocal senses (which constitute so many kinds of it).

Eighth Question: The Various Acts of Justifying Faith

How many acts does justifying faith include in its formal conception?

Various opinions about the acts of faith.

I. As the knowledge of habits can be derived from no other source more certainly than from the knowledge of their principle acts and of the object about which they are occupied, the nature of faith cannot be rightly perceived unless these two things are known: (1) of what acts it consists; (2) what is its object.

II. As to the acts, they are explained by theologians in different ways—some making more, others fewer. Some make only one, namely assent or persuasion. Others acknowledge only two—knowledge and assent. Others add a third (to wit, trust). Others a fourth also (to wit, confidence or the acquiescence of the will). These different opinions do not so much change the nature of faith as unfold it in different ways. And hence it is that some place faith equally in the intellect and the will; others only in the intellect formally and in the will only energetically (*energētikōs*) or effectively and consequently (or even principally in the will). And thus certain ones include all those acts formally in faith; others, however, suppose or infer some of them.

III. The more common and truer opinion recognizes three acts in faith: knowledge, assent, trust (*notitiam, assensum, fiduciam*). Although all the others can be referred to these, still that we may understand the whole subject more easily, we must treat more distinctly of them.

The direct and reflex act.

IV. First, a twofold act of faith comes into consideration—the one direct, the other reflex. The direct is occupied about the object itself presented in it,

while the reflex is concerned with the direct act. By the direct act, man believes the promises of the gospel; while by the reflex he (looking upon his faith) knows that he believes. The direct act precedes; the reflex follows and such a subordination exists between them that just as the direct draws the reflex after it, so the reflex necessarily supposes the first (nor has it a place unless the direct has gone before: for example, a person cannot know that he believes, unless he really believes; he cannot know Christ as his own, unless he believes Christ was given for all believers and penitents).

Six acts of faith: (1) the act of knowledge.

V. Second, these acts of faith are not of one kind, but various and multiple according to its various relations. We can refer these to six and of these five are direct and one reflex. The first is the act of knowledge (*notitia*)—of all things to be believed by us, whether pertaining to our misery or to the grace of God. For as truth is the object of faith (and indeed not any truth, but the divine and supernatural truth revealed in the word of God), it requires above all knowledge for its apprehension; not only that by which we know what things are credible and by which we ascertain the literal meaning of words and terms (which is supposed for faith and can be gained by each one's private study, even by those who do not believe); but also that by which we know the divinity and infallible truth of the things to be believed (which constitutes the first act of faith, as will be proved further on against the Romanists).

2. Theoretical assent.

VI. The second is theoretical assent (*assensus*), by which we receive as true and divine what we know. This is called "historical," not from the object (because it is only of histories) or from the cause (to wit, sacred history), but from the mode in which anything is believed. As indeed philosophers observe three degrees of perfection in assent (to wit, firmness, certainty and evidence); firmness that it may be without hesitation; certainty that it may rest upon a certain and solid foundation; evidence that it may not rest upon another's testimony, but be proved either by the senses or by reason (as in science). The assent of faith indeed has firmness and certainty because

founded upon the divine and infallible word; but not evidence because it is founded upon testimony, not reason (which the apostle points out when he says faith is the substance [*hypostasin*] and evidence [*elenchon*] to designate its firmness and certainty; but of things not seen [*tōn ou blepomenōn*] to intimate its lack of evidence, Heb. 11:1).

3. Fiducial and practical assent.

VII. The third act is fiducial and practical assent or a persuasion of the practical intellect by which we judge the gospel to be not only true, but also good and therefore most worthy of our love and desire; also the promises of grace to be most certain concerning the remission of sins and the bestowal of salvation upon all believers and penitents and so also upon me if I shall believe and repent. In this sense, *plērophoria* is ascribed to faith (i.e., a full persuasion of the power and will of God made known to us in his word [Rom. 4:21], the metaphor being taken from ships which are carried into port under full sail). Thus mention is made of "full assurance of understanding" (*plērophorias syneseōs*, Col. 2:2) by hypallage for "fully persuaded understanding" (*syneseōs peplērophorēmenēs*). In Heb. 10:22, the apostle wishes us to draw near with a true (i.e., an upright and sincere) heart "in full assurance of faith" (*en plērophoria pisteōs*, i.e., with a sure persuasion of mind and a firm trust of heart founded upon the word of God). Now this persuasion ought not to be only inchoate and half full (which sometimes exists in the reprobate also who receive the word with joy), but full and absolute, determining and drawing after it the will and beholding the gospel object and the promise of grace, not only as true and imbued with a certain good, but also as the highest good proposed to us in God and affording the sole and most sufficient means of salvation in Christ.

4. Act of refuge.

VIII. The fourth is an act of refuge arising from a persuasion by which we betake ourselves by an act of desire to Christ thus known by us, seeking in him pardon of sin and salvation. Because the desire of salvation and happiness is implanted in all, it cannot happen that man who knows he is

most miserable and who is thoroughly persuaded that nowhere else than in Christ alone can the means of salvation be found and that he cannot obtain this salvation without coming to him and being united with him; it cannot happen, I say, because the desire of salvation and happiness is implanted in all, that he (going out of himself and his own righteousness, whose worthlessness he acknowledges) should not seriously and most ardently betake himself to Christ—desire, seek and endeavor to possess him in every way. This the Scripture at one time terms "approach" (*prosagōgēn*) and "access" to Christ (Mt. 11:28; Rom. 5:2; Eph. 2:18); at another "seeking" and "search" for God (Is. 55:6); then "hunger and thirst for righteousness" (Mt. 5:6; Ps. 42:1, 2; Rev. 22:17; Is. 55:1, 2), i.e., a most fervent desire to enjoy Christ and God (Ps. 84:1, 2; Cant. 1:2; 3:1). Frequent examples of this occur with David; with the spouse (Cant. 2, 5); in the prodigal son, who, feeling his own misery and coming to himself, determined to return to his Father—"I will arise and go to my Father"; in Paul counting all things loss "for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ, that he might be found in him, not having his own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ" (Phil. 3:8*, 9*).

5. Act of reception and union.

IX. The fifth is the act of reception of Christ or of adhesion and union, by which we not only seek Christ through a desire of the soul and fly to him, but apprehend and receive him offered, embrace him found, apply him to ourselves and adhere to and unite ourselves to him. For as God freely offers his own Son in the gospel to the sinful soul, burdened and cast down and broken by a sense of his sins, and Christ offers himself with all his benefits and the fulness of salvation residing in him, so the soul (firmly persuaded of the fulness of salvation in Christ, seriously flying to him and earnestly desiring communion with him) cannot help embracing with the highest freedom of the will that supreme good offered, and the inestimable treasure, selling all for him (Mt. 13:44), resting upon Christ as the sole Redeemer and delivering and making himself over, and so firmly retaining him that he is prepared to lose anything else rather than reject him. This is the formal and principal act of justifying faith, usually termed "reception": "As many as received him" (i.e., "who believed on his name," Jn. 1:12); believers are

said “to receive the gift of righteousness” (Rom. 5:17); “to receive Christ” (Col. 2:6); “I found him whom my soul loveth: I held him, and would not let him go” (Cant. 3:4); sometimes “meat and drink” (Mt. 5:6; Jn 6); the “putting on of Christ” (Gal. 3:27). And because the soul thus apprehending Christ reclines upon him and rests upon and cleaves to him, faith is also sometimes described as an act of “reclining” (Ps. 71:5; Is. 10:20; 48:2; 50:10; Mic. 3:11); as also an act of adhesion and binding closely, and of the most strict union by which we are bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh and one with him; and Christ himself dwells in us (Eph. 3:17) and we in him (Jn. 15:5). From this union of persons arises the participation in the blessings of Christ, to which (by union with him) we acquire a right (to wit, justification, adoption, sanctification and glorification).

6. Reflex act.

X. The sixth is the reflex act arising from a sense of faith by which the soul which has thus received Christ (turning itself back upon itself and seeing in its heart the direct act of persuasion, refuge and reception) concludes that it believes and, because it believes, that Christ certainly died for him and belongs to him with all his blessings and that he will assuredly be made happy by him. For since he is promised to all those weary with the sense of sin, those flying to and sincerely receiving him (i.e., truly believing in him), the believing soul cannot apprehend itself as weary and see itself in this way flying to Christ and resting upon him without immediately concluding that Christ is his and he is Christ’s and that nothing can separate him from his love. An act of this kind occurs in Paul when he says, “I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless, I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me” (Gal. 2:20). “I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day” (2 Tim. 1:12).

7. Act of confidence and consolation.

XI. But seventh, an act of consolation and confidence follows this act—consisting in that joy, tranquility, peace, acquiescence and delight which

arise from the possession of Christ, by which the believing soul leaning upon its beloved (Cant. 8:5) and conscious of its own most intimate union with Christ through faith and sure of its own mutual communion and love with him, piously exults and rejoices in the Lord, glories in adversity and courageously challenges and despises all enemies whatever (Rom. 8:38, 39); rejoices with joy unspeakable and glorious (1 Pet. 1:8); rests under the shade of the tree of life and satiates itself with its sweetest fruits (Cant. 2:3), certain that he who began the good work, will infallibly carry it on to perfection. We have an example of this in the spouse (Cant. 2:16; 7:10); in David (Pss. 16:7, 8; 116, 118); in Paul (Rom. 8:38, 39) and in all believers (Rom. 5:1, 2).

XII. And this last act does not enter properly into the essence of faith and constitute as it were its form, but flows from it as a necessary consequence and an inseparable effect. However the others properly belong to it and have their seat partly in the intellect, partly in the will: in the intellect, the act of knowledge and assent which, although required in faith, do not as yet constitute its formal act (which properly consists in persuasion, which belongs to the intellect); in the will, refuge and reception or adhesion.

XIII. However, it ought not to seem strange that faith is assigned to two faculties of the soul. For besides the fact that not a few unrenowned or mean philosophers acknowledge no real distinction between the intellect and the will, but wish the soul (as understanding and knowing) to be called intellect, but as willing and seeking will; it is no more repugnant for faith to belong to two faculties than either free will or the image of God (which have their seat partly in the intellect, partly in the will). Faith is not a unique and simple habit, but composed and aggregate. Therefore it cannot be comprehended by a single conception, but includes various conceptions subordinate to itself (which are well referred to both faculties).

XIV. And hence it appears that Bellarmine and other Romanists falsely place faith so in the intellect as to deny it to be in the will. For since it is evident that faith has for its object not only the true, but also the good, and consists especially in flying to Christ and receiving him, what room can there be for doubt that it pertains properly to the will also? Not a few of the Romanists themselves acknowledge this: “Faith belongs to the intellect and the affections” (Bonaventure, “Liber IV. Sententiarum,” Dist. 9, Dub. 1 in *Opera Theologica Selecta* [1949], 4:199); “To believe pertains to the

intellect as it is moved by the will to assent" (Thomas Aquinas, ST, II–II, Q. 2, Art. 2, p. 1180). So too Biel, Estius (*Guillemi Estii ... in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum Commentaria* 3.23.2 [1680], v. III, Pt. 1, p. 62) and Altenstaig in his dictionary on the word *fides* (*Lexicon theologicum* [1619/1974], pp. 324ff.) and others.

Ninth Question

Is faith assent without knowledge and can it be defined better by ignorance than by knowledge? We deny against the Romanists

I. This question is discussed by us with the Romanists, who the more easily to subject the people to them by a blind obedience, not only keep them from reading the sacred Scriptures, but also exclude from the faith (imposed upon them) knowledge, referring it to a bare assent, so that it is better defined by ignorance than by knowledge, as Bellarmine says ("De Justificatione," 1.7 *Opera* [1858], 4:468–69).

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not whether faith is assent, which is acknowledged on both sides. Nor is the question whether it is a full and perfect knowledge of mysteries, both as to the reason (*to dioti*) and the fact (*to hoti*), so that we ought to believe nothing which we do not clearly and distinctly perceive. For as most gospel mysteries in the greatest degree escape the grasp of the reason, they can never be clearly and distinctly perceived by us as to the wherefore (*to dioti*) or the how (*to pōs*) or their nature and mode, but only as to the fact because they are truly thus revealed. Again, as sanctification is imperfect, so faith has its degrees by which it increases and grows, both as to knowledge and as to trust. In this sense, we do not deny that faith can be called in a certain sense implicit, both in children and the uninstructed (who have only an obscure knowledge) and in the more advanced (in whom the light is always mixed with darkness, who often can reach only the fact [*to hoti*], but do not rise to the why [*to dioti*]). Thus the faith of the Old Testament fathers could be called obscure and implicit with respect to ours on account of the obscurity of the revelation. But the question is whether

faith in its conception includes knowledge; if not a full, still a true and certain knowledge in its own order.

III. The question is not whether faith is knowledge, which has evidence. For it is thus distinguished from knowledge, which has a certain and evident assent (which is founded upon clear and sure reason) and from opinion, which rests only upon probable reason. Faith denotes a sure assent indeed, but inevident; founded not upon reason, but upon the divine testimony. Rather the question is whether that assent is blind, destitute of all knowledge, so that it may be better defined by ignorance and to believe is to assent to things unknown. This is "implicit faith" (which they say suffices for the salvation of the laity if they believe what the church believes, although they may not know what the church believes, or what it ought to believe, or what church is to be believed). This is called "the faith of Carbonarius" because being asked what he believed, he answered, "What the church believes." Again being asked what the church believed, he said, "What I believe."

IV. The design of the Romanists is to keep the people in ignorance that the yoke of traditions and of all kinds of errors and superstitions may the more easily be placed upon them. For hence it happens that they keep the laity from reading the Scriptures, that they wish all sacred things to be retained in an unknown language so that they may deprive the laity of judgment concerning sacred things. Thus a thick ignorance and horrible darkness covers the whole papacy and a direful tyranny has been introduced; for there is nothing too false and absurd to be obtruded for belief under the title of the Catholic faith (indeed, untried [*abasanistōs*] and without any examination).

V. We hold that faith includes knowledge in its conception, not that faith is absolutely the same as knowledge, or that to believe is the same as to understand (as Bellarmine falsely states our opinion); but that since knowledge is the genus of all habits, while faith by his own confession is an intellectual habit, faith also ought necessarily to embrace knowledge that it may be true. Hence it appears that Bellarmine does not in good faith exhibit the meaning of Calvin when he says: "He says that the kingdom of heaven is entered not by ignorance, nor by a submission of our sense, but by a sure and certified knowledge," as can be collected from his words. For Calvin says: "The Scholastics fabricated the comment of implicit faith, under

which name adorning gross ignorance, they perilously sport with the miserable people. Is this to believe, to understand nothing, provided you obediently submit your sense to the church? Not in ignorance, but in knowledge is faith placed and that indeed not only of God, but of the divine will. For neither from this do we obtain salvation either because we are prepared to embrace as true whatever the church may have taught, or because we leave to it the province of inquiring and of knowing, but when we recognize God the Father as propitious to us by the reconciliation made by his Son … By this knowledge, I say, not by the submission of our sense, we obtain entrance into the kingdom of God" (ICR, 3.2.2, pp. 544–45).

Proof that there is knowledge in faith: (1) from John 17:3.

VI. It is evident that knowledge is included in faith. (1) It is defined by knowledge: "This is life eternal, that they may know thee" (Jn. 17:3). Nor is this referred only to the intuitive knowledge in heaven, but it ought to be extended to the saving knowledge required on the way which Christ proposes as the certain and infallible means of obtaining that life and by which it is begun in us (1 Jn. 5:13). "By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many" (i.e., by faith which alone justifies us, Is. 53:11). Hence elsewhere its act is described by understanding: "Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God" (Heb. 11:3). "And we believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God" (Jn. 6:69). Here knowledge is added to faith to explain it, to intimate that it is placed in knowledge. Elsewhere faith is expressed by "full assurance of understanding" (*plērophorian syneseōs*, Col. 2:2) and by "knowledge of the truth" (*epignōsin alētheias*, 2 Tim. 3:7).

2. Because faith and the word are related.

VII. (2) Faith and the word are related (Rom. 10:17; Jn. 6:45). Therefore, where faith is, there knowledge ought to be because the word cannot be believed or received unless it be known; for as there is no desire of, so neither is there assent to what is unknown. And if faith is from the hearing

of the word and from the instruction of the Father ("Whoever hath heard and hath learned of the Father cometh to Christ," Jn. 6:45), how can it be without knowledge? Can the believer be God-taught (*theodidaktos*) without a knowledge of the things which are taught by God?

3. Because the confession of faith is enjoined upon us.

VIII. (3) We are commanded to make confession of our faith and to give a reason for it: "For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth, confession is made unto salvation" (Rom. 10:10). "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you" (1 Pet. 3:15). Therefore knowledge is necessary in faith. For who will say that a confession can be made and a reason given for things unknown?

IX. (4) Knowledge is everywhere required in faith. Hence the "word of faith" is called the "wisdom and understanding" of believers (Dt. 4:6). "I am now come forth," said the angel, "to give thee skill and understanding. Understand the matter, and consider the vision" (Dan. 9:22, 23*). Christ commands us to "search the Scriptures" (Jn. 5:39), which cannot be done without that act of the mind by which knowledge is acquired. The Bereans are praised because they did not inconsiderately believe what they heard from Paul, but diligently investigated their agreement with the Scriptures, searching the Scriptures (*anakrinontes tas graphas*, Acts 17:11). And elsewhere Paul praises the Corinthians because they were enriched in all knowledge (1 Cor. 1:5), and challenges their judgment: "Judge ye what I say: I speak as to wise men" (1 Cor. 10:15). He enjoins upon the Colossians the knowledge and understanding of mysteries (Col. 2*:2*, 3*).

X. (5) Ignorance is convicted of being the mother of error and the cause of destruction: "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge" (Hos. 4:6); "My people doth not consider" (Is. 1:3); "Be ye not as the horse, or as the mule, which have no understanding" (Ps. 32:9). The Sadducees are rebuked because "ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures" (Mt. 22:29).

Sources of explanation.

XI. It is one thing for the faith of miracles and the gift of interpreting the Scriptures to be distinguished as diverse gifts (*charismata*); another for justifying faith and knowledge to be distinguished. The former is said in 1 Cor. 13:2, not the latter. "All faith" (*pasa pistis*) is not put here distributively for every kind of faith, but collectively for a perfect and complete faith in all its parts and degrees (as if he said, Whatever faith belongs to wonder workers [*thaumatourgois*], if all that was brought together into one and was in me). Now that such a faith is meant appears not only from the article, which denotes a certain kind of faith, but also from the explanation added, "so that I could remove mountains" (i.e., perform truly wonderful and stupendous works, a proverbial saying from Mt. 17:20).

XII. What removes all vision, sensitive as well as intellectual, cannot be knowledge. Rather faith is that which moves from (*amovet*) sensitive vision and the intuition of glory, in which sense it is said to be "the evidence of things not seen" (*elenchos tōn mē blepomenōn*, Heb. 11:1), i.e., the proof (demonstration) of things which are either invisible and inaccessible to the senses, or which are hoped for as future, but not as yet seen (i.e., possessed). Still it does not remove the intellectual knowledge of the light of grace, since by it we have the eyes of the mind illuminated that we may know what is the hope of our calling and of the riches of glory (Eph. 1:18) and the things which are given to us (1 Cor. 2:12).

XIII. "Bringing into captivity the thought to the obedience of Christ" (2 Cor. 10:5) is not to be ignorant of Christ or his doctrine or to understand nothing about it. Otherwise Paul would to no purpose say to the Corinthians that he proposed to know nothing among them save Jesus Christ crucified (1 Cor. 2:2). Rather it is to have faith in Christ and his received doctrine and to subject itself to him, although it may seem absurd to worldly reason and wisdom (as in the case of Abraham, Rom. 4:20). This is the "obedience of faith" by which we believe God speaking, although we do not understand the wherefore (*to dioti*) of the things to be believed (provided we do know the fact [*to hoti*]).

XIV. Is. 7:9 cannot be brought in here as if the prophet wished to intimate that faith is only a step and the way to knowledge (as the Vulgate falsely translates, "If ye will not believe, ye shall not understand"). The Hebrew has a different meaning: "If you will not believe, surely ye shall not

be established" (*'m l' th'mynv khy l' th'mnv*). Thus it is a rebuke of the incredulity of Ahaz and his court in this sense: If ye will not credit my words, it is for no other reason than because ye are not stable, but faithless in the covenant of God. Or what seems more suitable, it is a threatening of the punishment hanging over them: If ye do not believe the divine promise concerning the preservation of the city, surely you will not be established (to wit, against your enemies or in your land), but you will be taken away as captives, so that certain destruction awaits you.

XV. The lack of evidence ascribed to faith does not exclude all knowledge, but only that which is founded upon scientific means (i.e., upon sense or evident reason drawn from the nature of a thing). It is called "an inevident habit" not to the denial of all knowledge, but to the removal of the knowledge which comes from philosophical reasoning, since it rests upon testimony and the authority of the speaker. Therefore it excludes the knowledge of natural light, not of the supernatural revelation. It excludes knowledge philosophically so called, which is opposed to opinion; but not popularly, as it is opposed to ignorance. And although the judgment which rests upon the testimony and authority of another is not evident and scientific knowledge, still on account of that it ought not to be called ignorance rather than knowledge because we ought always to understand who and what testifies, that we may believe him.

Tenth Question

Is faith trust? We affirm against the Romanists

I. We said that faith consists principally of three acts: knowledge, assent and trust. We have just now treated of knowledge against the Romanists. Now (the second being dismissed, about which there is no controversy) we must say a few words concerning the third, which is said to be placed in trust (*fiducia*) and concerning which we have a dispute with our opponents.

Twofold question concerning trust.

II. A twofold question occurs here: one with the Romanists, who deny that trust belongs to faith (which means only an assent to an unknown thing);

the other among the orthodox themselves—not properly (whether trust pertains to faith), but under what relation it must be ascribed to it (whether of form or of effect). This must be discussed briefly before we pass to the other, which is of greater importance.

1. Among the orthodox, which may be reconciled.

III. The diversity existing among the orthodox arises from a diverse comprehension of trust, which can be taken in three ways. (a) For a fiducial assent or persuasion, arising from a practical judgment of the intellect concerning the truth and goodness of the gospel promises and the power, will and fidelity of God promising; as the synonym to it is "persuasion" (*peismonē*, Gal. 5:8) and in this sense "full assurance" (*plērophoria*) is attributed to faith (Col. 2:2; Heb. 10:22). (b) For the act of "flying to and reception of" Christ by which the believer (recognizing the truth and goodness of the promises) betakes himself to Christ, receives and embraces him and rests solely upon his merit. (c) For the confidence or acquiescence and tranquility of mind arising from the flying of the soul to Christ and his reception. For he who firmly rests upon Christ and embraces him cannot help acquiescing securely in him and trusting that he has found and received what he sought. In the first and second signification, trust is of the essence of faith and is well called by theologians its form. As will afterwards be proved against the Romanists, it is a fiducial apprehension of Christ offered with all his blessings in the word of the gospel. But in the third signification, it is rightly called by others not the form but the effect of faith because it springs from it, but does not constitute it.

IV. Hence the meaning of the passage of Paul readily appears where faith is distinguished from confidence (*pepoithēsei*) or trust: "By faith we have access with confidence to him" (Eph. 3:12). For *pepoithēsis* here means "trust" inasmuch as it is the tranquility of conscience; or trust in him in whom faith is placed. The meaning is "believers in Christ" (i.e., planted in Christ by faith) have boldness (*parrēsian*, i.e., both boldness to preach the gospel intrepidly to everyone and spiritual security by which they freely dare to invoke God as their Father); also "free access to him with confidence" (*kai prosagōgēn en pepoithēsei*, to wit, of finding him and

obtaining the things sought) "by the faith of him" (*dia tēs pisteōs autou*, i.e., which the faith in Christ procures).

2. Between us and the Romanists.

V. As to the other question, between us and the Romanists, it is inquired whether trust is included in the conception of faith; or whether it differs from it. The Romanists (in order to establish their comment concerning implicit faith and blind or bare assent) hold the latter, maintaining that faith is nothing else than a bare assent which does not have for its object the special mercy of God, but the whole word of God (as Bellarmine states it, "De Justificatione," 1.5–6 *Opera* [1858], 4:465–68). On the contrary, the orthodox think trust is so of the essence of faith that it cannot be called faith which is destitute of such trust.

Proof that faith is trust: (1) from the object.

VI. The reasons are: (1) from the object. The objects of justifying faith, proper and specific (as will be proved afterwards), are the promises of the gospel, which cannot be received except by trust because they are proposed not only as true, but also as good. The gospel is not only the object of contemplation of the intellect, but also the object of consolation of the heart (which faith cannot apprehend except trustingly). Hence as it is adumbrated by milk and food and the sweetest delights, so the faith (concerned with it) is well compared to spiritual eating, drinking and tasting (which cannot be without trust).

2. From the acts of faith.

VII. (2) From the acts of faith. For since (as was proved above) in the conception of faith is included an act of persuasion and the act of flying to and reception of Christ (which cannot exist without trust), from this very thing it is evident that trust cannot be separated from faith, but belongs to its essence. And even the word *plērophoria* (attributed to it) invincibly proves this. Here belong the passages in which faith is described as a fiducial apprehension of Christ and his satisfaction: "But as many as received him,

to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name" (Jn. 1:12); "that they may receive forgiveness of sins by faith that is in me" (i.e., in Christ, Acts 26:18). Elsewhere faith is placed in this—"that we believe he was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification" (Rom. 4:25); that by faith we apprehend him "as a propitiation set forth by God in his blood" (Rom. 3:25). By this act, it is distinguished from the other kinds of faith which either do not have respect to the promise of God or not in the same manner.

3. From the effects.

VIII. (3) From its effects. The properties and effects ascribed to faith cannot be bare assent, but necessarily suppose antecedent trust as the cause: such as peace of conscience (Rom. 5:1); access to God and to the throne of grace (Eph. 2:18; Heb. 4:16); boldness (*parrēsia*) by which we address God as our Father (Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6); confidence (*pepoithēsis*) as to the hearing of our prayers (Eph. 3:12); a holy boldness (*tharsos*) by which we are confident in all evils, glorying (*kauchēsis*) in the Lord (Rom. 5:11); and in adversity (Rom. 5:3). All these cannot be in the believer, except on the supposition of trust from which they spring.

4. From its opposites.

IX. (4) From its opposites. Distrust, hesitation, fear, pusillanimity (which are properly repugnant to trust) are opposed to it: "O thou of little faith [*oligopiste*], wherefore didst thou doubt?" (Mt. 14:31); "if ye have faith, and doubt not" (Mt. 21:21). It is said concerning Abraham that "he staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief [*apistian*]; but was strong in faith" (Rom. 4:20). Christ said to the fearful apostles in the storm, "Where is your faith?" (Lk. 8:25). James wishes him who seeks anything to ask it of God in faith, nothing wavering (Jam. 1:6). Here hesitation is manifestly opposed to trust, which is required in faith. Elsewhere Christ, in rebuking the lack of faith in his disciples, does not convict them of not assenting to the articles of faith, but of diffidence and fear for themselves.

5. From examples.

X. (5) From the examples of believers whose faith is commended for its trust; such as that of the Canaanite woman, "O woman, great is thy faith" (Mt. 15:28), namely by which she confided in the promise of Christ; of Abraham, who being fully persuaded (*pistei plērophorētheis*) is said to have believed in hope against hope (Rom. 4:18*); of the disciples, who left all to follow Christ because they knew that in him were the words of life (Jn. 6:68); of Paul, who believed that mercy was shown to him (1 Tim. 1:16).

Sources of explanation.

XI. Faith is called "the substance of things hoped for and the demonstration of things not seen" (*hypostasis tōn elpizomenōn, kai elenchos tōn mē blepomenōn*, Heb. 11:1), not only because it makes future goods subsist speculatively in the intellect by assent, but especially practically in the heart by trust and hope. Hence Paul explains the *hypostasin* of faith by boldness (*parrēsian*) and trust (Heb. 3:6, 14). Thus it is called the *elenchos* of things invisible because by a fiducial apprehension it places before the eye of faith as present, the things which are invisible to the eyes of the body. Thus he does not speak here of a merely logical and theoretical demonstration (such as science begets), but of a practical and fiducial, which prepares access to God (Rom. 5:2; Heb. 11:6). If among the acts of faith mentioned by Paul, a knowledge of creation is placed (Heb. 11:3), it does not follow that trust is excluded because the positing of the one is not an exclusion of the other. This is readily gathered from the examples of the faith of the fathers adduced by the apostle, which are not only speculative of the mind, but also fiducial of the heart, inasmuch as the fathers not only certainly assented to the promises of God, but also firmly trusted in them (as the examples of Noah, Abraham, Moses and others prove).

XII. What has for its object the whole word of God generically as well as specifically—that is not trust, I confess. But what has for its common and generic object the whole word of God can have the promises of grace as its proper and specific object. What fall under the former are believed by assent and what fall under the latter are believed by assent and trust together.

XIII. Although believing is sometimes taken for simply assenting, it does not follow that it is always so taken or that the whole nature of faith is contained in assent alone because in innumerable other passages belief embraces assent and trust.

XIV. So far is the example of Abraham (Rom. 4) from proving that faith is not trust, that it invincibly demonstrates that it is necessarily included in it because he could not be said to have been "fully persuaded [*plērophorētheis*] and to have believed in hope against hope," unless by trust (inasmuch as he conceived in his heart a firm trust in the truth and power of God, although all things appeared against it). Thus he could not be said "to have staggered not through unbelief" (v. 20) unless inasmuch as through the trust opposed to it he was strengthened against all those things which seemed to oppose the divine promise.

XV. If trust is called by the Scholastics "strengthened hope," this must be understood of the trust of hope, which differs from the trust which is peculiar to faith in various particulars. The former is only of a future good, but the latter of a present; or as if present, as also of a past. The former has for its object more the "thing of the word" (i.e., the promised goods); the latter rather the "word of the thing" or the promises of it—although they so differ that the one depends upon the other and they cannot be separated from each other.

Eleventh Question: The Object of Faith

What is the object of faith in general and can what is false come under it? We deny

I. Because various questions are agitated about the object of faith, we must distinctly discuss them. We do so in four propositions.

The first proposition, concerning the object of faith: that it ought to be true, not false.

II. First proposition: "The object of faith ought to be true and nothing false can come under it." The reason is that the word of God (which is most true) is the sole object of faith and cannot be exposed to any error or falsehood,

no more than God himself (its author, who is the truth itself and who, as he cannot be deceived, so he cannot deceive anyone, not knowing how to lie). And yet if a falsehood could come under faith, the word of God could be false, the law would oblige us to believe a lie and divine faith would be a principle of deception (which is absurd). Hence Paul says the faith of the Corinthians would be vain and the apostles found to be false witnesses, if Christ had not risen and if what was false should be believed (1 Cor. 15:14, 15*).

III. The various examples adduced to prove that falsehood can come under faith prove nothing of the kind. The Ninevites were bound to believe that their city would be overthrown, not absolutely and simply, but only conditionally—unless they would repent (as is evident from the edict of the king proclaiming a fast: "Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not?" Jon. 3:9). Hezekiah ought not to have believed a falsehood when Isaiah threatened him with death because this word was not so much the prophetical prediction of a thing absolutely to happen, as a conditional threat to excite his humble deprecation of it. This he sufficiently perceived when straightway having turned to the wall, he prayed to Jehovah, who also heard his prayer, adding fifteen years to his life (Is. 38:2, 5). Or it was a declaration of the severity of the disease, which according to the natural order of things ought to result in such an event (unless God would deliver him miraculously).

IV. Adam was not bound to believe absolutely that in his state of uprightness he would possess eternal life; but only conditionally if he continued in obedience. This condition was not to be believed because it was not promised, but to be performed because it was commanded. If after his fall, he was bound to believe absolutely that he would die, he ought not equally to have believed before his fall that he would live. The cases are not the same. For in his innocent state, the condition was as yet to be fulfilled; while after the fall, the condition was in fact violated and so the threatening could be actually put in force. Meanwhile although after the fall he was bound to believe absolutely that he was exposed to death, he was bound to believe nothing distinctly concerning the event because it was not revealed to him.

V. According to the command of God concerning the sacrifice of his son (Gen. 22:2), Abraham was bound to believe what was strictly true—that

God had commanded him to slay his son and to commit the event to God. But he was not bound to believe that Isaac would be slain by him (which was false; although perhaps he had reached that opinion because he did not sufficiently perceive the meaning and end of the command given to him); yet this was only human faith, not divine. Although by divine faith Abraham believed that God was able to raise up his son if he should die, it does not follow that he ought equally by divine faith to believe in his death; nor ought this to have lessened his alacrity in performing his duty because he was not obliged to attend to the event, but only to the duty enjoined upon him; nor could it hinder the trial of his faith, which was sufficiently evident in this, when notwithstanding all the obstacles in the way of the fulfillment of that command, he still girded himself to obey it, committing the event to God.

VI. The Israelites were not bound to believe absolutely from the promise of God that each and every individual would enter the land of Canaan without any condition; for the event taught that the condition of faith (although tacit) was always implied and since many were destitute of it, it is not strange that they were excluded from this blessing.

VII. Although we are bound to believe that God willed preceptively and approvingly what will never actually happen on account of the obstinacy of man, it does not follow that we are obliged to believe a falsehood. For we are not bound to believe that this will really happen or that God decreed it, but only that God willed to enjoin it upon man and that this is his duty (which is perfectly true).

VIII. In Jer. 4:10, God is not said to have deceived the people effectively by obliging them to believe a falsehood, but permissively (as words often are active in sound, but are permissive in meaning or declarative) allowing them to be seduced and deceived by the mouth of false prophets or judicially giving them up to a spirit of error. The words can be understood also interrogatively (although the mark of interrogation is wanting, as often elsewhere) with the meaning—Have you deceived the people? Can it be that you have duped the people with the vain hope and promise of peace, when you mean no such thing?

Second proposition: there is no other object of faith than the written word of God.

IX. Second proposition: "The object of faith is none other than the written word of God according to the measure of revelation." Faith (*pistis*) is one thing; knowledge (*gnōsis*) another. The latter is gained even from nature by beholding the works of God, but the former only from supernatural grace and revelation by the hearing of the word (which alone is the object of faith [*piston*]). Hence faith is said "to be of hearing" (Rom. 10:17). In 1 Cor. 1:21, Paul testifies, "Because the world" (i.e., the human race) "in the wisdom of God" (i.e., by a contemplation of the workmanship of the world in which the wonderful wisdom of God shines forth) "by wisdom knew not God" (to wit, unto salvation), "it pleased God to save them that believe by the foolishness of preaching" (i.e., by the gospel). This appears foolish in the judgment of men: substituting faith alone by which we believe the word for knowledge which arises from his works.

X. We say that this word as written is the object of faith, against the Romanists, who maintain that there is an unwritten (*agraphon*) word in the voice of the church which can establish our faith. We acknowledge no other God-inspired (*theopneuston*) word than the in-written (*engraphon*) and written; which, therefore, we are strictly prohibited adding to or taking anything from. Now although the word as to substance is always the same (which ought to be apprehended by faith), still not equally according to degrees because God willed to reveal it at sundry times (*polymerōs*) and in divers manners (*polytropōs*); now obscurely, as under the Old Testament, then more clearly, under the New. Hence the object of faith is not simply the word, but the word revealed in this or in that manner. Thus the measure of the revelation is also the measure of faith and indeed not in this sense—that faith always clearly sees what things are declared in the object and according as they are declared; but that it sees or is bound or is able to see no more than what is revealed.

Third proposition: the object is either material or formal.

XI. Third proposition: “The object of faith is either material or formal.” The material are the things believed (namely the whole word of God and all its propositions, whether they pertain to the law or to the gospel). They become known to us by a divine and supernatural revelation; if not as to the why (*to dioti*) or the mode and reason, at least as to the fact (*to hoti*); either explicitly in so many words or implicitly and by necessary and evident consequences (which we have proved belongs to the word of God, Topic I, Question 12).

XII. A formal object implies a reason or cause under which things are believed (to wit, the principle itself of believing). This is not the authority of the church as Romanists hold (because although the church may be the motive to faith in those about to believe and the human instrument and means of it, yet it can never be called its principle, as we have already seen in the proper place), but the authority of God, the only one credible of himself (*autopistou*) as the first and infallible truth, revealing himself in the word, in which is granted the ultimate analysis of faith (as in its own formal object, which alone can establish divine faith because it rests in no one except God alone, Jer. 17:5, 7).

Fourth proposition: the object is either common or proper.

XIII. Fourth proposition: “The object of faith is either general and common or it is proper and special.” The general is the whole word of God, which is proposed to us that it may be believed, whether in respect of histories (which narrate things done) or of prophecies (which predict things future) or of doctrines and precepts (which regard no differences of time) or of promises and threatenings (which are made to the pious or impious). All these fall under the object of faith, although in different ways according to the nature and condition of each.

XIV. Although primarily and of themselves, all things are not of faith which are contained in God’s word (so as to belong to doctrines and articles of faith and that to know all those things is necessary to salvation), still it is of faith and necessary to salvation to believe all things were committed to

writing by the inspiration (*theopneustōs*) of God for the fulness of the knowledge of the church.

XV. The proper and specific object of justifying faith, not as it is a theological virtue (under which respect the sole and entire word of God is embraced equally as true and infallible) but as it is a gospel condition, is the doctrine concerning Jesus Christ and the promise of the remission of sins and of salvation in his blood. This proposes for its object God, not simply as a Creator and Lord, but as a Redeemer and Father in Christ; as covenanted and ours, who wishes to be our God that he may bestow salvation upon us. And here God and Christ ought to be indissolubly joined together. God as the supreme good, in whom we are to be made happy; Christ as the only and infallible means by which we are to be led to God. Christ wished to signify this when he says that eternal life is placed in the knowledge (i.e., in the faith) of God the Father and of Jesus Christ whom he sent (Jn. 17:3). This is undoubtedly so because the Father cannot be savingly known unless by the Son, who also has manifested the Father to us and by his own blood prepared a way for us to him (Mt. 11:27; Jn. 14:6).

Is Christ only the secondary object of faith?

XVI. However when we say that God and Christ are the object of faith, we must take special care not to take this in a Socinian sense. In order to overthrow the divinity of Christ, they distinguish the object of faith into primary and secondary: the Father being the primary object, who is the first and supreme cause of our salvation; the Son the secondary object, who is only the second intermediate and instrumental cause of our salvation. Faith in the Father is terminated in him as the ultimate object, but faith in Christ is not terminated in him, but through him is directed to God and rests at length in him. The former is supreme divine worship, proper to God alone; the latter subordinate, mediate, divine worship, ascribed from grace. Thus Socinus speaks against Wujek ("Responsio ad libellum Jacobi Wuieki Jesuitae," 4 *Opera omnia* [1656], 2:557–67; cf. "Of the Person of Christ," Sect. IV, chap. 1, *Racovian Catechism* [1818], pp. 154–55).

XVII. We think that Christ is indeed to be distinguished from the Father in faith and its object in two ways: both in person, as he was eternally begotten of the Father; and in office, as he was made a Mediator between

God and men. But as neither the order of subsistence in the divine persons nor the office he bears destroys the mutual equality of the persons (since they always remain mutually equal in essence [*homoousioi*]), so we hold that it does not introduce disparity whether of object or of religious worship in reference to it. Thus the faith is one by which we believe in God, the Father, and in God the Son, the God-man (*theanthrōpon*). The trust is one which is reposed in each, not diverse; one supreme, the other intermediate and only subordinate.

XVIII. The reasons are: (1) Christ is the true and eternal God with the Father, as was fully proved in the proper place. (2) Equality of honor and of worship is ascribed to him with the Father: "All men should honor the Son, even as (*kathōs*) they honor the Father" (Jn. 5:23), i.e., with equal worship because he made himself equal with God (v. 18) and proved himself to be so by his works (vv. 19, 21). Thus, "Ye believe in God, believe also in me" (Jn. 14:1) that your heart be not troubled. Why so? Because I am one with God the Father. If it were not so, he would neither have claimed to be God, nor have exhorted his disciples to trust in him no less than in the Father. Thus frequently elsewhere faith in Christ is required equally with the Father, and in the Apostles' Creed, the three persons of the Holy Trinity in the object of faith are distinguished in order but not in degree. Nor is one faith required in the Father, another in the Son, another in the Holy Spirit; but one and the same faith in the three persons of the one deity. (3) Faith in a mere man (such as the Socinians feign Christ to be) cannot be exercised without sacrilege (Jer. 17:5).

XIX. When Christ says, "He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me" (Jn. 12:44), he does not wish to exclude himself from the primary object of faith, but he either speaks hypothetically (namely, according to the false opinion of the Jews, who believed that he was a mere man and taught without the command of God, as Jn. 7:16); or it is not to be understood absolutely, but comparatively (i.e., not so much or only in me, but also in him who sent me, as in Mk. 9:37).

XX. When Peter says, "Believers by Christ believe in God" (1 Pet. 1:21), he does not remove Christ from the embrace of the same object, but partly teaches the cause and author of faith, partly points out the order in which faith ascends to God; not immediately, but mediately through Christ the

Mediator. But this order (established by the perfectly wise counsel of God) derogates nothing from the equality of the persons.

XXI. Honor and glory are said to be given to Christ exalted by the Father (Phil. 2:9–11) for worship, not as if he lacked it before (because faith in him and adoration had already been commanded [Ps. 2:12]; nay, he had it from eternity, Jn. 17:5), but inasmuch as in the flesh and with it he was declared and acknowledged as the Son of God, who before was concealed under the veil of the flesh as a mere man.

Twelfth Question

Whether the proper and specific object of justifying faith is the special promise of mercy in Christ. We affirm against the Romanists

I. Although from what was said about trust in Question 10 it can appear that faith in its object regards principally special mercy, yet because the Romanists severely contest it (in order to impugn the certainty of faith more successfully and refer its formal conception to a rude and simple assent), a few words must be given to that question also.

Statement of the question.

II. Because the state of the question is often involved, observe (1) that the question does not concern the common and adequate object of faith, which is certainly the whole word of God (as was seen before), but concerns the special and proper object, and as it is distinguished from the remaining kinds of faith. This we hold to be the evangelical promise concerning Christ, the Mediator, and the special mercy granted in him to believers and penitents. For it so far properly justifies and saves, as it apprehends and embraces the merit of Christ revealed to it in the word of the gospel; and the believer firmly believes that remission of sins is obtained by the merit of Christ, not only for other believers, but also for him privately believing.

III. The question is not whether the special promise of mercy respects every single man to whom the gospel is proposed; but whether it respects each and every single believer to whom it is made. This is not sufficiently attended to by various persons, who from the fact that our theologians

dispute against the Romanists that faith has for its object special mercy, infer that that special mercy pertains to every single one and that each one can apply to himself that promise as his own. It is one thing for the believer to be able and to be bound to apply such a promise to himself; another for a man to do it. For since the gospel promises are not given to men simply as such, but to men believing and repenting, no one but a believer and penitent can truly apply them to himself. Not that faith *a priori* causes such promises to pertain to them (since this depends antecedently on the election of God), but because it is the condition and instrument *a posteriori* by which according to God's order they ought to be made partakers of the promises and the argument from which they gather that they truly pertain to them.

IV. Special mercy can be viewed in three ways: either as it is promised in the word to all believers and penitents and as it is to be apprehended by them; or as it is actually conferred upon believers apprehending it and seriously flying to Christ; or as having already been bestowed in fact upon those who have apprehended it by faith. To this threefold relation (*schesei*) answers the threefold act of faith which is concerned with it. First, he who believes that remission of sins will be bestowed by the special mercy of God on account of Christ upon all who will believe and repent and so also upon me if I believe. Second, he who believes that remission of sins is actually bestowed in the present upon me believing and repenting. Third, he who beholds it as having been bestowed already in the past by which I believe that my sins have been forgiven me on account of Christ, in whom I know that I believe. The first is called an "act dispository" to justification because it disposes us to receive it; the second an "act justificatory" because the absolving sentence of our justification attends it; the third an "act consolatory" because it follows it. The first two are direct, which are carried into the promise; the third is a reflex, which is carried into a direct act. The former precede justification, if not in order of time, at least in order of nature as its cause; the latter, however, follows it as the effect. Now although they all pertain to justifying faith, still they are not equally essential to or inseparable from it. For the first two are so essential to faith that no one can be a true believer or obtain justification without them; but the third is not of equal necessity (at least as to its exercise) and rather belongs to the perfection of faith than to its essence (since it is certain that the believer can sometimes be without that feeling).

V. Hence it appears that the special application of promises is twofold: one which respects the remission of sins as a good to be certainly obtained; the other which beholds it as a good already bestowed. Each distinguishes justifying faith from historical; but the first alone is the principal act of the faith which justifies us, while the second follows it as its fruit. Historical faith regards the promise of the gospel merely theoretically without any application. But justifying faith goes further, causing the believing man to regard the promises as intended for penitents (of the number of whom he is). This application neither demons nor the impenitent can make. The other follows this application by a reflex act by which the believer, seeing that he has believed, is surely persuaded that his sins have been pardoned. The first application is the trust of adhesion, by which it happens that man, flying to Christ, rests upon and cleaves to him. The other is the "trust of sense," which rests upon the sense of Christ received and of remission obtained in him.

VI. And hence the answer to the question agitated here is easy—whether the object of saving faith is the remission of sins, either already obtained or still to be obtained. Hence our opponents take occasion to traduce our doctrine as absurd (involving us in a ridiculous circle)—as if we say that justifying faith (by which we obtain the pardon of sins) consists in this: that we believe our sins have been already pardoned—as Amaldus, following Bellarmine, fully discusses (*Le Renversement de la Morale de Jesus-Christ* 2*.9 [1672], pp. 183–89). But it is easy to rid ourselves of such misrepresentations and calumnies. First, remission can be said to have been obtained by right through the death of Christ, in whose blood we have remission (Eph. 1:7); or in fact by the efficacious application of it to the heart. In the former sense, the object of faith is properly said to be the remission of sins already obtained (namely, by the merit of Christ). But in the latter sense, it is only remission about to be obtained because, since faith is the instrumental cause of justification, it ought to precede justification. And yet the trust of remission obtained necessarily follows it because the persuasion concerning anything done is always posterior to the thing done (which is its object and cannot be its cause). Second, the fiducial act (as we have already said) is twofold: one which precedes justification as its cause; the other which follows it as its effect. The former (which consists in a persuasion of the most full satisfaction of Christ made for the sins of all

who believe, fly to and receive him) respects the remission already obtained by the merit of Christ, but to be really applied to me believing. The latter (which consists in the reflex act of faith and in the sense of justification) regards remission as already applied to me. By that, I believe that my sins will be pardoned in the future or are here and now in the present remitted. By this, however, I believe that my sins have already been forgiven me in the past. Hence to obtain the remission of sins, I ought not to believe that my sins have been pardoned (as they falsely charge upon us); but I ought to believe that my sins will most certainly be forgiven me (believing and repenting) according to the promise made to those who believe and repent (which afterwards, from a secondary and reflex act by the sense of faith, I believe have been pardoned).

Proof that the proper object of faith is the promise of special mercy: 1. because …

VII. These things being established, the question returns to this—whether the proper and specific object of faith is the promise of the special mercy of God in Christ. The Romanists deny this; we affirm it. The reasons are: (1) the object of faith is the same as that of the gospel, since these have a mutual relation to each other. Now the proper and specific object of the gospel is the promise of special mercy in Christ (Rom. 1:16; Jn. 3:16), since it has no other object than to set forth to us Christ crucified as the author of salvation to all who repent and believe, and thus our Messiah and Redeemer if we believe.

2. From faith.

(2) Faith has regard to the promise of grace. Now every promise implies a special application with respect to those to whom it is made. For although in general it is proposed to all believing, yet because all individuals are contained under the genus, whoever apprehends as true the general promise concerning the saving of all who believe, ought also to apply it to himself in particular, if he feels that he is of the number of those believing. However since it is certain that the believer can be sure of his own faith (as will be

proved hereafter) nothing prevents him from rightfully and lawfully applying to himself the general promise as pertaining to himself. Yea, once the promises were made for no other end than that they should be received, every single person ought to apply them to themselves.

3. From the examples of the saints.

VIII. (3) The faith of the saints always principally had regard to special mercy in Christ. Paul testifies that he believes Christ loved him and died for him (Gal. 2:20); that Christ came to save sinners, of whom he is the chief (1 Tim. 1:15). He indicates the same thing everywhere for believers (Rom. 8:16, 32, 33; Eph. 1:3–5; 2 Cor. 5:1; Col. 1:5; 1 Pet. 1:2; 1 Cor. 2:12; 1 Jn. 3:2). Nor must we here have recourse to a certain special and extraordinary revelation, belonging to some and not to all. That persuasion is not founded upon any privilege of certain believers, but depends upon general foundations common to all believers (to wit, the nature of the covenant; the death and resurrection of Christ; the faithfulness of God and the like).

4. From the sacraments.

IX. (4) The sacraments, which are the seals of the promises, imply that particular application inasmuch as they were instituted for this end—that the general and indefinite promises might be applied and sealed to each particular individual. Hence they are proposed not only in general, but they are administered and proposed in particular to this or that individual, who is supposed to have faith. Now the reason of the sacraments is also the same as the promises. Nor is it any help to say with Bellarmine that the sacraments are infallible signs of salvation, not absolutely, but on their own part, if man does not interpose an obstacle. As we have already said, we speak here of the true believer, not of the hypocrite who shuts the door and to whom therefore the sacrament seals nothing.

5. From the sealing of the Spirit.

X. (5) They who are sealed by the Holy Spirit and have received the earnest of the inheritance can apply the promises to themselves; for no one is sealed

unto an indefinite hope, but only he to whom the promise is peculiarly applied. Now the earnest is given not only that one may know that the salvation to be obtained by a few has been promised to all and with no choice, but that he may understand that he has been chosen among all and out of all, to whom the promise would be made certain. And this is predicated everywhere of believers (2 Cor. 1:21, 22; Eph. 1:13; 4:30; Rom. 8:16).

XI. (6) Justifying faith without special mercy would not differ from the faith of devils and the reprobate (to whom knowledge and assent can belong, but not trust in the divine promises).

XII. Although the special promise of mercy with respect to individual believers in particular is not contained expressly and explicitly in the word, still it may be deduced from it implicitly and by necessary consequence. For he who says, Whoever believes shall be saved, says also that Peter and John believing shall be saved. As in the law special precepts are contained under the general and what is in general prohibited to all ought also to be applied in particular to individuals, thus what is promised to all in any class can and ought to be applied to individuals contained in that class. Again, since Christ has applied to various persons the promises in particular (as to the paralytic, the thief, the adulteress), so the Holy Spirit applies the same in particular to those who believe (Rom. 8:16); as gospel ministers do (Jn. 20:23) who are ambassadors for Christ (2 Cor. 5:20).

XIII. What the apostle says ("Faith is the evidence of things not seen," Heb. 11:1) proves indeed that in faith is required the knowledge and firm persuasion of the truth of the things proposed for belief; but does not deny that the trust in special mercy pertains to it. Yea, he necessarily supposes this when he says it is "the substance of things hoped for" (*hypostasin tōn elpizomenōn*). What he adds concerning the creation of the world (v. 3) and the building of the ark has the same bearing. For as redemption supposes creation, so the knowledge of the former supposes the knowledge of the latter (as justifying faith supposes historical faith). It is false however concerning Noah, that in the building of the ark he regarded nothing but the dreadful judgment of God in destroying the human race and did not think about the deliverance of himself and his own by special mercy. Nay, for no other reason did he build the ark than to provide for himself and his family. When the object of faith is said to be to believe that God is and is the

rewarder of them that seek him (v. 6), it is evident that two things are necessarily joined together (which are gratuitously bestowed from special mercy): knowledge and assent in respect of the existence of God; and trust in the rewards.

XIV. Since Christ proposes himself to his hearers as the object of faith, he cannot be said to have required only a belief in his omnipotence or divinity without special mercy (which will not be shown elsewhere than in him). This appears from the example of the blind men who implored his mercy, "Have pity upon us, thou Son of David" (Mt. 9:27*); and of Peter and the apostles, who professed to believe that Jesus is the Christ and the Son of the living God (i.e., the Mediator who was about to conciliate the favor of God for us, as they elsewhere explain this, Jn. 6:69); of the centurion who not only believed that Christ could by his power, but that he also wished by his grace to cure his servant (Lk. 7:9); of Martha, who asserted that she believed Christ to be the Messiah who was to come for the salvation of men (Jn. 11:27).

XV. Although Christ healed the leper (not fully persuaded of his will, Mk. 1:40), it does not follow that justifying grace does not have regard to special mercy. For the case of a temporal blessing widely differs from that of an eternal blessing. If it was permitted the leper to doubt concerning the restoration of health (concerning which he had received no peculiar promise), it is not lawful for us also without a reflection upon God to doubt concerning a participation in the grace and salvation promised to all that believe. Again, although Christ, accommodating himself to human infirmity, mildly passes over and covers the defects, he does not on that account approve them since elsewhere he frequently rebukes his disciples for their doubts concerning his benevolence and their little faith (*oligopistian*, Mt. 8:26; 14:31).

XVI. The faith in the resurrection and divinity of Christ (demanded from the apostles, Rom. 4; 10:9; 1 Cor. 15; Acts 2:24; 4:10; 10:40) does not exclude, but supposes special mercy because in this is the foundation of our salvation and consolation—that God sent his Son into the world to die for our sins and to be raised for our justification.

XVII. Although the Apostles' Creed contains nothing explicit about special mercy, still it involves it sufficiently expressly, not only in the article about the remission of sins and eternal life, but principally where faith in

God—the Father, Son and Holy Spirit—is described (which necessarily implies the fiducial apprehension of special mercy).

XVIII. Although the faith which justifies regards as its object the whole word of God and includes many things which are merely historical and dogmatic, still as it justifies, its proper object is special mercy because it cannot justify except as it regards the mercy of God in Christ.

XIX. So far is the faith in special mercy from doing away with preaching, the sacraments and good works, that it supposes their necessity because they are the means by which it is sealed and confirmed and increased in us. Nor is the grace of God a cushion of security or a cause of licentiousness, but the mother of vigilance and an incentive to holiness (2 Cor. 5:14; Gal. 2:20; Ps. 130:4).

XX. Although the faith of believers has been according to the measure of revelation, either more obscure or clearer in the Old and New Testaments, yet it always had for its object God's special mercy in Christ. Under the New Testament Christ clearly proclaimed himself to be the Messiah, the Savior of the world (Jn. 4:26), by the merit of his death (Mt. 20:28; 26:28) and by the efficacy of the Spirit (Jn. 4:14; 7:37), indeed to those who believe in his name (Jn. 3; 6). And if the apostles did not sufficiently understand what he said about his passion and death (Lk. 18:32–34), this must be ascribed to their weakness and their preconceived opinion about the temporal kingdom of Christ, which was afterwards corrected by him; but not to a defect in the revelation, which was sufficiently clear. As to the believers of the Old Testament, their faith (although more obscure) had also for its object Christ and the promises of grace in him (as is evident from Jn. 8:56; Lk. 10:24; Acts 10:43; Heb. 11; 1 Pet. 1:10, 11). And even the sole little clause of the covenant proves this. It could not be received by them in faith, unless they believed in the Messiah also, on whom that covenant was founded and in whom all the promises of God are Yea and Amen (2 Cor. 1:20).

Thirteenth Question

Whether the form of justifying faith is love or obedience to God's commands. We deny against the Romanists and Socinians

Twofold question concerning the form of faith.

I. A twofold question is agitated here: (1) against the Romanists, who hold love to be the form of faith; (2) against the Socinians, who make its form to consist in obedience to God's commands. We must treat these clearly.

1. With the Romanists.

II. The Romanists (to prove that faith considered in itself does not justify, but borrows its whole power of justifying from love) distinguish faith into formed and unformed. They term that unformed which is separated from love, and formed that which is perfected by love as the form (which the Scholastics laboriously strive to establish; cf. Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum*, III, Dist. 23 [PL 192/2.805–7]). They hold indeed that there is in it whatever is necessary to belief, but that love ought also to be in it and concur with it to our vivification and justification before God. But because they see it can be opposed to them (that faith has its own internal form by which it is constituted and becomes true faith and is distinguished from others and so cannot be informed by love, which is a distinct virtue from it), they answer that love is not the essential form of faith. Rather since it adds some perfection to faith, it can metaphorically be called the form on account of its analogy to a form properly so called which in its own manner perfects the subject (as Gregory of Valencia expresses it, *Commentariorum theologicorum*, Disp. I, Q. 4 [1603–9], 3:329–46). Durandus sets it forth that love is not the form of faith according to its natural being; yea, it can be separated from it. But it is the form of faith as to its meritorious being, inasmuch as it deserves eternal life because the act of faith is not meritorious, except insofar as it is commanded by love (without which it does not have the relation of merit and by which man pleases God); cf. *Sententias theologicas Petri Lombardi Commentariorum*, Bk. 3, Dist. 23, Q. 8 (1556), pp. 220–21.

III. But this opinion rests upon a doubly false foundation. The first is that there is any true unformed faith. For since form gives being to a thing, it is absurd (*asystaton*) to say that there is an unformed faith. The other concerns the merit of faith and of works (as will be proved in the proper place), so that it is deservedly rejected as false and absurd. Nor can it be confirmed by

the passage where faith is said by the apostle "to work by love" (*di' agapēs energoumenē*, Gal. 5:6) because this is not to be understood passively, as our opponents hold (so that faith may be said to be made operative by love [as if it borrowed its universal efficacy from love] because it rather bestows that upon the others as their cause and root, than receives from them), but actively, as the original word *energeisthai* is often taken elsewhere (Rom. 7:5; 2 Cor. 1:6; 4:12; Col. 1:29; Jam. 5:16), inasmuch as it is that which is produced by faith as the term, not which produces faith as the principle (i.e., which draws love after it and in producing this exercises and manifests itself). Thus Paul wishes to prove not that any faith whatsoever in Christ avails, but only the true and living which works by love and good works. Thus the actions of love are from faith imperatively, not elicitively.

IV. The opinion of our opponents receives no better support from Jam. 2:26 where "faith without works" is said to be "dead" because this must not be understood of the causality of works to the life of faith *a priori*, as if works made faith living, but of a declaration *a posteriori* because works demonstrate a living faith; as a body without spirit is said to be dead (i.e., it is known to be dead from the want of respiration and breathing; for here *pneurna* is used for *pnoē* or "respiration").

2. With the Socinians.

V. The Socinians, the more easily to overthrow the fiducial apprehension of Christ's satisfaction (in which the orthodox constitute the essence of faith) and thus retain the righteousness of works (as so expressly distinguished from the righteousness of faith in Scripture), hold that faith is nothing else than obedience to God's commands. Thus good works are not so much the fruit of faith as its form, as Ostorodt expresses it (*Unterrichtung ... hauptpuncten der Christlichen Religion* 2 [1612], p. 22). Volkelius places the third degree of faith in obedience to the commands of God: "The third," says he, "is to confide in Christ and through him in God, and so relying upon the hope of immortality, to accommodate himself wholly to the wish of God (i.e., of Christ) and thus also to obey the commands of God" (*De vera Religione* 4.3 [1630], p. 178).

VI. But on the other hand, faith cannot be obedience to the commands because thus two virtues would be confounded which are mutually distinct

—"faith and love" (1 Cor. 13:13). The former is concerned with the promises of the gospel; the latter with the precepts of the law (which on this account is said to be the end or "fulfilling of the law," Rom. 13:10). The former is the cause, the latter the effect: "For the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of faith unfeigned" (1 Tim. 1:5). That is the instrument of justification, while this is its consequent fruit. Hence in the matter of justification, faith and works are opposed as opposites and contraries (Rom. 3:28).

VII. Nor can it be replied that works (not any kind, but perfect and in every respect agreeing with the law) can be opposed to faith in justification. It is clear from Paul that all works entirely, whether perfect or not, are opposed to faith in justification and that faith does not justify as a work (which is the fundamental error [*prōton pseudos*] of our opponents, who thus confound the law with the gospel and the condition of the covenant of grace with a legal condition, as will be proved in the proper place).

VIII. Although to believe is to obey the command to believe prescribed in the gospel (1 Jn. 3:23), faith is not on this account rightly said to be obedience to God's commands in the sense of our opponents (who here understand by commands the precepts of the law which are to be done and fulfilled on our part by good works; not the commands of the gospel which enjoin upon us faith in the promises of grace). And if faith is called the "work of God" (Jn. 6:29), this was rather done imitatively (*mimētikōs*), regard being had to the petition of the crowd, who had asked "What shall we do, that we might work the works of God?" Faith was able to give them what they had vainly sought in the works of the law; as elsewhere the gospel receives the name of law and works of charity and beneficence are called a fast (Is. 58:6, 7) because they really accomplished what the Jews in vain sought by their hypocritical fasts.

IX. The faith by which Abraham was justified cannot be called obedience to commands (although obedience was prescribed to him as a condition, Gen. 17:1), for it is clearly taught to have been faith in the promise (Gen. 15:5, 6; Rom. 4:11, 13, 16). The walking before God spoken of in Gen. 17:1 is not a condition of the justification of faith, but its effect. Nor can the offering of his son also be said to be its cause because already thirty years before he had been justified (Gen. 15:6). Therefore, the causal

particle “since” or “seeing that” (occurring in Gen. 22:16) is a cause or mark of consequence, not of a consequent.

Is love separable from faith? We deny.

X. Although love is not the form of faith but may be distinguished from it, it cannot on that account be said to be separable from it (as the Romanists contend; cf. Bellarmine, “De Justificatione,” 1.15 *Opera* [1858], 4:483–87). It is the proper and immediate effect of faith, which cannot be separated from its cause. Hence it is said to work by love (Gal. 5:6) and to be dead without works (Jam. 2:20). Hence John asserts that the knowledge of God without his worship is false and deceitful: “He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him” (1 Jn. 2:4). He refers the gospel commandment to faith and love as two marks of true believers mutually inseparable (1 Jn. 3:23).

XI. Nor can the contrary be proved from 1 Cor. 13:2 because there the subject is the faith of miracles and not justifying faith, as we said before. Nor is it an objection that in v. 13 the subject is saving faith because it is not a conclusion arising from the preceding discussion, but a new argument and that too lastly from things related (to wit, from the cessation of faith and the duration of love). Nor can it be proved from Jn. 12:43 where it treats of the leaders believing in Christ. It could not be true justifying faith, since “they are said to have loved the glory of men, more than the glory of God” (which does not suit believers). Hence it was only in theoretical assent arising from the evidence of Christ’s doctrine and the power of his miracles, not fiducial and practical. If in the same chapter belief in Christ is taken for true faith, it ought not to be taken here in the same way because the circumstances differ. Or from this that “one may say he has faith” which is without works (Jam. 2:14). It is one thing really to have faith; another “to say that he has it” (which the hypocrites do, priding themselves on an empty profession of faith). If faith ought to cease in heaven while love remains (1 Cor. 13:8), this must be understood formally as to the mode of cognition which will cease, not materially as the substance of knowledge which will be the same. For the knowledge which is commenced here by the hearing of the word in the light of grace will be consummated by sight in the light of glory.

Fourteenth Question: The Subject of Faith

Do infants have faith? We distinguish

Statement of the question. The faith of infants.

I. Concerning the subject of faith a question is moved as to infants. There are two extremes: (1) in defect, by the Anabaptists, who deny all faith to infants and under this pretext exclude them from baptism; (2) in excess, by the Lutherans, who, to oppose themselves to the Anabaptists, have fallen into the other extreme, maintaining that infants are regenerated in baptism and actually furnished with faith, as appears from the Mompeldardensi Colloquy (*Acta Colloquij Montis Belligartensis* [1588], p. 459). "The round assertion of our divines is that actual faith is ascribed to infants with the most just right" (Brochmann, "De Fide Justificante," 2, Q. 10 in *Universae theologicae systema* [1638], 2:429).

II. The orthodox occupy the middle ground between these two extremes. They deny actual faith to infants against the Lutherans and maintain that a seminal or radical and habitual faith is to be ascribed to them against the Anabaptists. Here it is to be remarked before all things: (1) that we do not speak of the infants of any parents whomsoever (even of infidels and heathen), but only of believers, or Christians and the covenanted. (2) Nor do we speak of every single infant as if such faith is given to all without any exception; for although Christian charity commands us to cherish a good hope concerning their salvation, still we cannot certainly determine that every single one belongs to the election of God, but leave it to the secret counsel and supreme liberty of God. Since indeed the predestination of God makes a difference between children (Rom. 9:11) and the promise of the covenant was ratified (v. 8) not in the children of the flesh, but in the children of the promise, we therefore treat here indefinitely of infants of every order and condition (who pertain to the election of God, whom it is not for human judgment to distinguish).

Proof against the Lutherans that infants do not have actual faith: (1) because they do not profess

the actual knowledge of anything.

III. We embrace our opinion in two propositions. The first is opposed to the Lutherans: "Infants do not have actual faith." The reasons are first because they have not an actual knowledge of anything. Hence they are said not to know good or evil, nor can they discern between their right and left hand (Dt. 1:39; Is. 7:16; Jon. 4:11). Nor ought the objection to be raised (a) "Still the knowledge of many things is born with us." It is one thing to have the principles and seeds of knowledge in the common notions implanted in us (which we grant); another to have actual knowledge (which we deny). (b) "Faith does not depend upon the use of reason; nay, it ought to bring reason into obedience to it" (2 Cor. 10:5). It is one thing for faith to depend on the use of reason as a principle; another for faith to suppose reason as its subject. The former we deny with Paul, who on this account wishes the reason to be captivated into the obedience of faith. The latter we hold with him, who wishes our spiritual worship to be reasonable (*logikon*, Rom. 12:1). Therefore where the use of reason is not, there neither the use or exercise of faith can be.

2. Because they are not capable of acts of faith.

IV. Second, infants are not capable of acts of faith, or of knowledge because intellect does not exist without action; nor are they capable of assent, which ought to be carried to the object known; nor of trust, which is concerned with the special application of the promise of grace. Therefore neither are they capable of faith, which consists of these three acts. Nay, it is most absurd (*asystaton*) that there should be a movement of the intellect or of the will without knowledge (which is always supposed for them).

3. Because they are not capable of the word.

V. Third, they are not capable of hearing and meditating on the word from which faith is conceived: "for faith cometh by hearing" (Rom. 10:17). Nor must it be said with Brochmann that God appointed baptism as a laver of water for the regeneration of infants in the word, as for adults he destined the hearing of the word. Although baptism is the external sign of

regenerating grace (at whose presence God can give it to infants by the Spirit without the hearing of the word), still it cannot be said that actual faith is given to them (which cannot be such except insofar as it actually exerts itself about the hearing of the word).

Sources of explanation.

VI. The little children spoken of in Mt. 18:6 (who are said to believe in Christ) are not infants in tender age (*tenella aetate*), but children who already enjoy some use of reason. For the passage refers to those who can be "called" and "offended," which cannot apply to infants endowed with no knowledge of good or evil. Nor is there any disproof either in the name *paidiōn* (given to them) because it is general, signifying children of more advanced age as well as infants. Or in the word *brephous*, which we have in Lk. 18:15, because (aside from the fact that it is not found in Mt. 18 where children believing is treated), it can also be extended to the age capable of instruction—as Timothy is said "to have known the holy scriptures from a child" (*apo brephous*, 2 Tim. 3:15). Again, Christ by *paidia* who believe in him, can mean adults who are equal to infants in humility, innocence and modesty. Nor can it be concluded that infants and children are equal in spiritual intelligence, since age contributes nothing to faith. Although age contributes nothing to faith as the efficient cause per se, still it is required for it as a receptive subject (because a thing is received after the manner of the recipient).

VII. When the apostle says, "Without faith it is impossible to please God" (Heb. 11:6), he speaks of adults, various examples of whom he in the same place commemorates and whom alone the proposed description of faith suits (Heb. 11:1). Now it is different with infants who please God on account of the satisfaction of Christ bestowed upon them and imputed by God to obtain the remission of their sins, even if they themselves do not apprehend it and cannot apprehend it by a defect of age.

VIII. Although faith depends on the operation of the Spirit effectively, it can also depend in some measure on reason instrumentally and subjectively because it is the instrument by which the act of faith is elicited from a mind renewed by the subject in which it is received. Hence the use of reason being removed, there can be no actual faith.

IX. The cause of pedobaptism is not the actual faith of infants (of which they are no more capable than of that instruction by which adults are taught and are made the disciples of Christ, Mt. 28:19), but both the general command to baptize all the members of the church and the promise of the covenant made to parents and also to their children (Gen. 17:7; Acts 2:39). Nor does it thence follow that the sacrament is an empty ceremony to those using it without faith because this is the case only with adults, who are capable of faith and in whom on that account there ought to be a mutual stipulation on the part of God and man. But not in regard to infants, to whom the sacrament does not cease to be efficacious and ratified on the part of God, although on the part of man it cannot be known or received by faith.

X. It is one thing to obtain the fruit of baptism by an active sealing on God's part; another to be sensible of its fruit by a passive sealing on man's part. The former is well ascribed to infants, but not the latter.

XI. The examples of Jeremiah and John the Baptist indeed teach that infants are capable of the Holy Spirit and that he is also given at this age, but it cannot be inferred that they actually believed. Jeremiah is indeed said to have been sanctified from the womb as a prophet of God, and John is said to have leaped in his mother's womb at the presence of Christ, but neither is said to have actually believed. Besides, even if any such thing were ascribed to them, the consequence would not hold good; for this would be singular and extraordinary from which a universal rule ought not to be drawn.

XII. It is one thing to praise God subjectively and formally from knowledge and affection; another to praise him objectively and materially. Infants are said to praise God in the latter, not in the former sense (inasmuch as God, in the care and preservation of them, wonderfully manifests his own glory, Ps. 8:2).

Seminal faith is granted in infants.

XIII. Second proposition: "Although infants do not have actual faith, the seed or root of faith cannot be denied to them, which is ingenerated in them from early age and in its own time goes forth in act (human instruction being applied from without and a greater efficacy of the Holy Spirit

within).” This second proposition is opposed to the Anabaptists, who deny to infants all faith, not only as to act, but also as to habit and form. Although habitual faith (as the word “habit” is properly and strictly used to signify a more perfect and consummated state) is not well ascribed to them, still it is rightly predicated of them broadly as denoting potential or seminal faith. Now by “seed of faith,” we mean the Holy Spirit, the effecter of faith and regeneration (as he is called, 1 Jn. 3:9), as to the principles of regeneration and holy inclinations which he already works in infants according to their measure in a wonderful and to us unspeakable way. Afterwards in more mature age, these proceed into act (human instruction being employed and the grace of the same Spirit promoting his own work by which that seed is accustomed to be excited and drawn forth into act).

1. Because the covenant pertains to them.

XIV. The reasons are: (1) the promise of the covenant pertains no less to infants than to adults, since God promises that he will be “the God of Abraham and of his seed” (Gen. 17:7) and the promise is said to have been made “with the fathers and their children” (Acts 2:39). Therefore also the blessings of the covenant (such as “remission of sins” and “sanctification”) ought to pertain to them (according to Jer. 31 and 32) and are communicated to them by God according to their state. In this sense (as some think), the children of believers are called “holy” by Paul (1 Cor. 7:14). This may with more propriety be referred to the external and federal holiness which belongs to them, according to which (because they are born of covenanted and Christian parents—at least of one) they are also considered to be begotten in “holiness” (i.e., in Christianity, and not in heathenism, which was a state of uncleanness [*akatharsias*] and impurity).

2. The kingdom of heaven belongs to them.

XV. (2) The kingdom of heaven pertains to infants (Mt. 19:14), therefore also regeneration (without which there is no admittance to it, Jn. 3:3, 5). Now although Christ proposes this to adults for an example of humility to show that they ought to be like children in disposition in order to enter the

kingdom of heaven, still he does not exclude (but includes in that promise) infants themselves, from whom it commences.

3. The examples of infants who have been sanctified.

XVI. (3) There are examples of various infants who were sanctified from the womb (as was the case with Jeremiah and John the Baptist, Jer. 1:5; Lk. 1:15, 80). For although here occur certain singular and extraordinary things (which pertained to them alone and not to others), still we may fairly conclude that infants can be made partakers of the Holy Spirit, who since he cannot be inactive, works in them motions and inclinations suited to their age (which are called "the seed of faith" or principles of sanctification).

4. They have common notions.

XVII. (4) Infants draw from natural generation common notions (*koinas ennoias*), and theoretical as well as practical principles of the natural law; and if Adam had continued innocent, the divine image (which consists in holiness) would have passed by propogation to his children. Therefore what is to prevent them from receiving by supernatural regeneration certain seeds of faith and first principles of sanctification, since they are not less capable of these by grace than of those by nature?

Solution of difficulties.

XVIII. Although there seem to be in infants no marks from which we can gather that they are gifted with the Holy Spirit and the seed of faith (because their age prevents it), it does not follow that this must be denied to them since the reason of their salvation demands it and the contrary is evident from the examples adduced.

XIX. As before the use of reason, men are properly called rational because they have the principle of reason in the rational soul; thus nothing hinders them from being termed believers before actual faith because the seed which is given to them is the principle of faith (from which they are

rightly denominated; even as they are properly called sinners, although not as yet able to put forth an act of sin).

XX. If any of our theologians deny that there is faith in infants or that it is necessary for their salvation (as is gathered from certain passages of Peter Martyr, Beza and Piscator), it is certain that this is meant of actual faith against the Lutherans, not of the seed of faith or the Spirit of regeneration (which they frequently assert is ascribed to infants). Peter Martyr, after saying that the Holy Scriptures do not say that infants believe, adds: "I judge that it is sufficient that they who are to be saved be determined by this —that by election they belong to the property of God, they are sprinkled by the Holy Spirit, who is the root of faith, hope and love, and of all the virtues, which afterwards it exerts and declares in the sons of God, when their age permits" (*Loci Communes*, Cl. 4, chap. 8.14 [1583], p. 826). Thus Calvin: "Yet how, say they, are infants regenerated, having a knowledge neither of good nor of evil? We answer, the work of God, even if we do not understand it, still is real. Further infants who are to be saved, as certainly some of that age are wholly saved, it is not in the least obscure were before regenerated by the Lord. For if they bring with them from their mother's womb innate corruption, they must be purged from it before they can be admitted into the kingdom of heaven, into which nothing impure and polluted enters" (ICR, 4.16.17, p. 1340). This he fully discusses in the following sections.

Fifteenth Question

Does temporary faith differ only in degree and duration or also in kind from justifying faith? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Remonstrants

I. This question about the difference between temporary and justifying faith was raised by the Remonstrants. For in order to prove the apostasy of the saints, they employed principally the argument drawn from temporary believers. However since our theologians answered that they were not true believers and that their faith was not saving and justifying, but differing in its entire species from the faith of true believers, they (on the contrary) maintained that the difference is only of degree, not specific. Thus they

differ from each other in duration and continuance alone and not in their very nature, as they express themselves: “Temporary (*proskairos*) faith is true justifying faith and pleasing to God, as long as it lasts; nor does it differ in kind from true faith which continues to the end” (Declar. Exhib.+). Although they do not doubt that they are alike in various particulars, the orthodox still maintain that the difference is specific and essential.

Temporary faith differs from justifying: (1) as to origin.

II. The reasons are (1) saving faith differs from temporary in origin and foundation. The former flows from the special grace of election when it is called “the faith of the elect” (Tit. 1:1); which is given only to those who are the called according to his purpose (*kata prothesin*, Rom. 8:28) and were ordained to eternal life (Acts 13:48). On the contrary, the latter depends upon common grace which bestows even on the reprobate certain blessings: not only external and temporal, but also spiritual and initial gifts (although not saving) as a testification of a certain general love and to increase their guilt on the supposition of their contumacy. Hence Paul, speaking of the apostasy of Hymenaeus and Philetus, says, “Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure” (2 Tim. 2:19), i.e., not on this account does the faith of true believers waver, being built upon the immovable foundation of the election of God.

2. As to the recipient subject.

III. (2) As to the subject receiving, both “of whom” (*hou*), which in justifying faith is an elect person (Tit. 1:1; Rom. 11:7); in temporary faith the reprobate (Mt. 24:11; 1 Jn. 2:19). And “in what” (*en hō*) (which in the former is a “good heart”; in the latter a “stony heart”). For temporary (*proskairos*) faith is in a “rocky,” i.e., a stony and ungrateful heart “alone” (Mt. 13:20), but saving faith is received into “good ground” (v. 23), which is explained by a good and honest heart (*kardian kalēn kai agathēn*, Lk. 8:15), i.e., remarkably good (for the reduplication intensifies the expression after the manner of the Greeks). Since it cannot be from nature, such a heart

ought to be given to us by grace, while it takes away from us the heart of stone and gives us one of flesh (Ezk. 36:26). Since this is not given to the temporary (who retain their stony hearts), for this very reason their faith ought to differ wholly in kind from saving faith.

3. As to internal principle and rooting.

IV. (3) As to internal principle and manner of rooting. For the principle of saving faith is the Spirit of regeneration and of adoption (Jn. 3:5; Rom. 8:15), but of temporary faith the Spirit of illumination (Heb. 6:4). The mode of rooting is deep in the former and superficial in the latter. Justifying faith is rooted intimately in the heart, consisting in a deep, most internal, vital, friendly and efficacious impression by which the word becomes implanted (*emphyton*) and tempered with faith (Jam. 1:21; Heb. 4:2). And believers are "rooted in love" (*errizōmenoi en agapē*, Eph. 3:17), "rooted in Christ" and "established in the faith" (Col. 2:7). Now temporary (*proskairos*) faith "has no root" (Mt. 13:21), i.e., it sticks to the uppermost surface of the soul (to wit, in the intellect); it does not penetrate to the heart, nor does it have true trust in Christ by whose power we are united to Christ as a solid and rich soil from which we draw the sap of life (Heb. 3:14; Rom. 11:17, 20).

4. As to their effects.

V. (4) As to their effects. For temporary (*proskairos*) faith as it is in stony ground and has no root, so it remains unfruitful (*akarpos*) and barren because the seed as soon as it sprung up was withered away (*phuen exēraithē*, Lk. 8:6). For it had no moisture, or root to draw it up, or deep earth (*bathos tēs gēs*), which a long root demands. But saving faith is productive and fruit-bearing, and they who have it are said to "bear fruit constantly" (*karpophorein en hypomonē*) and indeed abundantly (Mt. 13:23).

5. As to acts of faith: knowledge, assent, trust.

VI. (5) As to the essential acts of faith, knowledge, assent and trust. For in justifying faith, knowledge is deep, cleaving to the inmost heart;

experimental, not derived from hearing alone, but confirmed by the sense of experience (1 Pet. 2:3; Phil. 1:9); "living and practical," bearing with it not only light, but also heat (1 Jn. 2:4). But in temporary faith, the knowledge is superficial and theoretical, making man wiser but not better. Assent in the former is certain and solid (in which there is "fulness of assurance" [*plērophoria tēs syneseōs*, Col. 2:2], so as to be carried into the things to be believed by an action as it were intuitive, placing before itself absent things as if they were present and invisible as if visible; for which reason it is said to be the "substance of things hoped for" (*hypostasis tōn elpizomenōn*) and "the evidence of things not seen" (*elenchos tōn mē blepomenōn*, Heb. 11:1). But in temporary faith, the assent is weak and slippery, connected with a perpetual hesitation and wavering. Hence it is said to be without root and readily yields to rising temptations and is prostrated (Mt. 7:26, 27). Trust in justifying faith is true and real, since it arises from the deepest knowledge and sense of God's grace (1 Tim. 1:5; 2 Tim. 1:5). On the other hand, temporary faith is blinded and weak, cleaving to the lips alone, and does not reach to the heart. Accordingly it is an empty presumption and confidence rather than a true trust; such as was exhibited in the young man (Mt. 19:16–22) and in various hypocrites rashly glorying in the grace and salvation of God. Nor is the reason obscure, since indeed these imagine that the salvation promised in the gospel belongs to them, either without any or with a false foundation; while without any examination of themselves (which they avoid as too troublesome and inconvenient), they proudly claim for themselves the grace of Christ and securely sink into a vain sleep, not inquiring, or wishing to inquire, what is the foundation of their imagination. Sometimes they seek it from a false conception of the universal mercy of God (and I know not what letting down of the gospel covenant) or from the external communion of the church and religious worship or from a certain moral honesty (because they are a little less wicked than the worst) or from a certain security of a sleeping and torpid conscience, which they feign to be the peace and consolation of the Holy Spirit (by which they falsely deceive themselves, as if they were sufficient signs of the grace of God). But true believers compare themselves far otherwise. Panting for the grace of Christ from an intimate sense of their own misery and apprehending it with a firm faith (but with submissive humility), still they do not dare to glory in it as if it were their own, except after they have both ascertained the

marks of grace and made an examination (*kritēriōn*) of their own hearts and after they by diligent search have found in themselves the certain and infallible proofs and effects of grace.

VII. This is confirmed more strongly from the various acts of this faith pointed out before, whether as to the persuasion of the intellect or as to the refuge of the will and its reception of and adhesion to Christ. For persuasion in true believers is indeed certain and most true, springing from the manifestation of the truth and goodness of the promises of grace (which it regards as an inestimable treasure and deservedly values). But in the temporary (*proskairos*), it is uncertain and light, furnished to them by way of light (which although it is in some measure affected by the pleasure, newness and rarity of gospel truth, still they are never persuaded of its goodness as the highest and inestimable, on account of which all things ought to be deserted). Hence as often as other things are presented to the mind which allure with great appearance of pleasure or utility or which bring some evil to those professing such doctrine, it easily suffers the ideas of those truths which are opposed to their interests to be obliterated and another practical judgment is formed from the flesh concerning following the world and denying Christ. Hence it is not surprising if in the act of refuge they wonderfully differ from each other. For as justifying faith is plainly persuaded of its own most miserable condition and the supreme necessity and excellence of grace and regards God as the highest good, Christ as the only and most perfect Savior, it cannot help flying to him with the most fervent affection and zeal, and receiving and embracing him as offered absolutely and entirely, and being united to him by an indissoluble bond, and most constantly cleaving to him (1 Cor. 6:17), all other things being rejected, which could hinder this union and communion (Mt. 13:44; 19:27; Phil. 3:7–9), and prepared to do and to suffer anything to obtain and retain Christ (Lk. 9:23; 14:26, 27; Mt. 16:24, 25; Acts 15:26). But as the temporary (*proskairos*) has a slight and uncertain persuasion, it also coldly and remissly betakes itself to Christ and if it apprehends and receives him, it does this rather with the mouth than with the heart (Mt. 15:8). Or if it receives him in the soul, it is rather in the intellect through knowledge than in the will through love (Tit. 1:16). Or if in the will and heart, it never does this with the whole heart, but with a heart halved and divided between the world and Christ, so that it never delivers itself wholly to God, but wishes

with Ananias (Acts 5:3) to keep back something (*nosphizein*) and to keep it for itself. Hence hypocrites are called "double-minded" (*dipsychoi*, Jam. 1:8), who have "a heart and heart" (i.e., adhering partly to God and partly to the world). Nor does it give itself absolutely and unlimitedly without any restriction (as should be the case with true believers), but conditionally and limitedly with a mental reservation, provided the profession of the truth does not interfere with their interests and they may be permitted equally with Christ to possess their own riches, honors, pleasures and other advantages of life. When it sees that these are incompatible (*asystata*), it rather recedes from Christ and basely deserts him than renounces the world and its pleasures (Lk. 18:23).

6. As to adjuncts and properties: joy.

VIII. The same difference is clearly proved from the two properties or fruits following faith: joy and consolation with sanctification and the desire of holiness. For saving faith generates solid and unspeakable (*aneklalēton*) joy in the heart from a most intimate sense of the presence of divine grace and the hope not to be deceived of future glory (which is such that it is constant and eternal and which no one can take away from us, Jn. 16:22). But temporary (*proskairos*) faith has some joy because it is said to receive the word "with joy" (*meta charas*, Mt. 13:20), but an evanescent and fleeting joy arising not from a true and fiducial apprehension of Christ, but either from the newness and rarity of doctrine (Jn. 5:35), which usually pleases the intellect, or from its sweetness and pleasantness (which promises freedom and salvation) or from its utility in obtaining the advantages of life (as is seen in those who followed Christ on account of the bread and the miracles wrought by him). Hence the circumstances being changed, as soon as the cross and persecution on account of the word succeeds, they are straightway offended and go back (Mt. 13:21).

As well as sanctification.

IX. Sanctification necessarily follows saving faith because it purifies the heart (Acts 15:9) and is efficacious through love (Gal. 5:6). So pathetically (*pathetice*) does it represent the incredible love of God towards us and the

supreme love of Christ dying that it inflames the believer with a mutual love of his most kind Savior, so that he thinks nothing is preferable to living and dying again for him (2 Cor. 5:14, 15; Gal. 2:20); impresses upon the soul with such deep characters the form of virtue, so that it supposes nothing more beautiful for itself than to give all diligence to the cultivation of it; and so deeply inscribes the meditation of the promised happiness that he is prepared to try and endure all things for it (2 Cor. 4:16, 17). But temporary faith, deceiving man with a vain confidence, either plunges him into a deep sleep of security that indulging the flesh he snores loudly; or if by a superficial knowledge of gospel truth and of the good presented in the gospel, he is excited to any emendation of life and external change of acts for the better so as "through the knowledge of the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ he escapes in some measure the pollutions of the world" (2 Pet. 2:20), it does not penetrate even to the heart itself to purify it and introduce new habits of holiness. Hence as often as either the enticements of the world and of the flesh or persecution present themselves, they soon grow weary in their course of inchoate probity and return to their former wallowings. Then the true and good notions which the gospel had implanted in them are so led out from the mind that they readily prefer present pleasure and utility and the avoidance of impending loss to all the promises of the gospel and the desire for the piety prescribed by Christ.

7. As to the object.

X. As to the objects and the relation under which it is apprehended by faith. As the gospel object (besides the idea of truth) also has the threefold idea of virtuous, useful and delightful good (when it is proposed to us under the idea), either of pleasures of every kind or of riches and immense treasures or of supreme glory and perfection, faith is thence affected in different ways. Historical faith apprehends it simply under the idea of truth and temporary faith under the idea of a useful or pleasant good (which can bring to us either some memorable advantage or some uncommon pleasure). While justifying faith properly and primarily regards it under the idea of a moral good, although it does not neglect the other relations (*scheseis*) secondarily. As the soul, deeply imbued with the love of virtue, is either not agitated by disturbances or if sometimes it is tossed about by some

vehement object, or either by the promise of good or the threatening of evil things, it immediately rises again by the consideration of the more excellent good which is presented to the mind. Thus that which is moved by the appearance of virtue is not drawn at all (or only languidly and coldly is held strongly entangled by the idea of the useful and agreeable), does not indeed fail as long as these two goods are conjoined. But when they are separated (as they are separated when, for example, the cross and persecution on account of Christ come upon them), then the impression of the moral truth and good becomes slight and self-love (*philautia*) induces the man to decide that the idea of the useful and agreeable should be followed.

Sources of explanation.

XI. If the temporary are sometimes called "disciples of Christ" and "sons of God," "faithful" and "believers," it is either according to opinion (*kata doxan*) (because they seem to be such in the opinion of others) and out of the judgment of charity (because by a profession of faith and reception of the sacraments, they mingle in the public society of the church); but not according to the truth of the thing. Hence Augustine says, "Certain persons are sons of God to God, who are not such to us, and there are certain others, who on account of grace received even temporarily, are called by us sons of God and yet are not such in the sight of God" (*Admonition and Grace* 9 [20] [FC 2:269; PL 44.928]).

XII. Faith is not true because it perseveres, but it perseveres because it is true. Thus perseverance is not the cause of the verity of faith, but the consequent and the effect—for because it has solidity and a deep root in the heart, on this account it is constant and perpetually endures. As from lightness arises liability to fall, so from solidity arises stability. For although duration does not properly constitute the essence of a thing, still it so follows it that from it a judgment can well be formed concerning the truth of a thing *a posteriori*. Duration is an index of truth, as truth is the principle of duration.

XIII. Nothing is said of the temporary (Mt. 13) which proves that their faith agrees in kind with justifying faith and differs only in degree. Not that "they hear the word, and immediately receive it with joy" because that reception is into the mind, not into the heart (as seed falling upon stony

places is received indeed upon the upper surface of the earth, but does not penetrate farther). And the joy with which it is received is not solid and true, arising from a fiducial sense of God's grace, but from perishable things (to wit, the novelty and pleasantness of the doctrine or even the hope of earthly advantage). Not that "the seed springs up" (although it did not come to maturity) because that superficial germination as it takes place in a different kind of ground, so it ought to differ specifically from the intimate and true, which brings forth good fruit. Not that "they do certain good works," as is said of the Israelites that they seek God and are pleased with the knowledge of his ways (Is. 58:2); of the Jews, who exulted in the light of John the Baptist (Jn. 5:35); of Herod, that he did many things after hearing him (Mk. 6:20). These are no other than external good works (as to the substance of a work and moral virtue), but not truly such as to the truth of the thing and the manner according to which they ought to be done.

XIV. Heb. 6:4–6 does not prove that the apostates were true believers and that their faith was the same in kind as justifying faith. (1) The apostle speaks hypothetically, not absolutely; for *to parapesontas* is the same as if he had said "if they shall fall away" (*ean parapesōsi*). From the hypothetical to the absolute the consequence does not hold good, unless the condition be posited. Nor did the apostle threaten to no purpose because by such conditional threatenings God prevents the renewed from falling, frightening them by the fickleness of the apostate and exciting them to the desire of perseverance. And although the condition on God's part and as to the event is impossible, it would be very possible on the part of man left to himself. (2) Whatever is ascribed to them can be predicated of the unrenewed and reprobate, who can "be made partakers of the Holy Spirit" (if not as to the fundamental and saving gifts of conversion and consolation, still as to the initial gifts of illumination and conviction or even as to extraordinary, miraculous and ministerial gifts). They can be illuminated and have a knowledge of the truth, if not a practical and consoling, yet a theoretical and constraining. They can "taste the good word of God" with an outward and labial, but not an inner and radical taste. They can "taste the powers of the world to come," not so much by hope and joy (which are the first fruits of heavenly glory) as with respect to miracles (which are often termed powers and which were usually performed in the primitive church, which is called the future age, "the world to come" [as in Heb. 2:5] because

it was such in the time of the fathers of the Old Testament). They can "taste the heavenly gift" as to a participation of faith, if not saving, still true in its kind and which could be obtained only from heaven. (3) These things are ascribed to them rather sacramentally and extrinsically (as to a profession of the truth and the reception of baptism), than spiritually and internally (as to the reception of faith without hypocrisy [*anypokritou*], which is the gift without repentance [*ametamelēton*] of the elect).

XV. Although the faith of the temporary is true in its own order because it truly receives the seed with joy and is not feigned by those who thus believe, who not only think they believe, but really and truly believe (hence they are even said "to believe," Jn. 2:23; Lk. 8:13), still it is not a true and living justifying faith, in which sense it is even called hypocritical because it is emulous of the faith of the elect and has an external resemblance to it (although destitute of its truth); and so great is its similarity to it often that a greater is not seen between an image and its prototype. Hence not only others who see them are easily deceived by them, but the believers themselves also are deceived and impose upon themselves; not feigning, but believing that they are truly believers (God alone, who searches the innermost recesses of the heart, knowing the truth). Still it is certain that there is a manifold and most essential difference (as was said before) which shows that they mutually differ not only in degree or duration, but in very kind and nature.

Sixteenth Question: The Perseverance of Faith

Whether the true believer can ever totally or finally fall from faith. We deny against the Romanists, Socinians, Remonstrants and others who favor the apostasy of the saints

I. As there are two principal adjuncts of justifying faith—perseverance and certainty (the former implying its perpetual duration and incapability of being lost so that the believer never entirely falls from it; the latter involving subjectively its certain knowledge and sense)—so two questions arise thence. The first concerns perseverance; the other concerns its certainty. We must treat these distinctly.

II. The question concerning perseverance is agitated by us with the old and new Pelagians and Semipelagians, who agree in opposing and denying it. Such are the Romanists, Socinians, Anabaptists and Remonstrants, who, on this point (as in the others concerning grace), depart from the orthodox doctrine and were condemned by the Synod of Dort in Article 5 (*Acta Synodi Nationalis … Dordrechti* [1619–20], 1:311–17).

Statement of the question.

III. (1) The question does not concern believers and saints, who are such equivocally both from external calling and profession; who are sometimes so called, whether from their own presumption (on account of the initial gifts granted to them) or from the opinion of others (whom we confess not only can fail in their faith, but also really fail). Rather the question concerns those who are univocally and properly such, planted in Christ the Savior by true faith, to whom the fundamental and saving gifts of adoption, justification and sanctification were not only destined, but have also been conferred.

IV. (2) The question does not concern the possibility of failing on man's part and in a divided sense. For no one denies that believers considered in themselves as to the mutability and weakness of their nature, not only can fail, but could not help failing if left to themselves (especially on the approach of the temptations of Satan and of the world). But the question concerns the possibility of failing on God's part, as to his purpose in the compound sense and with regard to the event itself. In this sense, we say their defection is impossible, not absolutely and simply, but hypothetically and relatively.

V. (3) The question does not concern the act or exercise of faith—whether it can be interrupted and fail even as to time, which we every day sadly experience by the grievous falls of the saints. Rather the question concerns the essence of spiritual life and the state and habit of faith. Not whether it can as to facility and readiness of acting sometimes be diminished and very much injured and the spiritual life itself suffer a deep syncope, so as to seem only a little removed from death; but whether it can be weakened and destroyed so far as to be wholly taken away and to cease

to exist; or concerning a total and final defection by which they can wholly fall from faith and eternally perish.

VI. (4) The question is not whether the believer can demeritoriously lose faith and break off the bond of communion with Christ (as far as in him lies), so that his separation from Christ and loss of faith is not prevented by himself (which no one denies); but whether he can in fact and effectively entirely lose faith and be separated from Christ (which we contend cannot take place on account of the intervening grace of God). (5) The question is not whether when he falls into enormous sins, he incurs the paternal indignation of God; is deprived of the sense of justification and adoption; loses that fitness and disposition for the kingdom of heaven which consists in the practice of faith and holiness; contracts damnable guilt, so that, while he continues in that state impenitent, he ought to consider himself liable to death and as certain to die unless he is converted (for all this we readily grant). Rather, the question is whether he falls into the hostile hatred of God, the Judge, by which his right to the kingdom of God is taken from him, the state of adoption and justification abrogated and the grace of faith and regeneration entirely rooted out of his heart. This our opponents hold; we deny.

VII. The question, therefore, returns to this—whether a true believer who is called according to God's purpose and truly justified, furnished with a faith not dogmatical and temporary, but living and saving, can (no less as to God and the event, than as to himself) lose faith, not only objectively (which believes), but also subjectively (by which he believes); not only demeritoriously, but effectively (totally); not only as to act and sense, but also as to habit and power, and finally remain in unbelief and impenitency and so cut himself off from a right to the kingdom of heaven and from the state of adoption and be eternally condemned. The Pelagians formerly affirmed this; the Romanists have until now; the Socinians, Remonstrants and others who follow them affirm it. The orthodox constantly deny it. They think that the habit of faith once enjoyed by the elect can indeed sometimes be strained or remitted, become stronger or weaker in reference to the inroads of sin, but so that it is never wholly and finally destroyed and lost, nor the grace of regeneration once bestowed upon man wholly taken from him.

VIII. Our opponents are distinguished into two classes. Some contend only for a temporary cutting off of faith and justification, so that faith may indeed totally fail, but not finally (being restored before death by the special grace of God, lest approaching death should meet the man destitute of faith). Others urge not only a total, but also a final apostasy of the saints and the excision of faith. Both are opposed by the same arguments.

Proof of the perseverance of faith: (1) from the election of the Father.

IX. The foundations of the orthodox opinion are various: (1) the election of God. This purpose is eternal and unchangeable (*ametatheton*, Heb. 6:17; Rom. 9:11), the foundation (*stereon*) firm (2 Tim. 2:19), efficacious both as to faith and as to the means indissolubly joined together with the end (Rom. 8:29, 30); nor can an immanent act of God be rescinded or changed either by the Creator (who is always consistent with himself and with whom there is no variableness or shadow of a turning) or by the creature (who has no power and strength over the Creator or his acts). Thus faith which is the fruit of that immutable election and the infallible means of salvation cannot help being firm and immutable (as we have already proved, Topic IV, Question 12).

2. From the nature of the covenant of grace.

X. (2) The nature of the covenant of grace. Since it is firm and immutable and can never be abrogated because it is founded upon God's grace alone and not on man's obedience (like the legal, which on that account was rescinded and made void), the blessings dependent upon it should also be perpetual and immutable; such as especially faith, justification and regeneration, which are its peculiar goods. This Jeremiah in the remarkable prophecy (31:32, 33; 32) excellently testifies where he not only asserts that God willed to make a new covenant with the church, by which he would bestow upon it all saving gifts (both of justification, by not remembering anymore their sins, and of sanctification, by writing the law upon the heart); but that he would also make them perpetual and eternal, both by pursuing

them with his constant love (that he might not depart from them) and by putting his fear in them (that they might not depart from him). “I will make an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them, to do them good,” he says (32:40). “I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me.” He does not say, I will exhort to fear and drive them to fear me, but “I will put” fear in order that they may not depart. He does this to teach that he will most surely bring about the execution of the covenant. For since only two things could render that covenant void (on the one side, a change in God’s love; on the other, the inconstancy and instability of our fear and faith), God confirms us against both dangers when he promises on the one side the constancy of his love that he may not depart from us; on the other the perpetuity of our fear. Thus now we ought to fear neither that he will desert us, nor that we will desert him, since he promises that he will bestow both benefits; thus fulfilling not only his part, but also ours and taking care that we do not fail in our duty. Hence Augustine says: “God willed it to belong only to his grace, that man should come to him, and he willed it to belong only to his grace that man should not depart from him” (*On the Gift of Perseverance* 13 [7] [NPNF1, 5:530; PL 45.1001]).

XI. Here pertain those important promises concerning the guardianship and preservation of believers which are frequently met with in the Scriptures: “I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee” (Dt. 31:8; Heb. 13:5), which would be absurd and false, if he suffered us to fall from faith and salvation. “The mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith Jehovah” (Is. 54:10). He draws a similitude from the firmest things to teach that the mountains would be moved before the love of God would depart and the covenant of grace entered into with the church be abrogated, which he calls an everlasting covenant and “the sure mercies of David” (*to hosia pista Dabid*, Is. 55:3)—which were promised to David or are founded on the mystical David and are Yea and Amen. “This is my covenant with them: My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of they mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, from henceforth and for ever” (Is. 59:21). Here he promises to the church the perpetual presence of his word and Holy Spirit, which are the two means of ingenerating and conserving faith through all

ages even unto the end of the world. “I will betroth thee unto me forever” (Hos. 2:19) points out the intimate and constant species of love and union by which he betroths us to himself in Christ by an indissoluble and eternal marriage (which ought not to continue only for a time and afterwards be made void [such as the first was, which the people had broken], but for ever). Of the same kind are these promises of the New Testament: “My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand, because my Father, which gave them me, is greater than all” (Jn. 10:27–29*). He says that he gives eternal life (i.e., will most certainly give) so that no one will pluck them (neither by force nor by deceit; not even the Devil himself, who holds the empire of death; not the world, not the flesh, not prosperity, not adversity) out of his hand (i.e., from the power by which they are guarded) because God who gave them to him to be guarded and preserved is more powerful than all—angels, as well as men and every creature. Thus “upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it” (Mt. 16:18). He promises firmness and perpetuity to the church and to its individual members (to wit, to those who are built upon Christ the immovable rock of ages, so that neither the power of death and the grave, which is often designated by *hadou pylas* [Is. 38:10; Job 38:17], is able to hold back and destroy them) because he who believes passes from death to life (Jn 5:24) and will certainly be raised again at the last day (Jn. 6:40). Nor will the assaults of Satan, who is the prince of this world and who here exercises his sway (as formerly princes sat in the gates of cities and there gave decisions), be able to prevail against them. There are innumerable promises of this kind which promise the protection of God and perserverance to the believer (as 1 Cor. 1:9; 10:13; Phil. 1:6; 1 Thess. 5:23, 24; 2 Thess. 3:3; 1 Pet. 1:5). Hence we infer, since God (who is faithful and constant in his promises) in his word so often and so expressly has promised perserverance to us, it cannot help being certain and indubitable.

XII. The exceptions of our opponents return to this: in general (1) “the promises of God are not always fulfilled, especially when they are not absolute, but conditional such as those are which always suppose a condition on the part of man, to which he may fail to respond.” We answer first, the promises concerning the end are falsely confounded with the

promises concerning the means. We do not deny that the former are conditional and are really such; but the latter are by no means because there are not granted conditions of conditions, otherwise the thing would go on to infinity; besides the condition would thus coincide with the promise (to wit, God would promise perserverance to man provided he perserveres, for this is his duty, not to be wanting to himself, which is nugatory; for to what good would he promise him what he already has?). However, we say that the promise is given to the believer that he may do his duty, not because he does it. Second, absolute can be understood in two ways: either as excluding means and equivalent to immediate; or as excluding a condition upon which it may rest. In the latter sense, it is certain that the promise of perserverance is not conditional because there is no condition which does not fall under the promise itself; but in the former sense, nothing prevents the promise requiring means by which it may be executed, since perseverance is not physical, but moral, perfected by man himself through the aid of grace. But these means are included in the very promise, so that they can be fulfilled by man. (2) "The defect is not on God's part, who does what he has promised, but on man's, who on account of supreme lightness of his will withdraws himself from what is offered." Hence God indeed fortifies us from external enemies, but not from ourselves and domestic perfidy. Here belongs the expression of Bellarmine: "Love does not cut us off, but we sometimes cut ourselves off from it" ("De Justificatione," 3.15 *Opera* [1858], 4:564). We answer, but this is a foolish refuge since Scripture makes mention of no condition as the cause of fulfillment of the promise. Rather it intimates only that God promises and affords the very conditions he requires. For otherwise to what purpose does he write the law in the heart, sustain with his hand, give escape from temptation, except that the will might not rush headlong into any wickedness and danger, or forthwith spring back from grace received? I confess that faith and repentance are required in the subject because the promise is given only to the believer, but the perseverance which is promised ought not at once to be supposed. (3) It is added, "The promises are made to the church, not to particular believers." But on the contrary, what is promised to the church, the body, regards also its individual true members who share in the nature of the body. Hence it is necessary that he who "is the Savior of the body"

should save by the same help all who are members that the body may be complete and not diminished (*mutilatum*).

XIII. In particular, on the passages in Jer. 31, 32: (1) "That it treats of the bringing back of the people from the Babylonian captivity (32:37), not of perseverance which belongs to the elect alone, which is supposed to have been already granted to all believers of the Old Testament." We answer, although the prophecy can have this reference as to a temporal blessing, still it stretches further to the times of the New Testament as to the spiritual benefit. Christ himself so teaches when he applies to all the elect the fact that they were to be "taught" of God (*theodidaktoi*, Jn. 6:45), which the prophet had said concerning Israel. Paul also clearly testifies this in applying it to the covenant of the New Testament (2 Cor. 3; Heb. 8). Therefore, under the promise of restoration from captivity (which was made to the whole of Israel after the flesh) is included the promise of a renewal of the covenant of grace (which was made to the whole of Israel according to the Spirit, who in its own time should be entirely saved [Rom. 11:26], of whom he was the type; as it is usual with the prophets to connect these with each other). If perseverance was already granted to the elect under the Old Testament, it does not follow from this that it could not be promised anew (for the covenant of grace was also in existence). But still it is promised because it was to be renewed far more illustriously and efficaciously both on account of the abundance of blessings and on account of the head who was to come and because the types having been removed all things were to be proposed plainly. (2) "That the intention and end are pointed out, which God proposed to himself, but not the event, in order to denote the certain great and efficacious motion of God, which was to be by the many distinguished benefits with which he was to affect the people and soften their hearts and minds, so that it would not be his fault if the end was not fully obtained, and that God would do all in his power, as this could happen otherwise, because it was not to happen without their cooperation," as Collat. Hagi.+ cavil following Socinius (*Praelectiones theologicae* 12 [1627], pp. 45–47). We answer (a) the intention is falsely separated from the event, because God can never fail in his intention and end. (b) It is not treated here of the law or precept by which he prescribes to man his duty (which man through his depravity does not perform), but of a promise which he says he will fulfill: "I will write my law, I will put my fear in

them, that they may not depart, I will cause them to walk in my precepts." (c) If nothing else was meant than that God would not fail or that he would as much as he could, therefore there was no prerogative of the new covenant, for he had already bestowed upon the people so many and such great blessings that nothing could be added above them (Is. 5; Jer. 25:4, 5). "Ye have seen," says Moses, "the signs … but the Lord hath not given you an heart" (Dt. 29:2, 4*). This is what was wanting and that which he promises to give. Nor is it only a promise, but a prediction and a prophecy; not only of the intention, but of the event itself. For what consolation could they have otherwise had from it?

XIV. As to the passages in Is. 54:10; 59:21; Hos. 2:19: "The promises were made to the church, and to the sons of God in a compound sense, as long as they will remain such, to show what God will do on his part (to wit, that he will not violate this covenant); but it cannot be inferred hence that such cannot become unbelievers." But since these promises bear upon this —that the church and believers (who are made such by regenerating grace) will be so preserved by God that they cannot perish, who does not see that the gift of perseverance of faith is necessarily included that they might never cease to be such and perish in fact? Nor does it imply only that God on his part would do what is required for the keeping of the covenant, but also that he would effect in us that we should never wholly cast aside that covenant. This appears both from its being compared with the covenant made with Noah (which was absolute, ever to endure and not conditional, Is. 54:9) and from its being set forth under the symbol of "espousal" (Hos. 2:19, 20) where no condition can have place in which Christ ought to prepare for himself his spouse (Ezk. 16; Eph. 5:25). Nor should it be added "this promise and the like belongs to the kingdom of glory." God should betroth his people to himself on that day in which he will provide for her corn and wine and oil, of which there will be no need in the kingdom of glory. Nor is it necessary that God should take care that we depart not from him, where there is no peril, no fear and not even the possibility of departing; where for being able not to sin (*posse non peccare*) (which was the case in paradise), it will be for ever not to be able to sin (*non posse peccare*) (which is the state and condition of the elect angels).

XV. As to Jn. 10:28, "Christ promises that no one shall be able to pluck his sheep while they are sheep, but it does not follow that they cannot cease

to be sheep or by their sins escape out of the hands of the Father." But the argument of Christ supposes the sheep which are not plucked out will have eternal life. "I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish." This would be false if the sheep could perish, even if they be not plucked out. (2) The sheep which cannot be plucked out of the hands of Christ by the temptations of any enemies cannot cease to be sheep because no such change could be made except by some attempts of enemies. (3) The promise of Christ would be futile. For what would it help to be guarded from external enemies if danger always hung over us from internal enemies? Believers ought to fear not only from others, but more especially from themselves. The shepherd who promises to guard and keep the sheep absolutely will not discharge his duty if he permits them to wander and perish; but he ought to take care not only that they be not taken away from him by deceit and violence, but that they be not removed by disease or fault, or withdraw themselves from the fold by inborn simplicity and wander into devious paths.

3. From the merit and efficacy of Christ.

XVI. (3) The merit and efficacy of Christ, the Redeemer, who has purchased for them by his sacrifice (*hilasmon*) on earth not an evanescent blessing, nor applies it mutably by his intercession in heaven. For who can believe that Christ would have suffered; that they who were given him of the Father for an inheritance and peculiar property, whom he bought so dearly (not with gold, or with silver, but with his own precious blood and with dreadful tortures of soul and body and with an accursed death), having been plucked from him should pass over to the power of another and indeed of an enemy most hostile to him? Nay, as he is the Savior of his body, he cannot suffer any of them to perish who were given to him by the Father, but he guards them by his grace, continually dwelling in them and strengthening more and more the bond of union so that it can never be broken. Here belongs the passage of Paul: "God that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us, will give all things with him" (Rom. 8:32). Since he has given the greater, he cannot withhold the lesser; he gave his Son to enemies (which is the greater), how will he not give perseverance to friends now reconciled? But Christ himself testifes that this should be put

beyond all doubt: “All that the Father giveth me shall came to me; and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out” (Jn. 6:37). “This is the Father’s will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day” (v. 39). Now how could this be carried out unless he would secure them not only against the perdition of death, but also from the perdition of sin, which is the surest cause of destruction? Hence he elsewhere asserts “that he had kept all those, whom the Father had given him, and none of them is lost” (Jn. 17:12) because he had joined them to himself by the closest union, from which flowed a fellowship of all his blessings and especially of his life through the Spirit. “Because I live,” he said, “ye shall live also” (Jn. 14:19). Yes, he already lives in us (Gal. 2:20). On this account, he is called by the apostle “the leader and finisher of faith” (*archēgos kai teleiōtēs pisteōs*, Heb. 12:2); not only by merit, but also by efficacy because as he is the author of faith, he is also its preserver, who confirms it when produced in us by the word and the Spirit (by the gift of perseverance) and defends us against all temptations, and at last perfects and completes it with the crown of glory and immortality. And although the obedience of believers is required for this perseverance, it does not follow that it is not certain because it is so the duty of man as to be also the gift of Christ (by which he promotes and perfects faith in us, begun by giving the grace not only of believing, but also of persevering).

XVII. This is confirmed by the nature of the union of believers with Christ (as of the members with the head) which is not only intimate and most strict intensively, but also incapable of being dissolved (*adialytos*) extensively and of perpetual duration. Thus nothing can break that bond, or separate us from him (Rom. 8:38) because “he that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit with him” (1 Cor. 6:17) and from him has not only an influx of regenerating grace, but also of strengthening and preserving grace. Thus he is preserved not only from external assaults, but also from the internal assaults of the flesh and of sin (Phil. 1:6). Hence Augustine says: “That is not really the body of Christ, which will not be with him forever” (CI 3.32 [45] [FC 2:153; PL 34.82]). And as from the natural body of Christ now glorified it is impossible that one member can be torn away, thus from his mystical body no believer can be torn away. Hence believers planted in Christ by true faith may be said both as to the past to have now passed from

death to life, and as to the present to have eternal life, and as to the future that they will not come into condemnation, nor will they perish forever (Jn. 5:24; 10:28). Now although that union is reciprocal, so that Christ not only remains in us, but we ought to remain in him (Jn. 15:5), that certainty is not removed because Christ himself causes us to remain, while he exhorts us to it making a privilege out of a duty. Hence the love of Christ is said to be "strong" (Cant. 8:6, 7, i.e., insuperable) as "death," which conquers all things, and "a jealousy cruel as the grave: the coals thereof are coals of fire" (i.e., of brightest flame) which God by the most powerful heat of his Spirit kindles to endure forever "so that many waters cannot quench that love." This could not be said if that love could be changed and that most close union produced by it could be dissolved.

XVIII. Paul magnificently sets forth this constancy of the union and love of Christ. For after saying "All things work together for good to them that love God, to them that are the called according to his purpose" (*kata prothesin*, Rom. 8:28) (which would not be true if anything could extinguish their faith and sanctity), he adds a reason drawn from the indissoluble connection of the blessings of God, of predestination with calling, of calling with justification, and of justification with glorification. Hence at the end he subjoins that full confidence (yea, and glorying) by which he challenges all the enemies of our salvation. He is most fully persuaded that nothing can ever separate us from the love of Christ. "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors (*hypernikōmen*) through him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels … nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ" (vv. 35, 37–39*). But how could the apostle so boldly challenge all the enemies of our salvation and express full persuasion of the final perseverance of believers from their indissoluble union with Christ and the eternity of his love, if it were true that the Devil, the world and sin or any temptations could separate the justified believer from God's love and lead him to eternal destruction? Paul's glorying would undoubtedly be empty and the consolation he draws from it against all the assaults upon believers would be false. Nor can it be objected here either "that this was a special privilege of Paul, not common to others." For since in no other thing does

he place his hope and confidence, than in the immutability of eternal election, efficacious calling, love and union with Christ (which are common to all believers), he does not mean to speak only of himself; nay, he expressly speaks in the plural, "Who shall separate us?" joining himself with others; or "that things are conditional, i.e., provided we do not separate ourselves from God by sin, or give ourselves up to our enemies; and on this account Paul does not mention sin, which nevertheless no one doubts can especially separate us from God." For besides the fact that in this way nothing would be said here of the believer which could not with equal truth be said of Adam (namely, that nothing could have separated him from the love of God if he had retained his righteousness), the discourse of Paul would afford a ridiculous meaning (namely, that nothing can separate us from the love of Christ provided only we remain in it [i.e., we will persevere if we persevere] because to remain in his love is nothing else than to persevere). As however it is useless to be safe from external enemies if danger of destruction is always impending over us from ourselves, so it would be absurd for him to glory as for a victory obtained (the hope of which depends on an uncertain condition of a both doubtful and perilous event). Hence, that the truth may be consistent with the apostle's glorying, the union of believers with Christ should be certain and indissoluble. Indeed, what could separate them from him? The Devil, the prince of this world? But as he had no power over Christ, so neither has he any over his members and he is greater who is in us than he who is in the world (1 Jn. 4:4). Could the world? But Christ has overcome the world (Jn. 16:33) and that we may overcome the world, he gives us faith which is the victory over the world. Could death and the grave? But he that believes in Christ shall not see death; yea, he has already passed from death to life (Jn. 5:24). Could Christ cease to love us or we to love him? But he pursued us with an eternal love and gives us his fear that we may not cease loving him. Could sin and the flesh? But he who is planted in Christ is dead and buried to it (Rom. 6:4). Finally, could the inconstancy of our will and the imaginary indifference of free will? But he in whom Christ lives is so constrained by his love that he no longer lives to himself, but is bound to serve him by an indeed close, yet still a sweet and pleasant necessity (2 Cor. 5:14).

XIX. The efficacy of his intercession also belongs here. Since this cannot be made void (Jn. 11:42), the perseverance he so anxiously seeks for them

ought to be certain and indubitable. Thus he prays that Peter's faith fail not. "Satan hath desired to sift you, but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not" (Lk. 22:31, 32*). Here two petitions are opposed: the one of Satan that he may sift Peter and the other apostles (i.e., tempt and disturb them, and by tempting and disturbing separate them from Christ—these two things occur in sifting, agitation and separation); the other of Christ, for Peter especially (as tried the more), not that his faith might not be tried and weakened, but that it might not fail; if not as to act (which ought to be interrupted), but as to habit. And that no one might say that this referred to Peter alone, he elsewhere prays for the other apostles; yea, and for all who would believe: "Holy Father, keep through thine own name … that they may be one, as we are" (Jn. 17:11); and "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word" (Jn. 17:20). He had promised before that he would do this. "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever" (Jn. 14:16). Not on earth only (once and again) does he pray, but in heaven, seeing he ever lives to make intercession for us (Heb. 7:25).

4. The guardianship of the Holy Spirit.

XX. (4) The guardianship and sealing of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit, who is given to us, ought to remain with us forever. "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever" (Jn. 14:16). Here the perpetual indwelling of the Spirit is promised, not only as to intention, but also as to the event itself; not only in the apostles, but also in all believers, who in virtue of the covenant of grace (Is. 59:21) are made partakers of this gift (Gal. 4:6); not for a time, so that when once given it might be taken away from them, but forever that his grace may continually solace and sustain them even to the end (although unequally and in different degrees). Now how can this perpetual presence and indwelling of the Spirit consist with the total and final apostasy of the saints? This is further confirmed by the operation of the Spirit in us, which is described by "sealing," when he is said "to seal" us "unto the day of redemption" (Eph. 1:13; 4:30). For since this seal (*sphragis*) pertains to nothing else than confirming in the hearts of believers the certainty of God's promises concerning grace and salvation (as the seals applied to instruments denote

their immutability), who does not gather from this the certainty of salvation and perseverance; unless we wish the testimony of the Holy Spirit to be fallacious and the sealing useless, even the thought of which is impious? Hence the fathers call that seal *akatalyton* ("indestructible") which is said to be impressed upon us, not for a certain time only, but "unto the day of redemption" (i.e., even to the end). And on this account, the argument binds the more when the mode of sealing is attended to, which is not only external by the sacraments, but also internal by consolation and sanctification (which are as it were so many parts of this seal and which on the one hand confirm the eternity of God's love in us, on the other hand persuade us to the constancy of our faith and obedience from the grace of God). Hence it is evident that in vain do our opponents reply that it is treated here of the sealing to salvation and not to faith. For by the very thing by which we are sealed to the certain obtainment of salvation, we are also sealed to the constant continuance of faith in us (which is a means of salvation). And if faith is supposed to be already in the sealed (for no one except a believer is sealed), the promise is not immediately made to be conditional (depending upon man's will) and not absolute. For it is one thing for faith to be supposed in the subject; another for persevering faith to be supposed (which comes under the promise).

5. From the nature of the gifts.

XXI. (5) The nature of the gifts bestowed upon us by the Spirit. Since these are without repentance (*ametamelēta*) and eternal, they do not allow the believer adorned with them to fall either totally or finally: "The gifts of God are without repentance" (*ametamelēta*, Rom. 11:29). Now if they are such as God will never repent of when once granted (i.e., he will never recall them), they must necessarily remain in us. How then could they be without repentance (i.e., immutable and constant), if man can lose them or wholly fail from them? Although the apostle here in the first place has reference to the calling of the Jews (many of whom fell and were destroyed), still no less valid does the argument of the apostle remain (to wit, although many of the Jews remain in unbelief, God cannot reject the people whom he foreknew would always be beloved on account of the fathers [nor can they wholly fail]; yet it would happen sometime that they would all be collected into the

church of Christ because the gifts and calling of God are without repentance [*ametamelēta*]). Therefore what is true of the Jewish nation, the same ought also to hold good of the church and individual believers—that the calling and gifts of God once bestowed on them are without repentance (*ametamelēta*) and irrevocable, since the reason in each case is the same. Nor is it to be added, "Although God does not repent of his gift, still man can repent of the gift received or retained." These gifts and calling without repentance (*ametamelēta*) tend to confirm faith in man and cause him never to repent (entirely at least) of the accepted gift. On this account, perpetuity is ascribed to the Christian virtues; as to faith, when it is said our victory which overcomes the world (1 Jn. 5:4); to love because "it never faileth" (1 Cor. 13:8); to hope because "it does not make ashamed" (Rom. 5:5).

And spiritual life.

XXII. This is still further confirmed from the nature of the spiritual life which is generated in us by the Spirit. It is not liable to destruction or extinction (like the animal life), but is perpetual and eternal. On this account, believers in grace are said to have eternal life already: "He that believeth in me hath eternal life" (Jn. 5:24; 6:40). He does not say, shall have in the future, but has now in the present. "These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God; that ye may know that ye have eternal life" (1 Jn. 5:13). And yet, if the life which we have here by grace is eternal, how can it be extinguished or fail? Can it happen that at last we may fall from the eternal life (into which we are translated by faith) into the eternal death from which we were translated? "Blessed is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power" (Rev. 20:6). Now although this spiritual life (no less than the animal) suffers its decays in the serious lapses of saints and does not always have the same tone and vigor, sometimes languishes and seems to be suffocated, still by no means is it entirely suffocated and extinguished; but by subsequent acts of repentance and faith it is renewed as often as the sinner struggles and from that fall (as if with collected spirit) is inflamed with a greater hatred of evil and a more ardent love of good.

XXIII. We must not omit here the important passage where the apostle most clearly proves our proposition (in which, eluding or corrupting, our

opponents labor wonderfully hard). “Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God” (1 Jn. 3:9). If anyone is born of God, he does not sin; whoever sins, is not born of God; yea, he does not see or know him (v. 6). He does not say simply one born of God sins not (i.e., the true believer) for the apostle recognizes sin in the saints and does not except even himself (1 Jn. 1:8); but “does not commit sin” (i.e., so that sin rules over him by which he would return wholly under the power of Satan) in the manner in which the unrenewed sin (with the desire and habit of sinning, sin reigning). Even as he is said “to do justice,” not who does any work of justice, but who employs himself in a continual exercise of it; as he is said “to do medicine” who professes it and is engaged in its practice; “to do merchandizing,” “to do art” who practice them. Nor is he said only “not to sin,” but that he “cannot” even “do it”; not only because “he ought not” from his duty, for thus the unrenewed might be said not to be able to sin because he ought not; or because he cannot do it morally (i.e., he does it with difficulty) because thus the gradation of the apostle from the lesser to the greater is taken away. He does not sin and he cannot sin because not to sin is greater than to sin with difficulty. Rather it is said absolutely as to the event because this cannot be done from a twofold cause. First, on account of the internal principle itself because the “seed of God” (to wit, the implanted [*emphyton*] word and the Holy Spirit, by whose power we are born again) is not only for a moment, but “remains in him” (i.e., is in him permanently). For it is evident that existence alone is not meant here, but a constant abiding because it treats of an incorruptible seed, of regeneration to eternal life, of remaining (which does not permit the renewed to sin and by which the Spirit remains with him forever, Jn. 14:16). The believer ought to remain perpetually in the house and never be ejected from it (Jn. 8:35). Second, on account of the very generation accomplished by that seed because a birth from God has the conserving cause and effect of its own perseverance in him who is born; for the seed of God remains in him and helps to defend him from sin. That act of regeneration, in which is the foundation of relation because it cannot have been, cannot but be; for his seed which remains in him makes an eternal bond of relation, as the Son of God is always what he is once. And although that seed does not always bring forth fruit in the believer as to the second act, it does not follow that it does not

remain as to the first act (as life remains in a tree during the winter when it can bear neither leaves nor fruit).

XXIV. Nor is it to be said here that the opinion of John is true in the compound sense, namely that he who is born of God cannot sin (inasmuch as he is born of God); still that he can sin in the divided sense, if he neglects the seed of God. For thus a causal is changed into a conditional. John does not say he that is born of God cannot sin inasmuch as he is born of God, but "because he is born" and because the seed remains in him (i.e., always perseveres and remains in him), whence he is born a son of God. Otherwise the statement of the apostle would be made frigid, asserting what no one could doubt. For neither the Devil himself, nor any wicked man commits sin according to what he was made by God. However more absurd is Bellarmine's explanation: "He that is born of God does not sin, as long as he continues a son of God" (i.e., he does not sin as long as he does not sin) ("De Justificatione," 3.15 *Opera* [1858], 4:564). Thus neither could Adam have sinned as long as he persevered. But John meant another thing—that believers avoiding sin (at least reigning sin) may in this way know that they are born of God (on whom it does not fall); not in the sense which our opponents charge upon us ("Do not sin, because ye cannot sin"—which is plainly ridiculous); but in another, which is the best ("Take care, brethren, not to indulge in sin because if anyone does so and thinks he is born of God he evidently deceives himself; for he who is born of God, is not accustomed to do so, nor indeed can he"). Moreover this impossibility does not exist on the part of man, but on the part of the seed preserving the believer from such a lapse and on the part of the spiritual birth (which is the cause of that perseverance and which excludes apostasy). Thus not to be able to sin and to be born of God are mutually related to each other, as cause and effect. Hence the proposition of the apostle cannot be identical; as if he should say, he who does not sin, does not sin; no more than this, he who is born of man uses reason. For the believer in the subject of the proposition is described by his origin, but in the predicate by an essential property.

From the various similes.

XXV. Here belong the various similes used by the Holy Spirit to shadow forth the perennial nature of that life; as when it is compared to "an

incorruptible seed" (1 Pet. 1:23), not only in itself formally, but also in us effectively because it produces eternal life and always remains in the believer (1 Jn. 3:9). It is "a well of water springing up into everlasting life, of which whosoever drinketh shall never thirst" (Jn. 4:14); a vineyard which shall no more be pulled up (Am. 9:15); "a tree planted by the rivers of water, whose leaf shall not wither" (Pss. 1:3; 92:14). He not only says that this water remains, but is multiplied and made a perennial fountain springing up into eternal life (i.e., which springs up from the earth even to heaven and to God and eternal life and carries us along, as it descended from God to us), as waters usually rise to the height of their own source; "a house built upon a rock" which stands immovable against the winds, storms and inundations of waters (Mt. 7:25) and against which the gates of hell cannot prevail (Mt. 16:18). Now if the believer who is born of God could become a child of the Devil; if the water of saving grace could be entirely dried up; if the pious who is built upon the rock of ages could fall, how could it be called an incorruptible seed and water springing up into eternal life and a house built upon a rock?

XXVI. The objection to Jn. 4:14 is fruitless. First, "that it treats of eternal life, in which thirst is perfectly satisfied, not of the life of grace, in which it is blessed to thirst" (Mt. 5:6); "yea, we can also cease from drinking." The design of Christ is to show the prerogative of the spiritual water which he gives above the elementary water. First in this, that well water does not entirely quench the thirst, but the water of Christ so takes away the thirst that he who has once drunk never thirsts forever (to wit, with a thirst of total indigence, which belongs to the wicked [Is. 65:13], although he can still thirst with a thirst of desire and total fruition, which is always in believers [who are not as yet perfect, 1 Pet. 2:2, 3] in this life). Second, that well water does not remain in him who drinks, but passes off and disappears, hence he is again compelled to thirst. But the water of Christ is a permanent and perennial fountain, not only in respect of glory (where a fulness of this water will be given), but also in this life (where we begin already to drink of it). Hence he does not say this fountain is eternal life, but springs up into eternal life, to intimate that this perennial fountain has already begun in the heart of the believer in grace, until it leads him along unto eternal life; as elsewhere Christ says from him "who believes streams of living water shall flow forth" (Jn. 7:38), speaking of the gifts of

the Holy Spirit who was to be given to believers. Second, "the word 'drink' is intensive, i.e., it denotes a continuous or at least final act, so that Christ did not mean, He who has once drunk and has once believed, but He who has continually and perseveringly done so, will live forever." But the words of Christ preclude this interpretation. He does not say, he who continually has drunk, but who has drunk (i.e., who has once truly drunk because having taken that one draught he causes him always to drink and because the water which Christ gives becomes a fountain). Christ gives this water, when it is once drunk. Therefore, where it is once drunk, it becomes there a fountain of water springing up to eternal refreshment. Otherwise if Christ meant only this—that as long as man drinks of that water he should not thirst—the same might have been said of any other drink—that as long as anyone drinks of it he shall not thirst.

6. From the judgment concerning the apostate.

XXVII. (6) The judgment, made in Scripture concerning the apostate, as if wholly different from true believers bears upon this subject. "They went out from us," says John, "but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us; but that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us" (1 Jn. 2:19). As Augustine fitly remarks, "That is not really the body of Christ, which will not be with him forever" (CI 3.32* [45] [FC 2:153; PL 34.82]). And elsewhere: "They were not sons even when they were in profession and name sons" (*Admonition and Grace* 9 [20] [FC 2:269; PL 44.928]). Thus the apostle distinguishes "being in the church" as to external profession and the ecclesiastical body; and "being of the church" as to internal communion and the mystical body of Christ (which belongs to the elect alone). Now the apostate and antichrists (of whom John speaks) had indeed been among them in the Christian assembly and the visible church of believers by a profession of faith and communion of the sacraments; and had fallen from that communion, not so much by a change of place, as a change of doctrine and affection (as they are said to go out of the world, not who separate themselves from it in body, but in mind and affections). And because a great scandal could have arisen thence (as if the church had begotten such pests or true believers could fail), John meets the case when he adds they

were not of the number of true believers, because if they had been of them, they would in like manner have remained constantly with them; but this happened in order that it might be manifested that not all who are in the church and who make a profession of faith are truly believers and members of Christ's body. The apostle could not have said this unless he had supposed it to be certain and indubitable that they, who had once been drawn into the mystical body of Christ and the invisible church, could not fail from it. For what is objected by some—that this going out denotes the apostolic mission (as if they had pretended they had been sent by the apostles, which, however, was not so) is so absurd as to need no refutation. Now although we do not deny that true believers can for a time recede from their external profession and fall into a denial of Christ (either from fear and weakness or an error of mind or from the hope of gain, from which fall they can rise), it cannot, therefore, happen that they should fall by a total lapse and from wickedness and a deliberate purpose of mind, from hatred and contempt of the truth, so as to become persecutors and seducers; yea, also antichrists (such as were these apostates concerning whom he speaks).

7. From the absurdities.

XXVIII. (7) From absurdities. The apostasy of saints being established (a) the decrees and gifts of God without repentance (*ametamelēta*) are suspended on the uncertain will of man. (b) The chain of the means of salvation which God has woven together for the sure consolation of his people is broken. (c) The doctrine of the gospel is turned into mere conjecture and the confidence and certainty of salvation is forthwith snatched from the distressed conscience. (d) The distinction between the reprobate and the elect is taken away, while these and those promiscuously are either admitted at random to the condition of those to be saved or are excluded. (e) The whole plan of salvation is rendered useless. For if it is possible for every believer to fall from faith, it might happen that there would be no elect. For if one falls, why not another? and for the same reason, why not all? Thus there could be no church and Christ had died in vain.

Sources of explanation.

XXIX. The examples adduced of those who are said to have fallen from faith do not prove the apostasy of the saints. It is either defection from temporary faith, not from saving faith (as those referred to in Mt. 13:21); or from external communion and the visible church, not the internal and mystical church. This is meant in those passages where mention is made of the covenant-breaking Israelites, who were broken off on account of unbelief (Rom. 11:20), who are contradistinguished from those elected unto glory and who have obtained salvation (Rom. 11:7) and the branches (which not bearing) do not remain in Christ, but are cut off and burned (Jn. 15:2, 6). They are said to be in Christ because they are in the society of the church and by baptism are initiated into Christ and in both their own opinions and the opinions of others seem to be planted in Christ, but who adhere to him rather by contiguity of external communion, than inhere by continuity of internal communion, and by the vivifying influx of the Spirit. Or they are said to be in Christ from a federal and sacramental sanctification—external, not intimate and real (alluded to in Heb. 10:29); or "from the faith which is believed" or the doctrine of the gospel and its profession; not, however, "from the faith by which it is believed" or the habit once given to the true believer (as it is said concerning the last days that some "shall depart from the faith" [1 Tim. 4:1], to wit, from the truth of the gospel, attending to deceiving spirits; and of Hymenaeus and Philetus [1 Tim. 1:19, 20; 2 Tim. 2:17] that "they have made shipwreck concerning faith" [*peri tēn pistin*], viz., departing from the pure and sincere preaching of the gospel, which for a time they had retained). In this sense, they are said "to have put away a good conscience" (to wit, the unclouded sincerity and affection of mind in retaining the purity of the gospel, which they cast aside, spreading the sail to ambition and their other affections, interpolating the true doctrine with various deadly errors—such as the denial of the last resurrection, saying that it had passed already). They are said to have put away a good conscience, not by rejecting what they had, but by not admitting it (as the word to *apōsasthai* used here primarily signifies the repulsion and rejection of a thing which is not held [as in Acts 13:46], not for the shaking off of a thing already possessed). It can also be observed that they are not said to have made shipwreck from faith but "concerning

faith" (*peri tēn pistin*) (*circa fidem*, as the Vulgate renders it), so that the metaphor is taken from sailors and faith is here set forth as a harbor to which they steered the way; the doctrine of the gospel being received, it would have led them, so that in it they would have found peace of conscience and salvation (as Theophylact observes on this passage, *Commentarius in primam epistolam ad Timotheum* [PG 125.27 on 1 Tim. 1:19]). To arrive at which the course of navigation must be governed by a good conscience; casting this aside, they could not reach it. And thus they made shipwreck about it, not only not appealing to it, but running upon the dreadful rocks of error, where they truly made shipwreck (i.e., rushed headlong to destruction). Elsewhere faith is compared to a mark at which we aim and a goal towards which we run and about which they are said "to err concerning the faith" (*astochein peri tēn pistin*, 1 Tim. 6:21) who follow science falsely so called (*pseudōnymon gnōsin*).

XXX. The examples of the saints who fell into grievous and heinous sins do not prove that they fell totally and finally from the faith. It is one thing to fall into sin; another to come under the dominion of sin (as it is one thing to slip into the mud; another to throw oneself into and roll in it with pleasure) —in one there is the accident and weakness of sinning; in the other it is a purpose of life and resolution of the will. The saints sin in the first and not in the second way. If for a time they wander from the path of faith and truth, they do not wholly lose their purpose. In a shipwreck, they keep hold of a plank; in winter of the seed; in a paroxysm, the principle of reason; nor with the act does the habit perish, nor with the seduced affection is the purpose to return taken away.

XXXI. David sinned grievously and against his conscience; yea, in his twofold sin of adultery and homicide, he for some time was stupefied. Hence his faith was not only undoubtedly lessened, but even fast asleep so that he could not for a time perceive the sense of grace. But still he did not totally fall because he sinned not so much from deliberate wickedness and from habit, as from vehement desire and seduction of the flesh; overcome, namely, by his concupiscence (2 S. 11:2–4). Hence, being rebuked by Nathan, he at once recognized and confessed his sin and flew to the grace of God, and on this account the prophet soon announced the pardon of his sin. On this account, he so earnestly seeks, not that the Spirit might be restored to him, but that "the Holy Spirit might not be taken from him" and that "the

joy of salvation might be restored unto him" (Ps. 51:11, 12). This proves that the sense of grace had indeed been interrupted, but not that grace had been taken entirely away. If David acknowledges that he is "a man of death" (2 S. 12:5) (i.e., exposed to death, who really deserved such a punishment on account of his sin), it does not immediately follow that he had wholly fallen from faith and from grace because from the demerit and guilt of sin to the event the consequence does not hold good. It follows indeed that he was in that state in which he was worthy of being smitten with death and separated from God; but not forthwith that he was actually and in fact separated (on account of the intervention of God's mercy). It is indeed certain that David can be said to have remained in death as to his guilt (as long as he remained in sin and was not turned) and that he had lost the fruit and sense of justification; but not moreover can he be said to have fallen absolutely from the grace of adoption and from his right to life, which belonged to him as a child of God. Therefore, what John says, that a murderer "abideth in death" and "has not eternal life abiding in him" (1 Jn. 3:14*, 15) must be understood of an impenitent and unconverted murderer (such as David was not).

XXXII. Solomon was a sad example of human frailty in those grievous sins by which he contaminated himself, by his unbridled license of polygamy and insane love of strange women. While a king he was the wisest of mortals, beloved of God, of so great worth that the business of building the house of God was committed to him, a type of Christ, who in the days of his youth had been regarded as a pattern of wisdom and justice. Now when old, he turns his heart away from God, and goes after idols, and becomes an architect of idols and temples of the Devil; who was before the master workman (*dēmiourgos*) of the temple of God (which so increases the heinousness of his sin that scarcely anything like it is found among the saints). In the meantime if it is thoroughly examined, it is not such as to compel us to believe that he fell totally from faith, so that its habit was not only weakened and very much diminished and stupefied, but wholly extinct. Yea, there are many things from which his penitence and perseverance can be inferred. (1) From the memorable promise made to David concerning him (2 S. 7:14, 15), as the type of Christ, which threatens him sinning with stripes, but does not take away grace (contrary to what was done to Saul). "I will be his father, and he shall be my son. If he

commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, but my mercy shall not depart away from him." A federal promise here is granted, not only of a kingdom (as Kimchi holds; cf. Johannes Buxtorf, *Biblia Sacra Hebraica et Chaldaica* [1619] on 2 S. 7:14), but of all the graces with which the father pursues his son (which is incompatible [*asystatos*] with desertion). (2) This is confirmed by that special love with which God is said to have embraced him (2 S. 12:25). Hence the name Jedidiah ("loved of the Lord") was given to him, for the love of God for his people is eternal (Jer. 31:3). (3) He was a distinguished type of Christ, which he could not be if he is to be placed in the number of apostates and reprobates. (4) In 1 K. 11:4, 6, where his sins are enumerated, it is said, "The heart of Solomon was not perfect with the Lord his God, as was the heart of David his father, nor did he fully follow after the Lord, as did David his father." Hence we can gather, although an uxorious man by love and indulgence towards his wives, he had departed from the true God, whether by tolerating the worship of idols and building temples to them by an idolatry only participative and indirect (as not a few of the Jews and Christians think); or by worshipping them himself or bringing idols into the temple (in which the true worship of God continued even when idolatry obtained); still he had not wholly abjured the worship of God. Hence Augustine joins him with Aaron, whom he says was "induced not to consent to the erring people in making the idol, but was bound to have stopped it" (CG 14.11 [FC 14:378; PL 41.419]). (5) Solomon is praised after his death when reference is made to Rehoboam: "For three years he walked in the way of David and Solomon" (2 Ch. 11:17). Here it treats of the imitation of piety, which the Holy Spirit would not have said if he had wholly fallen from faith. (6) The same thing is proved by his repentance, the testimony to which is not only the reformation of the church instituted in the last years of his life (2 Ch. 11:17), but especially his Ecclesiastes, which (it is the constant opinion of the Jews) was not only written by him (as can be gathered even from the title of the book when it is called, "The words of the Preacher, the son of David, king in Jerusalem," 1:1), but also after his fall at the end of his life (as is gathered from the sum of the book, which is nothing else than deep humiliation before God; a graphic description of the vanities and pleasures of all kinds which he had indulged in; express confession of his sin; an abnegation of his own wisdom, which he had abused (Ecc. 7:23); the woman by whom he was

fascinated and seduced to detestable sin (v. 26); and the recalling of all desire to the fear of God alone, in opposition to the nothingness (*oudeneian*) and falsity of idols, as to the one thing necessary; and "the beginning and end" (*archēn kai telos*) of true wisdom (Ecc. 3*:11*, 12). Nor can these objections to this repentance of Solomon have any force—either that Scripture does not expressly mention it, because we have no explicit mention of the repentance of Adam, Lot, Samson and others (which nevertheless no one calls in question and the arguments adduced are sufficient to prove it); or that he did not remove the idols because it is said, "Josiah defiled the high places which Solomon had built for Ashtoroth, for Chemosh, and for Milcom" (2 K. 23:13). He might have left those high places to serve afterwards for worship, not idolatrous, but of the true God of Israel; as it is said of the people after the destruction of idolatrous worship by Manasseh that "the people did sacrifice still in the high places, yet unto the Lord their God only" (2 Ch. 33:17). Josiah wanted to destroy these in order the more thoroughly to purge the worship of God from all superstition.

XXXIII. That Peter grievously sinned by denying Christ and even confirming his denial by perjury cannot be doubted. But that faith in his heart was not wholly taken away (although the confession in his mouth was wanting) is solidly drawn: (1) from the prayer of Christ, who prayed for him "that his faith might not fail" (*ekleipē*, Lk. 22:32), which everyone believes was heard by the Father. Nor can this be understood only of a final defection because the words of Christ cannot be referred to time, but to the thing which is said to fail in whatever time that may happen (so that faith might not be entirely extinguished, but remain in him). Otherwise Christ would not have obtained his wish and Satan would have secured his purpose. (2) The manner in which Peter sinned shows that it was not a total defection because he sinned not from depravity and a deliberate purpose of mind, but from the weakness and fear of the flesh (which so occupied his mind, that neither in the first, nor the second, and hardly in the third denial could he collect his mind or think that he had sinned at all). (3) The grief and bitter tears which followed his fall at the look of Christ and the crowing of the cock show that faith had not entirely failed in him. Hence the Savior, by looking at him, did not infuse a new habit, but resuscitated him (preserved by the secret power of the Spirit). "And Peter remembered," as

the text has it (i.e., returned to himself, whom fear had before distracted). Thus "the strength of his faith had been shaken," as Tertullian says (lib. de Fug. in Persec.+), but it was not shaken off; faith was moved, but not removed; debilitated, but not destroyed; obscured, but not extinguished. "Love not so much turned away, as conscience disturbed" (as Leo the Great says, Serm. 9, de Passi.+); "He loved within, him, whom he denied without" (although the affection fettered by fear lay torpid, faith remained in the first act, the fear of danger intercepted the second). Hence Theophylact says, on these words of Christ: "I have prayed for thee, said he, that thy faith fail not. For although for a time thou wilt be shaken, still thou hast the hidden seeds of faith; even if the attacking spirit shall tear off the leaves, still the root will live and thy faith shall not fail. I will not altogether leave thee" (*Enarratio in Evangelium Lucae* [PG 123.1074] on Lk. 22:32). Now although confession is an effect of faith (which follows it), it does not follow that where faith is it always and everywhere exerts itself; or that faith is straightway extinguished whose confession was not voluntarily rejected, but only oppressed by fear.

XXXIV. They, who do the works of the flesh with a full will and earnestness and persevere in them, are rightly said to have entirely fallen from faith. But believers cannot be said to sin in this sense (from 1 Jn. 3:19; 5:18) because they do not sin so much from depravity and a full consent of the will without reluctance, as from weakness and the impotence of the affections. And although those sins are committed not rarely from some previous deliberation against their conscience, still because that purpose (*proairesis*) does not so much arise from habit as from a vehement disturbance of the affections (in which there is always either an antecedent struggle or subsequent grief and a certain resistance of the conscience), it is evident that they cannot be called sins of bad habit and of pride (which are committed with an uplifted hand and shake all grace out of the heart). If resistance of conscience occurs even in the unrenewed sometimes, the same is not to be thought of the sins of believers because in the former the struggle is only between the appetite and reason (which represses sin rather than destroys it and induces a dread of punishment, not a loathing of sin); but in the latter, the struggle is between the flesh and the spirit (which always supposes some faith and grace in the heart). Hence Augustine says: "The sons of God, as long as they live mortally, struggle with death, and

although it is said truly of them ‘as many as are led by the Spirit of God are the sons of God’ so by the Spirit of God they are excited and as sons make progress towards God, as also by their Spirit, the corruptible body principally exerting its influence, as sons of men by certain human motions they desert to themselves and on that account sin” (*Enchiridion* 17 [64] [FC 2:423; PL 40.262]). Hence as on account of the unwillingness of the flesh, the actions which follow the Spirit are never so purged from all taint as to have no fault and defect; so those in which the flesh preponderates are never so delivered up to indwelling sin, but that always by the opposition (either simultaneous or subsequent) of the Spirit and *ex post facto*, its tyranny and dominion is hindered and destroyed.

XXXV. Perseverance is either physical and ignorant of itself, arising either from hardness of the material or the nature of the form (such as exists in gold or in heaven). Or it is moral, arising from a purpose of mind and a constancy of will in retaining the object. To the first, exhortations and promises are altogether useless; but not equally to the second because they are the means by which it is promoted and fulfilled. Hence so far is our doctrine from taking away the use of exhortations and promises and threatenings concerning perseverance that their necessity is the rather more firmly established. For they are the means appointed by God to obtain it, inasmuch as by them God works faith, the fear of him, the desire of avoiding falls and, after their occurrence, of rising from them. If God has promised perseverance to believers, he has not promised it absolutely and without the means, but through means to be used by man himself; to be bestowed, so that God preserving man, he is bound also to preserve himself through the grace of the Spirit (1 Jn. 5:18). Hence believers are certain of their perseverance through faith in the promises, not through any external force (which retains them willing or unwilling and, even remaining in sin, in the way of salvation), but in the use of the means and in the practice of piety; while working out their own salvation with fear and trembling, they trust that God is he who works in them both to will and to do and who graciously perfects the good work he has begun. So that occasion of licentiousness and impiety is drawn falsely from this doctrine, since to indulge in wickedness and to have the effective grace of perseverance are incompatible (*asystaton*). Nay, he who has this hope purifies himself (1 Jn. 3:3) and should be fully persuaded that no one without holiness shall see

God and that life can be attained in no other way than the way of piety. Therefore no other security arises from the certainty of perseverance in man than a spiritual certainty. This does not exclude, but supposes the use of means and ingenerates in our minds a fear not of distrust, but of solicitude and zeal in the constant use of these means.

XXXVI. The righteousness of the first institution in nature differs from that of restitution in grace. From the former Adam could fail because it was mutable; but we cannot fail from the latter, which is immutable and without repentance (*ametamelētos*).

XXXVII. The passage—"When the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, all his righteousness that he hath done shall not be mentioned: in his sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die" (Ezk. 18:24)—does not favor the apostasy of saints. (1) It is hypothetical, not absolute; (*bhshvbh tsdyq*) "when the righteous turneth away" (i.e., "if he turneth away"). However, it is known that a condition puts nothing in being, but denotes only a necessary connection of the antecedent with the consequent. If some possibility of defection be denoted on the part of man (when viewed in a divided sense), it cannot at once be inferred that there is a possibility in the compound sense on the part of the grace of God and as to the event. For what is possible with regard to the nearest and known cause is impossible with regard to the remote and hidden (which is in the decree of God). Here then, where God prescribes to man his duty and acts as a lawgiver, he does not disclose the event of the things decreed by him. As Lord of the world and dispenser of good and evil, he intends nothing else than to deliver the rules of his duty and to declare the rewards and punishments which hang over them from a compliance with or neglect of it (without any reference to the possibility or impossibility of the thing). (2) It treats there of the righteousness of the law and of works, not of the righteousness of the gospel and of faith (to wit, the prophet speaks *ad hominem* and according to the opinion of those whom he addresses here, who, as they were under the law, sought a legal righteousness from the law and wished to be justified by the works of the law). The Lord (in order to expose the vanity of this error and at the same time defend the justice of his providence against their calumnies) says the righteousness of the righteous profits him nothing, unless it is constant and perpetual. Otherwise if the righteous turns away, all his preceding works are in vain; he will die in his

iniquity because when they looked into themselves, it ought not to seem wonderful to them if they should endure the punishments inflicted by the justice of God. Now such righteousness from which anyone falls (although it is not blinded and hypocritical and only as to external appearance, but also true in its kind), still cannot be considered as saving and vivifying (which is pleasing to God) because from the defection its vanity is demonstrated. If life is promised to the righteous, it does not follow that he speaks of perfect righteousness because life is promised to the persevering righteous (i.e., to one doing righteously), not just as the righteous failing from his righteousness exercises it, but sincerely, heartily and constantly (1 Tim. 1:5; Mt. 22:37).

XXXVIII. Judas is not said to have been of the number of those who were given to Christ to be saved because he was "a son of perdition" (*hyios apōleias*, Jn. 17:12) (i.e., then utterly lost and so worthy of perdition, who had brought it on himself by his own crime and was destined to perdition and destruction by God's eternal just judgment [Acts 1:16; 4:27, 28]; who is therefore opposed to the elect sons of God, who were given to Christ to be saved). Therefore *eimē* is not an exceptive but an adversative particle here for "but"—"None of those whom thou hast given me is lost, but (only) the son of perdition" is lost. He was not of the number of the given, but of the reprobate devoted to destruction (as it is often used elsewhere, Gal. 2:16; 1 Cor. 7:17; Gal. 1:7; Rev. 21:27).

XXXIX. It is one thing to fall from grace positively by a real privation of grace already received; but another to fall from it negatively by not obtaining it. They of whom Paul speaks are said in the latter, not in the former sense to "have fallen from grace" (Gal. 5:4), inasmuch as miserably desiring Judaism with Christianity and the law with the gospel, their own righteousness with the righteousness of Christ, deprived themselves of and so fell from it (as he says elsewhere of the Jews, Rom. 9:31). Since grace and merit are incompatible (*asystata*), whosoever seeks his righteousness either in whole or in part in the law, cannot help falling from grace.

XL. It is one thing to be delivered to Satan with the feaster (*Epulone* [i.e., the rich man of Lk. 16:19]) for eternal torment; another to be delivered with the incestuous Corinthian for the destruction of the flesh that the Spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord (1 Cor. 5:5). The believer can be delivered up in the latter, not in the former way. Excommunication does not

simply exclude the fallen from the kingdom of heaven, but with this condition—unless they rise again by repentance (which that censure as a healthful medicine works in true believers through the grace of God, 2 Cor. 7:11). Hence the excommunicated does not cease in secret to be a member of Christ, although as to external discipline for a time he may be cut off from the external body of the church and from the communion of sacred things (to wit, excommunication is the rod of a pious mother over a bad son, whom she does not therefore regard as not a son because she whips him, but chastises him severely that he may reform and not cease to be a son altogether).

XLI. Although the saints on account of the grievous sins into which they slip, deserve exclusion from the kingdom of heaven and the abrogation of their justification and adoption, still it happens by the mercy of God that on this account neither their right to the kingdom of heaven is taken away, nor justification or adoption recalled, nor their state of regeneration effectively destroyed. The right to the kingdom is not founded upon our actions, but on the gratuitous adoption of God and our indissoluble union with Christ. Also the guilt of this or that sin does not abrogate the universal justification of preceding sins and the state of the person reconciled to God by Christ. The privilege of adoption does not depend upon us, but upon the mercy of God the Father alone. The grace of regeneration flows from the Spirit, who as he once implanted in our hearts that vivifying seed, so he impressed upon it a heavenly and incorruptible force and this he perpetually cherishes and preserves. Thus although sinful man can (at least for a time) lose the use of this right and the sense of justification, still he cannot fall from that right. Even if he were deprived of the solace of adoption, still he is not at once divested of that adoption so that he who had been made a son of God should become a child of the Devil and a servant of sin. And if that seed is latent in the heart and does not exhibit itself outwardly in the bearing of fruit, still it is not dead—life is always in the root. The act of faith can be intercepted, but the habit itself cannot be shaken off (as fire lies concealed under ashes; as life which suffers it decays; as a plant in the winter which neither flourishes nor bears fruit).

XLII. It is one thing for a believer sinning grievously to be damnable by his own merit (if regarded as to himself in a divided sense); another, if considered in the compound sense and as to God's decree. In the former

sense, it is true that he is exposed to death and if he continues in that state, will certainly be condemned. But in the latter sense, it is rightly said that they will be absolved and saved (God so arranging the matter by his immense love and wisdom that he may not die in that state, but may be restored and return to the way by a renewed act of faith and repentance before he reaches the goal). Hence according to a double relation (*schesin*), these two propositions (although seemingly contrary) can be true at the same time. It is impossible that David (elected and a man after God's heart) can perish. It is impossible that David, an adulterer and murderer (if death should take him away in his impenitence) can be saved. The former by reason of God's decree; the latter by reason of the heinousness and demerit of his sin. But this difficulty divine providence and grace solves, taking care that David (or any of the elect) should not die in that state in which on account of impenitence he would be excluded from salvation.

XLIII. But if it is asked how faith can subsist in the believer together with such grievous sins? The answer is easy—just as contraries can remain in the same subject, but in a lower degree. As the flesh and the Spirit, although always struggling against each other, still cannot entirely drive each other out while we continue in this mortal state; and as the Spirit, while it prevails in the contest, depresses the flesh indeed, but does not wholly destroy it; thus when the flesh lusts against the Spirit and leads a man captive under the law of sin, it represses the power of the Spirit, but does not straightway destroy and shake it off. The highly sinful acts cannot (it is true) subsist with the opposed acts of righteousness: for example, the act of adultery with an act of chastity; an act of unbelief with an act of faith; an act of hatred with an act of love; but still they cannot destroy the habit itself. Thus nothing hinders faith and love from remaining in a sinning man, but as to the first act, not the second; as to the seed, not as to the fruit; as to the habit (but languishing and decreased), not as to its exercise and operations.

XLIV. Nor in this way (as our opponents cavil) is the idea of the virtues wholly corrupted because they are said to subsist with atrocious sins; so that those who also fall into unbelief ought to be called believers on account of the incapability of faith being lost; ought to be called righteous and holy, who pollute themselves with various contaminations of unrighteousness and impurity; chaste, who are adulterers, etc. Since there are always two

principles in the believer (the flesh and the Spirit), nothing prevents their obtaining different names according to these different principles so that he may be called a believer and righteous on the part of God, who elected and redeemed him, and with regard to the Spirit; but he may be called an unbeliever and unrighteous on his own part and with regard to the flesh. Again, since a habit is perfected by an act and a virtue takes its denomination not so much from a latent habit as from the act exerting itself, it is absurd to call a believer falling into adultery or murder chaste or mild because he puts forth acts opposed to chastity and love (although the habit of love, but weak and languishing, can still remain in him). And this ought to be said on this account the more because although those seeds and habits of Christian virtues which remain in him are weakened, they are true in their own kind. Still they cannot be called saving and pleasing to God (who conciliates the nearest fitness to them for entering into heaven) because they obtain this only by reason of their acts, not by reason of their habits; nor does faith justify, unless by act; nor is love pleasing to God, unless as it is exercised.

XLV. It is one thing to fall from a state of grace, inasmuch as it denotes a blessing of God or the condition of children and a right to life (which God bestows upon them by efficacious calling and adoption); another, inasmuch as it denotes the duty of man or the aptitude and disposition to the kingdom of heaven by the practice of faith and the exercise of repentance, by which the believer is placed in that state that dying in it he will necessarily be saved. In this sense, the Romanists speak very much of the state of grace. We do not deny that in this latter sense the believer by his sins and especially his more heinous sins falls from a state of grace, inasmuch as he loses his disposition for the kingdom of heaven (for nothing impure can enter there) and enters into a state of condemnation according to the most just judgment of God, by which the unjust, robbers, fornicators, adulterers are kept out of the kingdom of heaven and handed over to eternal punishment. But in the former sense, it is rightly said that the believer does not fall from a state of grace because the right of sons once given to him is never taken away on God’s part (although its use and sense can be interrupted for a time) and the seeds of grace and of virtue are never taken away from him.

XLVI. The kingdom of sin can be regarded either as to state universally or as to act partially. We do not deny that the believer can sometimes be under the partial reign of sin (i.e., as to act and as to certain sins in which he indulges). But we deny that he can be under the universal reign of sin as to state, so as to come absolutely under its power and that it reigns in him without any struggling against and resistance to it. The flesh is victorious in various contests, but neither totally, so that there is nothing any longer in man to resist it, nor finally, so as to be perpetually superior. Nay, as the Spirit always preserves the seed of grace in him, it at last comes out victorious over the flesh and causes the believer to gain the victory (*hypernikan*). In this sense, what was formerly said of the Romans can be said properly of the believer: "In engagements indeed they were sometimes overcome, but never in a war." For although there is in him something of both kingdoms (of sin and of grace, on account of the flesh and Spirit dwelling in us), there is said to reign in him, not the flesh (which is wounded little by little and destroyed), but the Spirit of grace (which is confirmed every day and made perfect).

XLVII. It is one thing to recede in some measure or to retrocede from grace (i.e., the gratuitous favor of God in Christ, and a saving influx); another to fall and to be discharged entirely from it. One thing to sin; another to perish wholly. One thing to remit or intermit an act of faith; another to shake off the habit itself. One thing to be deprived of the sense of justification; another to be disturbed from the state. The former we grant, but not the latter. Nor as often as the action is perverted, is faith at once overthrown; or as often as love is thrown off, is it shaken in the struggle with temptations. The fruit and leaves fall, while the sap of the fruit-bearing tree lies in the root. Nor does he who sometimes with Nebuchadnezzar loses possession of the kingdom or with the leper is prevented from living in his own house, at once lose the right to it. As often as a father is angry with a prodigal son, he does not so often cast him out from the number of his sons; nor when he begins to severely chastise, does he cease to love him sincerely.

Seventeenth Question: The Certainty of Faith

Whether the believer can and ought to be certain of his faith and justification by a divine and not merely conjectural certainty. We affirm against the Romanists and Remonstrants

I. After having proved the perseverance of faith against the apostasy of the saints, we must also demonstrate its certainty against the hesitation (*epochēn*) and doubt of the opponents of grace. However, a twofold certainty is usually ascribed to faith: first, concerning itself—by which each believer knows and is certain that he has justifying faith; the second, concerning the grace of justification and of salvation—by which the believer is certain that his own sins have been pardoned and thus that he is a partaker of salvation. We will dispute concerning both at the same time.

The opinion of the Romanists.

II. Our controversy here is with the same adversaries who oppose perseverance. The Romanists teach that the believer has no certainty save a conjectural certainty of his own faith; nor can any believer be certain that he believes in Christ with a true and not a hypocritical, with a living and not a dead faith, since all can variously both be deceived and deceive themselves (and often do). Bellarmine maintains this where he proposes to himself the proof of these four things: (1) that a certainty of faith cannot be held concerning one's own righteousness; (2) that no one is bound to have it, even if perchance he could have it; (3) that it is inexpedient for it to be possessed ordinarily; (4) that in fact it is not possessed, except by a few, to whom their own justification is specially revealed by God ("De Justificatione," 3.6, 8 *Opera* [1858], 4:541–42, 542–44). As to the certainty of grace, the Council of Trent denies "that anyone can know with the certainty of faith, which nothing false can fall under, that he has obtained the grace of God" (Session 6.9, Schroeder, p. 35). It denies "that those, who are truly justified, ought to determine with themselves without any doubt at all, that they are justified" (Session 6, Canons 13, 14, Schroeder, p. 44).

III. Now although our opponents quarrel as to the meaning of the decree of the Council, each party (those who contend for the certainty, such as Catarinus and Marinarus, as well as those who convict of intolerable arrogance the presumed opinion of the certainty of grace) draws the

versatile opinion of the Council to suit their own view (as was done by Soto and Vega). The latter were both in the Council and endeavored to prove discrepant opinions from the Council. Still it is certain that the more common opinion of the Romanists is that of uncertainty, especially among the Jesuits, who teach that no one without a special revelation can be sure (with the certainty of divine faith) that his own sins have been pardoned because they perpetually suppose that this certainty rests upon one's own infirmity and indisposition. Hence they conclude that the certainty of justification is only conjectural, opinionable, deceitful (i.e., really no certainty at all). They do indeed distinguish between the certainty of faith and the certainty of hope or of trust. The certainty of faith, they say, is that which depends upon the word and promise of God alone and rests upon no other foundation. And thus of its own kind it is absolute and infallible and excludes not only all doubt, but also fear. The certainty of hope or of trust, however, rests upon a double foundation; partly on the divine promise on the part of God, partly on his own disposition on the part of man. In this respect, it does not exclude fear entirely, nor is it certainty simply, but relatively and conjecturally (inasmuch as anyone diligently examining himself collects from various signs and motions of the mind that he is drawn by a true repentance of sins and sincerely loves God, still it is [not] so great as to be sufficient to produce security, as Bellarmine explains it, "De Justificatione," 3.2 *Opera* [1858], 4:533–35; and Stapleton, "De universa iustificationis: De certitudine gratiae," 9.11 *Opera* [1620], 2:317–19). Now although while answering our arguments, they deny that they take away all certainty concerning one's own grace and concede that believers can be persuaded and certain of their own justification in the sight of God; nor is it necessary that they should continually doubt concerning the remission of their sins. Still when they dispute against us or address the people, they strive to prove by many arguments that believers are doubtful and uncertain concerning their own righteousness, not knowing whether they are in the grace of God, nor (except rashly) can they determine certainly and unhesitatingly that they have through Christ obtained the pardon of sin. Hence it is gathered that they either speak absurdities (*asystata*) or that all that certainty which they seemingly acknowledge is nothing else than a mere conjecture, which can take away from the mind neither doubt nor fear.

IV. It is not, however, for nothing that the Romanists so fiercely strive for the retention of their hesitation (*epochē*) and doubt. They understand that the whole business of popish traffic rests upon this once being established (also at the same time the constancy of saving faith)—the taxes, vows, pilgrimages, fraternities, supererogatory works, purgatory, sale of indulgences, trafficking of the Mass and other base merchandise (*aischrokerdeias*) of the popish kingdom immediately fall. For he who would be certain of his own salvation would betake himself neither to the patronage of the saints, nor to the merits of martyrs, nor to the absolution of priests (which is the executioner of the Roman tyrant).

The opinion of the Arminians.

V. The Arminians do not differ widely from the Romanists here. The members of the Conference at the Hague think "that it is laudable and useful to doubt, whether we will always be what we are now."+ Since indeed they fear, as they elsewhere explain themselves, lest such a certainty be like a cushion upon which they can gently recline themselves and sweetly sleep. "That certainty, therefore, is sufficient," as Corvinus says against Molinaeus, "by which believers know that they, if they persevere in the faith, will remain in the grace of God, and will obtain eternal life, which certainty is only conditional, not absolute" (*Petri Molinaei novi anatomici* [1622], p. 690).

The opinion of the orthodox.

VI. The orthodox opinion is that believers can not only be certain of their faith and of its truth and certainty with a certainty not human and fallible, but divine and infallible (which is greater or less as faith is found to be stronger or weaker); but they both can and ought to be certain of the grace of God and the remission of sins inasmuch as in serious contrition for their sins by true faith, they apprehend the promise of gratuitous mercy in Christ, rest in him fiducially and thus render their hearts secure. Still this security neither induces carnal confidence, nor excludes filial fear and pious solicitude, nor is it always placed beyond the risk of temptation or the fear of the contrary. Its foundation is partly the infallible promise of the gospel

(Jn. 3:14–16; 1 Tim. 1:15), partly the infallible testimony of the Holy Spirit in the conscience of each one (Rom. 8:16). However that this opinion may be more clearly apprehended and freed from the slanders and cavils by which our opponents are wont to attack it as a cushion of impiety and the mother of security, it must be observed: (1) that the certainty we speak of has regard most especially to three things—past election that we may know that we belong to the number of the elect; present grace that we may be certain of the grace of God and of our faith (viz., that we truly believe and are in the grace of God); and future glory that we be persuaded of the possession of the glory and happiness promised by God. (2) That the certainty of past election and of future glorification depend upon the certainty of present grace. Since this is the bond of election and glorification (to wit, the fruit of the former and the means to the latter) whoever is certain that he is in the grace of God and in faith can decide that he was elected and will certainly be glorified. (3) That the certainty of present grace is not contained immediately in the word, but depends upon the testimony of the Holy Spirit and the vision of the heart; in the serious examination of itself and the experimental sense of the peculiar marks and effects of grace (such as grief for sin, desire of grace, repentance and the desire for holiness, abnegation of self and the love of God above all things and the like). For since such effects cannot be produced by the flesh, but by the Spirit, from this it can be evident that he who finds these in himself, is in a state of grace. (4) These effects do not always have an equal degree of perfection, but now a greater, then a lesser (as the believer is either in the beginning of his calling or exposed to grievous temptations, thence it happens that the act of this persuasion does not always have the same degree of certainty, but is now stronger, then weaker; yea, sometimes is wholly wanting). Still the believer emerging from the waves of oppressive temptations, not only raises up again the same trust and full confidence (*plērophorian*) (which had been almost suffocated), but also acquires a greater degree of it, virtue coming out of the trial stronger and more exercised (as when the clouds are scattered, the day is brighter; and after a disease the strength is more established).

Statement of the question.

VII. Hence the state of the question can easily be gathered. (1) The question does not concern a moral and conjectural certainty (which our opponents grant); nor an extraordinary certainty given to a few by revelation (which they admit also). Rather the question concerns a divine and infallible certainty which exists or can ordinarily exist in every believer; not from his own disposition or natural light, but from the grace of the Spirit by the energy (*energeian*) of faith, which, resting upon the external promises of the word and the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit, exerts itself in all more or less, but as much as suffices for true consolation. (2) The question is not whether that certainty can be in the believer without the use of means (i.e., the desire for holiness and the exercise of repentance and the actual purpose of living piously); much less is the question whether it can consist with an actual and direct purpose of sinning, so that the believer can determine that he is in grace and will most certainly be saved, while he has purposed to indulge in sin and in the lusts of the flesh. For we hold that these are not to be wrested apart from each other and that persuasion cannot proceed into act without the desire of holiness. For he gave his promises to those walking in that way alone, and there are the indubitable effects and signs (*gnōrismata*) of true faith and justification.

VIII. (3) It is not inquired whether this certainty can always show itself in act or always come forth in the same degree. For since it does not exist in us (as we have just said) without the use of means, it is certain that when these means are not used or when the contrary are used, the act itself cannot be put forth. Again, since the state of the believer is not equable as to the desire of holiness, but now weaker, then stronger and faith at one time is sick and infirm, at another healthy and vivid; now in trials and strugglings, then free from them; also, the persuasion which springs from it is not always in the same degree, but now vivid, then weak; at another time, as in the severest trials, none at all. Nor must we think that it is all over with the truth of faith. Although an elicited act of that certainty is necessary to the consolation of the believer, still it is not required for the truth of faith (as it may be elicited in single moments and he must be said at once to want faith who is destitute of that); for neither does fire always emit a flame, nor a fountain streams of water, nor a mother always feel the motion of the fetus. Thus although this persuasion arises from the nature of faith, it does not always (as it can and ought) exert its act, but it is sometimes suppressed—

whether on account of the weakness of faith and its imperfection or from the severity of trials. But this does not prevent the foundation from always being in the believer and the principle from which (if he rightly considers his own state and the divine promise) he can deduce this actual full confidence (*plērophorian*).

IX. (4) The question is not whether the certainty which the believer has of his own faith and justification is always of the same reason altogether with that certainty which we have concerning those articles and doctrines of faith contained expressly in the word of God; so that by the same faith entirely, by which the doctrines of faith are believed, each believer is bound to believe that he is in the grace of God. For although each is true and undoubted, founded upon the double infallible testimony of the promise in the word and of the Spirit in the heart, yet each is not of equal necessity. For the former is altogether necessary in the believer and conduces to the truth of faith; nor can anyone remain a believer, and be considered as such and doubt concerning the articles of faith—for example, whether Christ is the true Messiah and the Son of God and the like. Rather the latter conduces only to its perfection; for neither is he who doubts whether he is justified on that account to be considered as lacking true faith, nor as being in the grace of God. The former is opposed to the doubt by which anyone doubts of the promises of God, whether they are true or not; the other to the doubt which concerns one's own salvation and remission of sins from a sense of their own infirmity. Therefore the question is whether this latter certainty (as it differs from the former) is divine and infallible or merely conjectural.

X. (5) The question is not whether this certainty has such a degree of certainty as excludes continually all dread of the contrary, but as at length overcomes and proves superior to it. For we acknowledge this confidence (with respect to innate imbecility), sometimes is agitated and fluctuates, especially in the early period of calling when believers are neophytes (*neophytoi*) or of little faith (*oligopistoi*) or under the cross and afflictions (especially if they are severe and lasting), or in the struggle with temptation, and in spiritual desertions, when the Spirit of consolation is sometimes so removed and the light of the divine countenance hidden, that in the excess of the mind sad complaints often fall from the believer: "I am cut off from before thine eyes" (Ps. 31:22); "The terrors of God do set themselves in array against me" (Job. 6:4). Although the sense of present grace and

confidence of the future can for a time sleep in the sons of God, still we maintain that the believing soul surely struggles out from that abyss of temptations from the grace of God electing, redeeming, guarding and raising up (which restores to him the joy of his salvation and causes him at last [more slowly or quickly] to elicit that sense for his consolation).

XI. Hence the state of the question returns to this—whether the true believer can (not from a view of his own worth and disposition, but of the divine estimation and guardianship) be certain (not with a certainty only of the object, but of the subject; not of a conjectural moral opinion and hope, but of true and justifying faith, by the spirit of adoption excited in his heart from a legitimate examination of himself; not only concerning his present faith and justification, but also as to the future concerning his own salvation and glorification). The opponents deny; we affirm.

The certainty of faith is proved: (1) from the nature of faith.

XII. The reasons are: (1) from the nature of faith since it has a twofold act (as was seen above): a direct and a reflex. By the direct, it is borne into the promise itself, but by the reflex into its own apprehension and thus not only believes, but also knows that it believes (just as in the natural life, the soul not only understands, but is also conscious of its own operation and knows that it understands—which is the peculiar privilege of the rational soul). Thus in the spiritual life, the regenerate soul has this peculiarity—that it can not only elicit acts of faith and love, but also turning in upon itself, know that it elicits them and is thoroughly persuaded of them. Nor ought a reason to be sought for this persuasion more than of that by which man knows that he lives and understands. Yet because the false presumption of the flesh can counterfeit the true persuasion of faith, the truth of that persuasion can be gained further from the effects and fruits of true faith *a posteriori* (to wit, both from the sweetness of spiritual consolation and joy and from the desire for sanctification and repentance). For he who has discovered in himself both these effects of faith, ought not to doubt the truth of his faith. “And hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments” (1 Jn. 2:3*). If these marks are not so sensible as to be always clearly

perceived by us; if the desire of sanctification grows cold; if joy is disturbed by an opposite doubt, the soul is not on that account to lose courage and despair of salvation, but to rise to the very first principles of sanctification. These are: (a) to feel internal corruption; (b) to be displeased with oneself on account of it; (c) to hate sin; (d) to grieve as often as we fall and offend God; (e) to avoid occasions of sinning and to use the means prescribed by God to excite the gift of God, such as prayer, meditation on the word and the like.

XIII. Further, not only the nature of faith, but the Scripture also proves this knowledge and sense of faith. Paul, speaking of himself, says, "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day" (2 Tim. 1:12). And John: "We do know that we know him" (*ginōskomen hoti egnōkamen auton*, 1 Jn. 2:3); "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself" (1 Jn. 5:10). On this account, the apostles profess that they believe: "We believe and are sure that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Jn. 6:69). Christ claims this knowledge for them, "At that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you" (Jn. 14:20). Now Christ dwells in us by faith, nor are we in Christ except by faith. It cannot therefore be known that Christ is in us except we know that we have faith. And that no one might think this a privilege peculiar to the apostles, Paul extends it to all: "We have received the Spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God" (1 Cor. 2:12). Nor does Christ mean anything else when he promises to inscribe a "new name" on the white stone to be given to the victor, "which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it" (Rev. 2:17). But how could that remarkable name of the sons of God (which the Holy Spirit writes in our renewed hearts as on a white stone—the most certain mark of our absolution and glorification) be said to be known to the believer alone, if he is involved in perpetual doubt (*epochē*) and cannot know anything certain concerning his state?

XIV. This very thing is still more strongly confirmed from the description of faith given in the Scriptures, which necessarily implies this certainty, as when it is said to be the "substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen" (*hypostasis tōn elpizomenōn elenchos tōn ou blepomenōn*, Heb. 11:1). Here the Greek Scholiast observes that this is said inasmuch as it causes things not present to stand forth in some manner and

invisible things to come into the sight; not of the eyes, but of the mind. For since things which are in hope are unsubstantial (*anypostata*) and do not have subsistence (as things not as yet before us), faith gives them a certain subsistence as to being known, causing them in some measure to be and be present by this very thing—because she believes them to be; and makes invisible things present to herself and sees them before her by demonstration (*elenchon*) (which Chrysostom says "concerning things which are very manifest"—*epi tōn lian dēlōn*, "Sermon 21," *On Hebrews* [NPNF1, 14:462; PG 63.151]). But how can it be called a substance (*hypostasis*) or a demonstration (*elenchos*) if believers ought to fluctuate in perpetual doubt and suspense (*epochē*)? Yea, he here points out a wonderful certainty—for both its degrees are various, and that is the highest which is in the present itself. Hence confidence (*pepoithēsis*, Eph. 3:12), boldness (*parrēsia*, 2 Cor. 3:12; Heb. 3:6; 4:16), full assurance (*plērophoria*, 1 Thess. 1:5; Heb. 6:11) are ascribed to faith, which either suppose or necessarily draw after them confidence, and are opposed to doubt and diffidence (Mt. 21:21; Jam. 1:6). Nor ought it to be replied "that these indeed conclude concerning the thing, but not concerning the person." As faith has these things in itself, it necessarily bestows the same upon those in whom it is severally. Thus they are not only true *in thesi*, but also *in hypothesi*. Nay, this cannot be ascribed to faith except relative to the subject in which it inheres and in which it is adapted to produce such certainty.

XV. Unless the believer could know his own faith, in vain would an examination of his faith be prescribed to him, as is frequently done: "Let each one examine himself" (1 Cor. 11:28) before coming to the supper (to wit, whether he truly believes in Christ and is such as he ought to be, who deals with such great mysteries). "Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves. Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you?" (2 Cor. 13:5). He here refers to what he had said in v. 3—that the Corinthians sought a proof (*dokimēn*) or evidence of Christ speaking in him; as if he said, Ye wish to find out whether Christ speaks in me, but I exhort and admonish you that before you seek this in us, to seek rather of yourselves and be willing to prove yourselves, whether ye are in the faith. Also whether ye know yourselves that Christ is in you (to wit, by the faith which ye find to be in you); for thus of me, by whose ministry ye have received faith, ye ought not to doubt that Christ speaks in me (namely,

from the fruit of my apostleship among you and from the mutual relation between the faith of the people and the preaching of the minister). But why should the apostle exhort to this examination of their faith and to a knowledge of Christ dwelling and working in them, if no solid certainty could be gained concerning it? Nor can it be replied here "that he treats of the presence of Christ among them by miracles and not of his presence in them by justification." The very words prove the falsity of this interpretation. Paul does not direct them to look around out of themselves upon the proof of Christ's power and miracles, but to prove themselves whether they are in the faith and whether by faith they feel Christ dwelling in them. Nor do the following words indicate a different meaning ("except ye be reprobates") because this cannot be said of the faith in miracles, since he ought not at once to be considered a reprobate and as rejected who is deprived of it; rather it pertains to justifying faith.

XVI. The same thing is deduced from this—that individuals are bound to make confession of their faith (1 Pet. 3:15; Rom. 10:9). For how could they confess it sincerely and constantly, if they cannot be certain of it? I confess that not a few lie and act hypocritically in professing a faith which they do not have. But this does not hinder believers from making that confession truly and consequently having their faith clear, which otherwise they could not confess.

2. From the testimony of the Holy Spirit.

XVII. The second argument is drawn from the testimony and the seal of the Holy Spirit. It was not sufficient for God to preserve us to his glory, unless he would assure us of that preservation that we might give him thanks for it. Nor would it suffice for our consolation that we are in the grace of God unless we should feel the sense of it, since for happiness not only the possession of the good is required, but also the knowledge of that possession. Therefore he willed to give us the certainty of both: first in his word, which furnishes testimony to the truth of the promises; second in the heart, by the Spirit testifying of the truth of the application of them. However since that testimony cannot be uncertain and deceitful (as proceeding from the teacher of truth), the certainty also which he ingenerates is not merely conjectural and probable, but divine and infallible.

To demonstrate this more efficaciously, the Scriptures employ not only one, but many similitudes which have a certain wonderful emphasis; especially if they are considered not singly, but collectively (*athroōs*) and all at the same time. Here belongs the fact that the Spirit is at one time set forth as "a Spirit of truth" who like a "teacher" leads us into all truth and makes us "God-taught" (*theodidaktous*, Jn. 6:45; 14:17; 16:13); at another as "a witness" who gives us infallible testimony of the grace of God and of Christ (Jn. 15:26; 16:14) as also concerning our state when "he witnesses with our spirit that we are the sons of God" (Rom. 8:16); not only to confirm the certainty of the object, but especially to produce a certainty of the subject, which is the design of a witness. Hence Chrysostom rightly says, "What doubt is left here? If a man, or an angel should make a promise, perhaps some might doubt, but if the supreme Essence, the Spirit of God, who causes us to pray, makes a promise to those praying, bestows the promise, giving the testimony to us within, what room is there for doubt?" ("Homily 14," *On Romans* [NPNF1, 11:442; PG 60.527]). Then as "a scribe" who writes the law and the covenant of God in our hearts (Jer. 31:33; 2 Cor. 3:3), to intimate that his testimony is not momentary and mutable, but a constant and perpetual act by which like a heavenly chancellor he records upon our hearts the diploma of our justification, by which the election of the Father and the redemption of the Son are confirmed in us. Again, as "a seal" by which believers are sealed unto the day of redemption (Eph. 1:13; 4:30), not only to confirm the truth of the promises of grace and their certainty in our hearts, as diplomas and royal letters are wont to be fortified with seals, that strong and indubitable authority may be won for them; but also that believers themselves may be sealed, both that they may be distinguished from others and know that they are declared to be in the number of those to whom the right to life is given and that they may know that they are under the seal of God (who will most surely be guarded by him until they arrive there). Then, finally, as "an earnest" (2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5; Eph. 1:14) by which God not only seals in us the certainty of the promises, but also gives us a certain pledge of his constant and eternal love (which he now makes a part of the future inheritance and of the consummated happiness which awaits us in heaven in intimate communion with our heavenly sponsor). This undoubtedly he would not have done unless he wished to make us certain of the plenary possession of the inheritance; as Chrysostom remarks on this

passage, “For unless he had been about to bestow the whole, he would not have willed inconsiderately to leave the pledge, and cause a loss of it” (*ou gar ei mē emelle to pan didonai, eileto auton arrabōna parapheinai, kai apolesai eikē kai matēn*, “Homily 3,” *On Second Corinthians* [NPNF1, 12:290; PG 61.411]). Moreover, that this certainty might be confirmed more and more in our minds, God willed that it should be a mutual pledge between himself and believers. For as he gave a divine earnest to our hearts, so also we commit to him our deposit like a pledge (2 Tim. 1:12). Both these pledges are given not for the security and confirmation of both, but only of one party (namely, of us); although possessed on both sides, both are conserved by the fidelity of only one party (namely, God).

XVIII. The objections of our opponents amount to this: (1) “The testimony of the Spirit is indeed certain and indubitable, but no one can be certain with a divine faith, but from conjectures only, which can be deceitful, whether what he feels in himself is really the testimony of the Holy Spirit, since many are wont here to deceive themselves; and he may be a wicked man who cherishes security unto destruction” (as Gregory of Valencia admonishes us). We answer that those who thus speak, sufficiently betray the fact that they have never felt in their hearts this testimony of the Spirit. He furnishes such indications of himself as not to permit true believers to doubt his presence (although hypocrites frequently deceive themselves here, taking a vain presumption of the flesh for a true persuasion of the Holy Spirit). And even the effects alone of the Spirit in us as much of consolation as of sanctification (which can by no means arise from the flesh, Gal. 5:19–22), sufficiently and more than sufficiently prove their cause (as fire from heat, life from motion and feeling and causes are most certainly known from their peculiar effects). (2) “That this testimony is only an experience of a certain internal sweetness and peace which cannot produce certainty, except a conjectural.” We answer that although this testimony is experimental (founded upon the vision of the heart and a sense of grace), still it is none the less certain because it depends on an infallible principle. Nor is it only of a light and momentary agreeableness (which can deceive man), but of a most efficacious sweetness (which is called by Augustine “conquering” because it captivates the mind into the obedience of faith and ingenerates a full persuasion in our souls). (3) “That the gifts concerning which Paul says the Spirit bears witness (1 Cor. 2:12) are such,

that they never could ascend into the heart of man; therefore the certainty of them cannot be gained." We answer that not even thus could any knowledge of them be gained, which Paul, nevertheless, testifies is given to believers by God's special grace. Therefore the apostle means nothing else than to show the divinity and excellence of the mysteries of the gospel and of the gifts which God bestows upon his own (which is so great that to no man or angel could they be known, unless God revealed them—to which neither the sharpness of the eyes [although that sense avails most in obtaining the knowledge of things], nor the attention of the ears, nor the sagacity of the heart or natural light could ever rise). (4) "The testimony of the Spirit is conditional provided we are not wanting to ourselves and on this account Paul exhorts the Ephesians not to grieve the Spirit, by whom they were sealed, which would not be necessary, if this testimony was indubitable." We answer that although the testimony of the Spirit cannot be granted in us without the use of means (i.e., the desire of holiness), it does not follow that it is doubtful and uncertain because even these means are promised to us by God and procured for us by the Spirit.

3. From the examples of the saints.

XIX. Third, from the examples of the saints. As "Abraham, the father of believers, against hope believed in hope, being not weak in faith, but being fully persuaded (*plērophorētheis*), that what he had promised, he was also able to perform" (Rom. 4:21). Now do these things accord with the doubt (*epochē*) of the Romanists or denote a conjectural certainty only? Do they not breathe a divine and infallible certainty? The same is proved by the words of Jacob panting after the salvation of the Lord and expecting it with confidence: "I have waited for thy salvation" (Gen. 49:18). Nor was David less confident in various psalms. "I have set the Lord always before me: because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth: my flesh also shall rest in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption" (Ps. 16:8–10). For although this oracle refers directly and primarily to Christ (in whom alone it ought to be perfectly fulfilled, as Peter concludes, Acts 2:31), nothing prevents it from pertaining secondarily and consequently to David himself, who lawfully promised himself immunity

from death because Christ by rising again procured immortality not for himself alone, but for all believers. The same thing he frequently confesses elsewhere: “Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life” (Ps. 23:6); “I shall never be ashamed” (Ps. 31:1; cf. Pss. 62:1, 2; 118:5). Paul frequently testifies the same thing, but especially in Rom. 8:38: “I am persuaded (*pepeismai*) that nothing shall be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ.” Here he indicates a persuasion, not only moral and conjectural, but certain and not in the least deceitful, since it flows from election (vv. 29, 33), and from the power of the Holy Spirit (v. 26) and produces strong consolation (v. 31), by which he does not dupe himself by a mere opinion and hope, but raises himself with an indubitable confidence against all his enemies. He is certain not only that nothing will separate believers, but that nothing shall even be able to separate them from the love of God.

XX. To no purpose is it replied here: (1) “that these few remarkable men were made certain perhaps by a special revelation.” But this is gratuitously assumed and refuted by Paul himself, who ascribes it to the faith of Abraham and not to a revelation (Rom. 4; Heb. 11:8–19). Nor does he ascribe it to him only as peculiar, but speaks of it as common to others and derives it from the immutable purpose of election; from the love of Christ; from his death and intercession (which are the blessings not of particular, but of all believers). (2) “That the words ‘we know and are persuaded’ do not necessarily include the certainty of divine faith, but a certain conjecture from signs.” We answer that we do not deny that by internal signs and marks we are led into this knowledge, but the Holy Spirit seals to our consciences that these signs are not deceitful. John confirms this: “If our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God. And hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us” (1 Jn. 3:21, 24*). In vain, however, would John say that we know and understand that we have the Spirit of God and that that Spirit is the proof of our communion with Christ, if we could have this only from deceitful and conjectural signs.

4. From the prayers of the saints.

XXI. From the prayers of the saints. Believers are commanded to seek the pardon of their sins from God; therefore they can be certain of it, since they know that their prayers are not in vain with God, but certainly obtain according to God's promise whatever they have asked in faith (Mk. 11:24; 1 Jn. 5:14, 15). Nor is it an objection that the prayers of believers are not always heard (as in the case of Paul, 2 Cor. 12:7–9) because it is one thing to seek from God temporal, another, spiritual things. Concerning the former, the promise is not definite, but conditional inasmuch as they are consistent with the glory of God and our salvation. Concerning the latter, however, it is absolute: "Ask and it shall be given you, whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do" (Mt. 7:7; Jn. 14:13). Now the apostle meets with the refusal of a bodily, not of a spiritual good. To no purpose is it added, It can be gathered from prayer itself that we are not certain of grace and salvation because no sane man seeks for what he possesses. For although we possess salvation by hope, still we do not as yet possess it as to the thing and perfectly; hence prayer comes in as the principal means of obtaining it. Nor if certain circumstances neglected in prayer can sometimes render them void, is all their certainty straightway removed. We speak of prayers rightly made, not defective prayers. The certainty is not founded upon the perfection of the prayers, but upon the affection of the heart. For God does not look at the merit, but the sincerity of the suppliant. The same thing is confirmed from the actions of graces which believers are bound to put forth on account of the blessings bestowed upon them in Christ—remission of sins and regeneration, etc. (Col. 1:12, 13; 1 Pet. 2:9). For who can fittingly give thanks to God for that benefit which he does not know and doubts whether it has reference to himself (i.e., that he is a partaker of it)? For he who gives thanks for that of which he is uncertain (whether it has been given to him or not) appears rather to trifle than to testify as a grateful soul.

5. From the fruits of the Spirit.

XXII. (5) From the fruits of the Spirit and of faith. "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God" (Rom. 5:1) and "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy and peace" (Gal. 5:22). Peter says, "Believers rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory" (1 Pet. 1:8), which Paul says passeth all understanding (Phil. 4:7). Now what peace, what joy can be conceived in those who do not

know whether they have God as an angry and hostile Judge, or appeased as a merciful Father; whether they are in a state of salvation or of eternal damnation; and who are agonized with perpetual doubt and distrust? Hence can that unspeakable joy arise except from an intimate and vivid sense of the divine love towards him and a certain trust in eternal blessedness and glory?

6. From absurdities.

XXIII. (6) From the absurdities which follow the opinion of our opponents. The doctrine concerning diffidence and uncertainty convicts God of falsehood (1 Jn. 5:10), casts aside the testimony of the Holy Spirit, contends with peace of conscience and the joy of the Spirit (which is peculiar to true believers), hinders true invocation (which ought to be made with faith) and leads to desperation. For he who is never certain of the grace of God does not have (when temptation arises) a place where he may fix his foot and whither he can betake himself that he may bind up the wounded or rouse the languid and dejected conscience. A striking proof of this is furnished by those miserable consciences (groaning under the popish tyrant) when they reach the jaws of death. You behold them continually trembling and anxious, having nothing to support them; while tossed about by the waves of doubts and fears, they never can reach the harbor of peace and tranquility, but miserably perish in the sea of temptation. But just as (certain consolation being proposed to the sinner in life and in death) the table (set up in the temple of God by the Roman moneychangers) is overturned; so the same consolation being cast out, it is introduced and hence a trembling and vacillating conscience gives place to will-worship and the sale of indulgences. Nay, hence the rich spoils and great gain to the Roman clergy, while souls trembling in extreme agony are made tribute-payers to agents, thrusting out pictured merchandise of merits and vain consolations from the sacrifice of the Mass, destined either to be mitigated or ransomed by the imaginary flames of Purgatory.

Sources of explanation.

XXIV. There is one certainty of perfect inherent righteousness; another of faith and grace or reconciliation with God through Christ and of the remission of sins. It is one thing to be puffed up with one's own righteousness; another to be cheered with the consciousness of gratuitous reconciliation. In the former sense, Solomon is to be understood when he says, "No one can say that his heart is clean" (Prov. 20:9). But not in the latter. For although no one can glory concerning the perfection of inherent righteousness (as the Septuagint has it, *tis kauchēsetai agnēn echein kardian*), it does not follow that the believer cannot glory concerning the grace of Christ imputed and apprehended by faith. This certitude does not depend upon the perfection of inherent righteousness, but upon the truth of the Spirit working within.

XXV. The examples of Job (Job 9:12, 15, 28; 31:14), of David (Ps. 19:13), of Paul (1 Cor. 4:4; 9:27), who do not dare to arrogate righteousness to themselves, show indeed that they acknowledged the imperfection of their holiness (which cannot stand the trial of the divine judgment for their justification). But they do not prove their uncertainty concerning God's grace and their own faith, which elsewhere they so magnificently proclaim: Job (13:15; 19:25); David (Pss. 32:5; 103:1–3; 118:17); Paul (Rom. 8:38; 2 Tim. 1:12; Gal. 2:20) and in many other passages.

XXVI. The clauses which seem to imply some doubt or uncertainty of grace—"Turn ye to me with all your heart, who knoweth if God will return and repent?" (Joel 2:12, 14); "Perhaps God will pardon thy sins" (Dan. 4:27); "Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from us his fierce anger?" (Jon. 3:9); "Repent of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps he may forgive thee" (Acts 8:22)—either do not treat properly of the remission of sin as to eternal punishment, but of a plenary relaxation of temporal punishment (which is not always granted even to those who repent); or they are not always the marks of those doubting, but rather of those expressing the difficulty of the thing on account of the heinousness of the sins and exciting the desire of believers to seek grace with so much greater zeal and animating them to obtain the wished for confidence. Examples of this kind often occur: 2 K. 19:4; Prov. 24:18; Ecc. 5:5; Jn. 5:46; 8:19; Rom. 11:21; Ex. 32:30. Or they set forth the condition under which remission is promised; as Acts 8:22, where "if" (*ei ara aphethēsetai*) is the same as "that" (*hina*) or "in order that (*hopōs dē*) it may be forgiven

thee"; "if by any means (*eipōs katantēsō*) I might attain unto the resurrection" (Phil. 3:10, 11), i.e., in order that I might attain (in which sense Eustathius remarks that it is often used, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* [ed. M. van der Valk, 1971]).

XXVII. It is one thing to speak of the objective certainty of the faith which is believed (i.e., the doctrine delivered in the word), another of the subjective certainty of the faith by which it is believed (i.e., the habit which is in believers). The former ought to stand out and be elicited from the Scripture immediately and expressly; but the latter ought not to be in the Scriptures, but in the heart of the believer from the Scriptures and in accordance with it to be transcribed by the finger of God because it arises from a vision of the heart or from the sense and experience of the believer. Still the certainty of faith ought not to be considered as less. Because although this truth is not contained expressly in the Scriptures as to hypothesis, still it is deduced from and founded upon it as to thesis (according to the general rule of logicians according to which particular propositions are included in universal). Therefore since the Scripture says that all believers will obtain pardon of sin and salvation, by that very thing it leaves the believer to conclude that such remission and salvation are destined to him believing (seeing that feeling and experience do not change the rule in itself, nor render human if it is divine, but applies *in hypothesi* the general rule to a particular subject). Now although we do not hold that there is an equal necessity or degree of evidence of this twofold certainty (the revealed as well as the experimental, as was seen before), both do not cease to be of divine faith since each rests upon a divine and infallible testimony: the former indeed of the Spirit speaking in the word; the latter of the Spirit speaking in the heart (who is a witness beyond all exception).

XXVIII. As not every fear is incompatible (*asystatos*) with the certainty of grace, so neither is every fear either enjoined upon or removed from the believer. Servile fear is one thing; filial another. The former regards the punishment alone or sin on account of its punishments (which belongs to slaves, who attend solely to their own advantage or disadvantage). But the latter regards either sin alone or the punishment on account of sin (which belongs to sons and answers to the reverence and love of children towards parents). That is incompatible (*asystatos*) with certainty, and love is in this sense said to cast out fear (1 Jn. 4:18); and believers are said not to have

received the spirit of bondage again to fear (Rom. 8:15). But this, so far from being incompatible with certainty, is the means by which it is produced and confirmed in us. For since the certainty of grace cannot exist in us with a purpose to sin and without the use of means, this fear (which has for its object the avoiding of sin and promoting the desire of holiness in us) cannot take away certainty, but rather posits it since certainty does not exclude the ends, but supposes the necessity of the means. Therefore if fear is recommended to us, it is not a servile fear which draws with it diffidence and doubt, but a filial fear which consists principally of three particulars: (1) filial reverence and humility in regard to God—opposed to Pharisaical pride and presumption; (2) solicitude, caution and watchfulness in regard to the Devil, in flying from all the temptations of sin and using all the means leading to holiness—opposed to the carnal security of the Epicureans; (3) a constant purpose to cleave to God more and more and to walk in the ways of the Lord far from the ways of the flesh and of the world—opposed to the license and frivolity of the wicked. Therefore this fear removes the false mode of certainty (which flows from carnal security and profane license), but confirms and increases the true. In this way, the more the believer (by pious solicitude) takes care not to wander from the path of holiness and more and more adheres to his God by constant obedience, so much the more will he also be persuaded of the grace and love of God and of his salvation.

XXIX. As often as "fear" (*phobos*) and "trembling" (*tromos*) are joined together in the Scriptures (cf. 1 Cor. 2:3; 2 Cor. 7:15; Eph. 6:5; Phil. 2:12), they do not indicate any doubt or uncertainty and diffidence; but they denote only humility and a letdown (*demissionem*) of the mind. This is clearly gathered even from the last passage, in which Paul commands us to "work out our salvation with fear and trembling," not assuredly of diffidence and doubt, since he adds at once "God works in us to will and do" (which rendered him altogether certain of grace), but of reverence and solicitude, by which the grace of God works out our salvation. Hence it is that fear is often joined with certainty and joy. Who more certain than Paul of the grace of God and of his own salvation (in which he exults, Rom. 8:38; 2 Tim. 4:6–8)? Yet who was more anxious on that account to avoid sin and promote his own sanctification (1 Cor. 9:27; Phil. 3:13, 14)? Thus we are commanded "to serve the Lord with fear and to rejoice with

trembling" (Ps. 2:11), because joy without fear is pride, fear without joy is despair; both joined together add sure confidence with deep humility to the mind. Thus the believer fears on account of sin, rejoices on account of grace, fears on account of his own infirmity and threatening dangers and anxiously uses all the means that he may not slip into carnal security. Still he rejoices with confidence in the divine aid promised to him that he may not rush into despair. And if some passages exhort to fear and apprehension (as Prov. 28:14; 1 Pet. 1:17 and similar ones), they inculcate rather anxiety concerning the means, than doubt concerning the end. Such fear is not to be opposed to confidence towards the promises of Christ, but to the carnal presumption concerning our own strength.

XXX. Although the truth of faith depends upon the condition of a pure heart (Acts 8:37; Rom. 10:9, 10), it cannot be less certain because God, who requires faith from a pure heart (i.e., sincere and not in the least hypocritical, 1 Tim. 1:5), bestows upon and puts in believers such a heart by the grace of regeneration (Ezk. 36:26). The passages adduced from Jer. 17:9 and Prov. 20:9, which testify that the heart of man is wicked and inscrutable and no one can say his heart is clean, show only what the heart of man is by nature, not what it may be made by grace. The certainty of the believer is not therefore to be convicted of rashness and presumption, since it does not rest upon a natural and fallible judgment of the heart, but upon the judgment of the renewed heart, the testimony of the Holy Spirit (which proves the truth and sincerity of faith from its adjuncts and effects, according to criteria [*kritēria*] proposed in the word). This is true both by reason of the subject, when the heart is found to be good and honest (Lk. 8:15); not hard, but broken and contrite (Is. 51:1; 66:2; Ps. 51:17); not hypocritical (which covers, exterminates and conceals sin), but sincere (which confesses and suppliantly prays for the pardon of sin, Ps. 32:5); and as to the object and mode, when faith embraces the gospel, not on account of the novelty of its doctrines or the license to sin, but from Christian liberty and gratuitous justification (Rom. 6:2; 1 Pet. 2:15, 16). Also on account of God, the fountain of all good, and Christ, in whom all fulness of grace dwells; also as to its acts, such as contrition of heart and serious grief for sin on account of God, hunger and thirst or a desire for righteousness, a permanent sense of grace, a good conscience, carefulness to avoid falling and to approve itself to God more and more by the practice of holiness, not

for a moment, but seriously and constantly. Still in these absolute perfection is not to be expected, but sincerity is to be looked for because Christ does not break the bruised reed, nor extinguish the smoking flax, and regards not so much the quantity as the quality of faith.

XXXI. What we are bound to believe with divine faith ought always to be believed as undoubted, when it is treated of truths immediately revealed and independent of us—such as articles of faith, the truth of which we cannot doubt under any pretext. But it is not so with the certainty which the believer has concerning the remission of his sins. This is not immediately revealed in the word, but arises from the inner experience and sense of the heart. This depends upon us and can be often dubious and uncertain, no less than the principle upon which it rests. Hence it is false that the true believer at any time can and ought to be certain of the remission of his sins, even when he lies in sin and indulges in the lusts of the flesh, because (as we have said) certainty is not granted without the use of means.

XXXII. Absolute certainty (which does not depend upon any condition which can render it uncertain), such as the certainty that God is and that the soul is immortal and the like, differs from conditional certainty, which depends upon some condition, such as the certainty in Hezekiah of his life being prolonged for fifteen years. This was promised to him and he could therefore be certain about it, but still under the condition that he would not deny himself necessary food, but would use the necessary means for the preservation of his life. Such is the certainty of the believer (of which we speak), which supposes the use of means as a condition, as we have said. The first certainty is incompatible (*asystatos*) with fear because it has for its object a truth independent of us; but the second not only does not exclude fear, but necessarily supposes it as the means for its confirmation.

XXXIII. The fear of a future evil (which ought necessarily to happen) cannot consist with certainty. But the fear of an evil which could happen (unless we guard against it in time) not only does not conflict with certainty, but serves to produce it while it induces solicitude and watchfulness, by which we take care not to fall into such evil. This is the fear which the Holy Spirit requires in believers.

XXXIV. Since the certainty which we urge ought to be always connected with the use of means, we search for it in vain in the impenitent sinner. And if the believer at any time was able to exercise a true act of that certainty,

while he was in the way and practice of holiness, he cannot equally exercise it while indulging in the flesh or committing any grievous sin. He ought not to be ignorant that perseverance in sin is inconsistent (*asystaton*) with that certainty. Therefore he is never influenced to say, I was once certain of the grace of God, I ought therefore to be certain hereafter concerning it whatever I may do. As he did not put forth the act of certainty in the past (except by the use of means), so neither can he put it forth in the present except he be in the same state and not otherwise. And if the former act of certainty regards also the future, it regards it on the same supposition (to wit, if he uses the means and is in the way of holiness).

XXXV. The doubting of the saints is a mark of infirmity, not a support of uncertainty. It shows what may sometimes be done in fact, not what ought to happen in right. So that it is not to be praised and referred to the virtue of humility (as the Romanists hold), but to be striven against earnestly and to be deplored as a depraved weakness belonging to the remains of sin.

XXXVI. As the certainty of perseverance is the consolation of the laboring, not the mother of security (which can consist with the lasciviousness and slothfulness of the flesh), since it can be granted only to those walking in the path of holiness; so the want of this certainty ought not at once to produce despair (as if it was all over with their salvation when faith does not always elicit that act of certainty). This is properly the fruit of the soul confirmed in the Lord and of the exercised senses. Therefore those who are not as yet confirmed must press forward by degrees and perceptibly in the ways of the Lord, rather than endeavor to embrace and anticipate with one glance of faith those immense spaces of perseverance. And in this practice of faith, I prefer sometimes to hear the groans of the mourner than the laughter of one exulting (not so much by faith as by opinion). It often happens that they who presume deceive themselves, but they who sigh and with the publican are afraid to lift up their eyes, still have the thing itself which they do not see—behold that Jesus present whom they seek and do not recognize him. The others, however, afterwards perceive that which they think they have, wrested away from them.

XXXVII. The security of the flesh, which rests and loves to deceive the life with slothful ease, differs from the security of the believing and pious man who prays always and labors in the business of salvation. As in a city, the security of stupid men (who snore and are captured unawares when

buried in sleep and wine) differs from the security of the watchful and aroused (who keep guard lest they be disturbed by an unexpected attack; nor can they be induced to desert their station by a panic terror or by an insane fear). Such is the holy security of the pious, which not only does not exclude watchfulness and the desire for piety, but necessarily supposes them as the certain means of their own preservation. The other things which belong here may be gathered from Topic IV, Question 13.

SIXTEENTH TOPIC

JUSTIFICATION

FIRST QUESTION

Is the word "justification" always used in a forensic sense in this argument; or is it also used in a moral and physical sense? The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the Romanists

I. As in the chain of salvation justification follows calling (Rom. 8:30) and is everywhere set forth as the primary effect of faith, the topic concerning calling and faith begets the topic concerning justification. This must be handled with the greater care and accuracy as this saving doctrine is of the greatest importance in religion. It is called by Luther "the article of a standing and a falling church" (*Articulus stantis, et cadentis Ecclesiae*). By other Christians, it is termed the characteristic and basis of Christianity —not without reason—the principal rampart of the Christian religion. This being adulterated or subverted, it is impossible to retain purity of doctrine in other places. Hence Satan in every way has endeavored to corrupt this doctrine in all ages, as has been done especially in the papacy. For this reason, it is deservedly placed among the primary causes of our secession from the Roman church and of the Reformation.

II. However, although some of the more candid Romanists (conquered by the force of the truth) have felt and expressed themselves more soundly than others concerning this article (nor are there wanting also some among other divines who, influenced by a desire to lessen controversies, think there is not so great matter for dispute about it and that there are here not a few logomachies), still it is certain that up to this time there are between us and the Romanists in this argument controversies not only verbal, but real

and many which are of great importance (as will be made manifest in what follows).

III. From a false and preposterous explanation of the word, the truth of the thing itself has been wonderfully obscured. In the first place, its genuine sense (and in this question most especially) must be unfolded. This being settled, we will be able the more easily to reach the nature of the thing itself.

Homonyms of the verb justificare.

IV. The word *htsdyq*, to which the Greek *dikaioun* answers and the Latin *justificare*, is used in two ways in the Scriptures—properly and improperly. Properly the verb is forensic, put for "to absolve" anyone in a trial or "to hold" and to declare "just"; as opposed to the verb "to condemn" and "to accuse" (Ex. 23:7; Dt. 25:1; Prov. 17:15; Lk. 18:14; Rom. 3–5). Thus apart from a trial, it is used to acknowledge and to praise one as just and that too either deservedly (as when it is terminated on God, in which way men are said to justify God when they celebrate him as just [Ps. 51:4]; "wisdom" is said to be "justified of her children" [Mt. 11:19*; Lk. 7:35], i.e., acknowledged and celebrated as such); or presumptuously ([*doxastōs*] as the Pharisees are said to justify themselves, Lk. 16:15). Improperly it is used either ministerially, for to bring to righteousness (Dan. 12:3 where *mtsdyqy* seems to be exegetical of [*exēgētikon tou*] *mskylym* because while the preachers of the gospel instruct and teach believers, by this very thing they justify them ministerially [to wit, by teaching them the true way in which they can be justified] in the same sense in which they are said to save them, 1 Tim. 4:16). Or by way of synecdoche (the antecedent being put for the consequent) for "to free"; "he that is dead is justified from sin" (Rom. 6:7), i.e., freed. Or comparatively, where on account of a comparison between the sins of Israel and Samaria, Israel is said "to justify Samaria" (Ezk. 16:51, 52) and the sins of Judah increasing, Judah is said "to have justified Israel" (Jer. 3:11) because Israel was more just than Judah (i.e., her sins were fewer than the sins of Judah).

Statement of the question.

V. Hence arises the question with the Romanists concerning the acceptation of this word—whether it is to be taken precisely in a forensic sense in this affair; or whether it ought also to be taken in a physical and moral sense for the infusion of righteousness and justification, if it is allowable (so to speak) either by the acquisition or the increase of it. For they do not deny that the word *jusfiticatio* and the verb *justificare* are often taken in a forensic sense, even in this matter, as Bellarmine ("De Justificatione," 1.1 *Opera* [1858], 4:461–62), Tirinus (*Theologiae elenchticae ... controversarium fidei*, Cont. 15, number 1 [1648], pp. 217–21) and Toletus (*Commentarii et annotationes in epistolam ... ad Romanos*, Annot. 13 [1602], pp. 117–22) and not a few others. Yet they do not wish this to be the constant meaning, but that it often signifies a true production, acquisition or increase of righteousness; this is especially the case when employed about the justification of man before God. Hence they distinguish justification into "first and second." The first is that by which the man who is unjust is made just; the second is that by which a just man is made more just. Hence Bellarmine says: "Justification undoubtedly is a certain movement from sin to righteousness, and takes its name from the terminus to which it leads, as all other similar motions, illumination, calefaction; that is true justification, where some righteousness is aquired beyond the remission of sin." Thomas Aquinas says, "Justification taken passively implies a motion to making righteous, just as calefaction a motion to heat" (ST, I–II, Q. 113, Art. 1, p. 1144). Now although we do not deny that this word has more than one signification and is taken in different ways in the Scriptures (now properly, then improperly, as we have already said), still we maintain that it is never taken for an infusion of righteousness, but as often as the Scriptures speak professedly about our justification, it always must be explained as a forensic term.

Proof that the word "justification" is forensic.

VI. The reasons are: (1) the passages which treat of justification admit no other than a forensic sense (cf. Job 9:3; Ps. 143:2; Rom. 3:28; 4:1–3; Acts 13:39 and elsewhere). A judicial process is set forth and mention is made of an accusing "law," of "accused persons" who are guilty (*hypodikoi*, Rom. 3:19), of a "hand-writing" contrary to us (Col. 2:14), of divine "justice"

demanding punishment (Rom. 3:24, 26), of an "advocate" pleading the cause (1 Jn. 2:1), of "satisfaction" and imputed righteousness (Rom. 4 and 5), of a "throne of grace" before which we are absolved (Heb. 4:16), of a "judge" pronouncing sentence (Rom. 3:20) and absolving sinners (Rom. 4:5).

VII. (2) Justification is opposed to condemnation: "Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth?" (Rom. 8:33, 34*). As therefore accusation and condemnation occur only in a trial, so also justification. Nor can it be conceived how God can be said to condemn or to justify, unless either by adjudging to punishment or absolving us from it judicially. Toletus is compelled to confess this on Rom. 8:33: "The word justification in this place is taken with that signification, which is opposed to its antithesis, namely, condemnation; so that it is the same in this place to justify as to pronounce just, as a judge by his sentence absolves and pronounces innocent" (*Commentarii et annotationes in epistolam ... ad Romanos* [1602], p. 441 on Rom. 8:33). Cornelius a Lapide, who otherwise earnestly strives to obscure the truth, still overcome by the force of the truth, acknowledges that God justifies (i.e., absolves from the threatened action of sin and the Devil and pronounces just).

VIII. (3) The equivalent phrases by which our justification is described are judicial: such as "not to come into judgment" (Jn. 5:24), "not to be condemned" (Jn. 3:18), "to remit sins," "to impute righteousness" (Rom. 4), "to be reconciled" (Rom. 5:10; 2 Cor. 5:19) and the like. (4) This word ought to be employed in the sense in which it was used by Paul in his disputation against the Jews. Yet it is certain that he did not speak there of an infusion of righteousness (viz., whether from faith or from the works of the law, the habit of righteousness should be infused into man), but how the sinner could stand before the judgment seat of God and obtain a right to life (whether by the works of the law, as the Jews imagined, or by faith in Christ). And since the thought concerning justification arose without doubt from a fear of divine judgment and of the wrath to come, it cannot be used in any other than a forensic sense (as it was used in the origin of those questions which were agitated in a former age upon the occasion of indulgences, satisfactions and remission of sins). (5) Finally, unless this word is taken in a forensic sense, it would be confounded with

sanctification. But that these are distinct, both the nature of the thing and the voice of Scripture frequently prove.

Sources of explanation.

IX. Although the word "justification" in certain passages of Scripture should recede from its proper signification and be taken in another than a forensic sense, it would not follow that it is taken judicially by us falsely because the proper sense is to be looked to in those passages in which the foundation of this doctrine is formed. (2) Although perchance it should not be taken precisely in a forensic sense for "to pronounce just" and "to absolve in a trial," still we maintain that it cannot be taken in a physical sense for the infusion of righteousness, as the Romanists hold (as is easily proved from the passages brought forward by Bellarmine himself).

X. In Is. 53:11, where it is said Christ "by his knowledge shall justify many," it is manifest that reference is made to the meritorious and instrumental cause of our absolution with God (namely, Christ and the knowledge or belief of him). For the knowledge of Christ here ought not to be taken subjectively concerning the knowledge by which he knows what was agreed upon between himself and the Father (which has nothing to do with our justification); but objectively concerning that knowledge by which he is known by his people unto salvation (which is nothing else than faith, to which justification is everywhere ascribed). The following words show that no other sense is to be sought when it is added "for he shall bear their iniquities." This denotes the satisfaction of Christ, which faith ought to embrace in order that we may be justified.

XI. Nor does the passage in Dan. 12:3 press us. As we have already said, justification is ascribed to the ministers of the gospel, as elsewhere the salvation of believers is ascribed to them (1 Tim. 4:16; 1 Cor. 9:22). Not assuredly by an infusion of habitual righteousness (which does not come within their power), but by the instruction of believers by which, as they open the way of life, so they teach the mode by which sinners can obtain justification in Christ by faith. Hence the Vulgate does not translate it *justificantes*, but *erudientes ad justitiam*.

XII. "He that is righteous, let him be righteous still" (Rev. 22:11) does not favor our opponents so as to denote an infusion or increase of

righteousness. Thus it would be tautological (*tautologia*) with the following words, "He that is holy, let him be holy still," because justification would not differ from sanctification. But it is best to refer it to the application and sense of justification; for although on the part of God justification does not take place successively, still on our part it is apprehended by us by varied and repeated actions, while by new acts of faith we apply to ourselves from time to time the merit of Christ as a remedy for the daily sins into which we fall. Nay, although it should be granted that the exercise of righteousness is here meant (as in a manuscript we have *dikaiosynēn poiēsatō*) that it may be opposed to the preceding words—"He that is unjust, let him be more unjust"—the opinion of the Romanists will not on that account be established.

XIII. "The justification of the wicked" of which Paul speaks (Rom. 4:5), ought not to be referred to an infusion or increase of habitual righteousness, but belongs to the remission of sins (as it is explained by the apostle from David). Nay, it would not be a justification of the wicked, if it were used in any other sense than for a judicial absolution at the throne of grace. I confess that God in declaring just ought also for that very reason to make just so that his judgment may be according to truth. But man can be made just in two ways: either in himself or in another; either from the law or from the gospel. God therefore makes him just whom he justifies; not in himself, as if from a sight of his inherent righteousness he declared him just, but from the view of the righteousness imputed—in Christ. It is indeed an abomination to Jehovah to justify the wicked without a due satisfaction, but God in this sense justifies no wicked one (Christ having been given to us as a surety who received upon himself the punishment we deserved).

XIV. Although certain words of the same order with justification denote an effecting in the subject, there is not the same reason for this, which otherwise barbarously has been received into Latinity to express the force of *htsdyq* and *dikaioun* (neither of which admit a physical sense). Thus we magnify and justify God, not by making him great from small or just from unjust, but only declaratively celebrating him as such.

Second Question

Is the impulsive and meritorious cause (on account of which man is justified in the judgment of God) inherent righteousness infused into us or good works? We deny against the Romanists

I. Since it is evident from the preceding question that the word "justification" is forensic and is taken judicially here because it relates to the manner in which sinful man can stand before the bar of God and obtain the pardon of sin with a right to life, we must inquire before all things what is the foundation of this justification or what is the true and proper meritorious cause in view of which he is absolved by God from sin and adjudged to life. Concerning this we must first treat negatively (*kat' arsin*) according to the Pauline method in order that we may see in what it does not consist; second, we must treat affirmatively (*kata thesin*) to see in what it does consist.

Statement of the question.

II. However, we must premise here that God, the just Judge (*dikaiokritēn*), cannot pronounce anyone just and give him a right to life except on the ground of some perfect righteousness which has a necessary connection with life; but that righteousness is not of one kind. For as there are two covenants which God willed to make with men—the one legal and the other of grace—so also there is a twofold righteousness—legal and evangelical. Accordingly there is also a double justification or a double method of standing before God in judgment—legal and evangelical. The former consists in one's own obedience or a perfect conformity with the law, which is in him who is to be justified; the latter in another's obedience or a perfect observance of the law, which is rendered by a surety in the place of him who is to be justified—the former in us, the latter in Christ. Concerning the first, Paul says, "Not the hearers, but the doers of the law shall be justified" (Rom. 2:13); and "Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law. That the man which doeth those things shall live by them" (Rom. 10:5). Concerning the other, he says, "The gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, for therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The just shall live by faith" (Rom. 1:16, 17); and "Being justified freely by his grace through the

redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 3:24). Concerning both, he says, "That I may be found in Christ, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ" (Phil. 3:9; cf. also Rom. 9:30, 31). Hence a twofold justification flows: one in the legal covenant by one's own righteousness according to the clause, "Do this and live"; the other in the covenant of grace, by another's righteousness (Christ's) imputed to us and apprehended by faith according to the clause, "Believe and thou shalt be saved." Each demands a perfect righteousness. The former requires it in the man to be justified, but the latter admits the vicarious righteousness of a surety. The former could have place in a state of innocence, if Adam had remained in innocence. But because after sin it became impossible to man, we must fly to the other (i.e, the gospel), which is founded upon the righteousness of Christ.

III. This being established, the question does not concern legal justification. For we confess that in it inherent righteousness is its meritorious cause, nor can it be obtained except by the perfect obedience of man. But because the law has now become weak by sin, this method of justification is impossible (*ek tōn adynatōn*). Thus we treat of the evangelical justification proposed to us in the covenant of grace, which we deny to be founded in inherent righteousness.

IV. The question is not whether inherent righteousness is infused into us through the grace of Christ, by whose intervention we are made partakers of the divine nature (2 Pet. 1:4) and obtain a true and real holiness pleasing and acceptable to God, by which we are properly denominated just and holy. For whatever the opponents may calumniously charge upon the orthodox (to wit, that "we allow of no inherent righteousness," as Bellarmine, "De Justificatione," 2.1 *Opera* [1858], 4:502, and others after him), it is surely a most foul calumny. Its falsity is proved from the writings of our divines whether public or private, in which everywhere and with common consent they teach that the benefits of justification and sanctification are so indissolubly connected with each other that God justifies no one without equally sanctifying him and giving inherent righteousness by the creating of a new man in true righteousness and holiness. But the question is whether that inherent righteousness (such as exists in believers on earth) enters into our justification, either as its cause or as a part, so that it constitutes some part of our justification and is the

meritorious cause and foundation of our absolving sentence in the judgment of God. Romanists, as they pretend that justification consists of two parts—remission of sin and internal renovation of mind—so they assert that the cause on account of which God justifies us is the righteousness of God, which (infused into us) constitutes us internally righteous. For although they do not appear to exclude entirely the righteousness of Christ, inasmuch as they hold that by it he merited that God should communicate to us by the Holy Spirit internal righteousness and thus it is a condition of the formal cause (i.e., of inherent righteousness that it may be given to man), still they maintain that the right to seek life depends upon inherent righteousness and that on account of it God justifies us.

V. This is evident from the Council of Trent where "the justification of the wicked is said to be the translation from that state in which man is born a son of the first Adam, into a state of grace and the adoption of the sons of God by the second Adam, Jesus Christ, our Savior. This translation indeed, after the promulgation of the gospel, cannot be made without the washing of regeneration or a desire for it" (Session 6.4, Schroeder, p. 31). And: "Justification itself follows this disposition or preparation which is not only the remission of sin, but also sanctification and the renovation of the inward man by a voluntary reception of grace and gifts, by which a person who was unjust is made just and instead of an enemy becomes a friend, so that he is an heir according to the hope of eternal life" (Session 6.7, Schroeder, p. 33). And afterwards: "The formal cause of it is the righteousness of God, not that by which he is himself righteous, but that by which he makes us righteous; and by which, bestowed upon us as his gift, we are renewed in the spirit of our mind and are not only accounted, but are truly called and are righteous, receiving each of us righteousness in ourselves, according to our measure, which the Spirit distributes to everyone as he wills and according to the peculiar disposition and cooperation of everyone" (ibid.). And Canon 11: "If any man shall say that men are justified solely by the remission of sins to the exclusion of grace and charity which is shed abroad in our hearts by the Spirit and is inherent in them, or even that the grace by which we are justified is only the favor of God, let him be accursed" (Session 6, Canon 11, Schroeder, p. 43). From these declarations, it is evident that the Council held that inherent righteousness is the cause on account of which we are justified. Nor ought we to be deceived by their

seeming distinction between the formal and meritorious cause: the one indeed being Christ's, but the other infused righteousness. Since they speak of justification before God, the formal cause cannot be distinguished from the meritorious cause because in this respect the formal cause is nothing other than that in view of which God frees us from condemnation and receives us to eternal life.

VI. On the other hand, the orthodox think far differently. For although they do not deny that inherent righteousness was purchased for us by the merit of Christ and by his grace conferred upon us so that by it we are and can be denominated truly just and holy, still they deny that it enters into justification in any way, either as a cause or as a part, so that justification may be said to be placed in it and by and on account of it man may be justified before God. For the righteousness of Christ alone imputed to us is the foundation and meritorious cause upon which our absolutary sentence rests, so that for no other reason does God bestow the pardon of sin and the right to life than on account of the most perfect righteousness of Christ imputed to us and apprehended by faith. Hence it is readily gathered that we have not here a mere dispute about words (as some falsely imagine), but a controversy most real and indeed of the highest moment. In it we treat of the principal foundation of our salvation, which being overthrown or weakened, all our confidence and consolation both in life and in death must necessarily perish.

VII. This appears more clearly when we come to the thing itself and the controversy is not carried on coldly and unfeelingly in scholastic cloud and dust (as if from a distance), but in wrestling and agony—when the conscience is placed before God and terrified by a sense of sin and of the divine justice, it seeks a way to stand in the judgment and to flee from the wrath to come. It is indeed easy in the shades of the schools to prattle much concerning the worth of inherent righteousness and of works to the justification of men; but when we come into the sight of God, it is necessary to leave such trifles because there the matter is conducted seriously and no ludicrous disputes about words (*logomachia*) are indulged. Hither our eyes must be altogether raised if we wish to inquire profitably concerning true righteousness; in what way we may answer the heavenly Judge, when he shall have called us to account. Truly while among men the comparison holds good; each one supposes he has what is of some worth and value. But

when we rise to the heavenly tribunal and place before our eyes that supreme Judge (not such as our intellects of their own accord imagine, but as he is described to us in Scripture [namely, by whose brightness the stars are darkened; at whose strength the mountains melt; by whose anger the earth is shaken; whose justice not even the angels are equal to bear; who does not make the guilty innocent; whose vengeance when once kindled penetrates even to the lowest depths of hell]), then in an instant the vain confidence of men perishes and falls and conscience is compelled (whatever it may have proudly boasted before men concerning its own righteousness) to deprecate the judgment and to confess that it has nothing upon which it can rely before God. And so it cries out with David, "Lord, if thou marked iniquity, who can stand?"; and elsewhere, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, because no flesh will be justified in thy sight."

VIII. Here then is the true state of the controversy. When the mind is thoroughly terrified with the consciousness of sin and a sense of God's wrath, what is that thing on account of which he may be acquitted before God and be reckoned a righteous person? What is that righteousness which he ought to oppose to the judgment of God that he may not be condemned according to the strict demands of the law (*akribodikaion*), but may obtain remission of sins and a right to eternal life? Is it righteousness inhering in us and inchoate holiness or the righteousness and obedience of Christ alone imputed to us? Our opponents hold the former; we the latter. We are about to demonstrate this distinctly: (1) as to inherent righteousness; (2) as to imputed righteousness. Of the latter we will treat in the next question; of the former we speak now.

Proof that inherent righteousness cannot be the cause of justification: (1) because it is imperfect.

IX. That inherent righteousness cannot be the meritorious cause of our justification, we prove: (1) because no one is justified by an imperfect righteousness, since the judgment of God is according to truth and in it there is no room for a gracious acceptation; nor can deception consist with his law and justice. But inherent righteousness is not perfect, nor actual, nor habitual. Not actual because in many things we all offend (Jam. 3:2) and

there is no one that sinneth not (1 K. 8:46), which Bellarmine himself does not deny ("De Justificatione," 2.16 *Opera* [1858], 4:530–32). Not habitual because the perfection and imperfection of an act depend upon the perfection or imperfection of the habit and our regeneration is always imperfect here (1 Cor. 13:12; Gal. 5:17). Nor ought it to be objected "that this absolute perfection was required under the law, but is not required under the gospel." The relaxation made under the gospel does not extend so far that an imperfect righteousness can be accepted for a perfect righteousness; for God cannot be satisfied except by a perfect righteousness. Rather it consists in this—that the vicarious and the alien righteousness of a surety is admitted for our own. Nor ought it to be objected "that righteousness is properly said to be perfect because it belongs to the works of God, which must be perfect because the work of the Rock is perfect" (Dt. 32:4). For the works which God does immediately by himself (which are rightly called perfect absolutely and simply) and the mediate works (which are performed by the intervention of creatures—such as the work of regeneration—which are not at once perfect because God operating according to our capacity promotes and perfects them little by little) differ.

2. Because works are excluded.

X. Second, our justification takes place without works; therefore also without inherent righteousness, which consists wholly in works or in habits from which works spring. The passages are obvious. Scarcely anything has been said more often and asserted more constantly; nothing certainly more fully argued: "By the deeds of the law, there shall no flesh be justified" (Rom. 3:20); "We conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law" (v. 28). This the apostle confirms in Rom. 4:6 and Gal. 2:16 and in many other places. Nor should it be replied here that all works are not absolutely excluded, but certain ones only (to wit, ceremonial); or if moral works are excluded, those only are meant which precede faith and grace and which are done by the strength of free will, not those which are done from faith and grace. Since the apostle absolutely and simply excludes all works without any exception, it does not become us to limit what he does not limit. The thing itself proves this also for he antithetically opposes faith to works in this matter. Hence it appears that all works entirely of

whatsoever kind and not some particular ones are excluded. Otherwise he could not have simply opposed "one working" and "one believing," "to do" and "to believe," but a certain kind of working to other kinds.

Both ceremonial.

XI. This is demonstrated in particular (1) as to ceremonial works. For that law with its works is understood to be excluded by the apostle by which is the knowledge of sin (Rom. 3:20) and the whole world has become exposed to condemnation (v. 19). Concerning this it is said, "The man that doeth them shall live in them" (Gal. 3:12) and from the curse of which Christ redeemed us (v. 13). This must be understood of the whole law, especially the moral, not the ceremonial. (2) If the ceremonial law only would be excluded, not the moral (since it is the less principal part of the law), justification would have to be ascribed rather than denied to the law by reason of the moral law (which is much prior). (3) This objection is rejected by many Romanists—Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Toletus, Pererius, Justiniani, Salmeron and others, as their commentaries clearly show. Lombard says, "Without any works of the law, even the moral" (*In Epistolam ad Romanos* [PL 191/1.1364] on Rom. 3:27). Thomas Aquinas says on this passage: "Without the works of the law, not only ceremonial, which do not bestow grace, but signify it, but also without the works of the moral precepts according to this, not by works of righteousness which we have done (Tit. 3:5)" ("Lectio IV Ad Romanos," *In Omnes Sancta Pauli Epistolas Commentaria* [ed. P. Marietti, 1917], 1:55–56 on Rom. 3:27–31). Augustine teaches expressly that Paul speaks of the whole law (*On the Spirit and the Letter* 13 [8] [NPNF1, 5:87–88]). Nor if the controversy between Paul and the false apostles arose from the use of circumcision and the observance of the ceremonial law (which they urged as necessary to justification), does it follow that the apostle speaks of it alone when he excludes the works of the law from it. He passes from a part to the whole, this hypothesis of the false apostles drawing with it a necessity of observing the whole law (as we see in Acts 15:5) and Paul himself testifies when he says that he who presses circumcision as necessary "is a debtor to do the whole law" (Gal. 5:3) because the law demands not a partial, but a perfect obedience in all. Hence because he saw that believers would thus slide back

to the old covenant and depart from the new, he inveighs with so much warmth against this error as most pestilential.

And moral after grace.

XII. No better do others answer that it treats of works of the moral law done before faith and grace. (1) Paul excludes all works which are opposed to faith; yet all works without distinction are here opposed to faith, as working and believing are opposed (Rom. 4:5). (2) There was no necessity to exclude the works of the unregenerate, since it was acknowledged that they were sins, being done without faith (Rom. 14:23). (3) The examples of Abraham and David adduced by Paul (Rom. 4), inasmuch as they had been already converted and were believers, prove that works performed even after faith are excluded; as the apostle speaking of himself (now a believer) says, "I know nothing by myself; yet am I not hereby justifed" (1 Cor. 4:4). (4) All those works are excluded which could leave any reason for boasting to man (Rom. 3:27). And yet such are works done by faith which they hold to be meritorious. (5) The works of believers are effects which follow justification, not the causes which precede it. (6) The design of the apostle in the epistle to the Galatians was to dispute against the false apostles who joined together in justification, faith and works, the grace of Christ and their own merits. (7) If he had wished to exclude only the works of nature and not the works of grace, why does he so often and so carefully oppose works to faith absolutely? Why does he never oppose the works of nature to the works of grace, which would have greatly assisted in refuting the calumny of his adversaries by which they assailed his doctrine, as if by excluding works from justification he would open the door to sin: "Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound?" (Rom. 6:1). And yet that inference would be founded upon no foundation at all, if Paul had wished to exclude only works done before faith. For who otherwise would gather that sin must not be indulged in after faith on this account because works antecedent to faith do not justify in the least? Now both kinds of works being excluded, it was easy to object this very thing, which the Romanists of the present day object to us (to wit, that it is useless to do good works if there is no merit in works; nay, we should rather sin that grace may abound). This objection of the profane, the apostle did not refute by a distinction between antecedent and

subsequent works (which assuredly he ought to have done according to the hypothesis of our opponents); but by an explanation of sanctification and its indissoluble connection with justification.

3. Because justification is free.

XIII. Third, "our justification is free by the grace of God, through the redemption of Christ" (Rom. 3:24). Here the grace of God cannot denote the infused habit of love (as Bellarmine holds), but the favor and benevolence of God because we are said to be justified by his grace (*tē autou chariti*) (i.e., as the leading [*proēgoumenē*] and meritorious cause is placed in the redemption of Christ, the false is rejected by the particle "freely" [*dōrean*], which excludes all merit in us). (2) This grace is opposed to works and boasting (Rom. 11:6; Eph. 2:9). (3) We cannot be justified by the redemption of Christ otherwise than by the imputation of his righteousness. This is incompatible (*asystatos*) with inherent righteousness in the matter of justification; for if we are justified in another, we cannot be justified in ourselves. (4) Pererius confesses that *charin* here denotes rather the gratuitous goodness and kindness of God towards men (which is elsewhere called "kindness" [*chrēstotēs*] and "love" [*philanthrōpia*] toward man, Tit. 3:4). If the benevolence of God works good-pleasure (*eudokias*) in men (i.e., the good which he wills for them), it does not follow that he gives inherent righteousness that we may be justified by it. God does that good by distinct acts—the good indeed of imputed righteousness by the act of justification or inherent righteousness by the act of sanctification (as he has made Christ unto us both righteousness and sanctification, 1 Cor. 1:30).

4. Because justification consists in the remission of sins.

XIV. Fourth, according to Paul justification consists in the remission of sins (Rom. 4:8). Nor can it be done otherwise, since a sinner is concerned. And yet he whose sin is freely pardoned cannot be justified by inherent righteousness; nor is inherent righteousness remission of sins. Nor does he escape who says that it is not indeed remission of sins, but still it is

connected with it in justification. It involves a contradiction to say that man is justified at the same time by inherent righteousness and by remission of sins, as it is most absurd (*asystaton*) for one to be justified in himself and in another (by a personal and by another's obedience).

5. Because justification is not by the law.

XV. Fifth, if justification were by inherent righteousness, justification will be of the law, not of the gospel, and the two covenants will be confounded which are nevertheless constantly opposed as diametrically opposite to each other. Legal justification takes place in no other way than by inherent righteousness, whether actual or habitual; gospel justification is to be sought not in us, but in another. This the apostle clearly teaches when he wishes "to be found in Christ" (to wit, in the judgment of God) "not having his own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ" (Phil. 3:9) (i.e., not an inherent righteousness, arising from an observance of the law and which is called ours because it is in us and is perfected by our actions, but the righteousness of God and Christ, imputed to us and apprehended by faith).

6. Because this is derogatory to Christ and furnishes material for boasting.

XVI. Sixth, this derogates from the merit of Christ and is an argument for glorying and pride. For if the righteousness and merit of Christ most fully suffice for our justification, why are human merits sewed on? Is not injury thus done to Christ and material given to man for glorying in himself with God? Nor is this absurdity removed by saying that all this righteousness depends on Christ, who obtained that also for us and gave to it the power of meriting. Besides the gratuitous assumption that Christ merited for us the power of meriting (as will be seen in the proper place), whatever good man receives from God by grace (according to their hypothesis) does not exclude the concourse of free will (by whose intervention man may have some material for glorying in himself, while we ought to glory in the Lord alone). The Pharisee is no less condemned, although giving thanks to God

he professes that he has all that he has from him, not from himself (Lk. 18:11, 12, 14).

7. Because it does not take away guilt.

XVII. Seventh, remission of sin requires the removal of guilt by the payment of the ransom (*lytrou*) due. And yet inherent righteousness can neither remove the offense to God or the guilt springing from it, nor compensate for the injury to the divine majesty. For besides the fact that it looks to the future (that man may perform his duty), not to the past (that he may compensate for the defect of duty by giving a satisfaction), it is impossible by a quality of finite virtue and worth for an offense of infinite indignity to be blotted out and compensated for.

8. From the testimony of Contarini and Bellarmine.

XVIII. Eight, we cannot omit here the remarkable testimonies of two cardinals, who, overcome by the power of the truth, agree with us. The first is Cardinal Contarini, who thus expresses himself: "Since we reach a twofold righteousness by faith, a righteousness inherent in us, and the love and grace by which we are made partakers of the divine nature; and the righteousness of Christ given and imputed to us, since we are planted in Christ and put on Christ: it remains to inquire, on which of these we ought to rest, and to think ourselves justified before God (i.e., reckoned holy and righteous). I truly think it to be said piously and religiously that we ought to rest, I say rest as upon a stable thing, which can certainly sustain us, upon the righteousness of Christ bestowed upon us, and not upon the holiness and grace inherent in us. For this our righteousness is inchoate and imperfect which cannot keep us from offending and from constantly sinning in many things. Therefore we cannot in the sight of God on account of this our righteousness be esteemed righteous and good, as it becomes the sons of God to be good and holy. But the righteousness of Christ given to us is a true and perfect righteousness. It is altogether pleasing in the sight of God. In it there is nothing that offends him; that does not in the highest degree please him. We must therefore rest upon this alone (sure and stable) and on account of it alone we must believe that we are justified before God, that is,

considered righteous and called righteous" ("De Justificatione," *Casparis Contareni Cardinalis Opera* [1571], p. 592). From him Bellarmine does not differ much, who, after exerting all his strength in a defense of human merit, pressed by the consciousness of the truth, at length is brought to say "that on account of the uncertainty of personal righteousness, and the danger of vain glory, it is the safest to place our entire confidence in the mercy and kindness of God alone" ("De Justificatione," 5.7 *Opera* [1858], 4:615). To this proposition answers this clause of his will: "And I pray him to admit me among his saints and elect, not as an estimator of merit, but as a bestower of pardon."

Sources of explanation.

XIX. Christ by his obedience is rightly said "to constitute" us "righteous," not by an inherent but by an imputed righteousness as is taught in Rom. 4:6 and gathered from the opposition of the antecedent condemnation (Rom. 5:19). For they are no less constituted righteous before God who, on account of the obedience of Christ imputed to them, are absolved from deserved punishment, than they who on account of the disobedience of Adam are constituted unrighteous (i.e., are exposed to death and condemnation). If Adam constituted us unrighteous effectively by a propagation of inherent depravity (on account of which we are also exposed to death in the sight of God), it does not follow equally that Christ constitutes us righteous by a forensic justification at the bar of God by inherent righteousness given to us by him. The design of the apostle (which alone is to be regarded) does not have this direction. He only wishes to disclose the foundation of the connection between being exposed to death and the right to life, from our union with the first and second Adam, as to the thing (although the mode is different on account of the difference in the subject). The "abundance of grace and of righteousness" (*perisseia tēs charitos kai dikaiosynēs*, Rom. 5:17) does not denote habitual grace or inherent righteousness, but the abundance of divine mercy and the infinite treasury of righteousness, which believers obtain in the obedience of the Mediator. And this gift is said to be greater than the sin of Adam because the grace of God giving us the righteousness of Christ, not only took away the guilt of one transgression, but of all actual sins (as Thomas Aquinas

well remarks on this passage). Nor does it press us more that we are said "to receive abundance of grace" (Rom. 5:17) because we receive it by the hand of faith, not that it becomes ours by way of infusion or of inhesion, but by way of imputation.

XX. "Justification" is not set forth as a genus, embracing under itself "ablution" and "sanctification" (1 Cor. 6:11), but on the contrary "ablution," which is adumbrated in baptism; as the more general word is set forth in the first place, containing under it justification and sanctification as two species, as frequently both these benefits are wont to be described by the one word—ablution, as much as justification (Ps. 51:2; 1 Jn. 1:7) and as much as sanctification (Heb. 9:14). What is added, however, concerning "the name of Christ" does not properly denote an invocation, which is made by it, but the power and efficacy of it—that "to be justified in the name of Christ" is nothing else than to be justified by and on account of Christ. For there is no other name by which we can obtain salvation.

XXI. Paul does not say that we are justified by regeneration (Tit. 3:5–7); nay, since he ascribes justification to the grace of God and takes it away from works, he shows that he is unwilling to ascribe it to righteousness inhering by regeneration, which is rather the fruit than the cause of justification. But his intention is to point out how God will have us saved by two benefits which he bestows upon us—regeneration, of which the Holy Spirit is the author in us; and justification, which we obtain by Christ, by which we are made heirs of eternal life. That denotes the way of salvation, this its cause.

XXII. The conformity to the image of Christ to which we are predestinated (Rom. 8:29) means indeed that we are made partakers of inherent holiness and righteousness like his; but it does not mean that we are justified by that inherent righteousness, as he was. For both our preceding sin and the imperfection of this righteousness in us renders such a justification impossible. For it cannot happen that they, who are the children of wrath by nature and who are never without sin, can be justified in the same manner in which he was justified, who knew no sin and in whose mouth no guile was found.

XXIII. Although Abel and Noah were righteous and did good works, still they were not on that account justified by their own inherent righteousness and good works. Nay, Paul testifies that they were righteous

by the righteousness of faith (Heb. 11): Abel in that by faith he offered a more excellent sacrifice, by which he also obtained witness that he was righteous (v. 4). Noah became heir of the righteousness which is by faith (v. 7), which is no other than the righteousness which God imputes through faith (Rom. 4:5, 6). From this flowed the good works which they performed.

XXIV. Since justification is described in the Scriptures by remission of sins and the imputation of righteousness, it cannot be called a motion from sin to righteousness, such as occurs in illumination and calefaction. And this is the fundamental error (*prōton pseudos*) of our opponents, who convert a forensic and judicial action (which takes place before God) into a physical or moral action (which takes place in us).

XXV. When believers seek to be justified by God according to their righteousness (Pss. 7:8; 17:1; 18:20), we must not understand it of a personal righteousness (of which they elsewhere confess they are destitute, Pss. 130:3; 143:2), but of a righteousness of the cause (which they maintained and on account of which they suffered persecution from the wicked); or if personal righteousness is understood by it, it is not universal and absolute (which is found in no mortal), but particular as to certain acts in which they can conduct themselves well by the grace of God (such as was the action of Phineas which was imputed to him for righteousness) and comparative, not relative to God, but to the wicked (who undeservedly slandered them).

XXVI. The proportion of man to the highest good is either from the prescription of the law ("Do this and live") or from the assistance of grace. In the former sense, man in innocence would have had a proportion to the highest good. But by sin, that way having been shut up, another was to be sought in Christ, who by fulfilling the law for us, acquired for us a right to the highest good or eternal life. When therefore life is said to be given to the pious and righteous, the quality or disposition of the subject is denoted (which ought to possess life), not, however, the cause of such a good (i.e, how happy they ought to be, not why and on account of what).

XXVII. Although in those to whom the satisfaction of Christ is imputed, the habit of righteousness is also infused (which we reach only in the other life and by this habit we begin to be righteous morally and inherently), still we cannot be called righteous relative to the divine judgment. For we are

constitued righteous in the divine court only insofar as we can remove the accusation with which we are charged—of sin past as well as present. Now such an inchoate habit of righteousness cannot remove such an accusation, whether by making it false (because it is evident that we always have sinned and so are guilty) or by expunging it through a suffering of the punishment due (because it cannot have the relation of a satisfaction for sins committed by which their guilt may be taken away). For it tends to this—that we may not sin hereafter; but it cannot make us not to have sinned so that we do not need another's righteousness imputed to us for our justification.

Third Question

Is the righteousness and obedience of Christ imputed to us the meritorious cause and foundation of our justification with God? We affirm against the Romanists and Socinians

I. The false and pretended impelling and meritorious cause of our justification (which is placed by the Romanists in inherent righteousness) having been rejected, the true and genuine cause must now be exhibited from the Scriptures (to wit, the righteousness and obedience of Christ imputed to us by God). That the truth and mode of this may be the more clearly seen and more strongly retained against the cavils of our opponents, the following things must be premised.

The opinion of the orthodox concerning the imputation of Christ's righteousness.

II. First, we suppose that justification is a forensic act of God (as has already been proved), not as a creditor and a private person, but as a ruler and Judge giving sentence concerning us at his bar. (2) Justification is the act not of a subordinate Judge, who is bound to the formula of the law, but of a supreme magistrate and prince, to whom alone belongs, in virtue of his autocratic (*autokratorikō*) right, the showing of favor to the guilty and the relaxation of the rigor of established laws. (3) That God does not here sit on the throne of justice that he may act according to the strict justice of the law (*kata to akribodikaion nomou*), but on the throne of grace that he may act

according to the gospel forbearance (*epieikeian*). (4) That he so acts from mercy as not to do injury to his justice, which (since it cannot suffer his laws to be violated with impunity and sin to go unpunished) necessarily requires some satisfaction (*lytron*) to be made to it.

III. Hence it follows (5) that God cannot show favor to, nor justify anyone without a perfect righteousness. For since the judgment of God is according to truth, he cannot pronounce anyone just who is not really just. However, since no mortal after sin has such a righteousness in himself (nay, by sin he has been made a child of wrath and become exposed to death), it must be sought out of us in another, by the intervention of which man (sinful and wicked) may be justified without personal righteousness. Human courts often justify the guilty, either through ignorance (when the wickedness is not known and lies concealed) or by injury (when it is not attended to) or by iniquity (when it is approved). But in the divine court (in which we deal with the most just Judge, who neither holds the guilty as innocent, nor the innocent as guilty) this cannot occur. Therefore he who is destitute of personal righteousness ought to have another's, by which to be justified. For although God (as the supreme arbiter of affairs and the sovereign Lord of all) has the power to remit the punishment of sinners, still he cannot (because he is most just) thus favor the sinner, unless a satisfaction is first made by which both his justice may be satisfied and punishment taken of sin. Since this could not come from us who are guilty, it was to be sought in another, who (constituted a surety in our place by receiving upon himself the punishment due to us) might bestow the righteousness (*dikaiōma*) of which we were destitute.

IV. The gospel teaches that what could not be found in us and was to be sought in another, could be found nowhere else than in Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpō*); who taking upon himself the office of surety most fully satisfied the justice of God by his perfect obedience and thus brought to us an everlasting righteousness by which alone we can be justified before God; in order that covered and clothed with that garment as though it were of our first-born (like Jacob), we may obtain under it the eternal blessing of our heavenly Father.

V. Further, as long as Christ is outside of us and we are out of Christ, we can receive no fruit from another's righteousness. God willed to unite us to Christ by a twofold bond—one natural, the other mystical—in virtue of

which both our evils might be transferred to Christ and the blessings of Christ pass over to us and become ours. The former is the communion of nature by the incarnation. By this, Christ, having assumed our flesh, became our brother and true Goel and could receive our sins upon himself and have the right to redeem us. The latter is the communion of grace by mediation. By this, having been made by God a surety for us and given to us for a head, he can communicate to us his righteousness and all his benefits. Hence it happens that as he was made of God sin for us by the imputation of our sins, so in turn we are made the righteousness of God in him by the imputation of his obedience (2 Cor. 5:21).

VI. Just as Christ sustains a twofold relation (*schesin*) to us of surety and head (of surety, to take away the guilt of sin by a payment made for it; of head, to take away its power and corruption by the efficacy of the Spirit), so in a twofold way Christ imparts his blessings to us, by a forensic imputation, and a moral and internal infusion. The former flows from Christ as surety and is the foundation of our justification. The latter depends upon him as head, and is the principle of sanctification. For on this account, God justifies us because the righteousness of our surety, Christ, is imputed to us. And on this account we are renewed because we derive the Spirit from our head, Christ, who renews us after the image of Christ and bestows upon us inherent righteousness.

VII. However, because we treat here of the imputed righteousness of Christ, we must remark further that the word "impute" (which is in Hebrew *chshbh*; in Greek *logizesthai* or *ellogein*) can be taken in two ways, either properly or improperly. That is said to be imputed to anyone improperly which he himself has done or has, when on that account a reward or punishment is decreed to him. As sin is said "to be imputed" to the wicked (2 S. 19:19), when the reward of iniquity is imputed to them; and the judgment exercised by Phinehas "was counted unto him for righteousness" (Ps. 106:31), i.e., it was pleasing to God and gained for him the praise of holy zeal and the covenant of a perpetual priesthood. Properly is to hold him who has not done a thing, as if he had done it. In turn not to impute is to hold him who has done a thing as if he had not done it; as Paul desires the fault of Onesimus to be imputed to him (which he himself had not committed, Philem. 18) and asks that the fault should not be laid to the charge of those who forsook him (which they had committed, 2 Tim. 4:16).

From this twofold acceptation of the word, a twofold imputation arises (about which Paul speaks)—of grace (*kata charin*) and of debt (*kat' opheilēma*): "Now to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt. But to him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness" (Rom. 4:4, 5), viz., of grace. For the foundation of imputation is either in the merit and dignity of the person, to whom a thing is imputed; or it is out of it in the grace and mercy alone of the one imputing. The first is the legal mode, the other is the evangelical. Hence we gather that this word is forensic. It is not to be understood physically of an infusion of righteousness, but judicially and relatively, of gratuitous acceptance in the judgment of God (which also appears from the force of the word *logizesthai* and *ellogein*, which is drawn from accountants).

VIII. But here we must accurately distinguish between imputed and putative or fictitious in order to meet the calumny of our opponents who traduce this imputation as a mere fiction of the mind about a thing not existing. For it is a thing no less real in its own order (to wit, judicial and forensic) than infusion in a moral or physical order; as the imputation of a payment made by a surety to the debtor is in the highest degree real (to wit, by which he is freed from the debt and delivered from the right which the creditor had over him). Hence it is evident that this judicial act of God does not lack truth because he does not pronounce us righteous in ourselves (which would be false), but in Christ (which is perfectly true); nor does it lack justice because there is granted a communion between us and Christ, which is the solid foundation of this imputation.

IX. Therefore when we say that the righteousness of Christ is imputed to us for justification and that we are just before God through imputed righteousness and not through any righteousness inherent in us, we mean nothing else than that the obedience of Christ rendered in our name to God the Father is so given to us by God that it is reckoned to be truly ours and that it is the sole and only righteousness on account of and by the merit of which we are absolved from the guilt of our sins and obtain a right to life; and that there is in us no righteouness or good works by which we can deserve such great benefits which can bear the severe examination of the divine court, if God willed to deal with us according to the rigor of his law; that we can oppose nothing to it except the merit and satisfaction of Christ,

in which alone, terrified by the consciousness of sin, we can find a safe refuge against the divine wrath and peace for our souls.

X. Now although we hold that there is nothing in us which can be opposed at the bar of God for justification, still one would improperly conclude from this what our opponents falsely and slanderously charge upon us—that we recognize no inherent righteousness in believers and by reason of which they are truly reckoned righteous and holy with God. Thus that we teach that believers always remain wicked and unjust in themselves, and that the righteousness of Christ is imputed to us solely to cover our sins and not to take them away. Hence they take occasion to traduce our doctrine concerning the imputation of Christ's righteousness as impious and execrable. As we just now said, however, we hold these two benefits to be inseparable: that no one is justified by Christ who is not also sanctified and gifted with inherent righteousness (from which believers can truly be denominated holy and righteous although not perfectly in this life).

Statement of the question.

XI. From these principles, the state of the question can be readily gathered. First, against the Socinians it is inquired, Are the righteousness, obedience and satisfaction of Christ imputed to us for righteousness? For as they deny that the obedience and satisfaction of Christ were rendered for us, so they reject the imputation and application of that obedience and satisfaction and explode it as a human invention (Socinus, "Tractatus de Justificatione," *Opera omnia* [1656], 1:601–27; Ostorodt, *Unterrichtung ... hauptpuncten der Christlichen Religion* 36, 37 [1612], pp. 294–328; Smalcius, "De Justificatione," *Refutatio Thesium D. Wolfgangi Frantzii*, Disp. IV [1614], pp. 91–154). The orthodox, however, think the obedience and satisfaction of Christ are imputed to us for righteousness inasmuch as they are reckoned ours by the gratuitous mercy of God and on account of them we are absolved from sin in God's court and pronounced just.

And with the Romanists.

XII. But against the Romanists, the question is not: (1) Is the righteousness of Christ the formal cause of our justification (i.e., is it the form by which

man is constituted just inherently, as the Romanists understand it describing justification by the infusion of righteousness)? For since we have already proved that it is a forensic, not a physical act, the question regarding the internal formal cause is fruitless (which pertains to the blessing of sanctification). Rather the question concerns the meritorious and impulsive cause of the divine judgment or our absolving sentence. Not, Is the righteousness of Christ our formal and inherent righteousness subjectively? But, Is our righteousness real and sufficient imputatively, by which, if we are not formally righteous by inherent righteousness, still we are formally justified by the imputation of it, so that apart from it there is no other material of our righteousness before God?

XIII. (2) The question is not Is the righteousness and merit of Christ imputed to us? For this the Romanists do not dare to deny. The Council of Trent says, "Christ by his most holy suffering on the cross merited justification for us, and satisfied God, the Father for us, and no one can be just, unless he to whom the merits of the suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ are communicated" (Session 6.7*, Schroeder, p. 33). Hence Vasquez says, "We grant there are imputed to us for a certain effect, not only those things that are in us, as sin, faith and righteousness, but also some things that are without us, as the merit and obedience of Christ, because not only the things that are in us, but also those without, in view of which something is given to us are said to be reckoned among our things for some effect, as if they were truly ours" (*Commentariorum ac Disputationum in primam secundae ... Thomae*, II, Disp. 222.1 [1631], p. 637). Bellarmine also acknowledges this: "If the Protestants mean only this that the merits of Christ are imputed to us because they are given to us of God, and we can offer them to the Father for our sins, since Christ undertook the burden of satisfying for us, and reconciling us to God, the Father, their opinion is correct" ("De Justificatione," 2.7 *Opera* [1858], 4:518). And yet we mean nothing else; for what he adds ("that we wish the righteousness of Christ to be so imputed to us that by it we are called, and are formally righteous," ibid.), he supposes falsely and gratuitously from his perverse and preposterous hypothesis concerning moral justification. But the question is To what is that imputation made? To justification and life, as we maintain; or only to the infusion of internal grace and inherent righteousness, as they hold? That is, are the merits of Christ so imputed and communicated to us as to be the

sole meritorious cause of our justification and that there is no other righteousness on account of which we are acquitted in the sight of God (which we contend for); or are they so imputed as to be the conditions of a formal cause that is of inherent righteousness, so that man can be gifted with it; or of an extrinsic cause which deserves the infusion of righteousness by which man is justified, so that not the merit of Christ properly, but inherent righteousness acquired by the merit of Christ is the proper and true cause on account of which man is justified (which they maintain)? They so limit the benefit of the imputation of Christ's merits to obtaining the effect of infused grace that this imputation is made for no other end than to merit for us infused grace, in virtue of which we obey the law and, being righteous in ourselves, are justified; as Vasquez, in the passage cited, observes—cf. *Commentariorum ac Disputationum in primam secundae ... Thomae*, II, Disp. 222.3 [1631], pp. 639–42). Hence Bonaventure denies that the causality of justification or of the remission of sins properly belongs to the death or resurrection of Christ, but only "by way of intervening merit," which is reduced to the material cause, while he determines the formal cause to be infused love ("Liber III. Sententiarum," Dist. 19, Art. 1, Q. 1 in *Opera Theologica Selecta* [1941], 3:392–94). From these it is evident that the question here is Are the righteousness and satisfaction of Christ so imputed to us by God as to be the only foundation and meritorious cause in view of which alone we are acquitted before God of our sins and obtain a right to life? Our opponents deny; we affirm.

XIV. However, there is no need to remark that by the righteousness of Christ we do not understand here the "essential righteousness of God" dwelling in us (as Osiander with Schwenkfeld dreamed, opposing himself to Stancar his colleague, who acknowledged Christ as Mediator only according to his human nature—which error was exploded and perished with its author). That righteouness could not be communicated to us subjectively and formally which is an essential attribute of God without our becoming gods also. And the Scripture everywhere refers the righteousness of Christ, which is imputed to us, to the obedience of his life and the suffering of his death, by which he answered the demands of the law and perfectly fulfilled it. If we had need of an infinite righteousness, it should not be such in essence, but only in value and merit. If Christ is Jehovah, our righteousness, and if he is made to us righteousness by the Father, this is not

said with respect to essential righteousness, but to the obedience which is imputed to us for righteousness. This is called the righteousness of God because it belongs to divine person and so is of infinite value and is highly pleasing and acceptable to God. By this righteousness then, we understand the entire obedience of Christ—of his life as well as of his death, active as well as passive (as we have already proved, Topic XIV, Question 13).

Imputed righteousness is proved: (1) from Rom. 5:18, 19.

XV. Now that this righteousness of Christ is the foundation and meritorious cause of our justification, we prove: (1) because by the righteousness and obedience of one, Christ, we are consitituted righteous—"As by the offense of one" (supply "guilt") "came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one" (*di' henos dikaiōmatos*) (supply "the blessing redounded") "upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous" (Rom. 5:18, 19). Here it is clear that the one transgression (*hen paraptōma*) is opposed to the one righteousness (*heni dikaiōmati*) and the disobedience of one man (by which men are constituted sinners and guilty before God by the imputation of that sin) is opposed to the obedience of one, Christ, by which the elect are constituted righteous (i.e., are justified before God; not assuredly by inhesion, but by imputation). (a) The act of one cannot be made the act of many, except by imputation. (b) The righteousness (*dikaiōma*) upon which justification of life (*dikaiōsis zōēs*) rests, demands a perfect and absolute righteousness (which cannot be said of inherent righteousness). (c) The condemnation (*katakrima*) to which the justification of life (*dikaiōsis zōēs*) is opposed, is not a physical, but a forensic and judicial act. In vain does Bellarmine maintain that the obedience of Christ is indeed the efficient but not the formal cause of justification, as the disobedience of Adam constituted us sinners, not formally but efficiently. We are not treating of an infusion of righteousness or of renovation (as we have just said), but of a juridical constitution which cannot take place except by imputation (since it is of another's, not of a personal righteousness). Again, Bellarmine himself testifies the contrary

when he says, “The sin of Adam is so imputed to his posterity, as if we had all committed the same sin” (“De amissione gratiae,” 4.10 *Opera* [1858], 4:160). And: “The sin of Adam is communicated to us in the manner in which what passes over can be communicated, to wit, by imputation; for it is imputed to all who are born of Adam” (ibid., 5.17, p. 227). Nor if we are constitued unrighteous and guilty by sin propagated from Adam, ought we at once to be justified by inherent righteousness communicated to us through regeneration by Christ because there is a very different reason for each. And Paul here institutes the comparison between the first and second Adam in the thing and not as to the manner of the thing.

2. From Rom. 4:3.

XVI. Second, faith is said to be imputed to us for righteousness. “Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness” (Rom. 4:3); not the faith itself or the act of believing formally, as if it were righteousness with God (as the Remonstrants hold, against whom we will dispute hereafter) because thus justification would not be without works, since faith itself is a work; but objectively and relative to the righteousness of Christ, which faith apprehends and applies to itself. The apostle calls this “the righteousness of faith which is through the faith of Christ” (Phil. 3:9) “in which alone he wishes to be found” (viz., at the bar of God). For it is to be sought nowhere else than in Christ, who is Jehovah our righteousness, and who of God is made unto us righteousness. It is confirmed by this—that Paul in the same place explains the imputation of faith for righteousness by “the imputation of righteousness without works” (Rom. 4:6). Hence it is surely evident: (a) that justification consists in the imputation of righteousness, that no one may suppose this phrase was invented by us; (b) that this righteousness cannot be inherent, given to us by infusion, both because it is said to be without works and because what is inherent is opposed to what is imputed. On that account, it is opposed by Paul to his own righteousness which is of the law (Phil. 3:9) and is elsewhere called “the righteousness of God,” which is manifested without the law (Rom. 3:21, 22). This is so because it is subjectively in a divine person and so of infinite value; and originally because it is from God, since it is given to us freely by God; and terminatively because it leads to God and is approved by

him and can alone sustain the examination of his judgment. Therefore whoever by faith applies that righteousness to himself is said not to come into judgment, but to have already passed from death to life (Jn. 5:24), i.e., to be justified.

3. From 1 Cor. 1:30; 2 Cor. 5:21.

XVII. Third, Christ is the righteousness by which we are justified. For on this account he is said to "be made of God unto us righteousness" (1 Cor. 1:30) and we are said to be made the righteousness of God in him: "God hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him" (2 Cor. 5:21). From this it is evident: (a) that Christ is our righteousness before God, not surely inherently (because the righteousness of one cannot pass over into another), but imputatively; (b) we are made the righteousness of God in him, just as he is made sin for us. Now Christ was made sin for us, not inherently or subjectively (because he knew no sin), but imputatively (because God imputed to him our sins and made the iniquities of us all to meet on him, Is. 53:6). Therefore, we also are made righteousness, not by infusion, but by imputation. Augustine well expresses this: "He, therefore, was sin, that we might be righteousness, nor ours, but God's, nor in us, but in him, as he demonstrated sin, not his own, but ours, nor in himself, but in us constituted in the likeness of sinful flesh, in which he was crucified" (*Enchiridion* 13 [41] [FC 2:406–7; PL 40.253]). The objection is fruitless that "Christ is said to have been made righteousness, as he was made wisdom and sanctification, not surely imputatively, but effectively." For even if he was equally made to us of God all these as to merit because he acquired all these blessings for us, still he was not made in the same manner as to bestowal, but diversely according to the diversity of the gifts (even the nature of the thing demands this). For if he was made righteousness in no other way than sanctification (i.e., effectively), Paul would be guilty of tautology, since in this way justification and sanctification would not differ. Therefore he is made wisdom and sanctification to us effectively by illuminating and regenerating us; but righteousness imputatively by imputing to us his righteousness. Bellarmine cannot deny this when he says that Christ can rightly be said to be made righteousness meritoriously "because he satisfied the Father for us,

and gives and communicates that satisfaction to us, when he justifies us, so that he can be called our satisifaction and righteousness, as if we ourselves had satisfied God" ("De Justificatione," 2.10 *Opera* [1858], 4:523). This he confirms on 2 Cor. 5:21: "The righteousness of Christ is imputed to us as to the satisfaction, which he made for us" (ibid., p. 524). Nor can that which our opponent adds in the same place help his cause when he says: "But not on this account can we be reckoned righteous, if the stains and corruption of sins truly inhere in us" (ibid.). For if the righteousness of Christ is imputed to us (as he had already confessed), then certainly we are considered righteous in him; for no one imputes righteousness to him whom he does not count righteous. And if the satisfaction of Christ is imputed to us, then our debts for which he satisfied are not imputed, but are remitted. Falsely also he holds "that the righteousness inhering in us is here called the righteousness of God because it is given to us of God; or also because it is the image and effect of the righteousness of God" (ibid.). For the little clause "in him" stands in the way; for how could it be said to be in Christ, if it was in us? Contarini acknowledges this: "The righteousness of God in him, since his righteousness is made ours, is given and imputed to us" (cf. "De Justificatione," *Casparis Contareni Cardinalis Opera* [1571], p. 592).

4. From the suretyship of Christ.

XVIII. Fourth, justification takes place on account of the suretyship of Christ and the payment made for us by him—which cannot be done without imputation. For as a payment made by a surety for a debtor cannot help him except by imputation (inasmuch as the payment made by a surety is applied to him as if it had been made by himself), the cancelling of the debt follows and the deliverance of the debtor. Thus since Christ undertook to be our surety and paid in our place, who does not see that the payment made by him and the ransom (*lytron*) given is imputed to us for full absolution (i.e., is considered by God as if it had been given by us)? In this sense, we are said to be "justified by the death and blood of Christ" (Rom. 5:9) because the merit of his obedience and death was that in view of which God was reconciled and gave to us the pardon of sin. In the same sense, he is said "to have been made a curse and sin for us, that we might be made a blessing and righteousness in him" (Gal. 3:13; 2 Cor. 5:21) because the curse, and

punishment of sin which he received upon himself in our stead secures to us blessing and righteousness with God in virtue of that most strict union between us and him by which, as our sins are imputed to him, so in turn his obedience and righteousness are imputed to us. Just as under the law the punishment which the victims suffered in the place of sinners was imputed to them for the expiation of sin and their liberation.

5. From Rom. 8:3.

XIX. Fifth, Christ justifies us by that by which he frees us from the condemnation of the law and fulfills in us its right to life. "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us" (namely, our justification by the law having become impossible through sin, God restored this benefit to us in Christ). Being made like to sinful flesh (yet without sin), he offered himself for us as a victim for sin and having made a most full satisfaction condemned sin (i.e., perfectly expiated it) in the flesh for this end—that the condemnation of sin might give place to our justification and the righteousness of the law (*to dikaiōma nomou*) (i.e., the right which it has) whether as to obedience or as to punishment is fulfilled in us (not inherently, but imputatively); while what Christ did and suffered in our place is ascribed to us as if we had done that very thing. Thus we are considered in Christ to have fulfilled the whole righteousness of the law because in our name he most perfectly fulfilled the righteousness of the law as to obedience as well as to punishment.

6. From Rom. 4:5.

XX. Sixth, our justification is "a justification of the ungodly but to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness" (Rom. 4:5). A justification of the ungodly cannot be made by infusion, but by imputation. For although he that is justified does not remain wicked, but is renewed by the grace of Christ, he cannot be said to be justified by that renovation (which is the effect following justification, not the cause which precedes it). And faith, by

which man is justified and is made righteous in Christ, does not prevent him from being and being called wicked in himself, inasmuch as he is opposed to the one working as he who has nothing upon which he can rely before the divine tribunal for his justification and so is "ungodly," partly antecedently, partly with respect to justification; not however concomitantly, still less consequently.

XXI. Various testimonies of the fathers could be gathered together here. By their vote, they approve our opinion, but we omit them from a desire to be brief. It will be sufficient to quote the words of Bernard because he often asserted this saving doctrine with exceeding skill: "Another's righteousness is assigned to him who wanted a personal righteousness" (*Contra ... Errorum Abelardi Epistola* CXC 6.15 [PL 182.1065]). And a little after: "If one died for all, therefore all are dead; that the satisfaction of one might be imputed to all, as that one bore the sins of all" (ibid.). And: "My merit then is the compassion of the Lord; I am not wholly destitute of merit, as long as he is not wanting in mercy" ("Sermon 61 [5]," *Song of Solomon* [trans. S.J. Eales, 1984 rep.], p. 368; PL 183.1073). And a little after: "Shall I sing of my righteousness? O Lord, I will make mention of thy righteousness alone, which is also mine. Shall I fear that one righteousness is not enough for both? It is not a short garment which according to the prophet cannot cover two" (ibid.). And: "Not to sin is the righteousness of God; the righteousness of man is the indulgence of God" ("Sermon 23* [15]," ibid., p. 141; PL 183.892).

Sources of explanation.

XXII. Christ ought not only to restore the goods lost in Adam, but also to remove the evils contracted through Adam. Now there were two—guilt and corruption of nature—to which two goods should be opposed: the imputation of righteousness to take away guilt before God; and a renovation of nature to heal inherent corruption. Again, Christ not only restored the lost goods, but in a far more excellent way. We lost mutable righteousness, but an immutable righteousness is restored to us. We lost only an inherent righteousness and there is given us an imputed righteousness with an inherent, without which we could not be made partakers of the inherent. Otherwise if nothing was restored in Christ than what had been lost in

Adam, pardon of sin would not be given to us in Christ because it was not lost in Adam.

XXIII. What is imputed to anyone by a mere gracious acceptation, that is not really paid, but is considered as paid; but what is imputed on account of a true payment made by another supposes the thing to be paid. Now the imputation of the righteousness of Christ (of which we speak) is not to be understood in the first sense (the improper sense, for an imputation which takes place without any payment at all whether of the debtor or of the surety); but is to be understood in the latter sense inasmuch as it is founded in another's payment (that of Christ the surety).

XXIV. Although we are justified by the imputed righteousness of Christ, it does not follow that we are no less righteous than Christ and are thus considered like Christ, saviors and redeemers of the world; and that Christ on account of our unrighteousness imputed to him can be called a sinner. The dignity of the head ought always to remain his own, that the members may be conformed to the head; but in their order and not that they should become the head. Thus although as to imputation we are truly righteous in the sight of God, still Christ is righteous in a far more perfect manner. We are such relatively in him and indeed precariously and dependently; Christ, however, is such infinitely, originally, inherently and subjectively. (2) Indeed we can (on account of Christ's righteousness imputed to us) be said to be redeemed and saved passively, but not to be redeemers actively because he alone can be a Redeemer whose righteousness is imputed to another; not he who needs the imputation of another. (3) Christ cannot (on account of our sin having been imputed to him) be called a sinner (which implies inherent corruption), but only a victim for sin, who received on himself the punishment due to sin. Thus guilt was to be taken away, not its pollution.

XXV. Where two contrary physical forms and qualities exist under the same genus, there it is certain that the denomination should be made from the intrinisic (which affect the subject more), than from the extrinsic. Now inherent righteousness and imputed righteousness are not under the same genus. The former indeed is in the class of relation, but the latter is under the class of quality. Thus nothing is to hinder the subject from being denominated from both under a different respect (*schesei*). For when the inherent quality is regarded, he is said to be a sinner and wicked; but when

the external and forensic relation is considered, he is said to be righteous in Christ. It is indeed true that no one can be called righteous inherently by another's righteousness because if it is inherent, it is no longer another's. But still he can be said to be justified imputatively, since every day among men a debtor (on account of the payment made by a surety) is said to be free and discharged. Augustine beautifully explains this: "It is surely just, that they whom the devil held as debtors, should be discharged believing in him whom he killed without any debt" (*The Trinity* 13*.14 [FC 45:395; PL 42.1028]). Hence it is evident that the example of the Ethiopian adduced by Bellarmine (who is to be denominated rather from the blackness of his body than from the whiteness of his garments) is improper (*aprosdionyson*) since we are not speaking here of an inherent quality or of an adhering garment, but of a juridical relation given to him by the Judge. Besides, the Ethiopian always remains an Ethiopian in the same manner; yet the believer does not remain wicked, but is converted.

XXVI. Although God justifies us on account of the imputed righteousness of Christ, his judgment does not cease to be according to truth because he does not pronounce us righteous in ourselves subjectively (which would be false), but in another imputatively and relatively (which is perfectly true). Thus God truly estimates the thing and judges it as it is; not in itself and in its own nature, but in Christ.

XXVII. The spouse is said to be "all fair" (Cant. 4:7) in two ways: (1) in her head and husband imputatively, when all her pollutions are so covered by his righteousness that there is no more condemnation in her; nor does God see in her anything as to practical and penal knowledge which he can reprehend; (2) in herself inherently because she has been perfectly renewed by the Spirit, if not with a perfection of degrees, still with a perfection of parts and of grace which will at length be crowned by a perfection of glory.

XXVIII. Although the imputed righteousness of Christ is maintained by us to be the foundation of our justification before God, it does not on that account cease to be purely gratuitous on our part. It is a mere gift of God's mercy because the sponsor is given to us of God and was substituted in our place and because his obedience and righteousness (which we ourselves ought to have rendered from the rigor of the law) is reckoned ours and imputed to us by God. And what is more, the righteousness of the law is fulfilled in us (Rom. 8:4) and justification thus ceases to be of the works of

the law performed by us, that still it is not made against it, but in accordance with it and the law is not only not made void but is rather established by faith (Rom. 3:31).

XXIX. Although justification can be called extrinsic objectively (inasmuch as it is the imputation of righteousness which is formally without us), still it is ours terminatively. Nor is it more absurd for the righteousness of Christ to be extrinsic to us and yet to be imputed to us than it is absurd for our sins to be extrinsic to Christ and yet to be imputed to Christ for punishment; or (*ad hominem*) than it is absurd for the satisfaction of saints to be imputed to others, as the Romanists maintain.

XXX. As the disobedience of Adam truly consitituted us sinners by imputation, so also the righteousness of Christ truly justifies us by imputation. Thus "imputed" is properly opposed to "inherent," but not to "true" because we do not invent an imputation consisting in a mere opinion and fiction of law; but one which is in the highest sense real and true. Yet this truth belongs to imputation, not to infusion; is juridical, not moral.

XXXI. The righteousness of Christ is rightly said to be imputed to us for righteousness, not that it may be reckoned righteousness (which was already so before), but that what was before another's may be made ours and that on account of it we may be pronounced righteous and received to eternal life.

Fourth Question

Does justification consist only in the remission of sins? Or does it embrace also adoption and the right to life? The former we deny and affirm the latter

I. We have discussed the meritorious cause or the foundation of justification. We must now treat of its form or parts. In this matter, the opinions of theologians vary.

Statement of the question.

II. Some contend that the whole of justification is comprehended in the remission of sin alone, so that God is to be considered as justifying us when

he pardons our sins and absolves us from all punishment. They also hold this opinion who maintain that Christ's passive righteousness alone is imputed to us. However, others make justification to consist of two parts: remission of sin and imputation of righteousness. The former removes punishment from the sinner; the latter renders him worthy of the reward or of life.

III. But neither opinion seems to us to explain this subject with sufficient accuracy. Not the first because (as we shall afterwards say) absolution from punishment is not sufficient for a full justification, but the communication of a right to life is also required. If the orthodox sometimes assert that justification is contained in the remission of sins alone, it does not follow that they do not also acknowledge the right to life under it. For they speak thus against the Romanists, who hold that to justification pertains not only the remission of sins, but also an internal renovation of the soul and an infusion of righteousness. Against these they well maintain that the whole of justification consists in the remission of sins, under which they embrace also the right to life, exclusive of the renovation of man or the infusion of righteousness.

IV. But neither can the second opinion be received simply because in it are falsely joined the remission of sins and the imputation of righteousness, as if they were parts answering to each other: remission indeed the first; imputation of righteousness another. However they do not in turn correspond with each other as a part to a part, but as a cause to an effect and a foundation to that which rests upon it and depends upon it. For if we wish to philosophize correctly, God does not remit our sins and afterwards impute righteousness, but he first imputes righteousness and afterwards on account of that imputed righteousness, remits our sins. For a satisfaction and a ransom (*lytron*) must necessarily intervene in order that remission may be granted by God without detriment to his justice and that it may be the foundation of the absolving sentence which is made in favor of the elect. If by the imputation of righteousness, theologians mean nothing else than the bestowal of a right to life (as it is certain many do), they hold that indeed truly, but do not express themselves with sufficient accuracy.

V. Thus then we believe the thing may be more readily and clearly conceived. Christ having been destined and given of God to us as a surety and head, in virtue of this union it happens that whatever was done by him

(or endured for the perfect fulfillment of the law as to its precepts as well as to its penal sanction) is reckoned ours, as done in our place, and is imputed to us by God as if it had been performed by ourselves. From this imputation of his most perfect righteousness flow two benefits—both remission of sins and the bestowal of a right to life or adoption (in which two the whole of justification is contained). Thus the imputation of righteousness is the foundation and the meritorious cause of justification, while adoption and absolution are two parts of justification and effects of the imputation of righteousness which are inseparable from each other. For as pardon of sin cannot be granted nor a right to life be conferred, except on the supposition of the imputation of righteousness (by the intervention of which God can without prejudice to his justice free from punishment and bestow life), so, such imputation being posited, both these benefits flow necessarily from the double property of this righteousness, inasmuch as it has a satisfactory and meritorious power at the same time. By reason of the former, imputed righteousness is the foundation of the remission of sins; by reason of the latter, it is the cause of the right to life.

Remission and the right to life, the two parts of justification.

VI. Now many reasons prove that these two benefits must be joined together here, whether we attend to the law (which was to be fulfilled) or regard our necessity, or the nature of things, or the voice of Scripture. For as the law contains a sanction of two parts—on the one side the punishment of death to transgressors; on the other, the reward of life to the obedient—so the righteousness of the law (which by the justification of Christ is fulfilled in us) cannot be obtained except with the remission of sins (which involves a liberation from punishment). We have a right to life which Christ acquired for us most perfectly by his obedience.

VII. Second, the necessity of salvation demanded this very thing. Two evils were conveyed to us by sin: (1) that we were made guilty before God; (2) that we were made enemies and aliens from God, the fountain of life—the guilt of death into which we enter and the privation of life which we lost. And thus we could not be restored to integrity unless the guilt of death

were taken away by the remission of sins and a right to life were given by adoption. As happiness is placed not only in a privation of evil, but most especially in the possession of good, it was not enough to be delivered from evil or death, unless also the right to good or life had been conferred.

VIII. Third, the nature of the thing proves it. It is one thing to redeem from punishment; another to assign a reward also. It is one thing to deliver from death; another to bestow life and happiness. It is one thing to bring out of prison; another to seat upon a throne. The former takes away evil, but the latter superadds good also; as if a fugitive slave should not only be acquitted of the punishment due, but also raised to the dignity and right of a son. For although these two things are connected together indissolubly from the covenant of grace, still from the nature of the thing they could be separated; as Adam, although innocent from the beginning of his creation and worthy of no punishment, still was not at once worthy of a reward until he had perfected the round of obedience, so it was not absolutely necessary that he whose sins have been remitted and who is delivered from the guilt of death, should straightway be gifted with a crown of immortality (since, if it pleased God, he might have afterwards directed man to work by which he should obtain the reward). Liberty certainly necessarily follows deliverance from prison, but not immediately the crown and throne. Joseph freed from his chains ought not on that account to be set over Egypt. Mephibosheth, brought out from squalor and thirst, was not immediately to be carried to the king's table. Thus two things must be distinctly conceived of in this benefit: the pardon of sin committed with a deliverance from the curse of the law; and a bestowal of the reward or blessing.

IX. In many places, Scripture connects and distinguishes these. "Christ was made under the law [*hypo nomon*] to redeem them that were under the law" (Gal. 4:4, 5) (to wit, as to the curse that we might receive the adoption of sons; i.e., the right to life which flows from adoption). Paul elsewhere confirms this: "by which faith we receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance (*klēron*) among them which are sanctified" (Acts 26:18) (i.e., a right to eternal life with other saints). Here belongs the gradation between peace and glory which he weaves together when he says that "being justified we have peace with God, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God" (Rom. 5:1, 2). Peace has reference to deliverance from punishment and glorying supposes the bestowal of a right to life, which is the foundation of

our hope. On this account, he joins together "the being saved from wrath" and "glorying in God" (Rom. 5:9, 11). This very thing Daniel had already intimated when he ascribes to the Messiah, who was about to come, "a propitiation of iniquity" (by whom remission would be obtained) and "the bringing of an everlasting righteousness" (by whose power a right to life would be given, Dan. 9:24). Nor does Christ mean anything else when he promises believers "a transition from death to life" (i.e., not only deliverance from death, but also the possession of life). John means the same thing when he says that Christ not only "washes us from sin" by obtaining their pardon, but also "makes us kings and priests" who obtain the right to happiness and glory (Rev. 1:5, 6).

X. Hence it appears that they are deceived who hold that the remission of sins and the imputation of righteousness differ only by reason of the diverse terms from which (*a quo*) and to which (*ad quem*); as it is not the covering of nakedness and the putting on of a garment, for this reason that sin and righteousness are contraries (*ameta*), one of which being posited the other is taken away. For it is far otherwise with these things, as we have already said. They are so to be joined together, as still not to be confounded, but to be distinguished as really differing from each other; or if the imputation of righteousness is put for a right to life, it is with respect to remission after the manner of a part, constituting with it the form of justification. Hence they are not to be compared with each other as the covering of nakedness and the putting on of a garment (which are really one and the same thing), but as deliverance from punishment and royal dignity in a guilty person.

XI. Sin and righteousness are indeed direct contraries (*ameta*), but not the righteousness which signifies perseverance in righteousness and perfection itself. For it is one thing to be free from corruption, but another to have persisted in duty and to have acquired merit. Adam had the former, not the latter. Thus between death and life there is no middle ground; but between eternal death and a happy life the middle ground is the mortal and animal life, a pious and holy life—but on earth, not in heaven, under the obligation of meriting by obedience. So many things could still come in between the flames of hell and the joys of heaven, deliverance from punishment and the possession of the reward; the punishment of slaves and the dignity of sons. Who, therefore, confers upon us (who were slaves adjudged to eternal punishment) adoption and an inheritance, will he not

also wonderfully increase the benefit? It was much for us to be manumitted and to be made freedmen; now to be pronounced children and heirs, this is the climax and crowning blessing of mercy.

XII. When Paul argues from the remission of sins to the imputation of righteousness (Rom. 4:5–7), he does not do this on account of their equivalency, as if these two do not differ from each other and signify one and the same thing. Rather he does it on account of the undivided connection between both because remission of sins can be given to no one, except on account of the imputation of righteousness and imputation of righteousness is given to no one without his sins being forthwith pardoned.

XIII. Although he who obtains the remission of all his sins (of omission as well as of commission) is freed from punishment (which he deserved on account of those sins) and thus far can be pronounced righteous (or rather justified and acquitted), still, accurately speaking, he cannot on that account be considered to have omitted nothing really good and to have committed nothing evil. God by remission reckons a man not unrighteous, not because he judges him never to have sinned and to be without a stain, but because he forgives and pardons the guilty whatever evil he has committed. However to pardon and, on account of rectitude of conduct (*katorthōmata*), to reckon worthy of a reward and to honor, are far different. See what was said in Topic XIV, Question 8, Section 28 and following.

Fifth Question: The Remission of Sins

Does remission of sins consist in an absolute removal of them? Or in the pardon of them? And after the guilt is remitted is a certain punishment retained? Or is it wholly remitted? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists

I. Because various questions are wont to be agitated concerning the remission of sins, we must touch briefly upon them under three propositions.

The first proposition, concerning the remission of sins, which is not the abolition of them, against the

Romanists.

II. The first: remission of sins does not consist in a removal of the corruption or depraved quality, but in a gratuitous pardon of the criminality and guilt arising from it. This is opposed to the Romanists, who, to support their hypothesis concerning physical justification by infusion, maintain that remission of sin consists in a real taking away of it, as to corruption as well as to guilt. Thus an infusion of righteousness always succeeds remission, as light always follows the scattering of the clouds of darkness.

III. But the following arguments prove the falsehood of this opinion. (1) The mode of speaking and the proper signification of remission among men, which does not imply the extinction of sin, but only the pardoning of it (as a prince, by remitting a crime, does not take it away, but only pardons it and frees it from the punishment due on account of it). (2) The synonymous phrases of Scripture teach the same thing when remission is expressed by a "covering" (Ps. 32:1). Not that they are not, but that in the sight of God the Judge, they do not come into condemnation. For this reason, we ought to put on Christ that his righteousness may cover our sins before God. By a "not imputing" (Ps. 31:2) that on account of them we may not be punished as we deserve. By a "not remembering" (Jer. 31:34) that God may not deal with them practically according to his justice in punishing them. By a "blotting out" (Pss. 51:1; 103:12; Acts 3:19; Col. 2:14) not of the corruption but of the guilt, as a creditor expunges from his account book a debt from which he wishes to release the debtor by destroying and blotting out the very handwriting that it may no longer have any force. Even so God destroys the sins which are written in his book and for which we are accountable (*hypodikoi*) when he pardons them by freeing us from the guilt which attached to us on account of them. By a "casting of them behind his back" and "throwing them into the sea" (Mic. 7:19) that they may no more come into judgment. By a "purging" by way of propitiation and of offering (*hilasmou*, Heb. 1:3; 9:14) that the guilt of sin (which makes us hateful and abominable to God) may be cleansed; in allusion to the sprinkling (*rhantismon*) of the old sacrifices, which did not take away inherent pollution, but adhering guilt. By a "turning away" of "his face" (Ps. 51:9) and a "putting away" (2 S. 12:13) and similar phrases

which rightly mean a juridical pardoning of guilt, not a real removal of pollution.

IV. (3) If remission of sin was the taking away of inherent corruption, as the former is perfect, so also the latter ought to be perfect (which is repugnant to Scripture, which testifies that sin always remains in us and belongs to the experience of saints, who always complain of the struggles of the flesh and the Spirit). (4) If not to impute sin is to expel it and to infuse righteousness; from the opposite, to impute sin will be to infuse sin. The falsity of this appears from the case of Christ, to whom sin was imputed, but not infused.

Sources of explanation.

V. Although by remission of sins actual guilt or the obligation to punishment is taken away, potential guilt is not immediately taken away or the intrinsic merit of sin (which flows from its inherent corruption) because remission consists only in this—that the guilty person is freed by the Judge from the actual punishment due to him, not however immediately from all vitiosity. Hence Paul indeed says there is no condemnation to them which are in Christ (Rom. 8:1), but he does not say there is nothing condemnable or worthy of condemnation. For as long as sin remains in us (now it remains as long as we live), there is always something condemnable, although on account of the interceding grace of the Judge it does not any more actually condemn us.

VI. There is a theoretical covering of sinners which belongs to omniscience, according to which it is certain that nothing can be covered by God except what he wholly destroys and abolishes; another practical (which has respect to the exercise of justice and thus can be covered by him)—what is still in the subject, when God does not see it so as to notice it, is blotted out of his book so that it may not come into account. Thus sins are said to be covered before God not because they are absolutely taken away (as they are not), but because they are not allotted to punishment. Hence Augustine says, “Therefore, why does he say his sins are covered? In order that they might not be seen. For what was it for God to see sins except to punish them?” (“Sermo ad Plebem,” *Ennaratio in Psalmum XXXI: II* [PL 36.264]).

VII. Although the remission of sins is expressed by various phrases (which denote a real taking away), it does not follow that they imply a total abolition of sin because in remission there is something real, since by it the actual obligation to punishment and the punishment itself are really and truly taken away from the person. Again, these phrases (such as "to take away," "to bear away," "to remove," "to wash out," "to purge sins") are partly explained by others which signify the removal of guilt (not however the nonexistence of sin) and are partly drawn from the effect of sacrifices, which was the propitiation and purgation of sin; not by a removal of its corruption, but by a taking away of the guilt and a giving away (*condonationem*) of the punishment.

VIII. Although we do not deny that sin is really abolished in those to whom it is remitted, it does not follow on that account that remission itself consists in that abolition. The former is concerned only with the guilt of sin, the latter with its pollution; the former considers sin with its relation or obligation to punishment, the latter as a quality inherent in the subject; that is performed at the same time and at once, this little by little and successively. Nor does an infusion of righteousness forthwith follow remission of sin from the nature of the thing, as he who remits another's debt ought not at once to give a new sum of money to him. We pardon the sins of others, nor on that account do we expel them from them, since there is one action which is done concerning someone and about him objectively, another which is done in someone subjectively.

Second proposition: remission is total with respect to guilt as well as to punishment.

IX. Second proposition: remission of sin is total and absolute with respect to guilt as well as to punishment. This is also against the Romanists, who urge a partial and not a total remission of guilt, but not of punishment; or of eternal, but not of temporal punishment. "If anyone says that after justification is received, criminality is so remitted to any penitent sinner and the guilt of eternal punishment destroyed, that no exposedness to temporal punishment to be taken away either in this world or in the future remains,

before he can gain access into the kingdom of heaven, let him be accursed" (Council of Trent, Session 6, Canon 30, Schroeder, p. 46).

X. For guilt to be remitted while the punishment is not remitted is absurd (*asystaton*) because there is no punishment without guilt and remission of guilt is nothing else than deliverance from punishment. (2) It is repugnant to Scripture which nowhere speaks of the remission of sin except on the supposition that no punishment of it is exacted; otherwise a great disturbance would be introduced into the Scriptures and nothing could be considered fixed and certain in them. Also great darkness would be poured over both the divine promises and threatenings, as often as either remission of sin is promised or denied (whether it is only of the guilt or also of the punishment; and whether of all or of a certain part of each). Again, how could God be said to cast behind his back, not to impute, to destroy, not to remember, if he still exacts the punishment of them (i.e., recollects and imputes them to punishment)? (3) The common manner of speaking does not suffer it to be said that his sin has been remitted from whom some punishment of sin is exacted. For thus anyone might be said at the same time and at once "to let go" (*aphienai*) and "to keep hold" (*kratein*) of something (which is a contradiction); as no one would say that a debt had been remitted to a person from whom the payment of it is still required. (4) The nature of remission, which is entirely gratuitous, cannot allow this because what is obtained by the payment of any price, cannot be called gratuitous. (5) The justified cannot have peace with God according to Paul (Rom. 5:1), if they are still to be disturbed in life or after death. (6) In believers after the reception of justification, there is no condemnation (Rom. 8:1). Therefore no punishment remains, since condemnation is the devoting to punishment.

XI. (7) This hypothesis supposes either that Christ has not fully satisfied for us or that God demands the payment of the same debt twice (both of which are impious and blasphemous). Nor can it be replied, "Subordinates are not at variance because the satisfactions of men depend upon Christ's satisfaction, and from it have the power of satisfying; that Christ satisfied immediately for the guilt and exposedness to eternal death, mediately, however, for temporal punishment also, inasmuch as he furnishes the grace by which we ourselves make satisfaction to God." (a) It is gratuitously supposed that our satisfactions can be subordinated to Christ's satisfaction,

since they are expressly opposed to it. For if righteousness came by the law then Christ is dead in vain (Gal. 2:21). (b) This mediate satisfaction is unheard-of in Scripture, which never says that Christ satisfied that he might acquire for us the power to satisfy, but by himself (*di' heautou*) made expiation for sins, and thus reconciled us to God and freed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us. Now how could Christ be said to have borne our sins in his own body on the tree (i.e., their punishment) and to have freed us from the curse and to have blotted out and taken out of the way the handwriting which was against us (Col. 2:14) and by one offering to have perfected forever them that are sanctified (Heb. 10:14), if believers are still bound by the guilt of some punishments for which they are yet to make satisfaction? Finally, the mode of speaking does not suffer it to be said that he made satisfaction for us, unless he has cancelled our debt with his own money.

XII. No less absurd is the answer "Our satisfactions are required that the satisfaction of Christ and the remission acquired by him may be applied to us." Although the satisfaction of Christ must be applied to particular believers to avail them, this ought to be done by the word and sacraments externally, by the Spirit and faith internally; but it cannot be done by satisfactions which ought to be offered to God, not to men. Nor have we ever heard it said that the remission of a debt is applied by an exaction of it and that this rests upon the debtor in order that he may enjoy the payment made for him by his security, so that the money which the sponsor paid for him, he also should pay out of his own funds to the creditor afterwards (or certainly some part of it). Again, if (in order that Christ's satisfaction for temporal punishments may be applied to us) our satisfactions are required, why are they not equally necessary in order that the same may be applied for guilt and eternal punishment? Or if they confess that they are not required for that application, why should they be required for the other, since no reason for the difference can be assigned? Finally, if Christ's satisfaction ought to be applied by our satisfaction, our satisfaction again would have to be applied by another satisfaction and so on to infinity.

XIII. What Scripture sometimes says of the exercise of judgment against the church and believers (1 Pet. 4:17; 1 Cor. 11:32 and elsewhere) does not favor the error of the Romanists. The judgment of a vindictive judge is one thing; the judgment of paternal chastisement is another. The one is legal, the

other evangelical; the one proceeding from wrath and hatred, the other from love and mercy; the one for destruction and death, the other for correction and salvation; the one is exercised against the wicked and rebels, the other towards the pious and believers, not to destroy, but to teach and make them more cautious afterwards. Hence Augustine says, "What you bewail is medicine, not a punishment; chastisement not condemnation; be unwilling to repel the rod, if you do not wish to be repelled from the inheritance" (Psalm 103* [102].17 [20] [NPNF1, 8:508; PL 37.1332]). The former is incompatible (*asystaton*) with remission, not the latter.

XIV. Although afflictions of themselves and in their own nature are truly the punishment of sin according to the threatening of the law (Lev. 26), still on account of our gratuitous reconciliation with God in Christ they cease to be punishments (*timōriai*). They become either fatherly chastisement (1 Cor. 11:32; Heb. 12:8); or necessary evidences (*dokimasiai*) that we may be manifested to ourselves and to others (Jam. 1:2, 3); or witnesses (*martyria*) or testimonies concerning the truth of doctrine (Acts 5:41). On this account, they are reckoned even among the blessings of God (Ps. 94:12; Job 5:17; Phil. 1:29; Heb. 12:6, 7). They are connected with joy (Acts 5:41; Jam. 1:2; Heb. 12:11). They have glorying as an attendant (Rom. 5:2, 3). Therefore if they are still called punishments after the remission of sin, this is not said properly because they are without the formal reason of punishment (to wit, that it should be inflicted from the wrath of the Judge as the avenging of sin and the destruction of the sinner). Rather it is said improperly, both because they were of themselves the punishments of sin and because they tend to the destruction of the flesh and of the old man.

XV. This full and total remission of sins being established, the treasury of papal indulgences sinks and that most foul trafficking of the mystery of iniquity is swept away. For if the remission granted to believers is entire and total, freeing them from all guilt and punishment, why are necessary satisfactions further invented (either personal or another's) for the taking away of punishment, if not eternal at least temporal? I dismiss the various arguments, which prove not only the weakness but also the falsity of that error (concerning which we will speak in the proper place) from which it will appear that this comment is not only unwritten (*agraphon*), but also contrary to what is written (*antigraphon*) and unreasonable (*alogon*) and filled with innumerable contradictions and impieties. Hence it should not

seem amazing if this occasioned (as is well known) the work of the Reformation in the year 1519 at Zurich by Zwingli; in the year 1517 at Wittenberg by Luther, who could not endure that most disgraceful traffic in sacred things.

XVI. Nor ought we to recur to the indulgences of the fathers, which have nothing in common with the modern papal indulgences (as they cannot be ignorant who have any knowledge of the ancient discipline). Since it is evident that in the ancient church very severe canonical punishments and satisfactions were imposed upon public sinners by penitential canons, specimens of which can be seen not only in the canons of the councils of Elvira, Ancyra and Nicea, but also in the decrees of Burchard, Ivo and Gratian (which were not rendered properly to God in the court of heaven as a satisfactory punishment for their sins, but only to the church itself for the extinction and reparation of the scandal by which it was injured). But since on account of that rigor many were reduced to desperation and relapsed into Gentilism, a modification of indulgences was introduced, which sinners obtained either by the intercession of martyrs or received from their bishops (their serious grief being regarded lest they should be swallowed up of sadness), by which, the severity being relaxed, they were restored to communion before the time required by the canons and a dispensation of canonical punishments was granted to them, as may be seen in Cyprian, *Letters* 15, 16, 17 (ACW 43:90–98); Canons 5 and 11 of the Council of Nicea (cf. Hefele, 1:386–87, 416–17); Canons 21 and 22 of the Council of Ancyra (A.D. 314) (Hefele, 1:220–21); and Canon 37 of the Council of Agathensis (Agde/Agatha, A.D. 506) (Hefele, 4:82). Afterwards most persons withdrawing from the yoke of the penitential canons, partly changes and partly redemptions of canonical satisfactions were introduced. Hence a fast of three days was redeemed by a recitation of fifty psalms, and by the feeding of some destitute person, or by three denarii from him who did not know the psalms (Burchard, *Decretorum* 19 [“Ex Poenitentiali Romano”] [PL 140.949–1014]). This gate of redemptions, however, being once opened, the sale of indulgences at length began in the eleventh century under Urban II. To make them of greater importance, various comments were devised concerning their value and efficacy, not only in the court of earth (as to canonical punishment), but also in the court of heaven and as to the satisfaction to be rendered to divine justice for sins. Hence it is evident

how much these indulgences differ from the ancient, which were nothing else than relaxations of canonical punishments and dispensations from their severity for the consolation of private persons and the common edification of the church. However the modern are held to be relaxations of the satisfactory punishments of divine justice.

Third proposition: remission is extended to all sins.

XVII. Third proposition: "Remission is extended to all the sins entirely of believers, of whatever kind they may be, future as well as past and present, but in their own order." This question is moved with regard to future sins—are they also remitted at the same time and at once with the past and present sins? For there are some even of our theologians of great reputation who think that in the justification of the sinner all his sins (the future equally with the past) are at the same time and at once remitted, both because the righteousness of Christ, which is the foundation of our justification, is wholly (however great it is) imputed at once and at the same time to us and because justification ought to leave no room for condemnation (Rom. 8:1). Nay, being justified, they have peace with God (Rom. 5:1) and are called blessed (Ps. 32:1). This could not be said if they could still be subjected to condemnation on account of future sins not remitted.

XVIII. We think the difficulty can be overcome by a distinction. All sins (future as well as past) cannot be said to be remitted at the same time and once formally and explicitly because as they are not accidents of a nonentity, so as long as the sin is not, punishment is not due to it; and since it is not due, it cannot be remitted (as a debt not yet contracted cannot be cancelled). Besides for the remission of sin there is required a confession and repentance of it, which cannot be made unless it has been committed. Hence we are ordered to seek remission of sins every day, which is to be applied to sins committed, not to anticipate their perpetration. But because in justification the righteousness of Christ is applied to us (which is the foundation upon which the remission of all our sins rests) and because from the covenant of grace God promises that he will not remember our sins, nothing prevents us from saying that in this sense sins are remitted eminently and virtually because in the righteousness of Christ imputed to us is the foundation of that remission. And thus all our sins are remitted by

God, whether past or present or future, but with respect to the time in which they are committed; so that past and present are actually remitted, the future when they are committed will most certainly be remitted according to God's promise. Thus the state of justification remaining undisturbed and the acceptation of the person remaining uninterrupted and the general remission of sins already committed, the following and future as to particular absolution are not actually pardoned before their commission; nay, before they have been repented of either generally or particularly.

XIX. I confess if we regard the eternal purpose of God in which all things, even the future, appeared to God as present (Acts 15:18) and the merit and acquisition of Christ, who offered to God a perfectly sufficient ransom (*lytron*) for the expiation of all our sins, so that as to the promise given by God in the covenant of grace concerning their remission, remission under this relation (*schesei*) can be said to be extended to all sins whether past or future. But if the actual remission itself is regarded, which is made by an intimation of the absolving sentence in the heart of the believer and penitent, it can be referred only to sins already committed. Thus to take away the guilt of subsequent sins, there is required a particular application of remission, not only as to the sense and assurance of remission, but also as to the true and real forgiveness itself.

XX. As the person whose sins are pardoned can be considered, either as to the state of grace (in which he is constituted by justification) or as to the particular acts (which he can afterwards commit), so remission can be viewed in two aspects: either generally as to state (according to which God receives the believing and penitent sinner into grace on account of Christ and bestows upon him the pardon of all the sins of which he is guilty); or specially as to particular acts of sin into which he afterwards falls, for taking away the guilt of which a particular absolution is needed. Not that the state of justification into which he is translated can be dissolved or remission once bestowed be abrogated, because God remains always his Father, but a Father angry on account of sins recently committed (which although they cannot constitute him a "child of wrath" on account of the immutability of calling and justification, still they make him a "child under wrath," so that he deservedly incurs the fatherly indignation of God and has need forthwith of a new justification or particular remission of these sins through faith and repentance).

XXI. Although the justified believer has not as yet the formal remission of future sins, he does not cease to be happy and free from actual condemnation because he has the foundation from which he can infer with positive certainty that it is prepared for him according to God's promise. If the whole righteousness of Christ is at the same time imputed, its entire fruit does not flow out to us at once, but successively in proportion to the inrushings of sin (for the remission of which the believer ought to apply that ransom [*lytron*] to himself every day).

Sixth Question: Adoption

What is the adoption which is given to us in justification?

The other part of justification, adoption.

I. The other part of justification is adoption or the bestowal of a right to life, flowing from Christ's righteousness, which acquired for us not only deliverance from death, but also a right to life by the adoption with which he endows us. For on this account, he is said to have been made under the law (*hypo nomon*) by an economical subjection that he might redeem us from the bondage of the law and confer upon us the adoption or the right of sons (Gal. 4:4, 5). On this, the right to life depends because "if children, then heirs" (Rom. 8:17). John says "to them who received him," i.e., "who believed on his name, he gave power to become the sons of God" (1:12). Here *exousia* does not signify authority or power because it has reference here to inferiors; nor faculty or potency by which a person can make himself a son. Rather it signifies *axiōma* (i.e., the dignity and right of sons).

In how many ways adoption may be taken.

II. However adoption here is not taken by us (as it is elsewhere) for an external calling and reception into the covenant (such as was formerly the case with the Jews, whose is said to be the adoption, Rom. 9:4). Nor for the sense and use of adoption which is made by emancipation, such as belongs to believers of the New Testament, who because they are made adults and are no longer minors are said to have received the Spirit of adoption and are

no longer called servants, nor are held in the manner of servants, but are sons and heirs who rejoice in this right (Gal. 4:5). Nor for the full manifestation of adoption, which will occur in the resurrection. In this sense, believers are said to wait for the adoption (i.e., the resurrection of their bodies, Rom. 8:23). Rather it is taken for a juridical act of God by which from his mere mercy, he adopts into his family through faith in Christ those whom he elected to salvation from eternity and bestows upon them the name and right of sons as to inheritance.

What is adoption?

III. However as the word "adoption" is derived from a custom received among men, so the action itself has a multiple analogy with civil adoption (although it differs also in various things and is better). Adoption is defined by lawyers as a "lawful act imitating nature introduced for the consolation of those who have no children." Thus there is required here: first an adopter, who can have the authority of a father who (destitute of children) supplies the defect of nature by law and receives a stranger into his own family and promises to him paternal favor; (2) the person adopted, who passes from his father's family into another and (his state being changed) changes his name and life and has a right to the paternal goods and especially to the inheritance; and in turn binds himself to all the duties of filial obedience. Thus in this matter, adoption is not an act of nature, but of a gracious will which our heavenly Father wished to exercise towards us. In this sense, he is said "to have begotten us of his own will" (Jam. 1:18) and the very name adoption (*hyiothesias*) denotes this voluntary and most free disposition of God. By it God transfers us strangers and foreigners (who were the servants or slaves of Satan) from the family of the old Adam and the power of darkness and admits us into his own family and the kingdom of light and gives us the dignity of sons. He not only bestows upon us the glorious name of dearly beloved sons (1 Jn. 3:1; Rev. 2:17; 3:12) with the distinctions and honors pertaining to them, but also gives us a right to all his goods of grace as well as of glory. All this comes under the name of inheritance as acquired not by any merit, but given by the mere grace of the Father to us in virtue of our adoption by him. And we in turn (answering by faith to this great love)

bind ourselves to filial worship and obedience to him (2 Cor. 6:18; 1 Pet. 1:15, 16; Mal. 1:6, 8).

How it differs from human adoption.

IV. Of whatever kind may be the analogy, still a great and remarkable difference always intervenes. For what the law does among men, this is a work of mere good will (*eudokias*). That was sought out for the solace of childlessness to supply a defect of nature; but this was made for our consolation only, not for God's, who was perfectly well pleased with his only begotten Son. That was ordained for the succession to the goods of a deceased father, but this only for a participation in the goods of a Father living forever. That can give the name, the titles and distinctions of sons, but not the mind and qualities. But in this, God by adopting changes the heart, and to whom he gratuitously gives the right of sons, he also impresses upon them the mind and character of sons by the Spirit of adoption. That does not make them good, but supposes them to be so; for neither would a man adopt anyone as a son unless he perceived in him something lovely. But this is a work of mere grace which does not suppose anything good in us who were enemies, rebels and most corrupt. Thus God adopts us, not because we are good, but to make us good.

V. Here belongs the testamentary disposition which the Father is said to have instituted for giving us the inheritance. It is nothing else than the final and immutable will sealed in the Scriptures and confirmed by the blood and death of Christ, by which he pronounces elect believers his heirs. Christ clearly intimates this: "I appoint" (*diatithemai*, or give by a will) "unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed (*dietheto*) unto me" (Lk. 22:29). "And for this cause he is the mediator of the new testament," says Paul, "that by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first testament, they which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance" (Heb. 9:15). The goods left by this testament do not pertain only to "the inheritance of this world" (Rom. 4:13), according to which all things are ours (1 Cor. 3:21), but it is especially the inheritance of heaven or of the kingdom of heaven (Mt. 25; Jam. 2:5). Thus it is the inheritance of God himself, who (as he is the highest good) is often called

our portion and inheritance (Gen. 15:1; Ps. 16:5; Jer. 10:16), as believers are the portion and inheritance of God (Ps. 33:12).

VI. Now although this privilege as to the thing is common to all the believers of the Old Testament, no less than to those of the New, who were both sons of God and had a right to the heavenly inheritance (to which after death they were admitted), still it is certain that the condition of believers of the New Testament as to the mode is far better in this respect: they are no longer in an infantile age, held like slaves under teachers and the rudiments of the world, when they were not able to have either the sense or the use of their right, animated by the spirit of bondage. But now being adults and emancipated by Christ, they are admitted to the sanctuary of the Father and have a full sense and fruit of their right, the Spirit of adoption being received, in virtue of which they can confidently cry out, Abba, Father. Paul refers to this when he says, "Christ was made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law" (to wit, under the curse of the moral law and under the yoke of the ceremonial law) "that we might receive the adoption of sons" (Gal. 4:4, 5). Not that only by which we are separated from the children of wrath and of the Devil, but also that by which we far excel infants, who do not differ from slaves. This is more copiously proved in Topic XII, of the covenant of grace, Question 10.

VII. From these positions, it is gathered that to no purpose do some anxiously ask here how justification and adoption differ from each other, and whether adoption is by nature prior to justification (as some hold, who think it is the first and immediate fruit of faith by which we are united and joined to Christ; or whether posterior to and consequent upon it, as others). For since it is evident from what has been said that justification is a benefit by which God (being reconciled to us in Christ) absolves us from the guilt of sins and gives us a right to life, it follows that adoption is included in justification itself as a part which, with the remission of sins, constitutes the whole of this benefit. Nor can it be distinguished from adoption except inasmuch as it is taken strictly for remission of sins, since in its formal conception it includes also acceptation to life, which flows from the imputation of Christ's righteousness.

VIII. Nor is adoption here to be confounded with our union with Christ. For although it necessarily flows from it as its cause and foundation (since from union with Christ depends the communion of all his benefits, of

justification and of sanctification and of glory), still it cannot (if we wish to speak accurately) be identified with it. Rather it stands related to it as an effect to its cause. Hence it is that, being united to Christ as our head and the first-begotten of God, his most perfect righteousness becomes ours by the imputation of God and the reception of faith, upon which depend both absolution from sins and the adoption or acceptation to life and the inheritance which is the right of sons. For as many as obtain that dignity are not only received into God's family to be members of his house (Gal. 6:10), to be always under the fatherly protection of God, depending upon him for nutrition, education and perpetual conservation, but have a right to the inheritance (Rom. 8:17), i.e., the possession of all the goods of the Father and the enjoyment of God himself (which is our inheritance).

Christian liberty flows from adoption.

IX. From this adoption springs Christian liberty, which is not an immunity from all laws (divine and human) and a license to live according to our pleasure and to indulge the lusts of the flesh (as the Libertines profess, changing liberty into licentiousness); not an exemption from the civil obligation of subjection and from the tributes and jurisdiction of magistrates (as the various Anabaptists maintain and which the Romish clergy claim for themselves against the express teachings of Scripture); but it is a spiritual and mystical manumission obtained for us by the blood of Christ, by which from the spiritual bondage of the law, of sin, of the world and Satan (by whose chains we were before bound), we are brought into the liberty of the sons of God (as it is treated in Jn. 8:32, 36; Rom. 6:15, 22; 8:2, 3; Gal. 3:13; 4:6, 26; 5:1; Heb. 2:15 and elsewhere); through which being called into fellowship with God (as our Father) and with Christ (as our brother), we obtain dominion over the creatures and are heirs of the kingdom of Heaven.

Seventh Question: The Justification of Faith

Does faith justify us properly and by itself or only relatively and instrumentally? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Socinians, Remonstrants and Romanists

Justification—active and passive.

I. Since justification can be viewed either actively (on the part of God who justifies) or passively (on the part of man who is justified), a twofold handling of it can also be adopted: either with respect to the benefit itself conferred upon us by God and of the righteousness imputed to us; or with respect to its reception and application made by faith (of which we now treat).

Statement of the question.

II. However, it is not controverted whether faith justifies—for Scripture so clearly asserts this that no one dares to deny it. Rather we inquire regarding the manner in which it justifies, in describing which there is an amazing discrepancy of opinions.

The opinion of the Socinians.

III. All our opponents agree in this—that faith justifies properly and by itself and so is our very righteousness—but with some differences. For the Socinians maintain that faith or the act of believing is the cause of our justification so that there is no other immediate and formal righteousness by which we are just before God than our faith; also justification is a universal affection of faith—"Not because it is considered such by the gracious acceptation of God; by which it pleased him to reckon faith for perfect righteousness, or for a perfect fulfillment of the law, no otherwise than formally under the legal covenant, the perfect obedience of the law was that universal righteousness upon which life depended" (as Socinus, *De lesu Christo Servatore* [1594] frequently expresses it; Smalcius, *Refutatio Thesium D. Wolfgang Frantzii* [1614]; Volkelius, *De vera Religione* 4.3 [1630], pp. 175–84). The Remonstrants agree with them on this point in their Confession, c. 21+ (cf. *The Confession or Declaration of the ... Remonstrants* 18* [1676], p. 211).

And of the Romanists.

IV. The Romanists hold that faith is the disposing and cause *sine qua non*, which not only disposes to righteousness, but also begins and merits righteousness itself. “If anyone says that the wicked are justified by faith alone, so that he understands nothing else to be required to cooperate for obtaining the grace of justification and is necessary from no part, to be prepared and disposed with the motion of his own will, let him be accursed” (Council of Trent, Session 6, Canon 9*, Schroeder, p. 43). Bellarmine says, “Faith justifies as the beginning and root of justification because it is the first motion towards God, for it behooves one approaching God to believe that God is” (“De Justificatione,” 1.13 *Opera* [1858], 4:479). This opinion is founded upon a false hypothesis—as if justification consists in an infusion of righteousness and is a certain physical motion which demands previous dispositions in the subject before the introduction of the form.

The opinion of the orthodox.

V. However the orthodox differ wholly from them. They teach that faith is the organic and instrumental cause of our justification and that justification is ascribed to it, not properly and by itself (inasmuch as it is a work or as if it was the righteousness itself by which we are justified before God; or as if by its own worth or by the indulgence of God it deserves justification in whole or in part), but improperly and metonymically (inasmuch as Christ’s righteousness, which faith apprehends, is the foundation and meritorious cause on account of which we are justified). So that it is said to justify relatively and organically: relatively because the object of faith is our true righteousness before God; organically because faith is the instrument for receiving on our part and for applying to ourselves, that righteousness.

Proof that the act of believing is not our righteousness.

VI. Two things therefore must be done by us here. First, negatively (*kat’ arsin*), the false mode of the justification of faith (introduced by the Socinians and Romanists) must be removed. Second, affirmatively (*kata thesin*) the true and genuine sense must be established. As to the former,

faith or the act of believing is not considered as our righteousness with God by a gracious acceptation: (a) because what is only the instrument for receiving righteousness cannot be our righteousness itself formally. Now faith holds here only the relation (*schesin*) of an instrument, as is evident both from its proper act (which is instrumental and consists in the reception of Christ [Jn. 1:12] and the acceptance of righteousness [Rom. 5:17] and of the remission of sins [Acts 26:18]); and from the subordination of the causes of justification to the same effect (to wit, the grace of God, the redemption of Christ and faith). This is alluded to by Paul in Rom. 3:24 where faith cannot sustain any other meaning than that of an instrument, since the grace of God holds the relation of an efficient principle and the redemption of Christ that of the meritorious cause.

VII. (b) Because faith is distinguished from the righteousness itself which is imputed to us, both because it is said to be "of faith" and "by faith" (Rom. 1:17; 3:22; Phil. 3:9) and because Christ with his obedience and satisfaction is that righteousness which is imputed to us (Is. 53:11; Jer. 23:6; 1 Cor. 1:30; 2 Cor. 5:21; Gal. 3:13, 14), which faith indeed apprehends as its object, but with which it cannot be identified. Hence Scripture nowhere says that God willed to count our faith for righteousness, but that he made Christ unto us righteousness; that he is Jehovah our righteousness and that we are the righteousness of God in him.

VIII. (c) Because we are not justified except by a perfect righteousness. For we have to deal with the strict justice of God, which cannot be deceived. Now no faith here is perfect. Nor can it be said that it is not indeed a perfect righteousness of itself, but is admitted as such by God and considered such by a gratuitous lowering of the law's demands. For in the court of divine justice (which demands an adequate and absolutely perfect payment), there cannot be room for a gracious acceptation which is an imaginary payment. Again, since our justification is a forensic and judicial act (where God shows himself just, Rom. 3:25), it does not admit of a gracious acceptation (which never proceeds from the authority and sentence of the Judge, but from the voluntary and private stipulation of the parties).

IX. (d) If faith is counted for righteousness, we will be justified by works because thus faith cannot but have the relation of a work which justifies. And yet it is clear that in this business Paul always opposes faith to works as incompatible (*asystata*) and two antagonistic (*antidiērēmena*) means by

which man is justified either by his own obedience and in himself, by the law, or by another's obedience by the gospel. Nor does the difference between these modes of justification consist in this—that in the former a perfect obedience and in the latter an imperfect is accepted of God as perfect, since the mode of justification would be always the same—by works. Rather the difference consists in this—that since in both cases a perfect righteousness is required, in the former from the strictness (*akribodikaiō*) of the law God demands a personal righteousness, here from the forbearance (*epieikeia*) of the gospel he admits another's (to wit, the righteousness of Christ). Thus faith cannot be said to justify properly and by itself unless we slide back to the old covenant and return to legal justification.

X. "The faith of Abraham," it is said, "was imputed to him for righteousness" (Gen. 15:6; Rom. 4:3). Not properly because in this way he would have been justified by works (which the apostle denies in the same place). But (1) relatively and metonymically, so that faith is taken for its object (Gal. 3:25), i.e., for that which faith believes (to wit, that the promise concerning the seed [from Gal. 3:16], not so much bodily as spiritual, which he received by faith, was the foundation of his justification). This is confirmed by the circumstance that what does not inhere and what is contradistinguished from works is here said to be imputed. Thus in this sense faith is said to be imputed for righteousness by a hypallage because righteousness is imputed by faith, as the apostle declares in equivalent terms (Gal. 3:5, 6; Rom. 3:22). Nor is this to wrest the Scriptures and to express coldly the power and efficacy of faith, as Forbes falsely charges upon our theologians (*A Treatise Tending to Clear the Doctrine of Justification* 4 [1616], p. 10). Nay, no more clearly and truly can the genuine sense of that imputation be set forth. For since that thing which is imputed to us for righteousness ought to be our righteousness before God (i.e., that on account of which God justifies us); nor can faith be that (as we have already said and as he himself does not deny when he recognizes it to be the instrumental cause); it is clear that this phrase cannot be taken properly, but only metonymically with regard to the object. Nor is anything more usual in Scripture than for a faculty to be taken for its object. This does not prevent (2) faith from being said to be imputed for righteousness organically because it is the instrumental cause which apprehends the

righteousness of Christ by a metonymy of the effect for the efficient, as it is elsewhere called eternal life (Jn. 17:3; 12:50), i.e., the instrumental cause of life.

XI. In vain, however, does Arminius contend that the righteousness of Christ is not imputed for righteousness, since it is that very righteousness itself (to wit, supposing that is not properly righteousness which is imputed to us for righteousness). He falsely confounds to impute for righteousness by gracious acceptation that which is not a righteousness and to impute to a person for righteousness that which he did not have. The first sense has no place here, only the latter. Accordingly what Abraham had not is said to be imputed to him for righteousness and the righteousness of Christ is imputed to us (i.e., reckoned ours), which was not ours. Thus imputation does not deny the truth of the thing or the perfection of the righteousness, but only the truth of the possession by ascribing to a person what was not properly his.

XII. What is said concerning anyone in Scripture ought to be altogether in him, but according to the manner which it teaches itself. Now the manner in which justification and salvation are ascribed to faith, does not consist in its own proper efficiency (as if our faith wrought or effected them), but they are placed only in its fiducial apprehension and application. Nor otherwise are we said to please God by faith (Heb. 11:6) and to be purged of sin (Acts 15:9), than because it applies to us the righteousness and blood of Christ, who purges us from sins and makes us acceptable to God.

XIII. It is one thing for blessings to be conferred according to faith (i.e., under the condition of faith) under which they are promised in the word and which we acknowledge with the Scriptures; another for faith to justify properly and by itself or to count faith itself for righteousness and thus to impute it for righteousness to the believer. There faith holds the relation of an instrument. Here, however, it holds that of a principal cause and foundation (which we deny).

2. Faith does not justify dispositively.

XIV. Second, against the Romanists we prove that faith does not justify dispositively or meritoriously, as the beginning and root of righteousness. (1) The Holy Spirit nowhere ascribes to faith the beginning or only a part or

disposition to justification, but the whole and entire justification. (2) Thus the antithesis of the apostle between works and faith would not hold good, since faith would always justify like a work. (3) Justification, as being a forensic act, takes place at once and in a moment (*en atomō*); nor can it admit of a beginning and progress. (4) Thus we could be said to be justified "on account of faith" (*dia tēn pistin*). The Scripture never says this, but always either "by faith" (*pistei*) or "through faith" (*dia tēs pisteōs, ek pisteōs*) as by an instrument. If in various passages these prepositions —"by" and "through"—have a causality properly so called (as when they are connected with the death and blood of Christ), it does not follow that they have the same force when used concerning the justification of faith. Nay, since it is evident that a man cannot be justified by two righteousnesses (one in himself, the other in Christ), if the righteousness and blood of Christ is the proper cause of his justification, this cannot be ascribed to faith, but only the instrumental cause. (5) This opinion falsely supposes that justification is a physical motion inhering in the subject, which needs previous dispositions by which it may be acquired so as to be introduced into the subject. But this is false since it is a forensic act (as was proved before) to which man holds himself objectively, not subjectively. And although faith is required on the part of man for receiving this benefit, it does not follow that it has the relation of a disposition by which the sinner is disposed to the infusion of righteousness.

Sources of explanation.

XV. Faith is viewed in different lights: either in the act itself of justification or in the person of the justified or in the effect of justification. In the person of the justified, it is well called "the beginning of righteousness"; not imputed but inherent because it is the root of all virtues. Thus in the effect of justification, it is the principle and cause of new obedience; but in the act of justification, it can be nothing else than an instrument apprehending and applying to man that which justifies. Thus he is justified not by the merit of faith, but only by it as a means.

XVI. Although justification is drawn away from works as to merit and a properly so-called efficiency, it does not follow that the same is ascribed to faith in the same manner. Nay, because it is taken away from works, it

cannot for the same reason be ascribed to faith because it would thus justify as a work; nor could we be said to be justified without works. It therefore suffices (in order to save the opposition of the apostle) that faith should be substituted by him in the place of works because by faith we most surely obtain what the Jews in vain sought in works (although it acts here not meritoriously, but only instrumentally).

XVII. Faith is said to save us (Lk. 7:50), not by meriting something in order to justification, but only receptively and organically because it was the instrument receptive of that benefit. Nothing is more frequent than by a metalepsis to ascribe to an instrument the effect of the principal cause (as when "the gospel" is said "to be the power of God unto salvation," Rom. 1:16; the diligent hand is said to increase the house; the plough to enrich the farmer; the hand of the giver to relieve the poor; and the like). If elsewhere the greatness of the faith of the Canaanite woman to whom Christ granted the sought-for blessing is extolled (Mt. 15:28), its merit and efficiency is not on that account denoted. Believing, she was certainly healed because, faith being the medium, God bestowed this blessing upon her; but believing, he healed her, not on account of the fact that faith properly speaking effected or merited the healing.

XVIII. Therefore the true mode of the justification of faith is no other than instrumental. (1) Its proper act consists in the reception of Christ and his righteousness, as was said before. (2) It justifies in no other manner than by its being directed to the death and obedience of Christ (to wit, by apprehending and applying Christ to itself as a ransom [*antilytron*] given for us and a propitiation [*hilasmon*] for sin, 1 Jn. 2:2). (3) Faith in the Scriptures is described by "eating," "looking" and "touching," which have only an instrumental causality, not a proper efficiency (as the looking at a serpent did not cure per se, but relatively to the brazen serpent; nor does eating nourish except by food thrown into the mouth). (4) Justifying faith stands related in no other way to justification than as the faith of miracles stands related to the working of miracles; not effectively, but organically by apprehending the special promise given concerning them.

XIX. Not without reason, however, is this ascribed above all other things to the believer because it alone of all the virtues can subsist with grace as consisting in the mere reception and apprehension of an object placed beyond itself. Hence it is said to be "of faith, that it might be by grace"

(Rom. 4:16), to wit, as man owes this entire blessing to God, he has no reason for glorying in himself. For if he were justified by works or inherent righteousness, he would seem to have something in which to glory; but when he is justified by faith (which gives nothing to God, but only receives) all glorying is excluded. This Toletus well explains when he gives the reason why the Scripture ascribes justification to faith alone: "Namely, because in faith it is more manifested that man is justified not by his own virtue, but by the merit of Christ. For as in beholding the serpent God placed healing in the desert, because the looking indicated more that the men were healed by the virtue of the serpent, not of any personal work or medicine; so faith shows that sinners are justified by the virtue and merit of Christ, in whom believing they are saved, not by any virtue and merit of their own. And it is the reason why justification is ascribed to faith especially by Paul, who strives to exclude from justification the works of the law, and human merit or efficacy, and to place it in the virtue and merit of Christ alone. Therefore he makes mention of faith in Christ. This neither repentance, nor love, nor hope have, for faith is carried more immediately and distinctly to it, by whose virtue we are justified" (*Commentarii et annotationes in epistolam ... ad Romanos*, Annot. 17 [1602], p. 177 on Rom. 3:22).

XX. Although the sacraments are external means and instruments applying (on the part of God) the promise of grace and justification, this does not hinder faith from being called the internal instrument and means on the part of man for receiving this benefit offered in the word and sealed by the sacraments.

XXI. What justifies as an instrument does not forthwith justify as a work, although that instrument is a work. It is one thing for it to be a work and another to justify as a work. What justifies as a work ought to be the meritorious cause of justification, but what justifies as an instrument does not justify meritoriously, but only apprehensively and receptively; not by giving, but by receiving. Therefore the action of faith justifies us, but not as an action simply (as if it were our righteousness with God), but in relation to its object inasmuch as it receives Christ. As the extension of the beggar's hand is indeed the act of the beggar prescribed by the rich man, still as an act it does not enrich the beggar, but insofar as in this way he applies the gift of the rich man to himself and makes it his own.

XXII. Although faith is called "the work of God" (Jn. 6:29), it does not follow that it justifies as a work. Although it is enjoined by God (and in this sense is called the work of God and is due from man that he may obtain life), it is not on this account due as the meritorious cause of that life, but only as a means and instrument receptive of the righteousness of Christ, which is the true cause of life. And thus it is so called by Christ imitatively (*mimētikōs*) and by allusion to the Jewish sense, who sought life by the works of the law: "What must we do," said they, "that we may work the works of God?" To this legal question Jesus answers, not legally, but evangelically (yet in a legal style, taking the legal phrase from the expression of the Jews and applying it to his discourse): "This is the work of God that ye believe"—intimating that no further work was necessary to acquire salvation, but that faith was substituted in the place of all works for the reception of it (as if he said, work earnestly, only believe—this is work, this is labor). Evidently as to a sick man seeking by what medicine he is about to be healed, if the physician answers, this is the medicine which I prescribe to you; keep quiet and confide in me—he does not wish to intimate that that rest and confidence are any remedies to cure him, but he means only this—there is no need of medicine. Thus the Scripture often ascribes the names of things (to which men attribute falsely a great efficacy and value) to those things which are truly efficacious and valuable; as the gospel is called law because what the law sought, the gospel gives; what the Jews vainly sought in the law is obtained by the gospel. Thus regeneration is called circumcision (Phil. 3:3); believers are called sons of Abraham; love and piety are called fasting (Is. 58:6, 7); and faith is called a work.

XXIII. But we think it ought not to be anxiously inquired whether faith stands here in the relation of an instrument or also of a condition, as some think. Both may be ascribed to it, provided the condition is not understood as that in view of which God justifies man in the legal covenant. For in this sense, it cannot be called a condition, unless we agree with the Socinians and Remonstrants, who hold that faith or the act of believing is admitted by God by a gracious acceptation for a perfect righteousness (which we have just now refuted). Rather it is taken broadly for all that is required on our part to obtain this benefit—whether it has the relation of a cause properly so called or only instrumental. For thus as that condition has the relation (*schesin*) of an instrument, so the instrument has the relation of a condition

on our part without which justification cannot be granted. Moreover concerning the manner in which faith concurs to justification and concerning its threefold act—dispository, justificatory and consolatory—see what was said in Topic XV, Question 12, Section 4.

EIGHTH QUESTION

Does faith alone justify? We affirm against the Romanists

I. This question also lies between us and the Romanists, who not only corrupt the true mode of the justification of faith by making the instrumental cause meritorious or at least dispositive, but by connecting with it the other virtues both as attendants and companions in this act. Hence arose the controversy concerning "faith alone justifying" (*sole Fide Justificante*), which as it is of no less importance than the preceding, so it is agitated with no less warmth of spirit.

Origin of the question.

II. This question is not of recent birth. Even from the very beginning of the Christian religion, this was asserted by the false apostles or Judaizing Christians. They did not with full front attack the faith as the Pharisees, but on the side by a deadly mixture associating the law with the gospel, Moses with Christ and faith with works in the matter of justification, so that man should be justified not by faith alone, but at the same time by works also. Against them the apostle disputes in his epistles to the Galatians, Philippians and Colossians. This is urged by the Romanists of this day, who hold that with faith, fear, hope, love, penitence, the purpose of a new life concurs to justification. "If anyone shall say that the wicked are justified by faith alone, so as to understand that nothing else is required to cooperate for the obtainment of the grace of justification and is necessary from no part, that he should be prepared and disposed by a motion of his own will, let him be accursed" (Council of Trent, Session 6, Canon 9, Schroeder, p. 43). This is more fully set forth in chapters 5 and 6, where the mode and necessity of preparation for justification are treated (ibid., pp. 31–33).

Statement of the question.

III. But that the state of the question may be the more easily understood, we must remark that a twofold trial can be entered into by God with man: either by the law (inasmuch as he is viewed as guilty of violating the law by sin and thus comes under the accusation and condemnation of the law); or by the gospel (inasmuch as he is accused by Satan of having violated the gospel covenant and so is supposed to be an unbeliever and impenitent or a hypocrite, who has not testified by works the faith he has professed with his mouth). Now to this twofold trial a twofold justification ought to answer; not in the Romish sense, but in a very different sense. The first is that by which man is absolved from the guilt of sin on account of the righteousness of Christ imputed to us and apprehended by faith; the other is that by which he is freed from the charge of unbelief and hypocrisy and declared to be a true believer and child of God; one who has fulfilled the gospel covenant (if not perfectly as to degree, still sincerely as to parts) and answered to the divine call by the exercise of faith and piety. The first is justification properly so called; the other is only a declaration of it. That is justification of cause *a priori*; this is justification of sign or of effect *a posteriori*, declaratively. In that, faith alone can have a place because it alone apprehends the righteousness of Christ, by whose merit we are freed from the condemnation of the law; in this, works also are required as the effects and signs of faith, by which its truth and sincerity are declared against the accusation of unbelief and hypocrisy. For as faith justifies a person, so works justify faith.

IV. The question does not concern justification *a posteriori* and declaratively in the fatherly and gospel trial—whether faith alone without works concurs to it (for we confess that works come in here with faith; yea, that works only are properly regarded because it is concerned with the justification of faith, which can be gathered from no other source more certainly than by works as its effects and indubitable proofs). Rather the question concerns justification *a priori*, which frees us from the legal trial, which is concerned with the justification of the wicked and the perfect righteousness, which can be opposed to the curse of the law and acquire for us a right to life—whether works come into consideration here with faith (as the Romanists hold) or whether faith alone (as we maintain).

V. (2) The question is not whether faith alone justifies to the exclusion either of the grace of God or the righteousness of Christ or the word and sacraments (by which the blessing of justification is presented and sealed to us on the part of God), which we maintain are necessarily required here; but only to the exclusion of every other virtue and habit on our part. Hence the Romanists have no reason for accusing us of confusion (*akatastasias*) in this argument as if we ascribed justification at one time to the grace of God, at another to the blood of Christ and then again to faith. For all these as they are mutually subordinated in a different class of cause, consist with each other in the highest degree.

VI. (3) The question is not whether solitary faith (i.e., separated from the other virtues) justifies (which we grant could not easily be the case, since it is not even true and living faith); but whether it "alone" (*sola*) concurs to the act of justification (which we assert); as the eye alone sees, but not when torn out of the body. Thus the particle "alone" (*sola*) does not determine the subject, but the predicate (i.e., "faith only does not justify" [*sola fides non justificat*], but "faith justifies alone" [*fides justificat sola*]). The coexistence of love in him who is justified is not denied; but its coefficiency or cooperation in justification is denied. (4) The question is not whether the faith "which justifies" (*quae justificat*) works by love (for otherwise it would not be living but dead); rather the question is whether faith "by which it justifies" (*qua justificat*) or in the act itself of justification, is to be considered under such a relation (*schesei*) (which we deny).

VII. Hence the question returns to this—Does faith justify, not as it is objectively the doctrine of salvation, but subjectively as it assents to that saving doctrine and applies it to itself; not as the promise to do something, but as we rest upon the promises in Christ as sufficient; alone (*sola*), not by reason of existence (i.e., solitary without faith and love), but in respect to function or efficiency; not by way of preparation with other virtues or of merit, but relatively after the manner of an instrument, apprehending the satisfaction of Christ and fiducially applying it. The Romanists deny; we assert.

Proof that faith alone justifies: (1) from Rom. 3:28.

VIII. First, man is justified by faith without works; therefore by faith alone. The reason of the consequence is manifest because there are not more modes of justifying than these two—by faith and by works. Thus, one being removed, the other must not only necessarily be left, but also left alone. Otherwise the enumeration would not be legitimate. Now why would the apostle so often and so expressly institute an antithesis between faith and works in this matter, if works could concur with faith in any way to the act of justification? Would he not in this particular have occasioned believers to err by removing works absolutely and simply from it, if they contribute anything towards it? Let the various passages in which exclusives are employed be carefully examined and the thing will be clearer than the midday sun: "We conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law" (Rom. 3:28); "By grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works" (Eph. 2:8); and more clearly, "knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith [*ean mē dia pisteōs*] of Jesus Christ" (Gal. 2:16). Here it is certain that the particle (*eimē*) is adversative and exclusive (as often elsewhere, Mt. 12:4; 24:36; Mk. 13:32; Jn. 17:12; Rev. 9:4; 21:27) from the force of the immediate opposition of faith and works, which mutually displace each other. Nor can the Romanists themselves deny this. Estius says the most learned interpreters follow this opinion (which Salmeron, Justiniani and others confirm). To no purpose, therefore, do others pretend that *ean mē* is here exceptive, with the meaning that a man is not justified by works, except as faith in Christ approaches to works. This is the very thing which Paul opposes against the false apostles, who maintained that not works alone could justify a man, but faith mingled with works (so that justification might be ascribed partly to faith and partly to works, which Paul frequently asserts is inconsistent [*asystaton*]—as Salmeron and Estius acknowledge). No better is the explanation of Cornelius a Lapide, who thinks that only the works of the law are excluded here, but not the works of hope, fear and love, which faith begets and produces, and which are under faith as daughters under a mother. We have seen above that all works are entirely excluded by Paul; not only the ceremonial, but also moral; not only those performed before grace, but also those performed from grace in the renewed.

2. Because it alone apprehends the righteousness of Christ.

IX. Second, by that alone are we justified by which the righteousness of Christ is applied to us, who satisfied the law for us. Now this is done by faith alone; nor does it belong to love or to hope. Not to hope, which does not apprehend, but expects the thing promised. Not to love, which is concerned with the fulfillment of a command, not with the apprehension of a promise.

3. Because Abraham was justified by faith alone.

X. Third, we also are justified in the same way in which Abraham, the father of believers, was justified because what was written concerning him pertains not only to him, but to us also (Rom. 4:24). And yet Abraham was justified by faith alone: "Abraham believed in the Lord; and he counted it to him for righteousness" (Gen. 15:6), not of debt, on account of works preceding faith or subsequent to it, but of grace so that he might not have wherein to glory. For if "Abraham were justified by works, he hath whereof to glory; but not before God" (Rom. 4:2), to wit, he has no matter for glorying (*kauchēma*) (which is to be drawn from the preceding verses). The argument is from the destruction of the consequent to the destruction of the antecedent. If Abraham was justified by works, he hath whereof to glory in himself as if he had contributed something of his own to which a reward was due in the judgment of God. And yet he hath not whereof he can glory in himself before God. Therefore he was not justified by works. Nor can it be said here that works preceding faith are excluded; not those done from faith on account of which he could have had glory before God, as he is called a friend of God. For this is to gainsay openly and to contradict Paul to his face, who expressly testifies that Abraham had not whereof to glory before God. For it is gratuitously and most falsely supposed that only works antecedent to faith are excluded. But he excludes all works entirely without distinction and indeed the works of Abraham not only as an unbeliever, but also a believer (since this was said of him when he was already a believer and renewed). Again, he excludes all debt (v. 4); therefore, he also excludes

every work. Finally, if he had not wished to exclude works done from faith, he ought not to have opposed "one working" to "one believing" simply, but one working without faith to one working from faith (which, however, he nowhere does).

4. From Rom. 3:24, 25.

XI. Fourth, we are justified gratuitously and by the grace of God; therefore by faith alone because faith alone can consist with grace (Rom. 3:24, 25). Nor is Bellarmine to be listened to, who wishes the particle "freely" not to exclude merits absolutely, but proper merits (or those which are from us, not from God). For merits arising from prevenient grace (which are called by them merits of congruity) are not opposed to grace, unless we wish grace to contend with grace. Nor does it follow hence that a man who is justified freely is justified by faith alone because as gratuitous justification does not exclude faith (because it is by grace), so neither ought it to exclude repentance and love, which are from grace. For as we have already remarked, the particle "freely" excludes entirely all merits; for whatever is freely given, that is acquired by no merit. Nor can the grace which is undue subsist with merit, which makes the pay due: "If by grace, then it is no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace: otherwise work is no more work" (Rom. 11:6). Now although faith is not excluded in justification, it is not on that account excluded from grace (for thus works done from grace would not have to be excluded). But because it alone above other virtues has a power receptive of and applicatory to the righteousness of Christ (and so supposes man to be a sinner and destitute of all righteousness), it excludes all merit.

5. From Rom. 1:17.

XII. Fifth, "the righteousness of God is said to be revealed from faith to faith; as it is written, The just shall live by faith" (Rom. 1:17). Here the apostle intends to prove that the gospel is the power of God (i.e., the sole most efficacious instrument for salvation) in opposition to the weakness of the law (Rom. 8:3; Heb. 7:19) because in it is the righteousness of God—not formally and subjectively (which is in God), but effectively (which is

given to us by God); not inherent, because it is said to be manifested without the law by faith (Rom. 3:21), and to be imputed without works (Rom. 4:6), but imputed (which is opposed to man's righteousness and his own works, Rom. 10:3, 4; Phil. 3:9). Thus the most perfect righteousness of Christ (which alone can bear the scrutiny of the divine trial as being divine and infinite, which is the cause and foundation of life and salvation) is revealed from faith to faith (i.e., is announced by the gospel, so as to be apprehended by faith alone because nothing besides faith can concur in the reception of it). Hence he does not say "from faith to works," but "from faith to faith" so that to faith alone this office is wholly ascribed. That Paul may prove this doctrine to be neither absurd nor new, he confirms it by the prophecy of Habakkuk where he says, "The just shall live by his faith" (2:4). Now although this prophecy refers also to a temporal blessing (viz., deliverance from the Babylonian captivity, which they would obtain by the intervention of faith in the divine promise; hence it is referred to by Paul in Heb. 10:38 to support believers in afflictions), still because the declaration of the prophet is general concerning faith in the promises of God, it is rightly applied specially to faith in Christ; and on this account the more—that the prophets and pious Jews regarded the promise of the Messiah as the foundation of all promises. Hence Paul (as best knowing the mind of the Holy Spirit) refers it (in Gal. 3:11 and in this place) to justification in order to teach that by faith alone man obtains the righteousness which brings eternal life to him. "The just shall live by faith," whether the "by faith" (*to ek pisteōs*) be referred to the just with this meaning—he who by faith is just—or to life, meaning—the just lives by faith. They amount to the same thing and each is true—that both he who by faith is just, obtains salvation; and again he who is just, obtains salvation by faith. In vain, therefore, is it said that Paul understands a living faith and that it alone is not such, but with works. Although living faith is never alone in the person who is justified, still it is alone in the very act of justification—to the production of which the other virtues can contribute nothing, faith alone claiming this privilege for itself (as we have said before). No better do others wish that life to be referred to the works by which faith proves itself alive. The design of the prophet is to teach that faith alone is the means of obtaining salvation, both temporal and spiritual. And Paul says that this righteousness by faith is manifested without the law; which cannot be said of the

righteousness of works, but only of the righteousness of faith; which is said of the man believing, not of one working.

Sources of explanation.

XIII. It is one thing for love and works to be required in the person who is justified (which we grant); another in the act itself or causality of justification (which we deny). If works are required as concomitants of faith, they are not on that account determined to be causes of justification with faith or to do the very thing which faith does in this matter.

XIV. Although the whole force of justifying on the part of man is in faith as to the act of apprehension (so that other virtues contribute nothing to it with faith), it does not follow that faith can justify when they are absent as well as when they are present—yea, even when the opposite vices are present. It is one thing to justify without virtues (i.e., separated from them —which we deny); another for it to justify alone, but not separated from them. As it does not follow, the hand alone writes and the eye alone sees—therefore as much when torn from the head and the other members as in the body; the sole force of respiration is in the lungs—therefore the lungs can respire torn out from the liver and other viscera as well as when connected with them (which everyone sees to be absurd). There are hundreds of things of this kind which have a certain proper efficacy and effect, which still, when separated from their adjuncts, lose all their power. Natural potencies are connected as to existence, but disjoined as to operation. Light and heat in the sun are most closely connected together, but still the light alone illuminates, the heat alone warms. Therefore, although the other virtues do not justify with faith, still faith cannot justify in their absence, much less the opposite vices being present. For faith cannot be true except in connection with the virtues (which if they do not contribute to justification, still contribute to the existence and life of faith, which the presence of vices would destroy).

XV. It is one thing for the love of the sinner to be the cause of the remission of sins *a priori*; another to be the effect and proof *a posteriori*. The latter is affirmed in Lk. 7:47, not the former. We gather this: (1) from the scope of the parable, which is to demonstrate which of two debtors, whose debt the creditor had cancelled, ought to love the creditor most (to

wit, in token of gratitude); (2) from the answer of Peter, "I suppose that he, to whom he forgave most," where love is placed as following, not as going before remission; (3) from the end, where a small remission is put as the cause of a small degree of love, "To whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little" (v. 47); (4) from v. 50, where salvation is ascribed to the faith, not to the love, of this woman, "Thy faith hath saved thee." Nor does the particle *hoti* stand in the way because (as is known) it is so often only ratiocinative, not causal—the cause of the consequent, not of the consequence, so as to intimate that thence is known and gathered that many sins were forgiven her because she loved much.

XVI. When John says, "We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren" (1 Jn. 3:14), he teaches that love is a proof and sign of our justification from which we know that we have passed from death unto life. For he who is in love is in God (who is love) and he who is in God, cannot be in death. But he does not mean that love is the cause of that translation (which is elsewhere ascribed to faith, Jn. 5:24). Hence Lorinus and Gagnaeus on this passage well remark that "the causal article denotes the cause, not of the thing but of the knowledge." On this account even the more, that since God loved us first (not we God, 1 Jn. 4:10), the justification by which God loved us ought to precede our love.

XVII. Christ promises "the love of the Father" to those who love him (Jn. 14:23), not affectively and as to its beginning (as if the love of the Father then begins, since he loved us before, 1 Jn. 4:10), but effectively and as to continuance and increase because he will prove his love by distinguished blessings and console them by a new manifestation of himself. But this has nothing to do with justification because to love Christ and to keep his commands belongs to a man already constituted in grace and justified.

XVIII. The "fear of the Lord" (to wit, filial and reverential) is a consequence of justification, not a previous disposition to it. It is not called "the beginning of wisdom" (Ps. 111:10) as if it initially disposes to wisdom, but because it is its head and perfection, as it is said to be in Ecc. 12:13, which begins from it (Prov. 9:10) and ends in it. If it is said *apōtheisthai hamartēmata* (Sir. 1:21), this ought not to be understood of a positive expulsion (as if it introduced either meritoriously or dispositively remission

of sins), but of a negative expulsion because he who fears God does not indulge in sins, nor give ear to their solicitations.

XIX. It is one thing for hope to concur to salvation; another for it to concur to justification. The former is asserted in Rom. 5:5 and 8:24 when hope is said not to make us ashamed; yea, also to save us. For the expectation of salvation is founded upon a hope so certain to be fulfilled in its own time, as if we already possessed salvation itself. But not the latter because the object of hope is not the remission of sins, but the fulfillment of the promised salvation.

XX. Although remission of sins is promised to repentance (because it ought to accompany faith and be in him who is justified as a certain condition requisite from him because God cannot pardon sin to an impenitent), it does not follow that it can be said to justify with faith because it contributes nothing (neither meritoriously, nor instrumentally) to the act of justification.

XXI. It is one thing for eternal life and the heavenly inheritance to be referred to works as meritorious or instrumental causes of our justification; another as effects of faith and qualities and dispositions requisite in the subject to be glorified. As it is one thing to seek "why" (*quare*) life is given to believers; another "upon what" (*quibus*) or "upon what qualities" (*qualibus*) it depends. The former we deny because our works of whatever kind cannot merit life, nor have they the relation of an instrument for apprehending it. But the latter we grant. Nor is anything different gathered from Mt. 25:34, 35, where works are not adduced by the Judge as "the foundations of the right" which they obtain to eternal life. The proper cause of that right is indicated in the preceding verses, when they are called "ye blessed of my Father," who ought "to inherit (*klēronomein*) the kingdom" (i.e., possess it by a title of inheritance). Rather they are adduced as arguments and testimonies indubitable *a posteriori*, from which the truth of their faith could be proved, and the equity of the sentence pronounced (as the particle *gar* is not causal [*aitiologikē*], but only ratiocinative).

XXII. Since Paul and James were inspired by the same Spirit, they cannot be said to oppose each other on the doctrine of justification, so that one should ascribe justification to faith alone and the other to works also. The reconciliation is not difficult, if the design of each be considered and the natures of faith and of justification (concerning which both treat) be

attended. Paul disputes against the Pharisees, who urged the merits of works; James disputes against the Libertines and Epicureans, who, content with a profession of faith alone, denied not only the merits of works, but also their necessity. Against the former, Paul rightly urges faith alone for justification. Against the latter, James properly commends the necessity of works for the confirmation of justification. Paul speaks of a living and efficacious faith; James of an idle and dead faith which cannot be demonstrated by works (2:18); Paul of justification *a priori* and constitutively; James of the same *a posteriori* and declaratively; Paul properly constitutes the former in faith alone; James rightly places the latter in works, by which the reality of our faith and justification is declared not only before men, but also before God. Therefore, when faith is said "to have wrought with works in Abraham, and by works to have been made perfect" (v. 22), this ought to be understood in relation to the efficacy of faith, which exerted itself by works and by which also it was consummated and made perfect. It ought not to be understood essentially, for this it has by its own nature (but declaratively) because it is proven to be perfect and sincere; just as "the power of God" is said to be "made perfect in our weakness" (2 Cor. 12:9), i.e., known and declared to be perfect. See what else belongs to this point in our "Disputatio … De Concordia Pauli et Jacobi," *Opera* (1848), 4:731–52.

XXIII. It is one thing for works to be connected with faith in the person of the justified; another, however, in the matter of justification. The former we acknowledge and will afterwards prove, when we discuss the necessity of good works; but the latter we deny with Paul—nay, we maintain that they are wholly incompatible (*asystata*) with faith.

XXIV. Augustine says rightly, "Good works do not precede the one to be justified, but follow the one justified" (*Faith and Works* 14 [FC 27:247; PL 40.211]). A person is justified freely by faith without works (Rom. 3:24); yea, justification is of the wicked (Rom. 4:5; 5:6). No good works can be granted which precede his justification as causes, but only which follow as the effects and fruits springing from the faith of remission (Lk. 7:47; 1 Tim. 1:5). If calling (by which faith and holiness are infused) is prior to justification, it does not follow that holiness no less than faith is prior to it because holiness is indeed infused, but in its own order and by faith (Acts 15:9). Faith however concurs to justification before it does to sanctification.

If remission is sometimes promised to repentance, this is indeed promised to it as a condition not antecedent or concomitant by reason of contrition, but only consequent as to new obedience.

Ninth Question: The Time of Justification

Was justification made from eternity or is it made in time? Is it an undivided act taking place at one and the same time?

I. The opinions of theologians about this question vary. Some maintain that it is an immanent act in God which was performed from eternity; others that it is transient, terminating in us and which takes place only in time and in this life. And there are some who hold that it is postponed to the last and decretory day, in which all must stand before the solemn and public tribunal of Christ to hear the sentence of absolution or of condemnation from his lips. Now although there is an agreement on both sides in the substance of the thing and a disagreement only in the mode of the thing, still it is of no little importance to the accurate knowledge of the subject to know what is the true opinion to be held here.

II. The first opinion is that of those who hold that justification preceded our birth and was made in eternity because they conceive it to be an immanent and internal act in God. However, as nothing new can happen to God in time, they think it was made in him from eternity and is ascribed to faith only as to cognizance and sense because it leads us into the knowledge of him and makes us certain of it.

Our justification is not made from eternity.

III. But although we do not deny that our justification was decreed even from eternity (as nothing takes place in time which was not constituted by him from eternity), still we do not think (speaking accurately) justification itself can be called eternal. The decree of justification is one thing; justification itself another—as the will to save and sanctify is one thing; salvation and sanctification itself another. The will or decree to justify certain persons is indeed eternal and precedes faith itself, but actual justification takes place in time and follows faith.

IV. Second, Paul expressly confirms this in the chain of salvation, enumerating in order the benefits flowing to the elect from the eternal love of God where he puts calling before justification as something antecedent: "Whom he called, them he justified" (Rom. 8:30). Nor have those various passages a different meaning in which we are said to be justified through and by faith, than that faith is a something prerequisite to justification. This could not be said if justification was done from eternity. For it is weak and foreign to the meaning of Paul to refer these things to the sense of justification only.

V. Third, the nature of the thing itself proves this. For since justification or remission of sins necessarily involves a deliverance from the obligation to punishment which sins deserved and no one can obtain it without faith and repentance, it is evident that such a justification could not have been made from eternity, but only in time—when the man actually believes and repents. Otherwise it would follow that he who is justified and consequently has passed from death unto life and become a child of God and an heir of eternal life, still remains in death and is a child of wrath. He who is not yet converted and lies in sin, remains in death (1 Jn. 3:14) and is of the Devil (1 Jn. 3:8) and in a state of condemnation (Gal. 5:21).

VI. Finally, since justification is a blessing of God, while a blessing cannot pass to us and be actually bestowed upon us, except in time, it is clear that it is not to be conceived of after the manner of an immanent and internal act in God, but after the manner of a transient act arising from God and passing over and terminating upon the creature (not that it may subjectively inhere in him, as the Romanists falsely hold because this pertains to sanctification; but that it may adhere to him and the creature has an objective relation to it, while the absolving sentence is intimated to him by the Holy Spirit). If grace is said to have been given to us in Christ before the world began by reason of "destination" (2 Tim. 1:9) because from eternity God decreed to give it to us in time, it does not follow that it can be said to have been really bestowed because the decree indeed causes us to obtain in time a right to life certainly and infallibly, but not that we can say we already obtained it actually. It causes that we should be justified, but not to be already justified.

It does not take place only at the last day.

VII. But as justification cannot be conceived to have taken place from eternity before the ages, so neither ought it to be thrown forward to the consummation of the world as others hold—as if God only then exercises properly the act of a Judge, both in the pardon of believers and in the condemnation of the wicked. For thus the declaration of justification is falsely confounded with justification itself. For although we are told the heavenly Judge will then sit on his throne of glory to exercise the last solemn act of judgment (as much in grace as in justice, in the sight of heaven and earth), this does not prevent that judgment from commencing in the present life. Nay, this must necessarily be supposed, since that final judgment is nothing else than a public and solemn manifestation of preceding judgments. And as Scripture everywhere sets before us the examples of God's judgments, public as well as private over the wicked and rebellious (such as the flood, the destruction of Sodom, the overthrow of the Egyptians and the like), to refer these to mere chastisements of God, tending towards the improvement and salvation of those upon whom they were sent, is to contradict the whole tenor of Scripture and rashly to confound the medicinal chastisements of believers (which are sent upon them for instruction [*paideian*] by God as a merciful Father) with the punishments of the wicked (which are inflicted by God as an angry Judge, to punish [*timōrian*] and avenge himself of their sins)—which has thus far been unheard-of in theological schools. So that he is evidently a stranger to the Scriptures who does not know that God is often set forth as justifying believers in this life; as is evident from the examples of Abraham (Gen. 15:6), of David (Ps. 32:1, 2, 5; Rom. 4:6, 7), of the sinful woman (Lk. 7:48), of the publican (Lk. 18:14) and of all believers (Rom. 5:1). Not to say now that that opinion is hurtful to the consolation of believers, which springs from no other source more certainly than from a sense of the grace of God and his justification. For how else could they have the confidence in which they glory and exult on account of their justification and enjoy unspeakable (*aneklalētō*) peace and joy?

But it takes place in this life in effectual calling.

VIII. This opinion then being dismissed, we embrace the middle one, which makes justification to take place in this life in the moment of effectual calling, by which the sinner is transferred from a state of sin to a state of grace and is united to Christ, his head, by faith. For hence it is that the righteousness of Christ is imputed to him by God, by whose merit apprehended by faith he is absolved from his sins and obtains a right to life. This absolving sentence, the Spirit pronounces in his heart when he says, "Be of good courage, son, thy sins are pardoned."

IX. Further, this justification can be regarded in different ways: (1) actively on the part of God intimating by the Spirit the absolving sentence in the heart of the believer and judicially from the throne of grace (Heb. 4:16), pronouncing it upon us; and passively on our part, inasmuch as we admit and receive that absolving sentence delivered in the court of conscience by the Holy Spirit with faith, joy and the protestation of gratitude.

X. Second, universally as to state, when we are first received into union with Christ and his righteousness is imputed to us by God and received by faith. For then in passing from a state of sin into a state of grace, the guilt of all preceding sins is actually taken away and a remedy given to us in the righteousness of Christ against future sins. And specially as to particular acts of sin into which we afterwards fall, which also need a particular absolution. As often as it is intimated to us in the court of conscience, so often the believer is by repentance turned again to God and by faith applies to himself Christ's righteousness. In this sense, we are commanded to seek remission of sins every day; not only with regard to the sense, but also with regard to the thing itself because sins cannot be forgiven unless committed (as we remarked before).

XI. Third, justification can be viewed in a twofold aspect (*schesei*): either as to the "eternal destination" in the decree, in which sense grace is said "to have been given to us in Christ before the world began" (2 Tim. 1:9) and God is said to have "predestinated us unto the adoption" (Eph. 1:5); or as to its execution in time which again can be regarded on the one hand as to obtainment, which was made by the death of Christ on the cross (referred to in Rom. 5:9, 10: "We were justified and reconciled to God by the blood of Christ"; and "Christ reconciled all things to God through the blood of the cross," Col. 1:20). Elsewhere Christ is said to "have been

raised again for our justification" (Rom. 4:25) because as in him dead, we are dead, so in him raised and justified, we are justified (i.e., we have a sure and indubitable pledge and foundation of our justification because for no other cause was he justified by the Spirit [1 Tim. 3:16] except that we might be justified in him). Nor in a different sense does Paul say, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them" (2 Cor. 5:19); to wit, inasmuch as in Christ dying, the Father had the foundation of reconciliation by which he was made more propitious to the world of the elect, collected as well from the Jews as from the Gentiles, so that he does not impute to them their sins (which he imputed to Christ), but by absolving them from their sins, he may justify them also in him. On the other hand it may be viewed as to application, which is made in the heart by an intimation of the absolving sentence (referred to in Mt. 9:2). Or it may be viewed in general as to the state of the believer when he is first called; or in particular as to the act when he obtains the pardon of particular sins; or as to the sense and certainty of it, arising in us from a reflex act of faith (called consolatory); or finally, as to its declaration, which should be made immediately after death (Heb. 9:27) and publicly on the last day (which is not so much justification, as a solemn declaration of the justification once made and an adjudication of the reward, in accordance with the preceding justification).

XII. Hence it is evident in what sense justification can be called an undivided act; not on our part and with respect to the sense of it (which is produced by various and repeated acts according as this sense can be interrupted; or increased or diminished, by reason of interfering sins); but on the part of God, not only by reason of his decree (by which our justification was decreed) and by reason of his merit (by which he obtained it), but also by reason of the application when the absolving sentence is intimated to us. This is done by a unique act, not by many successive acts, just as inherent righteousness is wont to be infused into us (although this act is often applied to particular everyday sins).

Tenth Question

The unity, perfection and certainty of justification

I. Unity, perfection and certainty are the three principal adjuncts of justification concerning which disputes exist. Of these we must speak briefly because we have elsewhere discussed them partially.

The unity or equality of justification among believers.

II. Unity can be regarded in two ways: either relative to believers among themselves; or absolutely with respect to him who is justified. In the former sense, it is said to be "one in species" or "equal in all believers" of all times and places because God justifies all believers in the same manner (viz., by his grace and the merit of Christ through faith). "Seeing it is one God," says the apostle, "which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith" (Rom. 3:30), i.e., who justifies the Jews as well as the Gentiles by faith. For since all are liable to sin and condemnation (v. 19), and destitute of the glory of God (v. 23), there is no other method of justification than by faith. The apostle proves this fully in the same place and confirms it by the examples of David and of Abraham (Rom. 4); as also of all the saints of the Old Testament mentioned in Heb. 11, who by faith are said to have pleased God (v. 6), to have obtained witness that they were righteous (v. 4) and to have become heirs of the righteousness which is by faith (v. 7). Nor either in the Old or New Testament can there be found any dissimilar example of a person justified in another way. Hence Peter says, "To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins" (Acts 10:43). Through the grace of Christ, we shall be saved, even as they (Acts 15:11). Christ is the same yesterday, today and forever (Heb. 13:8); he is the Way, and the Truth and the Life; no one can come to the Father except by him (Jn. 14:6).

III. For the objections brought forward here by the Socinians against the identity of the justification of the believers of the Old and New Testaments, see Topic XII, Question 5 concerning the unity of the covenant of grace (where they are discussed).

IV. Now although the same benefit as to substance was common to the believers of the Old Testament no less than to those of the New (as they had

true remission of sins in and on account of Christ), still there was a multiple difference as to degree and sense. It is far more clearly revealed and more fully and efficaciously felt by us now; as was proved in the same place and in Question 12.

The numerical unity of the same in particular believers.

V. Second, the same justification is one numerically in individuals. It is not promoted successively after the manner of sanctification by repeated acts, but is finished in one judicial act and brings to the believer the remission of all sins. Hence the Romanists (from their fictitious hypothesis concerning physical justification by an infusion of righteousness) falsely make it twofold: the first, that by which a man from being unjust is made just by an infusion of righteousness; the second, that by which from being just he is made more just by the increase of righteousness. The foundation having been once overturned (as was done above), whatever is built upon it falls. Nor does the passage in Rev. 22:11 favor this error because (as we have already said), it does not treat of the infusion of righteousness, but either of the sense and declaration of righteousness once gained (which is retained by the exercise of righteousness) or of its special application to everyday sins.

VI. The distinction between active and passive justification points out indeed the truth of the terms “from which” and “to which” (viz., of God who justifies and of man who is justified), but does not change the degree or species. For by the same sentence by which God justifies us (while he intimates it to the conscience), we are also passively justified when it is received by us through faith.

VII. The blessing of justification and the right to it differ from the feeling and the knowledge of it. There is no cutting off or renewal of the former because it is a gift without repentance (*ametamelēton*). The latter, however, may be interrupted and restored according to the various increases and decreases of sanctification. And although that sense may be interrupted in grievous sins and be recovered by various and repeated acts, still the blessing of justification remains always in him the same.

VIII. Although our justification will be fully declared on the last day (our good works also being brought forward as the sign and proof of its truth, Mt. 25:34–40), still falsely would anyone maintain from this a twofold gospel justification—one from faith in this life (which is the first); the other (and second) from works on the day of judgment (as some hold, agreeing too much with Romanists on this point). The sentence to be pronounced by the supreme Judge will not be so much a new justification, as the solemn and public declaration of a sentence once passed and its execution by the assignment of the life promised with respect to an innocent person from the preceding justification. Thus it is nothing else than an adjudicatory sentence of the possession of the kingdom of heaven from the right given before through justification. And if works are then brought forward, they are not adduced as the foundation of a new justification to be obtained then, but as signs, marks and effects of our true faith and of our justification solely by it.

IX. It is one thing to apply justification often and to extend it to sins of daily occurrence (in which sense we are commanded to seek remission of sins every day); another to repeat and renew justification often. The former we grant, but not the latter. Nor is there need that a new justification should take place as often as the believer falls into a new sin. It is sufficient that the justification once made (which if not formally, virtually and generically contains the remission of all sins) be applied and extended specifically and determinatively to this or that sin by an intimation of the Holy Spirit and the apprehension of faith.

X. Although remission of sins ought to be applied often to daily sins, yet falsely would anyone thence gather that sins once discharged revive and return again by subsequent sins (as some of the Romanists hold), since it is an unchangeable (*ametamelēton*) gift of God. Nor does the parable of that ungrateful servant (who, after a greater amount had been yielded to him by his master, wished to deal cruelly with his fellow servant who owed him far less and who on that account was delivered to the tormentors till he should pay all that was due unto him [which is recorded in Mt. 18:23–35]) prove this. It pertains to nothing else than to show that the remission of sins proposed conditionally does not belong to him in whom the condition is lacking. The design of the parable (which is to be regarded here simply) is no other than to teach that the mercy of God is not exercised towards the

unmerciful; nor are sins pardoned by God, except to those who forgive the offenses of others. To show this the more efficaciously, the master is opposed here to his servant, an immense sum to a minute and the highest clemency to extreme inhumanity.

2. Perfection.

XI. (2) Perfection belongs to justification, according to which it is so full and absolute intensively (both with respect to evils taken away and blessings acquired) that it is free as to itself from increase and decrease. Nor does it admit of more and less, although as to the apprehension and sense of it our faith advances so gradually as to have even its progressions and defects. If the faith by which we are justified is active and remitted, it does not follow that justification itself is equally intermittent because it does not justify by itself and properly, but only instrumentally and relatively; as the beholding of the brazen serpent did not cease equally to heal, although some looked at it more intently and strongly than others.

3. Certainty.

XII. (3) Its certainty is twofold: one of the object in itself by the immutability and perseverance by which God never recalls the pardon once given (on account of the immutability of his grace, justice and promise confirmed by an oath, Heb. 6:17, 18). For the gifts of God bestowed upon the elect and the calling according to his purpose (*kata prothesin*) are without repentance (*ametamelēta*, Rom. 11:29). Hence God never condemns and disinherits those whom he has once justified and made heirs. The other is the certainty of the subject, which refers to the sense of justification. Although it is possible from the nature of faith (yea, even necessary to bring peace and consolation to our souls), still it is not always in the same degree—but more perfect or imperfect according to the proportion of faith, so that there never was a believer (not even excepting Abraham [Gen. 17:17], or David [Ps. 42:5, 11]) who did not have to struggle with doubts concerning grace. How each of these certainties belong to justification has already been shown fully, when we discussed the perseverance and certainty of faith; cf. Topic XV, Questions 16 and 17.

SEVENTEENTH TOPIC

SANCTIFICATION AND GOOD WORKS

FIRST QUESTION

What is sanctification and how is it distinguished from justification, yet inseparable from it?

I. As Christ was made to us of God righteousness and sanctification (1 Cor. 1:30)—not dividedly, but conjointly; not confusedly, but distinctly—so the benefit of sanctification immediately follows justification as inseparably connected with it, but yet really distinct from it.

Homonyms of sanctification.

II. The word "sanctification" is not used here broadly for any separation from common use and consecration to a sacred use, as it is often taken in Scripture as to sacred things (made either by institution, such as the sanctification of the seventh day; or by the relation of sign, such as the sanctification of the elements in the sacraments; or by manifestation, as God is said to be sanctified by men [1 Pet. 3:15]); or for federal sanctity by external calling, as Israel is said to be holiness unto the Lord (Jer. 2:3). Rather, it is used strictly for a real and internal renovation of man by which God delivers the man planted in Christ by faith and justified (by the ministry of the word and the efficacy of the Spirit) more and more from his native depravity and transforms him into his own image. Thus with separation from the world and sin and consecration to the service of God, it implies a renovation of his nature.

III. But because this real change of man is made by various degrees, either by efficacious calling (which carries with it the donation of faith and of repentance by faith and a translation from a state of sin to a state of

grace); or by regeneration (which bespeaks a renovation of the corrupt nature); or by the infusion and practice of holiness, hence sanctification is now extended widely to the whole state of the believer and embraces also calling itself. In this sense, Paul, in his epistle to the Hebrews, often designates believers by "those who are sanctified" (*tous hagiazomenous*, Heb. 2:11; 10:14). It is also taken more strictly and properly for renovation after the image of God. This follows justification and is begun here in this life by regeneration and promoted by the exercise of holiness and of good works, until it shall be consummated in the other by glory. In this sense, it is now taken passively, inasmuch as it is wrought by God in us; then actively, inasmuch as it ought to be done by us, God performing this work in us and by us.

Sanctification does not consist in a change of morals alone.

IV. However, this does not consist in a correction of life and morals alone (as the Socinians maintain, who, denying original corruption and whatever taint and depravity is in us, say it has been contracted by frequent acts of sin and by a certain habit of sinning, and contend that regeneration and sanctification are nothing else than "a change of a bad habit and of life, and reformation according to the doctrine of Christ;" cf. Socinus, lib. de Bapt.+ and Smalcius, *De Christo vero et Naturali Dei Filio* 2 [1616], pp. 13–18). Rather it consists in a change and renovation of the nature itself (corrupted by original sin) by which depraved qualities and habits are cast out and good ones infused so that the man desists from evil acts and strives for good.

V. The reasons are: (1) the Scripture extends sanctification not only to acts, but to the renovation of the nature itself (1 Thess. 5:23). Paul prays for the Thessalonians "the sanctification of their whole spirit and soul and body"; by "spirit," he means the higher part of the soul and by "soul," the lower, which the Scripture elsewhere denotes by a renovation of the mind and will (Eph. 4:22–24) and of the sensual appetite (Tit. 3:5; Gal. 5:24).

VI. (2) It is expressed elsewhere by "the giving of a heart," "creation," "generation," "resurrection," "putting on the new man." These phrases

demand not only the correction of life and of acts, but a renovation of the whole nature. (3) This sanctification ought to be common to infants no less than to adults, so that they can enter into the kingdom of God (in whom however a change of acts does not take place). (4) As the corruption of sin infects the whole nature (not only as to acts, but also as to habits), so sanctification ought to include a reformation of the whole nature, habitual as well as actual.

VII. An habitual change in qualities (by which we are made new creatures) differs from an actual change in life and morals (by which we are demonstrated to be such). God makes us first new creatures by regeneration; then we show that we are regenerated by our new obedience (as these acts are distinguished in Eph. 2:10; Ezk. 36:26; Jer. 32:39). In the former manner, we are said to be new creatures *a priori*; in the latter *a posteriori*.

VIII. The actual laying aside of vices and the correction of life and morals follow regeneration, as its proper effects (Gal. 5:22, 23; Col. 3:5). But regeneration itself is not properly such a deposition, but its cause (which consists in a renovation of the corrupt nature and restoration to the image of God).

Sanctification is distinguished from justification.

IX. However, this sanctification must be carefully distinguished from justification because the conforming of them gave rise to the principal errors of the Romanists on the doctrine of justification, as we have already seen. For although they agree in their author (God), in the meritorious cause (to wit, the righteousness of Christ, which purchased for us both these benefits, when he came with water and blood, 1 Jn. 5:6), in the general design (God's glory and our salvation), in the instrumental cause (to wit, faith by the reception of the one and by the production of the other), it is certain that in many respects they differ, as Scripture has frequently distinguished these benefits (1 Cor. 1:30; 6:11; Tit. 3:5; Rev. 22:11). Nor could Paul so often have denied that we are justified by works if justification is the same as sanctification; nor could it with any show of justice have been objected to him that his doctrine relaxed the desire for holiness, if "to justify" is the same as "to sanctify."

X. Therefore, they differ in many ways: (1) as to their object. Justification is concerned with the guilt of sin; sanctification with its pollution. (2) As to their form. The former consists in the judicial and forensic act of remission of sin and imputation of righteousness; the latter in the physical and moral act of the infusion of righteousness and internal renovation. (3) As to the recipient subject. To the former, man holds himself objectively on the part of God acquitting; to the latter, on the part of God renewing subjectively. (4) As to degrees. Justification is given in this life fully because we are plainly reconciled to God, so that being justified by faith we have peace with God (nor is there any condemnation to believers); but sanctification is indeed begun in this life, but is perfected only in the other. That takes place at once; this, however, by degrees and successively. (5) As to order. That is prior at least in the order of nature because God sanctifies those only who are reconciled and justified by faith; this, however, follows.

XI. Although Paul does not make express mention of sanctification in the chain of salvation, it does not follow that it is included in the word justification, as if it were identical with it. It is far more fitly included either under calling (which is the beginning of sanctification) or, what we think is truer, under glorification (which is its consummation and complement—as sanctification is the beginning of glory). Hence it is frequently designated by the word "glory" (Rom. 3:23; 2 Cor. 3:18).

XII. Although by sanctification we are made righteous habitually, still we are not made righteous imputatively or rather justified; nor can the etymology prove this, as we have seen before.

XIII. If sanctification purges us from all sin, this must be understood only as to the pollution inhering in us and not as to the guilt adhering before God and making us liable to his judgment.

XIV. Although sanctification depends upon the same cause as justification (to wit, the blood and death of Christ), they ought not be the same on that account. The cause does not produce it in the same manner. For it is related materially to justification, inasmuch as it is the material and foundation of our justification drawing that immediately after itself; but with respect to sanctification, only efficiently and mediately, inasmuch as it is the external impelling cause by which God is moved to give unto us the Holy Spirit, the author of sanctification. Thus in baptism each benefit is

sealed to us, but each according to its own fashion (*schesin*). There we put on Christ as righteousness and sanctification (Gal. 3:27): righteousness, which takes away the guilt of sin and covers; sanctification, which every day removes and washes away that pollution. The blood of Christ (of which the water is the symbol) has a twofold power—to purge the guilt before God (inasmuch as it is a ransom [*lytron*] or price of redemption) and to purge the pollution in us (inasmuch as it is a bath or laver [*loutron*] of sanctification by the Spirit).

Sanctification is not to be separated from justification.

XV. Although we think that these two benefits should be distinguished and never confounded, still they are so connected from the order of God and the nature of the thing that they should never be torn asunder. This is clearly evident even from this—that they are often set forth in one and the same word as when they are designated by the words "cleansing" and "purging" and "taking away," not only in different places, but also in the same context (as Jn. 1:29, when "the Lamb of God" is said "to take away the sin of the world," i.e., both by taking away its guilt and punishment by the merit of his blood and by taking away its pollution and taint by the efficacy of the Spirit; and in Rev. 1:5, Christ is said "to wash us from our sins," both as to justification and as to sanctification; in which sense "the robes of believers" are said "to have been made white in the blood of Christ" [Rev. 7:14] because having been shed upon the cross it produced remission of sins, which was accomplished under the law by the shedding of blood, and because being sprinkled upon the heart it purges the conscience from the dead works of sin).

The truth of this connection proved: (1) on the part of God.

XVI. Now the necessity and truth of this connection is gathered on the part of God justifying, of Christ redeeming, of the Spirit regenerating and of justification and the faith by which we are justified. (1) God joined these

two benefits in the covenant of grace, since he promises that he will not remember our sins and that he will write his law in our hearts (Jer. 31:33, 34). Nor does the nature of God suffer this to be done otherwise. For since by justification we have a right to life (nor can anyone be admitted to communion with God without sanctification), it is necessary that he whom God justifies is also sanctified by him so as to be made fit for the possession of glory. Nay, he does not take away guilt by justification except to renew his own image in us by sanctification because holiness is the end of the covenant and of all its blessings (Lk. 1:68–75; Eph. 1:4).

2. On the part of Christ.

XVII. (2) Christ sustains a twofold relation (*schesin*)—that of a surety and of a head. As a surety, he justifies us and as a head, he sanctifies us. By reason of the former, his death is the meritorious cause of justification; by reason of the latter, it is the exemplary cause of sanctification (Rom. 6:4, 5; 8:29; 1 Pet. 2:21). Therefore, as Christ is given to no one for a surety to whom he is not given for a head, so no one is justified by the merit of the surety (Christ) who is not sanctified by the efficacy of Christ (the head) after his image. It is not sufficient that Christ died and lives for us, unless he also mortifies the old man in us after the likeness of his own death and vivifies the new man, so that what was done in the head is done in the members. Besides from the death (by which we are justified), not only is the Spirit acquired, but also the principal motives to sanctification are derived. These are: (a) the foulness of sin, which can be washed away by nothing else than the blood of Christ; (b) God's hatred of sin, who spared not even his own son to avenge it; (c) the unspeakable love of Christ, whose love ought so to constrain us that we should no longer live to ourselves but to him who died for us (2 Cor. 5:14, 15); (d) the right which Christ acquired in us by dying (Rom. 14:8, 9; 1 Cor. 6:20), which demands that we should glorify him with our body and spirit. Finally, this is the principal end of Christ's death—that being dead to sin we should live unto righteousness (1 Pet. 2:24; Tit. 2:14).

3. On the part of the Spirit.

XVIII. (3) The Spirit, who is given to us, has a twofold name: the "Spirit of adoption" who seals our justification; and the "Spirit of sanctification" who begins and carries it forward. Hence his operation is usually twofold: the first by consolation, when he testifies that we are the sons of God (Rom. 8:16); the other by sanctification, when he makes us cry out, Abba, Father (v. 15). On the part of God, he descends into us and confirms his promises, while on our part he makes us ascend to God to the execution of our duty.

4. On the part of faith.

XIX. The very faith by which we are justified demands this. For as it is the instrument of justification by receiving the righteousness of Christ, so it is the root and principle of sanctification, while it purges the heart and works through love (Gal. 5:6). Justification itself (which brings the remission of sins) does not carry with it the permission or license to sin (as the Epicureans hold), but ought to enkindle the desire of piety and the practice of holiness. With God, it is a propitiation that he may be feared (Ps. 130:4); speaks peace to his people that they may not turn again to folly (Ps. 85:8). Thus justification stands related to sanctification as the means to the end. And to this tends the whole economy of grace, which for no other reason has dawned upon us, unless "that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly" (Tit. 2:12).

5. On the part of the sacraments.

XX. The sacraments prove the same thing, being administered to seal the benefits of Christ. Baptism, which is administered for the "remission of sins" (Acts 2:38), is also a "laver of regeneration" (Tit. 3:5). And if in the supper is exhibited to us the body of Christ broken and his blood poured out for the remission of sins (Mt. 26:28), in the same place the body and blood are exhibited as the aliment of spiritual life, which consists in sanctification (1 Cor. 10:16).

XXI. Although the justified believer falls into various sins, often so grievous that the progress of his sanctification is for a long time interrupted (nay, itself not a little weakened), it does not follow that sanctification itself is torn away from justification. For if actual sanctification is taken away,

still habitual sanctification is not; nor is the seed of God ever removed, but remains always in us (1 Jn. 3:9), as we have already proved concerning the perseverance of faith. He who sins does not act in a holy manner; but still he who does not exercise the act of holiness can have the habit of holiness remaining in himself, although weakened and infirm.

XXII. It is one thing to be purged from old sins sacramentally and conditionally; another really and absolutely. They (of whom Peter speaks, 2 Pet. 1:9) were purged from sin in the former sense, but not in the latter, on account of a defect of the required condition (viz., faith). Thus they could be called neither justified nor truly sanctified. See more on this subject in a later question concerning the necessity of good works.

Second Question: The Perfection of Sanctification

Is sanctification so perfect in this life that believers can fulfill the law absolutely? We deny against the Romanists and Socinians

I. Among the questions concerning sanctification agitated between the orthodox and the ancient and modern Pelagians, are two principal ones: the first referring to its origin, the other to its perfection. However, because we have fully treated of the former when we disputed concerning effectual calling (dismissing it), we proceed to the other, which was formerly and is now agitated with great warmth of feeling.

The origin of the question.

II. It is well known that this is enumerated also among the many heads of the Pelagian hydra—that he contended that the believer can in this life live without sin and so can perfectly fulfill the law and be constituted in a state of sinlessness. Hence he is often called "the preacher of sinlessness" by Jerome (*Against the Pelagians* 1.25 [NPNF2, 6:461; PL 23.542]). Augustine thus describes this error: "The Pelagians go so far as to say that the life of the righteous in this world has no sin, and from these in this mortal existence the church of Christ is made up, so as to be wholly without wrinkle and without blemish, as if it was not the church of Christ, which throughout the world cries out to the Lord, Forgive us our debts" (*De*

Haeresibus 88 [PL 42.48]). To this error the fathers strongly opposed themselves. Among others were Jerome (Letters 133, "To Ctesiphon" [NPNF2, 6:272–80]; and in three books against the Pelagians, *Against the Pelagians* [NPNF2, 6:448–83]); and Augustine (*On the Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism* 2 [NPNF1, 5:44–68], Letter 89, "To Festus" [FC 18:34–40], CG 14.9 [FC 14:366–73], *On Man's Perfection in Righteousness* [NPNF1, 5:159–76], *Enchiridion* 17 [64] [FC 2:423] and elsewhere in many passages).

III. The same question was renewed in this century by the Neopelagians, Romanists, Socinians and Anabaptists, who, to pave the way for the merits of works, maintained that the law can be perfectly fulfilled by the renewed. Hence among the Romanists themselves, a fierce contest about this article sprang up between the Jansenists and Jesuits. Thus of the five famous propositions of Jansen (condemned by Innocent X), this was also: "Some commands of God are impossible to righteous persons, willing and striving according to the present strength which they have; grace also is wanting to them, by which they would become possible" (cf. "Errores Cornelii Iansenii de gratia," in H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* 1092/2001 [1963], p. 445). Now although in distinct questions we might treat of the imperfection of sanctification and the impossibility of fulfilling the law, yet because they belong to the same and are proved by the same arguments, they are here joined together by us.

Statement of the question.

IV. That the statement of the question may be rightly ascertained, we remark: (1) that the question does not concern (a) the perfection of sincerity, which consists in this—that a person may serve God with an enlightened and whole heart. For this we think ought to be found in true believers, as it is ascribed to Job when he is said to be "perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil" (Job 1:1). Hezekiah also claims it for himself (Is. 38:3). (b) Nor does the question concern the perfection of parts, as much subjective with respect to the whole man, who ought to be sanctified wholly, in body as well as in soul and spirit (1 Thess. 5:23); as objective, with respect to the whole law as to all its commands. For this also we believe is required of the believer, as it is predicated of Zacharias and

Elizabeth (Lk. 1:6). (c) Nor does the question concern comparative perfection, which is ascribed to some believers more advanced than others. In this sense, the believers of the New Testament are called "perfect" (*teleioi*, 1 Cor. 2:6) with respect to the believers of the Old, who are called "children" (*nēpioi*, Gal. 4:1); also with respect to Christian believers who made greater progress than others in faith and piety and who have their senses exercised to distinguish good and evil above others, who still have need of milk and who are engaged with the rudiments of religion (spoken of in Phil. 3:15; Heb. 5:13). (d) Nor does the question concern evangelical perfection, which is with the covering of grace and with paternal forbearance (*epieikeia*) when all things are counted as done, when what is not done is pardoned (viz., covered by the righteousness of Christ, in whom we are said to be perfect, Col. 2:10). For we recognize all these species of perfections. But the question concerns legal perfection—absolute in all parts, so that nothing is wanting to it, either as to degree or as to parts, intensively and extensively.

V. (2) It is not inquired concerning an absolute and total impossibility, according to which it is said that a certain thing cannot be done, either because it involves a contradiction (since it is repugnant to the nature of God) or because it suits man in no state. For in this sense, we do not say that the commands of God are impossible to man, because they were both possible to man in a state of nature and would be possible to man renewed in the state of grace (if God should will to give such and so great a measure of grace as to take away all the corruption of his heart); and they will be possible in glory. But it is inquired concerning a relative impossibility in relation to our state and the order of God, who, although he could, still did not will to give us here a perfection of sanctification, for the most weighty reasons; both that thus the state of the way and of our native country (the church militant and triumphant) might be distinguished and that in this way the desire of holiness may be the more strongly excited and we may know that we are not to be idle in the work of sanctification (since something is always to be done, nor are there ever wanting enemies against whom we must fight).

VI. (3) The question is not whether the works of the righteous are truly good (which our opponents press here extraneously), for this belongs to another question concerning the truth of good works (where it will be

shown in what sense the works of believers are truly good and are still called sins). Rather the question is Are they so perfect as to answer to the law; and do they have nothing in them which it can reprehend?

VII. The question returns to this—Can the renewed believer so carry on his own sanctification as to attain perfection (not only as to parts, but also as to degrees); and can he fulfill the law (not only mildly [*epieikōs*] and evangelically, but also strictly [*akribōs*] and legally) and so copiously satisfy the divine law as to live not only without crime, but also without sin; and the law have nothing which it can accuse and condemn in him, if God should enter into judgment with him? The opponents affirm; we deny.

VIII. It is not to be concealed, however, that the Romanists speak on this subject confusedly; nor do they exhibit their meaning with sufficient plainness. Bellarmine indeed sets forth the state of the question sophistically when he says the question is "whether men, justified and by the assistance of God's grace, can so fulfill the law that their works are not only not to be called sins, but also merit that they should be called truly and properly righteous persons" ("De Justificatione," 4.10 *Opera* [1858], 4:585). He slanderously charges our theologians with teaching "that the divine law is wholly impossible even to a just man" (ibid.) and thence "infer that there is in us no true actual righteousness, but all the works of the just are mortal sins from their very nature" (ibid.). For it is far different to say that the law is clearly impossible to man (which denotes every kind of impossibility) from saying that the believer cannot fulfill the law fully (which intimates a relative impossibility). We do not say that the law is absolutely impossible to believers, but only as to the strictness (*akribeian*) of the law. It is one thing that there is in us no actual righteousness and that our good works are from their own nature mortal sins (which they falsely charge upon us); another that this righteousness is not perfect and that good works (although they are sins accidentally on account of the remains of the flesh inhering in us) are still in themselves truly good (which we hold).

IX. The Council of Trent seeks a shelter in general words when it says, "If anyone should say the commands of God are impossible to be observed by the justified man, constituted under grace, let him be accursed" (Session 6, Canon 18, Schroeder, p. 44). And lest someone might understand an absolutely perfect observance of them, Canon 23 pronounces "an anathema upon those who teach that a person once justified can in his whole life

avoid even venial sins, except by the special privilege from God" (Schroeder, p. 45). Here it seems indeed to recognize that a perfection of all kinds cannot be afforded the believer except by a special privilege (which Stapleton, Andradius, Tapper and others do not deny). But what they seem (pressed by the force of truth) to give with one hand, with the other they at once take away when they cease not to urge the absolute possibility of the law and by various arguments laboriously strive to prove it, as Bellarmine ("De Justificatione," 4.10, 11ff. *Opera* [1858], 4:585ff.). Nor can they think and speak otherwise according to their hypothesis concerning justification and the merit of works (works of supererogation and gospel counsels), which necessarily suppose a perfect and absolute observance of the law. For how could a person be justified by works otherwise or do more than and above what the law demands? And thus it must be said they even utter absurdities (*asystata*) when they thus speak or raise a smoke before us and do not fully explain to us their meaning. However we prove the imperfection of our sanctification and the impossibility of fulfilling the law.

The imperfection of sanctification and the impossibility of fulfilling the law proved: (1) from the remains of sin.

X. First, from the remains of sin. Where sin dwells, there perfect sanctification cannot be, nor a fulfilling of the law. And yet in believers, whoever they may be, sin always dwells: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (1 Jn. 1:8); "In many things we offend all" (Jam. 3:2); "There is no man that sinneth not" (1 K. 8:46); "Who can say, I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my sin?" (Prov. 20:9). To say here with Bellarmine, "These sins are only venial, beyond, but not contrary to the law" ("De Justificatione," 4.14 *Opera* [1858], 4:591), is to suppose what is to be decided (*to krinomenon*) (which we have refuted in the proper place, when we proved that all sin is mortal and so against the law, as true lawlessness [*anomian*]; and that none is venial which is beyond it). Nor does he escape better, who shall have said with the same (ibid., 4.12, pp. 587–88) that these are different questions: Can the commands be

kept? and Can man live without sin? To the former, Augustine always answered affirmatively, but to the latter he answered negatively. Two questions, which amount to the same thing, are falsely distinguished. For no one can obey the commands, except by living without sin; nor can anyone live without sin, unless he keeps the commandments. Nor do we find Augustine, when answering Pelagians, distinguishing these two questions. He does indeed distinguish between the two: "Has any of the renewed been without guilt?" (to which he answers affirmatively); and "Has anyone of them been without sin?" (to which he answers negatively; cf. *On the Grace of Christ* 1.53 [48] (NPNF1, 5:235). But when treating of the fulfilling of the law, as he maintains that no one is without sin, so he holds that no one can in this life fulfill the law; cf. *On Man's Perfection in Righteousness* (NPNF1, 5:159–76).

2. From the struggle between the flesh and the Spirit.

XI. Second, this very thing is confirmed by the "struggle between the flesh and the Spirit" which perpetually occurs in believers in this mortal life, and forces out of them so many groans and lamentations. For since the flesh is opposed to the law of God (neither is subject to it, nor indeed can it be, Rom. 8:7), it is evident that as long as the flesh remains in us (it remains, however, as long as we are here), neither is our sanctification perfect, nor can the law be fulfilled by us. Paul graphically describes this struggle in two places: "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do these things that ye would" (Gal. 5:17); and "I am carnal, sold under sin" (Rom. 7:14); "The good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do" (v. 19); "But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members" (v. 23). Hence he breaks forth into this sad complaint: "O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" (v. 24). These indeed are not the expressions of a man perfectly fulfilling the law and having an excess of merit, but of one groaning under the burden of sin, and panting for deliverance. And since lust is a sin

forbidden by the law (as the apostle testifies in the same place), how can he fulfill the law who is always exposed to the motions of lust and who always feels it struggling and warring in his members against the Spirit?

XII. I know that Socinus replies here that Rom. 7 does not treat of Paul as renewed, but as constituted under the law. For in his little book concerning the meaning of this chapter, he speaks thus: "In my judgment we must avoid as the pestilence itself, believing that this passage (Chap. 7, Epistle to the Romans), pertains to Paul himself now renewed; for I affirm that in this passage Paul describes a man destitute of the grace of Christ, and relying on the law itself" (cf. "De loco Pauli … in Epistola ad Rom. cap. septimo," *Opera omnia* [1656], 1:112). Thus the contest between the appetite and the mind and intellect is described because he holds the will to be the middle one, which in this contest sometimes helps the appetite, sometimes the mind. Arminius agrees with him. There are also some of our theologians who incline to this opinion. On this account, they invent a certain new and third state between the state of nature (in which man is as yet unrenewed) and the state of grace (in which he is now renewed)—viz., a state under the law and the spirit of bondage in which the man is not as yet renewed, but neither wholly unregenerated. Rather he is imbued with some knowledge of the law and possessed of the spirit of bondage, in which he experiences these alternating changes, in which he sometimes seems to approach to the good from his knowledge of the law and, by the impulse of the spirit of bondage, to recede from it and so be driven to sin from his incapability of resisting corrupt appetites. But whatever both maintain, we cannot recede from the opinion commonly received among the orthodox, which is that Paul speaks of himself as renewed and that this severe struggle (often occurring between the old and new man, the flesh and spirit) is here described by him.

XIII. There are various reasons which prove it: (1) from the notation of the time. Paul does not speak in a past tense (as before in v. 9), but in a present tense—"I am carnal" (v. 14); "I do not the good I would, I delight in the law of God" (v. 19, 22*). Now when he wrote this, he was no more under the law, but under grace. (2) He treats of him to whom the willing of good and the nilling of evil (or a hatred of sin) belongs: "For what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I" (v. 15) and "For to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not" (v. 18). Now

this belongs only to the renewed, in whom God works both "to will and to do" (*to thelein kai to energein*) although they are not always allowed to carry out what they wish (for us, to others who can think nothing good, how can they be said to will it?). (3) He treats of him who consents to the law of God in the inner man and who delights in it (v. 22), from which delight arises service—"With the mind I serve God" (v. 25). But who would say that any other than a believer delights in the law of God and according to it serves God; or that the inner man is any other than the new man? He is frequently designated as such (Eph. 3:16; 2 Cor. 4:16; 1 Pet. 3:4). (4) He speaks of him in whom are distinguished two principles: one according to which he does the evil which he would not; the other according to which he does not perpetrate evil, but sin dwelling in him perpetrates it, and according to which he serves God (vv. 17–19). Now it is evident that this can be said only of the believer, who has within him the old man and the new man, the flesh and the Spirit. (5) He treats of him who groans on account of his misery and who seeks and wishes for deliverance and congratulates himself and gives thanks when he has obtained it (vv. 24, 25) —which refer to no one except the renewed person. (6) A middle state between the regenerate and unregenerate is a pure invention, as if there were a middle ground between the child of God and the child of the Devil, between a living and a dead man. Nor can this be referred to the state under the law because those who lived under it were either reprobates (who were under it as a covenant and so under its curse, Gal. 3:10); or renewed (who were under it as a dispensation, in which although more sparingly and obscurely, still the grace of the regenerating Holy Spirit was granted to them).

XIV. Paul ascribes nothing here to himself which cannot be found in the renewed. Not his saying that "he is carnal and sold under sin" (v. 14) because this is not to be understood absolutely, but comparatively and relatively; as Paul calls the Corinthians "carnal, and not spiritual" (1 Cor. 3:1) because they still exhibited in their actions many remains of the flesh and the old man. Not a universal sale and captivity as to state, as if he were still under the dominion of sin, because thus he would neither delight in the law of God according to the inner man, nor could he be said to serve God with his mind; rather a particular captivity and selling as to certain acts, in which sense the flesh is said to lust against the Spirit, so that we do not

what we would (Gal. 5:17). Nor when he says "sin dwells in him," because it is one thing to dwell, another to reign. That denotes the presence of sin as it exists in the believer even unto the end, but this denotes its tyranny and dominion, which is overcome by the Spirit of Christ. Not that "he wishes for deliverance" from "the body of death," since the believer is freed from the law of sin and death. For an inchoate deliverance and a perfect deliverance differ: one is from the curse of the law and exposure to death; the other from the dominion of sin and mortality (which attends it). The believer has already obtained the first, but he as yet expects and wishes for the other.

XV. Although a struggle between the appetite and reason often occurs in the unregenerate, such as in the Medea of the poet, who said, "I see the good, approve it too, and yet the wrong pursue" (Ovid, *Metamorphosis* 7.20–21 [Loeb, 1:342–43]), still there is a great difference between this and the struggle of the flesh and the Spirit of the renewed (of which Paul speaks). (1) As to their causes, the struggle of the unrenewed arises from the dictation of the conscience (or the strictures of the natural light, which have their seat principally in the intellect) and from the fear of punishment; the struggle of believers arises from the new and supernatural quality or principle of the Holy Spirit, which is spontaneously borne along to those things which are good; not only from a slavish dread of punishment, but from a filial reverence of God. (2) As to their subject, the light of the unregenerate is merely theoretical, remaining in the intellect and not reaching to the heart. But the light of grace (granted to the renewed) not only inheres in the governing (*tō hēgemonikō*) or superior part of the soul, but passes also to the concupiscible (*to epithymētikon*) or its lower part. (3) As to their objects, the contest of the unregenerate is occupied only about the more gross sins, which all abominate by the natural light; while the contest of believers is occupied with those also which (in the external court of men) are neither subjected to punishment, nor to any rebuke. (4) As to their effects, the former struggle can consist with the daily practice of sin and if it sometimes causes that good be done or evil avoided, still it can never arise to this—that it should be well done—and so represses rather than destroys sin; hence at last the reason with its light yields and is conquered. But in the struggle of believers, the flesh is bruised and mortified to such a degree that even if it cannot be eradicated absolutely and

as yet exerts itself in many acts, still it cannot prevail, but is at length overcome by the Spirit, who makes believers more than conquerors (*hypernikan*).

3. From Acts 15:10.

XVI. Third, the impossibility of fulfilling the law is proved from Acts 15:10, where it is called an unbearable (*abastakton*) yoke: "Why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?" For if it could not be borne, how could it be fulfilled by anyone? In vain does Bellarmine reply that it refers to the ceremonial and not to the moral law. (1) If this could be said of the ceremonial, still more strongly could it be said of the moral law. (2) The ceremonial law of itself could not be called an unbearable (*abastakton*) yoke; yet this is properly referred to the moral, which could never be fulfilled by anyone and which places under a curse those who live under it. (3) The question which was moved respected the whole law; not only the ceremonial, but also the moral (Gal. 5:3). Nor is it an objection that the apostolic decree seems to treat only of the ceremonial law. The question arose indeed on the occasion of the ceremonial law, but Peter seeing that it extended further, speaks of the whole law, showing its impossibility because it was a yoke, which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear.

XVII. It is confirmed by this—that the law demands an obedience of all kinds, as much with regard to the internal affections as with regard to the external effects; not only as to parts, but also as to degree, that we may love God with our whole mind, heart and strength; that the true method of loving him should be without measure (as Bernard expresses it). Since it is evident that this cannot be fulfilled by any mortal (as everyone is convinced), it follows that the law in this sense is impossible to man. Nor can it be excepted that only a sincere and unfeigned love is meant; although a sincere love will be accepted by God through a paternal indulgence, still it does not cease to demand a perfect love in every respect (such as is due from a rational creature).

4. From the petition for the remission of sins.

XVIII. Fourth, we are commanded to pray daily for the remission of our sins. Now if it was possible for the renewed to fulfill the law of God, it is possible for the same not to need the remission of sins and not to be bound to say according to the command of the Savior, "Forgive us our debts." For in whom no transgression of the law is found, in him no cause of remission is understood and so no necessity of seeking remission is discovered. Augustine frequently employs this argument against the Pelagians: "Whoever says that this petition 'Forgive us our debts' is not necessary to any, even a holy man, both knowing and doing the will of God, greatly errs" (*On Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism* 3.23 [13] [NPNF1, 5:78; PL 44.200]). And elsewhere: "They who contend that there are or were in this life righteous persons, having no sin at all, presumptuously and most openly contradict the Lord's Prayer" (*Against Two Letters of the Pelagians* 4.27 [10] [NPNF1, 5:429; PL 44.629]). Nor is the objection of Bellarmine of any value—that these are only venial sins, which are beyond, not contrary to the law. As we have already said, this distinction is futile and absurd (*asystatos*). For where there is need of remission, there transgression has gone before; where transgression is, there also is lawlessness (*anomia*).

5. From the examples of the saints.

XIX. Fifth, from the examples of the saints. The saints everywhere openly acknowledge and confess this inability (Job 9:3, 20, 28; 15:15); David (Pss. 32:5; 130:3; 143:2); Solomon (Prov. 20:9; 1 K. 8:46); Isaiah (Is. 64:6); Daniel (Dan. 9:5, 6); Paul (Rom. 7:14; Phil. 3:13); John (1 Jn. 1:8); James (Jam. 3:2). Nor can any example of a sinless (*anamartētou*) man be given, if you except Christ. Let our Pharisees and Perfectionists go and put up for sale the perfection of their holiness; yea, their works of supererogation also (i.e., let them impudently allege that they are more righteous and holy than all saints).

Sources of explanation.

XX. The yoke of Christ, described as easy and light (Mt. 11:30), is not the law of Moses taken strictly (which is by itself an unbearable [*abastakton*] yoke), but partly the doctrine of the gospel concerning faith and new obedience (which the Holy Spirit works in us, thus rendering it easy and light); partly the yoke of the cross (called "light" because God does not permit us to be tempted beyond our strength, 1 Cor. 10:13; 2 Cor. 4:17). It is called "easy" because the consolation of the Holy Spirit so tempers the cross, as to elicit from it the sweetest fruits of righteousness and joy.

XXI. The commandments of God are said "to be not grievous to the believer" (1 Jn. 5:3), not as to the perfect possibility of obeying the law or the sinlessness (*anamartēsian*) of man, which John expressly denies (1 Jn. 1:8). But both with respect to imputation and the remission of sins because the perfect obedience of Christ is imputed to us by faith, to whom at once (1 Jn. 5:4) the victory is ascribed and our defects are covered; thus "all things are reckoned as done, when whatever is not done is pardoned," as Augustine has it (*Retractions* 1.19 [18] [FC 60:80–81; PL 32.615]). And with respect to renovation because the Holy Spirit renews the hearts within and works a true and sincere love in them, by which as a willing people (Ps. 110:3), not by compulsion and by the spirit of bondage, but spontaneously and sweetly, they are impelled by the Spirit of adoption to duty; nor are they any longer held bound by the unbearable (*abastaktō*) yoke to obtain life by a perfect observance of the law, but are placed under the sweet yoke of Christ, which prescribes obedience as the testimony of a grateful soul.

XXII. If any are said in the Scriptures to have fulfilled the commands of God and to have loved him with their whole hearts and to have been perfect (as is said of Noah, Gen. 6:9; of David, Ps. 119:10; Josiah, 2 K. 23:25; Asa, 2 Ch. 15:17; Zacharias and Elizabeth, Lk. 1:6 and others), this must be understood not absolutely and simply of a legal perfection of love and obedience (as well intensive as extensive—which is incompatible [*asystaton*] with the sins ascribed to them), but relatively and restrictively concerning an evangelical obedience (which marks a sincere and unfeigned [*anypokriton*] obedience); or comparatively, both with respect to the wicked (who lie wholly in sin) and with respect to those less holy. If Zacharias and Elizabeth are called "righteous before God" (*enōpion ton theou*), this indeed denotes that their righteousness and piety was not clouded and hypocritical, able to stand before men, but true and sincere, which approved itself to God

himself. But we cannot thence infer that it was absolutely pure, since in the same place the unbelief of Zacharias is rebuked. Nor more, when they are said to have "walked" (*amemptoi*) in the commandments of the Lord, for this indicates only that they lived without complaint and reprehension before men. It is one thing to be absolutely sinless (*anamartēton*), but another to be "blameless" (*amempton*). Paul demands that a bishop should be *anepilēptos* (incapable of being attacked) which is the same as *amemptō* (blameless); not that he should be without sin (which is impossible), but that he should be without reproach and rebuke.

XXIII. The law is absolutely and perfectly possible to those who keep the commandments absolutely and perfectly; and they are with propriety said to fulfill the commandments, who love in the same manner. But since no one so loves and keeps the commandments (because we know only in part [1 Cor. 13:9], and love in part and in many things we offend all, Jam. 3:2), no one can claim this privilege for himself. And what is said in Jn. 14:23 and Rom. 13:8 is to be understood in no other way than concerning a sincere observance in this life and a full and perfect observance in the other.

XXIV. What is impossible simply (*haplōs*) and in its own nature binds no one. But the commandments of the law are impossible only in a certain sense (*kata ti*) in our state as sojourners—on account of the intervening vice of our nature. As a creditor does not lose the right of demanding a debt of the debtor (even if he cannot pay it), so the rights of God are not lessened although man by his own fault is no longer able to pay. Again God does not enjoin the law upon believers as if it was absolutely possible to them, but that by knowing their duty and their own inability to perform it, they may the more ardently seek the help of grace. "God does not command impossibilities," says Augustine, "but by commanding he admonishes us both to do what we can and to seek what we cannot" (*On Nature and Grace* 50 [43] [NPNF1, 5:138; PL 44.271]). And Bernard: "The Preceptor knew that the weight of the precept exceeded our strength, but he judged it useful from this very circumstance to put them in mind of their own insufficiency, and that they might know to what end of righteousness they ought to rely for strength. Therefore by commanding impossibilities he does not make prevaricators, but humble persons, that every mouth may be stopped and the

whole world become subject to God" ("Sermon 50 [2]," *Song of Solomon* [trans. S.J. Eales, 1984 rep.], p. 303; PL 183.1021).

XXV. What pleases God in and by itself (on account of a perfect conformity with his law) is perfectly just; but not in like manner what pleases him through and on account of Christ (as good works please him not because they are perfect and absolutely good, but because they are done in the faith of Christ—by whose obedience all our corruptions and defects are covered and pardoned).

XXVI. When Paul says, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me" (Phil. 4:13), it must not be understood absolutely, but in accordance with the subject matter (to wit, those things which relate to bearing patiently and moderately whatever the condition of the present life). For the apostle does not speak there of a perfection of morals or of the sinlessness of Pelagius, but of the constancy of the pious mind in bearing prosperity moderately and adversity courageously and patiently. "All things are possible to him that believeth" (Mk. 9:23), not simply that he can be without sin, but relatively as to any either ordinary or extraordinary blessing to be obtained from God.

Third Question: The Necessity of Good Works

Are good works necessary to salvation? We affirm

I. Since the practice and desire of good works pertain to sanctification, it cannot be better ascertained than by getting a proper knowledge of their nature. Now there are four principal questions concerning them: their necessity, truth, perfection and merit. We must treat of these individually. Having already in the preceding question spoken of their perfection, we now take up their necessity.

Three opinions concerning the necessity of good works.

II. There are three principal opinions about the necessity of good works. First is that of those who (sinning in defect) deny it; such were formerly the Simonians and the modern Epicureans and Libertines, who make good

works arbitrary and indifferent, which we may perform or omit at pleasure. The second is that of those who (sinning in excess) affirm and press the necessity of merit and causality; such were the ancient Pharisees and false apostles, who contended that works are necessary to justification. These are followed by the Romanists and Socinians of our day. The third is that of those who (holding the middle ground between these two extremes) neither simply deny, nor simply assert; yet they recognize a certain necessity for them against the Libertines, but uniformly reject the necessity of merit against the Romanists. This is the opinion of the orthodox.

Statement of the question.

III. Hence it is evident that the question here does not concern the necessity of merit, causality and efficiency—whether good works are necessary to effect salvation or to acquire it of right. (For this belongs to another controversy, of which hereafter). Rather the question concerns the necessity of means, of presence and of connection or order—Are they required as the means and way for possessing salvation? This we hold.

IV. Although the proposition concerning the necessity of good works to salvation (which was thrust forward in a former century by the Romanists under the show of a reconciliation in the Interimistic formula, but really that imperceptibly the purity of the doctrine concerning justification might be corrupted) was rejected by various Lutheran theologians as less suitable and dangerous; nay, even by some of our theologians; still we think with others that it can be retained without danger if properly explained. We also hold that it should be pressed against the license of the Epicureans so that although works may be said to contribute nothing to the acquisition of salvation, still they should be considered necessary to the obtainment of it, so that no one can be saved without them—that thus our religion may be freed from those most foul calumnies everywhere cast most unjustly upon it by the Romanists (as if it were the mistress of impiety and the cushion of carnal licentiousness and security).

The necessity of good works is proved: (1) from the command of God.

V. Now although this necessity has already been established in part (Question 1 where we treated of the connection between justification and sanctification), it is still further proved both from the command of God and from the nature of the thing itself and the condition of the believer. For since the will of God is the supreme and indispensable rule of our duty, the practice of good works cannot but be considered as highly necessary (which the Lord so often and so expressly recommends and enjoins in his word). There is no need to refer to passages for they are so numerous. Let the following be specially consulted (1 Thess. 4:3, 4; 1 Jn. 4:21; Jn. 13:34; Mt. 5:16; 1 Pet. 1:15, 16; 2 Pet. 1:5–7, 10; Rom. 6:11, 12; 12:1, 2ff.). And so far from leaving to each one the license of living according to his pleasure, it openly condemns and abhors it (Rom. 6:1, 2, 15; Gal. 5:13; 1 Thess. 4:7; 1 Pet. 2:16) and declares that believers are "debtors" who are bound to new obedience by an indissoluble and indispensable bond (Rom. 8:12; 13:7; 1 Jn. 4:11), not only by the necessity of the precept, but also by the necessity of the means.

VI. This can be demonstrated more clearly from the nature of the thing and the state and condition of man, whether we look to the covenant of grace entered into with him or attend to the doctrine of the gospel which he professes; or to the state of grace in which he is placed; or to the benefits which depend on it, past as well as present and future. All these draw after them the absolute necessity of good works.

2. From the covenant of grace.

VII. And as to the covenant, everyone knows that it consists of two parts: on the one hand the promise on the part of God; on the other the stipulation of obedience on the part of man. For as God promises in it to be our God, he wishes that we also in turn should be his people. And as that promise includes every blessing of God, so the obligation denotes the duties of all kinds owed by man to God (as was seen when we treated of the clauses of the covenant). Although God by his special grace wishes these duties of man to be his blessings (which he carries out in them), still the believer does not cease to be bound to observe it, if he wishes to be a partaker of the blessings of the covenant.

VIII. However, the promise of grace flows from the three persons of the holy Trinity. All concur in the work of redemption and hold a peculiar relation (*schesin*) according to the mode of operation proper to each. The first, indeed, of the Father adopting us into his family; the second, of Redeemer and head, redeeming his people and uniting them to himself as his purchase and body; the third, of Comforter and sanctifier consecrating us for temples to himself. Thus a threefold necessity of worship and obedience arises that we may live worthily as the sons of God, members of Christ and temples of the Holy Spirit: that we may adore and worship the Father (1 Pet. 1:15, 16; Mal. 1:6; Eph. 5:1); that we may glorify the Redeemer with all our soul (1 Cor. 6:20) and serve him as a "peculiar people zealous of good works" (*periousios zēlōtēs kalōn ergōn*, Tit. 2:14); that we may venerate with great zeal the Spirit dwelling in us and, living in the Spirit, walk also in the Spirit (Gal. 5:25), nor suffer his temple to be polluted (1 Cor. 6:15, 19). This is sealed to us in baptism (administered to us in the name of the whole Trinity) and procured by our union with Christ. It cannot be true and saving unless it draws after it conformity with him (to which we were predestinated, Rom. 8:29) that with him we should die to sin and live to God (Rom. 6:11), walk as he walked (1 Jn. 2:6) and himself both be formed and live in us (Gal. 2:20; 4:19).

3. From the gospel.

IX. Third, the word of God or the gospel which is proposed for our belief as a rule of faith and of life proves this necessity no less. It is not a doctrine merely theoretical (which feeds the mind with fruitless knowledge), but practical (which affects the will itself and renews it). On this account, it is called the "mystery of godliness" (1 Tim. 3:16); the light which transforms (2 Cor. 3:18); truth which sanctifies (Jn. 17:17), which makes us not only wiser, but also better (Jn. 13:17); the seed of our regeneration (Jam. 1:18; 1 Pet. 1:23); the law of the Spirit and of life (Rom. 8:2), which by freeing us from the law of sin and of death, still does not make us without the law, but under the law to Christ (1 Cor. 9:21; Gal. 2:19). Here belongs also the religion we profess, which demands not a mere profession of the truth, but principally the practice of piety and love (Rom. 2:28, 29): "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and

widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world" (Jam. 1:27).

4. From the state of grace.

X. Fourth, the state of grace and of liberty into which the gospel transfers us demands this. It is a spiritual freedom from the curse of the law, the tyranny of Satan and the yoke of sin, but not a carnal license. It does not remove us from obedience to God, but joins us by a stronger bond to him: "Being then made free from sin," says Paul, "ye became the servants of righteousness" (Rom. 6:18); "As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God" (1 Pet. 2:16), viz., in whose worship our true liberty consists because "to serve God is to reign." Christ, by freeing us from the curse and rigor of the law, still did not free us from the obligation to obedience, which is indispensable from the creature. Grace demands the same thing. The greater it is, the more effectually it obliges us to gratitude, so that it not be turned into lasciviousness (*aselgeian*, Gal. 5:13; Jd. 4), but that it be referred to the desire of holiness (Tit. 2:12). Hence, the apostle infers that we must not remain in sin "because we are not under the law, but under grace" (Rom. 6:14, 15).

5. From the blessings of God.

XI. Fifth, all the benefits of God tend to this, whether regarded as to the past in eternal election or as to the present in grace, or as to the future in glory. For all these are destined to or conferred upon us for no other reason than to promote the work of sanctification. On this account, good works are set forth to us as the effects of eternal election (Eph. 1:4); the fruit and seal of present grace (2 Tim. 2:19; 2 Cor. 1:21, 22; Jn. 15:4; Gal. 5:22); and the "seeds" or "firstfruits" and earnests of future glory (Gal. 6:7, 8; Eph. 1:14; Rom. 8:23). Hence these are called "the nurseries of hope, incentives of love, signs of secret predestination, presages of future bliss, the way to the Kingdom, but not the cause of reigning" (Bernard, *Tractatus de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio* [PL 182.1030]). Scripture frequently testifies this concerning election (Jn. 15:16; Eph. 1:4; 2 Thess. 2:13, 14); redemption (Lk. 1:74; Tit. 2:14; 1 Pet. 2:24; 2 Cor. 5:14, 15); calling (2 Pet. 1:10; 1 Pet.

2:9; Phil. 3:14); faith (Gal. 5:6; Acts 15:9); justification (Pss. 130:4; 85:8; Eph. 2:8–10); regeneration (2 Cor. 5:17; Col. 3:1, 2).

XII. This very thing is no less expressly delivered concerning future glory. For since good works have the relation of the means to the end (Jn. 3:5, 16; Mt. 5:8); of the "way" to the goal (Eph. 2:10; Phil. 3:14); of the "sowing" to the harvest (Gal. 6:7, 8); of the "firstfruits" to the mass (Rom. 8:23); of labor to the reward (Mt. 20:1); of the "contest" to the crown (2 Tim. 2:5; 4:8), everyone sees that there is the highest and an indispensable necessity of good works for obtaining glory. It is so great that it cannot be reached without them (Heb. 12:14; Rev. 21:27).

XIII. Finally, there are three things, the necessity of seeking which above all others devolves upon us (to wit, the glory of God, the edification of our neighbor and our own salvation). It is known the practice of good works contributes to these in the greatest degree. Thus it easily appears that they are necessary above all things (Mt. 5:10; Phil. 1:11; Rom. 15:2; 2 Pet. 1:10).

Sources of explanation.

XIV. Works can be considered in three ways: either with reference to justification or sanctification or glorification. They are related to justification not antecedently, efficiently and meritoriously, but consequently and declaratively. They are related to sanctification constitutively because they constitute and promote it. They are related to glorification antecedently and ordinatively because they are related to it as the means to the end; yea, as the beginning to the complement because grace is glory begun, as glory is grace consummated.

XV. Although we acknowledge the necessity of good works against the Epicureans, we do not on this account confound the law and the gospel and interfere with gratuitous justification by faith alone. Good works are required not for living according to the law, but because we live by the gospel; not as the causes on account of which life is given to us, but as effects which testify that life has been given to us.

XVI. Believers are a willing people who ought not to be impelled to good works by necessity (*ex ananchēs*) (viz., by a necessity of compulsion), but spontaneously and voluntarily (*hekousiōs*). But still, works do not cease

to be necessary by the necessity of means and of debt. Although all coaction is necessity, not all necessity is coaction. The calumnies wont to be drawn against the necessity of good works from our doctrine concerning perserverance and the certainty of faith have been discussed in Topic XV, Questions 16 and 17.

Fourth Question: The Truth of Good Works

What is required that a work may be truly good? Are the works of the righteous such? We affirm

What are good works?

I. When we speak of the truth of good works, we do not mean works simply moral as they are contradistinguished from spiritual and supernatural by some. In this sense, those are called moral by them which are such as to external discipline or external act (which they commonly term the substance), constituting civil and external discipline or righteousness. Aristotle unfolds these in his *Nicomachean Ethics*. Spiritual are those which are such as much as to substance as with regard to circumstances. The former are called good equivocally (*homonymōs*) and as to external appearance only; but the latter univocally (*synonymōs*) and as to essence, inasmuch as they have in themselves a supernatural goodness truly pleasing to a reconciled God and Father and are ordained by him to receive the rewards of this as well as of the future life (of which we here treat).

II. In such works, the matter and form must be considered. The matter are all the actions of man depending upon his intellect and will and pertaining to the will (*to thymikon*) and the appetite (*to epithymētikon*); those which are said to be the first motions by philosophers, whether they are done without delay or with delay. These are commonly called morals—whether with pleasure or without it; whether with or without deliberation and with the consent of the will. The form is the accordance with the law and will of God, with respect to the substance of the action as well as with respect to its circumstances.

III. By the substance of an action, we do not mean only the act external to the inducement, but both the internal and external act at the same time (if

indeed each is connected together); or the internal only, if the external cannot be held. These two acts are so mutually related that the external act is not properly good without the internal (as is apparent in hypocrites), but the internal can exist without an external because goodness is properly constituted in the will and intention. Again, the external does not increase the goodness of the internal by itself, but accidentally, inasmuch as it either continues or conserves the act of the will.

IV. By circumstances we mean all the modifications which attend actions of this kind, so that the work may not only be good, but also that it be done well according to the command of God. In this sense, it is commonly said, "God loves not so much the adjective as the adverb"; also good requires an entire cause, embracing not only the substance of the action, but also the circumstances. Hence a thing good in itself may still become evil and be turned into a sin, if it is not well done (as prayer, charity, etc.).

What is required in good works and what they are.

V. However, to constitute this goodness, four things are specially required: a principle, rule, mode, end. (1) That the work may be done from the faith of a renewed heart because "whatever is done without faith is sin" (Rom. 14:23). (2) That it be done according to the prescription of the law and the will of God revealed in his word, which is the sole rule of faith and life. (3) That it be done in a lawful mode (i.e., not only externally, but also internally) because the law (which is spiritual, Rom. 7:14) regards not only the external motions of the body, but principally the internal actions of the mind. (4) That it be done to the glory of God, the sole object to which we ought always to look; and to which all things should be subordinated (1 Cor. 10:31)—not only with a virtual and habitual, but also with an actual intention. For since it is an intention, it ought to be the most explicit of the highest good and be interrupted by no other intention.

Hence it follows that the virtues of the heathen were not good works.

VI. Hence we infer (1) that the virtues of the Gentiles (however illustrious), still cannot be said to be good works, whatever the Pelagians formerly and the modern Socinians, Romanists and especially the Jesuits maintain. These are not willing that "the works of unbelievers should be sins or the virtues of philosophers should be vices," as we read in the Bull of Pius V and of Gregory XIII (cf. "Bull 111.25," *Magnum Bullarum Romanum* [1965], v. IV, Pt. 3, p. 427) and in Bellarmine ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 5.9 *Opera* [1858], 4:391–94) and Trininus (*Theologiae elenchticae ... controversiarum fidei*, Cont. 12, no. 5 [1648], pp. 569–83). To these Jansen with his whole school strongly opposed himself in his *Augustinus*. For although they might have some external goodness (by reason of the external act and object, which was good), still they sinned in three things: (a) as to the principle, which was not a renewed but an impure heart, although imbued with some knowledge of virtue and vice from the dictation of the natural law; (b) as to the mode because the internal obedience of the heart was wanting; (c) as to the end because direction to the glory of God was required, which they did not have in view. Moreover no difference can be determined between the most wicked and the more virtuous of them (as between Fabricius and Cataline) because a difference always remained between them. "Not because the one was good," says Augustine, "but because the other was worse and Fabricius was less wicked than Cataline; not in having true virtues, but not deviating as much from true virtues" (*Against Julian* 4.3.25 [FC 35:190; PL 44.751]). There it was better for them to cultivate this civil virtue, than to loosen the reins to the appetite of the flesh, by which if they could not obtain the reward of glory, still they would have to expect a less severe punishment (as those failing only in the mode of acting, sinned less than others who sinned in the very substance of the deed). But because we have treated of this question in Volume I, Topic X, Question 5, we add no more.

Nor is a good intention sufficient.

VII. Hence also it is evident that the Romanists err when they hold those to be good works which are obtruded upon God (not commanding and requiring) which Paul calls will-worship (*ethelothrēskeia*) and condemns (Col. 2:23). For when it is treated of the worship of God, we must not only

abstain from things forbidden, but also from things not commanded; nay, such works are forbidden just because they are not commanded: "What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it" (Dt. 12:32); "Remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them: and seek not after your own heart" (Num. 15:39*). He exclaims in Is. 1:12, "Who has required this at your hands?" And: "In vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines, which are the precepts of men" (Is. 29:13).

VIII. Nor can the diluted comment of good intention favor this error, as if what is done contrary to or beyond God's command can be a good work because it is done with a right intention. For that is falsely termed a good intention which is opposed to God's intention. Saul indeed pleaded a good intention when, being commanded to destroy the Amalekites utterly, he spared the king and reserved the fattest sheep for sacrifices; but this was not received as an excuse and Samuel testifies that God wished obedience, not sacrifice no matter with what good intention offered. This same good intention destroyed Uzzah, when he reached out his hand to support the ark shaking in the wagon. Christ, speaking of his persecutors, says, "They think that they do God service, whosoever killeth believers" (Jn. 16:2). The worst religions applaud themselves in the highest degree and cover their works with a good intention.

IX. Further with regard to the question here agitated between us and the Romanists—whether the works of believers are and can be called truly good. We must distinguish between truly good and perfectly good. We have proved before that the latter cannot be ascribed to the works of the saints on account of the imperfection of sanctification and the remains of sin. But the former is rightly predicated of them because although they are not as yet perfectly renewed, still they are truly and unfeignedly renewed. While the Romanists are unwilling to make this distinction, they falsely charge us with denying that the works of believers are truly good because we maintain that they are imperfect, since the truth and perfection of works are notwithstanding most diverse and the former can be granted without the latter.

The works of believers are truly good.

X. That the works of believers are truly good is proved: (1) because they are not performed only with the general concourse of God, but by a special motion and impulse of the Holy Spirit, who dwells in the hearts of believers and excites them to good works. Hence these works are usually ascribed to him as the primary cause (Ezk. 36:27; Gal. 5:22; Rom. 8:9, 10; Phil. 1:6; 2:13). Nor are they done only by the Holy Spirit exciting and impelling, but also by the qualities of infused grace mediating (which overcome the order of nature). Hence Paul ascribes all his works to the grace of God (1 Cor. 15:10) and Christ asserts that we can do nothing without him (Jn. 15:5). Now what is produced by the Spirit and the grace of Christ must be truly good. Nor does the flesh, which still remains in us, hinder this because its presence can indeed take away the perfection of sanctification, but not its truth.

XI. (2) Such works please God; therefore they are truly good. For what is properly and by itself sin, cannot please him. The passages are obvious (1 Pet. 2:5; Heb. 11:4–6; 12:28; Rom. 12:1; 14:18; Phil. 4:18). I confess that the first cause of their acceptance is Christ, in whom we are pleasing to God (Eph. 1:6) because the person is rather pleasing to God and is reconciled to him by the Mediator. In this sense, God is said to have had respect to Abel rather than to his sacrifice (Gen. 4:4). But this does not hinder God from being pleased with the works also, on account of the true goodness which occurs in them (flowing from the regeneration of the heart and the restoration of the divine image). For wherever God beholds his own likeness, he deservedly loves and holds it in honor. Thus not without a cause is the life of believers (regulated according to holiness and righteousness) said to please him.

XII. (3) A reward is promised to them, which could not be done if they were not truly good. For although works have nothing in themselves which can deserve and obtain such a reward (which on this account is merely gratuitous, as will soon be shown), still they have a certain ordination and aptitude that they are ordained to a reward, both from the condition of the worker, who is supposed to be a believer (i.e., admitted into the grace and friendship of God), and from the condition of the works themselves, which although not having a condignity to the reward, still have the relation of disposition required in the subject for its possession. This condition being fulfilled, the reward must be given as, it being withheld, the reward cannot

be obtained. For as without holiness, no one shall see God and, unless renewed by water and the Spirit, cannot enter the kingdom of heaven (Jn. 3:5; Heb. 12:14); so, holiness being posited, glory is necessarily posited from the inseparable connection existing between them.

XIII. Our affirmation that all works (even the best) are not free from sin in this life does not destroy the truth of the good works of believers because although we affirm that as to mode they are never performed with that perfection which can sustain the rigid examination of the divine judgment (on account of the imperfection of sanctification), still we maintain that as to the thing they are good works. And if they are called sins, this must be understood accidentally with respect to the mode, not of themselves and in their own nature. So there always remains a difference between the works of the renewed and the unrenewed. The latter are essentially and specifically evil and so destitute of those circumstances and conditions which are requisite to the essence of a good work (which accordingly are only good as to sight and appearance). On the other hand, the former are essentially good works because they have all things from which the goodness of an action results and so are truly and not apparently such (although as to degree they may fail and have blemishes mixed up with them).

XIV. Although the works of the renewed are said to be sins, and so faith (by which we are justified) can be called a sin under a certain relation (*schesei*) (as also the prayer by which we seek the pardon of sins), it does not follow that man is justified by sin and by sin obtains the remission of sins. We do not say that the act of believing itself or of praying is a sin, but only that there are defects and blemishes connected with it. Thus the work of faith is not the instrument of justification with respect to such imperfections, but with respect to the act itself (which is produced by the Holy Spirit and under that reduplication). Nor by sin do we seek or obtain the remission of sin, as our opponents foolishly infer; but we seek it by and on account of the merit of Christ, the duty, not the fault of our prayer mediating as the condition required from us.

XV. Although it is granted that all the works of the renewed are tainted by some sin, the apostle could rightly say, “I am conscious of no evil,” because he does not speak here of the course of his whole life, but concerning a ministry faithfully completed. Nor does he boast that the work

of his ministry had been so completed by himself that no fault had interfered with it on the part of the flesh, but that he had done nothing deceitfully and impiously to wound his own conscience. For otherwise, he professes that he did not do the good that he would, but rather the evil he hated (Rom. 7:19).

XVI. Since God works in us all our good works as far as they have any goodness in them and not as far as they have any imperfection or taint in them (in which sense they spring from the flesh), we say truly that every good work is marred by some sin and yet we deny truly that God is the author of this faultiness or sin.

XVII. Nor is it absurd (*asystaton*) and inconsistent for the same work (good and bad) to be called worthy of a reward and punishment in different respects (*kat' allo kai allo*). Inasmuch as the good arises from the Spirit, it may be evil according as the flesh is mixed with it—good with respect to the act, evil with respect to the viciousness cleaving to it. Nor ought believers by works of this kind to be said to serve God and Satan, or to be the sons of God and of Satan. They only are said to serve the Devil and are called his children, who live under the dominion of darkness; not they who have shaken off this dominion and produce good works, although tainted in some measure with the vice of the flesh. Thus Paul professes that he serves Christ, and is reckoned among the sons of God, who confesses that he serves the law of God with his mind, but the law of sin with his flesh (Rom. 7:25).

Fifth Question: The Merit of Works

Is there a merit of congruity or condignity? Do good works merit eternal life? We deny against the Romanists

I. That the doctrine of the merits of works may be more clearly held, we must premise a few things concerning the word "merit" and the verb "meriting," from which a decision concerning the thing itself can be more easily arrived at.

The word "merit" is taken broadly and strictly.

II. The word “merit” is used in two ways: either broadly and improperly; or strictly and properly. Strictly, it denotes that work to which a reward is due from justice on account of its intrinsic value and worth. But it is often used broadly for the consecution of any thing. In this sense, the verb “to merit” is often by the fathers put for “to gain,” “to obtain,” “to attain.” Augustine says: “The sinner ought not to despair of himself because Paul obtained (*meruisti*) pardon” (Sermon 170, “De Tempore [49]” [PL 38.927]). Ambrose says: “O Water! which hast merited to be the sacrament of Christ, which dost wash all things, and art not washed” (*Expositio Evangeli ... Lucam* 10.48 [PL 15.1907–8] on Lk. 22:11, 12). Hence from Gregory the Roman church sings, “O happy guilt, which merited to have such a Redeemer” (cf. *The Roman Sunday Missal for America* [1933], p. 255). The Romanists do not deny the abuse of this word. Cassander says: “The word ‘to merit’ in the ancient ecclesiastical writers means almost the same as to obtain or is fit and suitable to obtain” (“Hymni Ecclesiastici,” in *Georgii Cassandri ... Opera* [1616], p. 179). He proves this from a passage of Cyprian, who renders Paul’s expression, “I obtained mercy” (*alla kai eleēthēn*, 1 Tim. 1:13) by *misericordiam merui* and adds in the same place, “If this meaning of the word is retained, many things which seem to be rather harsh will appear to be more mild and suitable.” Vega says: “It does not escape me that the word is used by the fathers where there is nothing of merit, either of congruity or of condignity” (*De Iustificatione Doctrina Universa* 8.8 [1572/1964], 1:189). In the same sense, the authors of the Augsburg Confession use the word “merit” (cf. *Book of Concord*, Art. 6 [ed. T.G. Tappert, 1959], p. 32), as also the Apology, Art. 20 (ibid., p. 228), as Bellarmine acknowledges (“De Justificatione,” 5.1 *Opera* [1858], 4:603–4). From this time, the verb “to merit” and the word “merit” have been more frequently used in this improper sense. The later doctors of the schools now swelling with superciliousness, the phrases of the fathers being received badly and contrary to their meaning, they began to say that men properly merited eternal life by their works and that good works are meritorious of eternal life, not only from the covenant, but also by reason of the work itself.

Threefold merit according to the Romanists: congruity, worth and condignity.

III. The Romanists commonly define "merit" as an action to which some reward is due. Some make two, others three kinds: of congruity, worth and condignity. The merit of congruity they apply to a work morally good, done from the free will unassisted by grace (to wit, that is congruous and suitable to the divine goodness to infuse the grace of justification into those morally disposed and doing what they can). The merit of worth they hold to be the suitableness or aptitude of the worker to obtain that which he deserves; as the reason for the name is drawn from the person working rather than from the work itself, inasmuch as he is considered by God worthy to merit eternal life. Finally, the merit of condignity they maintain to be a good work done from free will assisted by grace which is such as to be altogether worthy of such a reward, not only from agreement, but also on account of the intrinsic value of the work and the equality between the work and the reward. But many of the more modern Romanists (as Bellarmine and others) reduce these three kinds to two, on this account most especially—the Vulgate renders the word *axion*, from which they wish to draw merit, now by *dignum* (as in Rev. 3:4), then by *condignum*. Thus in this respect, there is no difference between them (Bellarmine, "De Justificatione," 5.16 *Opera* [1858], 4:627–29). Hence some are said to be merits of grace from congruity; others merits of glory from condignity.

IV. Still we must confess that to many of the Romanists this distinction is less pleasing and seems incongruous. They think there is no merit of congruity, among whom are Thomas Waldensis, and Paul Burgensis, as Bellarmine tells us ("De Justificatione," 5.16 *Opera* [1858], 4:628). Stapleton says: "Merit of congruity with respect to first grace was long ago exploded; nor was it ever received by the more respectable Scholastics, as by Thomas in his *Summa* and later writings, and his followers" ("De universa justificationis: De peccato originali," 2.4 *Opera* [1620], 2:50). Becanus acknowledges that "the merit of congruity has not properly the relation of merit, but only of a certain suitableness, and therefore it is not necessary to dispute about it, because nothing certain can be affirmed of it" (*Summa Theologicae Scholasticae* 2.5*.5.1 [1651], p. 509). Still because it

is as yet retained by many others (as by Vasquez, Cajetan and others) and is the commonly received opinion among them, its emptiness must be briefly demonstrated.

What is merit; and what are its conditions?

V. That this may be done more readily, the definition of merit properly so called must be premised and the conditions required for it must be considered. Biel defines merit to be "a work imputable to praise" (i.e., worthy of praise) (*Canonis Misse Expositio* 59* [ed. H. Oberman and W. Courtenay, 1965], 2:440). If our opponents would be content with this meaning, there would be no controversy. For no one denies that the good works of the believer are worthy of praise. Bellarmine enumerates seven conditions of a meritorious work: (1) that it be a good work; (2) a free work; (3) done in obedience to God; (4) by man as a sojourner (i.e., acting among the living); (5) by a justified person and a friend of God; (6) that it proceed from love; (7) that it has the promise of God annexed. But although all these conditions are required in a good work, still they do not suffice to render it meritorious because in true merit Bellarmine himself acknowledges something additional is required (to wit, an intrinsic worth and value) when he says that that is merit to which a reward is due by way of justice, not only distributive but also commutative, so that there may be a just equality between the work and the reward ("De Justificatione," 5.10–16 *Opera* [1858], 4:618–29).

VI. To true merit, then, these five conditions are demanded: (1) that the "work be undue"—for no one merits by paying what he owes (Lk. 17:10), he only satisfies; (2) that it be ours—for no one can be said to merit from another; (3) that it be absolutely perfect and free from all taint—for where sin is, there merit cannot be; (4) that it be equal and proportioned to the reward and pay; otherwise it would be a gift, not merit (which Bellarmine himself acknowledges [ibid., 5.17, pp. 629–31] according to the meaning of the Council of Trent); (5) that the reward be due to such a work from justice —whence an "undue work" is commonly defined to be one that "makes a reward due in the order of justice."

There is no merit in general.

VII. From these we readily gather that there now can be no merit in man with God by works whatsoever, either of congruity or of condignity. (1) They are not undue, but due; for whatever we are and can do, all this we owe to God, whose debtors we are on this account called (Lk. 17:10; Rom. 8:12). (2) Not one is ours, but all are gifts of grace and fruits of the Spirit (Jam. 1:17; Phil. 2:13; 2 Cor. 3:5). (3) They are not perfect, but alloyed as yet by various impurities (Rom. 7:18; Gal. 5:17, 18; Is. 64:6). (4) They are not equal to future glory because there is no proportion between the finite and temporary and the infinite and eternal (Rom. 8:18; 2 Cor. 4:17). (5) The reward promised to them is purely gratuitous and undue and so to be expected not from the internal merit of the work and its intrinsic worth, but only from the most free estimation of it by the one who crowns it (Rom. 6:23; 4:4; 11:6). Hence also it appears that there is no merit properly so called of man before God, in whatever state he is placed. Thus Adam himself, if he had persevered, would not have merited life in strict justice, although (through a certain condescension [*synchatabasin*]) God promised him by a covenant life under the condition of perfect obedience (which is called meritorious from that covenant in a broader sense because it ought to have been, as it were, the foundation and meritorious cause in view of which God had adjudged life to him).

Neither of congruity.

VIII. In particular, the following arguments disprove merits of congruity. (1) Nothing good can be either thought or done by sinful man not as yet renewed (as has already been fully proved when we treated of free will and effectual calling). (2) Grace which is due is not grace. Now the grace given to us is wholly gratuitous, preceding and anticipating all our acts and dispositions and in reference to which man stands merely passively (as Paul constantly teaches, Rom. 9:16; Eph. 2:3, 5, 9, 10; Tit. 3:5; 1 Cor. 3:3, 5, and has been shown by us in the cited place). (3) Thus man would give something to God first (contrary to Paul, Rom. 11:35) and have something which he had not received (against the same, 1 Cor. 4:7). (4) Enemies and those without God (such as we all are before grace, Eph. 2:11, 12; Tit. 3:3)

can deserve nothing. (5) Either this merit arises from all works or from some only. No one would say from all, nor from some because thus he who would sin in one, would not be guilty of all (contrary to Jam. 2:10).

IX. To no purpose is the saying of Christ "whosoever hath, to him shall be given" (Mt. 13:12) wrested to prove the merit of congruity. There (as we have already observed), the reference is not to gifts of nature, but to those of grace; not to the moral virtues or disposing acts of the unrenewed, but to the increase of true faith according to the grace of election (v. 11). That God is said to be well pleased (*euaresteithai*) with the sacrifices of beneficence (Heb. 13:16) teaches indeed that God is pleased with such victims and gratefully regards them, but by no means that he is regarded by them (as the Vulgate barbarously translates it). Besides, it treats of the works of believers, who are already in grace, not of the acts of the unrenewed. If God did sometimes reward the virtues of the Gentiles or the unrenewed by certain temporal blessings in order to testify how acceptable true righteousness is to him, it does not follow that they deserved such a reward from congruity.

Nor of condignity.

X. As to merits of condignity, the Romanists differ in opinion. Three principal ones are enumerated. The first is that of those who wish the good works of the righteous to be meritorious of eternal life from condignity by reason of the work, even if no divine agreement would exist. Bellarmine ascribes this to Cajetan and Dominic de Soto ("De Justificatione," 5.17 *Opera* [1858], 4:629), which Vasquez, Michael Bayus and many Thomists follow, as Becanus observes (*Summa Theologicae Scholasticae* 2.5.5.1 [1651], p. 510). Another is that of Scotus and his followers, who pretend that good works proceeding from grace are not meritorious from condignity by reason of the work, but only by reason of the divine covenant and acceptance. The third is that of those who, joining the first two opinions, determine works to be meritorious neither simply in themselves, nor only from the covenant, but with respect to the covenant and the work at the same time (which Bellarmine embraces and which he holds to be that of the Council of Trent, although nothing certain can be drawn from it). It is indeed certain that the Council expressly asserted merits. But in this, the sly

cunning of the fathers exercised itself that, conscious of the Scholastic contests concerning the reason and mode of merit, they were still unwilling to decide the pending controversy and employed their usual stilted style that they might in some way or other gain the favor of both the contending parties. “If anyone should say that the good works of a justified person are so the gifts of God, that they are not also the good merits of the one justified, or that the one justified by good works, which are done by him through the grace and merit of Jesus Christ, whose living member he is, does not truly deserve an augmentation of grace, eternal life, and the obtainment of that eternal life, if he dies in grace, and even the increase of glory, let him be accursed” (Session 6, Canon 32, Schroeder, p. 46).

XI. Now although they who embrace the second opinion (acknowledging no merit except from agreement) err less dangerously than others and come nearer the truth, still they cannot be excused. First they greatly abuse words, calling that merit of condignity which in no way deserves that name (if we wish to follow the ordinary method of speaking). For who would say that a work of condignity merited eternal life which by itself is not worthy of so great a reward, but to which that reward is liberally promised above its own worth? Again, this manner of speaking is not only abusive, but also very dangerous (to wit, favoring Pharisaical pride, which affords the occasion of making grievous mistakes in the thing itself—to wit, ascribing too much to our works and not a little diminishing the glory of the divine mercy, which has evidently been the case in the Roman church).

Statement of the question.

XII. But because the more common opinion of the Romanists is that which Bellarmine follows (who builds the merit of works partly on the covenant, partly on the intrinsic worth of work), being about to dispute against this we ought above all things to investigate the state of the question. The question is not (1) Are good works pleasing and acceptable to God and do they obtain from God the reward of life? For this we willingly grant to our opponents, provided a gratuitous and not a due reward is meant. (2) The question is not Is it lawful to work with a view to the reward? For we do not deny that this can be done, a twofold caution being used. First, that it be the view of the reward as a gratuitous boon and not as a due price. Second, that

it be not regarded alone or primarily and principally, but less principally and secondarily after the glory of God (which should be regarded here by us above all things).

XIII. (3) The question is not Do works have any relation to eternal life? And is there any suitableness and proportion between good works and eternal life? For we confess that there is a relation of order and of connection, such as exists between the means and the end, the way and the goal, the contest and the crown, the antecedent and the consequent. Also there is a fitness and proportion as it were between things of the same order, such as between sowing and the harvest, the firstfruits and the mass, the beginning and the completion of a thing. Rather the question is Do they have the relation of a cause properly so called? And is there between them a proportion of equality and of commensuration? This we deny.

XIV. (4) The question is not Ought God by agreement to pay a reward to good works? For we do not deny that God from the time he gave the promise is necessarily bound to fulfill it and thus is made in a certain measure a debtor, not to us, but to himself and his own faithfulness. Rather the question is Do works, from their intrinsic value and worth, merit and obtain the reward promised by God and by the virtue of which they can be said to effect salvation itself? Our opponents affirm; we deny.

XV. Our opponents unfold their meaning thus: "It is more agreeable to the Catholic doctrine that the value and dignity of eternal life should first be ascribed to the works of the just without any agreement and favor" (Vasquez, *Commentariorum ac Disputationum in primam secundae ... Thomae*, Disp. 214.4 [1631], 2:559). And a little after he adds, "The works of the just derive no accession of worth from the merits of Christ or from his person" (ibid.). Bellarmine says: "It is more honoring to have something from merit, than from a gift alone" ("De Justificatione," 5.3 *Opera* [1858], 4:605). He dared to assert that God is a debtor and under obligation to man: "Not from the promise alone but even from our work God is made a debtor" (ibid., 5.17, 18, pp. 629–32, especially p. 631).

Proof that there is no merit of condignity: (1) on the part of God giving life.

XVI. But this proud and Pharisaical doctrine, the Scriptures frequently and severely condemn. (1) On the part of God giving the life, when it calls eternal life the gift of God; not a gift of any kind whatsoever, but a charisma (*charisma*) which is a truly gratuitous gift (*apo tou charizesthai*) and is opposed to a debt (Rom. 4:4). "The wages of sin," says the apostle "is death, but the gift of God is eternal life" (Rom. 6:23). The force of the argument increases from the antithesis of the wages and the gift. For the just relation of the opposition would seem to demand that as he had said "the wages of sin is death," thus on the other hand he would say, "but the wages of righteousness is eternal life." Nor ought he to have spoken otherwise, if he had believed with the Romanists that life is acquired by our merits. But why did the apostle violate the law of antithesis and say in an inverted phrase, "The gift of God is eternal life" unless it was to show that they held the most diverse relations—that life and death are indeed the ultimate end of man, but the condition of each is not equal; that death is acquired by true merit (i.e., by sins), to which from distributive justice death is due. But eternal life is not acquired by righteousness in like manner; it is given to no merit, but is a gratuitous gift, conferred from pure liberality. This Augustine well remarks: "Since he could have said, the wages of righteousness is eternal life, he preferred to say, By grace is eternal life, that we might hence understand, that God brings us to eternal life not for our merits but by his compassion" (*On Grace and Free Will* 21 [9] [NPNF1, 5:452; PL 44.893]). The same is the teaching of those various passages where salvation is said to be from mercy: "Who crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercy" (Ps. 103:4); "By grace are ye saved" (Eph. 2:8, 9); "According to his mercy he saved us" (Tit. 3:5). For since mercy is free and undue, if salvation is of mercy, it cannot be from our merits.

XVII. To no purpose is it replied that eternal life is said to be grace, not because it is not of the reward of merit, but because the merits themselves are of grace. These are incompatible (*asystata*): to give a thing from grace and to give it from merit. For merit makes a thing due, while grace supposes it undue. Therefore whatever is given from grace cannot be given from merit, otherwise grace would not be grace. Bellarmine himself does not deny this when he says in weighing merit and assigning the due reward, a certain commutative justice is exercised (i.e., that in which beyond all

consideration of persons a due equality according to quality is preserved in giving and receiving); cf. “De Justificatione,” 5.14, ibid., pp. 623–26.

2. On the part of Christ.

XVIII. (2) On the part of Christ meriting. Christ most fully merited life and salvation for us; hence there can be no room for our merits (Acts 20:28; Heb. 9:12; Acts 4:12). The reason of the consequence is drawn from various sources. (a) The theandric (*theandrikai*) and redemptive actions (such as his is) are so proper to Christ, as to be plainly incapable of being shared (*akoinōnētoi*) with others because they belong to the duty demanded of him alone. (b) What is by itself and immediately most sufficient for the acquisition of any right has no need of the connection of another thing in order to the acquisition of it. Now that such is the merit of Christ, no one can deny. (c) This openly derogates from the merits of Christ. For since to merit is to obtain a right which was not possessed before, if men ought to merit life by their works, it follows that before their merits they had no right to it and thus Christ did not perfectly merit it (which cannot be said without blasphemy). He confesses that celestial goods do not belong to him who wishes to obtain them by his own merits. He rejects the title of heir who wishes to be a buyer.

XIX. I know that it is objected here: (1) that our merits are not to be opposed to the merits of Christ; since they spring from them and whatever praise they have, the whole of it redounds to the praise of the merits of Christ. Nor are our merits required on account of the insufficiency of Christ’s merits, but on account of their greatest efficacy, since he obtained this from God that we might be able of ourselves to obtain life by our own merits (as because God uses the sun to light the world, there is not any imbecility in God, but his omnipotence, who could not only do this by himself, but also give to a created thing the power to do it). We answer: But these things are gratuitous inventions. For our merits cannot be laid side by side with the merits of Christ, neither as associated causes (in which there is not the dependence of the one upon the other, as they maintain there is between Christ’s merit and ours and which produce the effect partially, not totally—which cannot be said of Christ, who is not only the author, but also the finisher of salvation); nor as subaltern and subordinate causes because

merit of itself does not indicate a relation to another merit, but rather a respect to a reward. (2) It is absurd (*asystaton*) to say that our merits arise from the merits of Christ because as it cannot be said another redemption is bom of the redemption of Christ; so neither is another merit generated from his merit; and as Christ did not produce other christs secondarily, so neither did his merit produce other secondary merits. (3) Most falsely also is Christ said to have merited the power of meriting because thus Christ would not have merited immediately beatitude itself, but only mediately (contrary to the Scriptures, Jn. 10:28; Heb. 9:15). Again, if the merit of Christ is most sufficient of itself, why is there need to patch it up with human merits? For what can be done by fewer ought not to be done by more; nor can a place be granted for new merits where the merits of Christ have fully acquired the right we seek. (4) The simile of the sun is wholly dissimilar. It is one thing to speak of efficient causes, which have a mutual subordination; another to speak of meritorious causes, which can suffer no such subordination; one thing to speak of the order of nature, in which God willed to institute such a concatenation between the first and second causes; another of the order of grace, in which he wished Christ alone to be the unique and singular cause of our salvation (Acts 4:12).

3. On the part of believers.

XX. (3) On the part of believers who, since they are the servants of God, can do nothing which they do not owe; on that very account they cannot merit anything. The words of Christ are express: "When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do" (Lk. 17:10). Here there are as many weighty reasons as there are words. (a) Christ speaks hypothetically and by way of concession (*synchōrētikōs*), "When ye shall have done," not that there is anyone who can fulfill the law, since in many things we offend all (Jam. 3:2), but even granting there is one, still he would be an unprofitable servant (as Cajetan, Jansen and Stella explain it), (b) Christ does not mean that they thus speak only through humility and modesty (although it is not really true), for he does not wish us to be so humble as to lie, but from the truth of the thing and a sense of our own infirmity, which the reason added by Christ (that they did what was their

duty to do) sufficiently evinces. (c) Christ does not speak here of a servant who is a simple mercenary, serving his master for stipulated wages, and to whom after his work is done pay is due; but one who is a slave, who belongs wholly to his master, so that he is bound to give to him his labor entirely and assiduously (such as were the Roman and Jewish slaves of that time, as Bellarmine, Salmeron and Barradas understand it). (d) They are called "unprofitable servants," not only such as they are of themselves or in a state of nature, but such as they are in a state of grace because the apostle addresses those who are supposed to do those things which no one can do of himself. (e) He calls them not only useless to God (who does not need our service [Ps. 50:12] and to whom our good does not reach [Ps. 16:2]), but also useless to themselves (as Maldonatus and Alphonsus de Castro explain it). Since therefore it is here treated concerning God (who owes nothing to his servants), and concerning men, who (as slaves) can merit nothing from their master, and concerning works which are due, it is incontestably proved that there can be no merit with God.

XXI. Although Bellarmine turns himself in all directions to escape the force of these arguments, he is at last forced to take refuge in Augustine's explication of the words of our Lord. He evidently agrees with us when he says, "We can be called unprofitable servants, when we have kept all the divine commands, since we do nothing beyond what we ought and can seek no just reward thence" (Ser. 3 de verbis Dom.+). This strangles our opponent completely. Nor does what he adds afterwards remove the difficulty, "Unless God had willed to enter into a liberal covenant with us; for we are in our condition the slaves of God and if he willed, he could oblige us without any reward to whatsoever works he pleased." For the gratuitous covenant (which he condescended to make with us) does indeed make God a debtor to his own faithfulness for the fulfillment of his promise; but not that anything is due to our works as if they were meritorious, since he crowns his gifts in us, not our merits.

4. On the part of works.

XXII. (4) On the part of the works. Since these are destitute of the conditions of true merit (as we have said before), they cannot merit anything, not only because they are due and not ours, but also because they

are imperfect and finite, having no proportion to eternal glory (which Paul testifies when he says, "The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us," Rom. 8:18). "Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory" (2 Cor. 4:17). Here the apostle expressly professes that afflictions are not worthy (or as the Vulgate has it *condignas*). Now if the afflictions which we suffer for Christ's sake (which belong to a far more noble virtue) are not condign, how much less the actions? And if there is no condignity, where then is the merit of condignity? The apostle demonstrates this more clearly by the comparison instituted, when he opposes momentary affliction, or its shortness (*to parautika*) to the eternity of glory, for "weight of glory" (*to baros doxēs*, 2 Cor. 4:17) he puts for "exceedingly heavy glory" (*doxan bareian kath' hyperbolēn*) (to wit, excellent above measure and solid and true, where he alludes to the word *kbhvdh*, which signifies "glory," not that which weighs down, but that which is solid and permanent). Nor can it be said here that the apostle speaks of the substance of works, not of the absolute proportion which can intervene on account of the worth of love, whence they proceed (as the sufferings of Christ, although temporal, had a proportion to glory on account of the dignity of the person; and the temporal delights of sinners are most worthy of eternal punishment). It is taken for granted that Paul speaks only of the substance of works and not of their absolute proportion. Nay, he could not have spoken of their condignity without speaking of their proportion, nor can the worth of love bring with it any merit, since the whole of it however great it may be (as being due) is not meritorious. The simile of the sufferings of Christ is clearly no simile at all, for the infinity of his person gives an infinite worth to his sufferings, although finite in themselves. But our works can have no meritorious worth either as to substance or as to mode. The sins of the wicked are also rightly said to deserve an infinite punishment on account of the infinity of the offended majesty; but our works have nothing meriting glory either in whole or in part.

5. On the part of eternal life or glory.

XXIII. (5) On the part of eternal life or glory. It is called "an inheritance" (which does not fall under merit), but depends upon the gratuitous adoption of God. If good works are required for entering upon this inheritance, it does not follow that they merit the inheritance. The inheritance is one thing, the addition of the inheritance another; eternal life one thing, its possession another; as the right to the promised land was one thing, the actual introduction to it another. That was bestowed upon them in the title of the inheritance from the grace of God alone; but they could not be put in possession of the land until the Canaanites were driven out. Thus the right to life is given to us by God from adoption, but it cannot be entered into and obtained by the way of good works. Therefore the causes of the inheritance must be distinguished from its conditions: works are conditions, but not merits. If eternal life is elsewhere said to be a reward, it does not follow that it is acquired by merits because it is known that a reward from debt differs from a reward from grace, such as is this of ours. Hence Paul calls glory "the reward of the inheritance" (Col. 3:24), i.e., the reward which is an inheritance and so merely gratuitous.

Sources of explanation.

XXIV. From a reward to merit, the consequence does not hold good. One reward is of debt; another of grace (Rom. 4:4). As Ambrose remarks, one of liberality and of grace; another the due wages of virtue and the remuneration of labor ("To Justus" [FC 26:105–15]). Life is promised to works as a reward, but as a gratuitous and undue reward (which is the gift of God, Rom. 6:23) and an inheritance (as has been said) obtained not by the right of merit, but by the privilege of sonship—however, the exercise of good works coming in as a necessary condition. On this account, it is proposed as wages and a reward in order to excite believers to diligence, not to foster pride; but this gratuitous reward (which follows our labors) no more proves merit than the buying in the prophet proves a price and money (Is. 55:1, 2). Hence what is called *misthos* (Mt. 5:46; 6:1) is elsewhere called *charis* (Lk. 6:32); and children (or the fruit of the womb) are called a reward, who nevertheless are the gift of God (Ps. 127:3).

XXV. Strict justice of equality, which has reference exactly to the equality of a work, differs from the justice of faithfulness tempered by

mercy, which regards the truth of the divine promise and the covenant which God condescended to make with us. God presents life to our works from the justice of faithfulness, by which he is faithful and true in fulfilling his promises; but not from the justice of equality, as regarding the merit of the work (which Durand acknowledges, *Sententias theologicas Petri Lombardi Commentariorum*, Bk. 2, Dist. 27, Q. 2 [1556], pp. 152–53). This is so not because it is just to pay the due reward to our merits, but because it is just for God to stand to his promises and not suffer the death of Christ to be made void.

XXVI. God will give "according to works" (*kata ta erga*), not "on account of" (*dia*), to denote the proportion of quality, not of equality—that it may be well with the good, evil to the wicked, as it is explained in Rev. 22:12: "I will give to every man according as his work shall be" (*hōs to ergon autou estai*). Yet that the work will not be commensurate with the promised reward by condignity. Gregory the Great observes this: "It is one thing to give according to works; another on account of them. For in this expression 'according to works,' the very quality of the works is understood, so that his retribution is glorious whose works have appeared to be good" ("Psalm 7.11," *In Septem Psalmos Poenitentiales* [PL 79.651]).

XXVII. The causal particles *gar* and *dia* ascribed to good works (Mt. 25:35; Rev. 7:15) are not causal, but ratiocinative (as often elsewhere: Mt. 16:2, 3; Jn. 16:27; 1 Cor. 10:5). These point out the cause of the consequence, not of the consequent; the marks of those who will be saved and the testimony of faith and eternal election, but not the meritorious cause of salvation. Thus they are the arguments and proofs *a posteriori* of the just sentence in the absolution of believers, not causes and foundations *a priori*. For the elect are said to receive the kingdom "prepared from eternity" by the grace of God, not secured in time by the merit of works, so that they possess it by "the title" of "inheritance," as "sons blessed of the Father," not as servants who have made themselves worthy of such a reward by their own works.

XXVIII. Worth of person differs from worth of a work. Believers are said to be worthy, but not their works. (2) One dignity is said to be proper, founded upon a person's own works, another depends upon the worthiness and acceptance of another. The worth of perfection and of merit (everywhere denied to works) differs from the worth of aptitude and of

fitness, according to which believers are said to be worthy of the kingdom of heaven (Mt. 10:11; 2 Thess. 1:5; Rev. 3:4), i.e., fit and suitably disposed to possess it. Thus the word *axios* is often used (as in Mt. 3:8; Acts 26:20). Therefore, they are worthy, not from the internal worth of their works, but from the divine estimation of them. This makes them worthy from unworthy (Col. 1:12) by reason of the white robe of Christ's righteousness, with which they are clad (Gal. 3:27), and of the divine adoption, not by reason of inherent righteousness, which is perfect in no one in this life. The apostle does not mean anything else when he says that the pious are counted worthy (*kataxiōthēnai*) of the kingdom of God, not by their own merits, but by the grace of God in Christ (2 Thess. 1:5). For his grace is all our sufficiency (*hikanotēs*) and worth (*axia*). Hence *kataxiousthai* in Scripture is sometimes the same as *charisthēnai* (Acts 5:41; Phil. 1:29). Salmeron holds that "we are said to be worthy where the inheritance is given to no merit of ours" ("Disputationes in Epistolam Pauli ad Colossenes," Disp. II, *Comentarii in evangelicam historiam et in Acta Apostolorum* [1602–4], 15:321).

XXIX. It is one thing for good works to please and delight God (which we acknowledge); another for good works to appease him and to obtain from him something by way of merit. The former is declared when Paul says, God is well pleased (*euaresteisthai*) with the sacrifices of beneficence (Heb. 13:16), i.e., delights in and gratefully receives them; not, however, the latter as the Vulgate barbarously translates it by *promereri*. So "the reasonable service" (*thusia euarestos*, Rom. 12:1) is one which is acceptable to God; and Enoch is said "to have pleased God" (*euarestēkenai tō theō*, Heb. 11:5) as the Vulgate itself has it.

XXX. Although life is rendered to good works no less than death to evil works, still it is not in the same manner that good works have the same causality with respect to salvation as evil have in respect to condemnation. The evil deserve damnation of themselves as undue and ours, but the good do not equally deserve salvation, since they are due (not ours) and imperfect. Besides any transgression of the law subjects a man to the divine malediction; but in meritorious works a perfection of all kinds both of parts and of degrees is required, for more things are required for the constitution than for the destruction of a thing.

XXXI. A promise makes the thing promised due, yet not from the worth of the work, but from the fidelity of the promiser. (2) Not every promise under the condition of a work implies merit, but only if it is the condition of an undue work and has a just proportion to the reward, which cannot be the case with our works. Augustine says, "The Lord made himself a debtor to us, not by receiving anything from us, but by promising all things" (*Ennaratio in Psalmum CIX** 1 [PL 37.1445]).

XXXII. Since respect of persons (*prosōpolēpsia*) has place only in debts and in judicial matters, not in gratuities, he cannot be called a respecter of persons (*prosōpolēptēs*) who gives a reward without merits and who gives greater rewards to lesser works. Otherwise the householder would truly have been a respecter of persons who gave those laboring a shorter time in the vineyard the same pay with others who had labored through the whole day (Mt. 20:1–16).

XXXIII. The word *katergazesthai* (used by Paul in 2 Cor. 4:17, speaking of the relation of afflictions to glory) does not properly denote efficiency and merit, but the way and the means, inasmuch as glory follows and obtains momentary affliction; as with the Greeks it is often the same as *kratēsai* ("to possess and to obtain"). The law is said "to work wrath" (*katergazesthai*, Rom. 4:15), not because it deserves or properly effects it, but because it follows the law accidentally on account of man's transgression of it (Phil. 2:12). The same word denotes the desire to promote sanctification and by it to receive and obtain, but not to deserve salvation.

XXXIV. Nothing in favor of merit can be elicited from the passage of Paul (2 Tim. 4:8). (1) Not from "the crown of righteousness," by which he designates glory. This can be understood of "the righteousness of God" because life is given from a promise and it is a part of righteousness to stand by promises. Bernard sets it forth at the end of his book on grace and free will: "It is just that he should render what he owes, but he owes what he has promised, and this is the righteousness of which the apostle speaks—the promise of God" (*Tractatus de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio* 14.51 [PL 182.1029]). If it be referred to the righteousness of man, it is not so much to the righteousness of the person as of the cause (for which the contest is engaged in); not to legal righteousness (which Paul everywhere excludes), but to evangelical righteousness (which sets aside all merit). Thus he

alludes to the crowns given to victors, whether in war or in the games (which supposed indeed the necessity of a contest as the antecedent condition; but not as the cause properly so called or merit). Nay, these crowns were called "donatory" because they were given rather according to promise than from the performance. (2) Not from this—that God is called "the righteous Judge" (*dikaios kritēs*). He is not a legal Judge who cannot give a crown of righteousness, except on account of an absolutely perfect running and contest corresponding exactly with the strict justice (*tō akribodikaiō*) of the law (which is given to no one in this life). But he is an evangelical Judge, who enters into judgment not with mercenaries, but with sons; not according to strict justice (*kata to akribodikaion*), but according to forbearance (*kat' epieikeian*). Nor does he freely crown our merits, but his own gifts, gratuitously given. Now it is one thing to give a crown according to the righteousness of veracity and of goodness according to a promise (by which he is veracious and faithful); another to give it according to the righteousness of obligation and debt (by which he is bound from the performance of men). (3) Not from the verb *apodounai* because (as is well known) it is often used for the simple *dounai* (Mt. 27:58; Lk. 4:20; 9:42; Acts 4:33 and elsewhere). However Paul here employs this verb rather than the simple verb, not on account of a proportion of equality existing between the work and the reward; but on account of the twofold relation (*schesin*) to the promiser and the worker because the reward is given both after the promise and after the past work. But because the promise is absolutely gratuitous and undue and the work due, finite and imperfect (the reward infinite and eternal), *to apodounai* cannot designate the merit or worth of the work.

XXXV. To the passages of the fathers which our opponents are accustomed to use, these answers in general can be given. (1) To no purpose are those passages adduced in which mention is made of beatitude as the crown, reward and pay, in which they testify that God will render to each man according to his works because we have already said that this does not imply merit. (2) Merit with them is often a consecution and obtainment of any thing, even of a thing gratuitous and undue. Bellarmine himself acknowledges this when he confesses that Augustine calls merit any good act on account of which we receive something else ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 1.14 *Opera* [1858], 4:295–97). (3) That they are accustomed to

call prior grace the merit of later and the later the reward of the prior, not on account of any relation of true merit, but on account of that order which God instituted and by which he wished that graces should follow themselves and succeed each other in turn. (4) If certain more difficult expressions are met with when they speak rhetorically and declamatorily that men may be the more effectually incited to the desire of good works, they are to be explained by other passages in which, treating this argument dogmatically and professedly, they confess that no merit can be granted towards God and that all things are received from him gratuitously.

XXXVI. Innumerable passages could be brought together here from which this is evident. But it will be sufficient to quote only a few out of the many. Chrysostom, although often too prone to launch out into the praise of the strength of nature, was still far from an opinion of merit. "The apostle saying the wages of sin is death, has not preserved the same order about good things, since he does not say, the reward of our works, but the gift of God, showing that not by themselves are they freed, nor do they receive a debt, nor a compensation and wages of labor, but that all is done by grace" ("Homily 12," *Epistle to the Romans* [NPNF1, 11:417; PG 60.496] on Rom. 6:23). "Why does he call it an inheritance? Showing that no one obtains the kingdom by his good and rightly performed actions.… For no one has proved that he has thus regulated his life as to be thought worthy of the kingdom, but whatever that is, it is his gift. Moreover he said, when ye shall have done all things, say, we are unprofitable servants, for we have done what we ought to have done" ("Homily 2," *Homilies on Colossians* [NPNF1, 13:266; PG 62.312] on Col. 1:12). Jerome says, "Then we are righteous when we confess that we are sinners, and that our righteousness consists not in our own merit, but in the mercy of God" (*Against the Pelagians* 1.13 [FC 53:247; PL 23.527]). Augustine says, "Christ alone underwent punishment for us without evil merit that we through him might obtain undue grace without good merit" (*Against Two Letters of the Pelagians* 4.4 [6] [NPNF1, 5:419; PL 44.613]). And: "He preferred to say, the gift of God is eternal life, that we might understand that God brings us unto eternal life not on account of our merit, but through his own mercy" (*On Grace and Free Will* 21 [9] [NPNF1, 5:452; PL 44.893]). And: "Sins are thine, merits are God's, and when the reward shall have come, he will crown his gifts, not thy merits" (Psalm 70 [71] [NPNF1, 8:324; PL

36.895]). Bernard says, “My merit, therefore, is the compassion of God, I am not wholly destitute of merit, as long as he has compassion” (“Sermon 61 [5],” *Song of Solomon* [trans. S.J. Eales, 1984 repr.], p. 368; PL 183.1073). The Council of Orange says, “God loves us such as we will be by his gift, not such as we are by our merit” (Canon 12, Hefele, 4:159).

XXXVII. Nay, in the very church of Rome itself not a few passages are found which are opposed to merit, as when the church says, “From no action of ours do we have confidence” (“Collect for Sexagesima Sunday,” *The Roman Sunday Missal for America* [1933], p. 127); and “Receive not as in an estimator of merit, but as a bestower of pardon” (*The Roman Sunday Missal for America* [1933], p. 513). Pope Adrian says he rests upon a broken reed and a wounded hand who trusts in his own righteousness. Vega (following Thomas Waldensis) says, “He is a sounder theologian, a truer Catholic, and agreeing more with the sacred Scriptures, who simply excludes merits” (Opusculum 4, “De Meritis in Generali,” *De Iustifications Doctrina Universa* [1572/1964], 2:782). Hence Bellarmine (“De Justificatione,” 5.7 [prop. 3] *Opera* [1858], 4:615) and after him Tirinus (*Theologicae elenchticae ... controversiarum fidei*, Cont. 16, number 12 [1648], p. 389) return to this at length after all their labor, so as to say, “On account of the uncertainty of our own righteousness and the danger of vain glory, it is safest to rely upon the mercy of God alone and in his kindness.” Now if this is said truly (as it is altogether most true), why do they not (being about to withdraw themselves from the danger of vain glory) lay aside wholly that Pharisaical opinion concerning merit that they may with Paul seek the only righteousness which is by faith in Christ (Phil. 3:9)? Why do they not, the word and doctrine of merit being cast aside, suffer us to rely upon Christ’s merit alone and place our confidence in God’s mercy alone, if this is the safest course? But we have determined to follow what is the safest.

XXXVIII. Here belong the public formulas for consoling the sick and troubled used in the church of Rome which clearly confirm our doctrine concerning the obtainment of salvation, not from works, but from the mercy of God alone. Among these that one ascribed to Anselm is remarkable. For among the questions which he prescribes for the weak and dying is this final one: “Do you believe that you cannot be saved except by the death of Christ?” The sick man answers, “I do.” Then it is said to him, “Come then,

while breath remains in you, have confidence in no other thing; trust yourself wholly to this death, cover yourself entirely with this alone.… And if the Lord God would wish to judge you; say, O Lord, I place the death of our Lord Jesus Christ between thee and between me and thy judgment" (cf. St. Victor of Paris, *Consuetudines* 67, 11. 71–75 [Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medaevalis 61:260]). The Ordo Baptizandi+, published at Venice in the year 1575, can also be consulted and the *Preceptorium* (1501) of Nicholas of Lyra put forth at Cologne (1499) where many other things of the same kind can be found.

Question concerning aureolas.

XXXIX. From what has been said it can easily be inferred what we must determine on the question concerning aureolas agitated here by the Romanists. Are there "halos of glory" in heaven assigned to certain ones above others; for instance to virgins, teachers and martyrs? This is the opinion of Thomas Aquinas and of the Scholastics. By aureola, they mean a joy arising from works which have relation to a certain surpassing victory and which is an accidental reward added to the essential gold or reward (i.e., to the joy with which anyone rejoices in his union with God). They seek a foundation for it in the relation of the fight to the crown for the crown is due to the contest. Therefore, where there is a special reason of the contest, there is a special crown, which is called an aureola. And since the reward ought to correspond with the merit, some excellence in the reward ought to answer to the excellency of the merit and this is called an aureola.

XL. But the folly of this figment is evident: (1) from all the arguments by which we have destroyed merit universally—for what is denied of a whole class is also denied of all its species. And if man cannot do what he ought (as was said before), how could he merit anything beyond the common reward? (2) Rashly and gratuitously is this asserted without any support from the Scriptures. And who constituted these seraphic doctors distributors of eternal rewards? Or where did they learn that aureolas are to be expected by virgins, martyrs and teachers?

XLI. Although a crown is promised to the strife and victory, it does not follow that it is due to it from merit (as has been said), but from grace. The contest is not only due, imperfect and unequal to the crown, but wholly

from grace. As therefore every battle is fought by grace, thus also the special battle is fought from special grace. Hence to fight such a contest is not a proof of greater merit, but of greater grace. And because more is given from God to one thus contending, he is more indebted to God, not God to him.

XLII. Although different degrees of glory are recognized, so that God from grace will reward the labors and suffering of the pious not only with temporal but also with celestial rewards, still nothing can be gathered thence in favor of aureolas because glory as well as all degrees of it are wholly gifts of grace and the pure charisma (*charisma*) of God (which is incompatible [*asystaton*] with merit).

XLIII. The promise which is given to him that overcometh of the hidden manna and the white stone (Rev. 2:17), so refers to the martyrs as to pertain no less to all believers, who have a continual contest with the Devil, the world and sin. If such a reward is promised to him that overcometh, it does not follow that it is due to his merit. What is said of teachers "who shall turn many to righteousness that they shall shine as the stars" (Dan. 12:3), can indeed teach that there are different degrees of glory, but not that this difference will arise from a different proportion of merit. Nay, since whatever virtue was in them was entirely from grace, it cannot be meritorious.

XLIV. The "virgins" (alluded to in Rev. 14:4) are not proper, but metaphorical (i.e., true believers), who as "a chaste virgin" (2 Cor. 11:2) ought to keep their faith with Christ (their spouse) inviolate, worshipping God purely, without any guilt of idolatry (which is spiritual fornication and adultery), who are on this account opposed to Babylon, the mother of harlots and her followers, who commit fornication with her. However, it is clear that this pertains not only to the single but also to the married.

XLV. The "great reward" promised to those who suffer persecution (Mt. 5:12) denotes indeed the excellency of the reward promised, but as it is promised gratuitously, it is to be given so gratuitously as not to be rendered to any merit of their own. And it is said to be such not relatively to the small and lesser reward of others; but in comparison with the small and few works done by those to whom that reward is to be given because the reward is truly great and most abundant in comparison with the small labor. For our

sufferings are not to be compared in worth with the glory to be revealed (Rom. 8:18).

We have now said enough on this subject. God grant that, dismissing a vain confidence in our own merit, we may rest in the most perfect merit of Christ alone and so keep faithful to him and fight the good fight even unto the end that we may receive a crown of righteousness; due not to our merit, but most graciously promised to us from the heavenly rewarder. To him, the author and finisher (*archēgō kai teleiōtē*) of our salvation, the one and triune God, "from whom, by whom and to whom are all things, be praise and glory world without end." Amen.

FRANCIS TURRETIN

INSTITUTES of ELENCTIC THEOLOGY

Translated by

George Musgrave Giger

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EIGHTEENTH TOPIC

THE CHURCH

FIRST QUESTION

The necessity of the discussion concerning the church, and whether the knowledge of the church ought to precede the knowledge of doctrine

The necessity of the treatise on the church is proved.

I. Since the treatise concerning all the articles of faith is the most useful and of the highest importance, yet scarcely any other among the controversies waged between us and our opponents in this miserable age (most fruitful in disputations) seems to be of greater moment and more necessary than the disputation concerning the church. This we now take up under the divine blessing.

II. For although the controversies concerning the church are not among the first (which occasioned our secession from the Roman church), but only among the secondary (which sprung from the others); inasmuch as the Romanists (distrusting the goodness of their cause in other heads of doctrine) have betaken themselves to the authority of the church that they might be the more safely concealed under her shield, still in the progress of time they have become the principal matter in which our opponents seem to place the strength of their cause. Hence a manifold necessity of this discussion arises, whether it is considered absolutely and in itself or in relation to our opponents.

III. First, the church is the primary work of the holy Trinity, the object of Christ's mediation and the subject of the application of his benefits. For he came into the world and performed the mediatorial office for no other

reason than to acquire a church for himself and call it (when acquired) into a participation of grace and glory. Hence the offices and benefits of Christ having been explained, the order demands that we discuss the church, to which alone they are destined and come to be applied. Second, since there is no salvation out of the church (no more than out of the ark; nor does anyone have God as his Father in heaven whose church is not his mother on earth), nothing ought to be dearer to our hearts than that this mother may be known (in whose bosom God has willed us to be educated and to be nourished). It behooves us to be directed by her care until we grow up and arrive at the goal of faith. Also it behooves us to know what assembly is that true church with which (according to the command of God) we are bound to connect ourselves that we may obtain salvation (Acts 2:47). Third, this doctrine is put among the primary articles of faith in the Creed (to the knowledge and belief of which we are bound).

IV. Fourth, the sacred name of church (which we profess in the Creed) all arrogate to themselves with great zeal, but not with equal truth. For the Jews, formerly boasting that they were the true church of God and the children of Abraham, still imitated nothing less than his faith (whom on this account John calls a generation of vipers and Christ the children of the Devil), as also heretics claimed the name of church for themselves. Hence Tertullian says, "The wasps also make honeycombs, the Marcionites also make churches" (*Against Marcion* 4.5 [ANF 3:350; PL 2.367]). Cyprian says, "The Devil has invented a new fraud, that under a false title of the Christian name he may deceive the unwary" (*On the Unity of the Church* 3 [ANF 5:422; PL 4.512]). And Leo says, "They are armed with the name of the church and they fight against the church" (Letter 124, "To the Monks of Palestine," 8 [NPNF2, 12:95; PL 54.1068]). Thus this day the Romanists (although they are anything but the true church of Christ) still boast of their having alone the name of church and do not blush to display the standard of that which they oppose. In this manner, hiding themselves under the specious title of the antiquity and infallibility of the Catholic church, they think they can, as with one blow, beat down and settle the controversy waged against them concerning the various most destructive errors introduced into the heavenly doctrine.

V. Nothing can be more unfair than this method of acting because the very thing in question is imposed upon us as the principle of faith to be

believed. For since the church of Rome is asked concerning itself whether it is a church of Christ (the head and mistress of the rest), they think they settle the whole matter if they obtrude in place of an indisputable principle (*anamphisbētētou*) what is in the highest degree disputable (*amphisbētoumenon*). And that they may not be convicted of error, they impudently vociferate with those scribes in Jeremiah (8:8) that the church is infallible, and is with them, and that they alone are wise. Thus in the definition of the church (from which fountain they draw their positions with the insane fraud of the false apostles) "they, measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves among themselves, are not wise" (*autoi en heautois heautous metrountes kai synkrinontes heautous heautois, ou sēniousi*, 2 Cor. 10:12). And as if the matter was settled, they condemn as schismatics and heretics all those who withdraw themselves from obedience to that church, which they cover with treacherous fraud. Nor without reason are they obstinate on this point, who wish to appear sometimes more liberal in others. Believe as you please, they say, provided that you subject yourself to the church and give yourself captive to her faith. For sagacious men knew that they would immediately receive those things which before they seemed to have yielded up, if once for all they subjected their minds to the dictation and authority of their church.

VI. The arts of our opponents impose upon us the necessity of this disputation that we may distinguish the real face of the church from its counterfeit; nor suffer ourselves to be deceived by those specious and splendid names (destitute of truth) which they are accustomed to repeat with perpetual crowing and great clamor, that they may be considered the sole heirs—others being driven from that possession. Like the Jews, boasting that they were the people of God and reiterating the temple of the Lord, persecuted the prophets, the pious servants of God, and with rage cast out and cruelly treated the Lord of the vineyard himself.

Ought the knowledge of the church to precede the knowledge of faith?

VII. Now although the knowledge of the church is especially necessary to us, still it must not be supposed that it ought to precede the examination and

knowledge of doctrine, so that faith or doctrine ought to be known from the church rather than the church from the doctrine and faith. Cardinal Perron too confidently maintained this, arguing that faith ought to be known from the church, rather than the church from faith; and that we can be secure concerning faith provided we are in the church (*Reply of the ... Cardinall of Perron to the Answeare of the ... King of Great Britaine* 1.4, 5 [1630/1975], pp. 23–32). Nor did the author of the book *de praejudi*.+ mean anything else, who in his preface laboriously strives to prove that in order to distinguish between the sects of Christians (i.e., which is the true, to which we ought to join ourselves) we must follow the way of the authority of the church and not the way of discussion and examination of doctrine. For the latter is long, uncertain and dangerous, but the former short and indubitable. From this prejudice, we who are unwilling to follow the first way by submitting ourselves in blind obedience to the Roman church can be justly condemned—even unheard; as if what is not known can be condemned or what is not examined can be known.

The negative is proved: (1) from the Scriptures.

VIII. But the falsehood of this comment is readily exposed by various considerations. (1) By Scripture itself, which is wont to premise the examination of faith and doctrine to the knowledge and communion of the church. Christ, sending the apostles to gather the church, supposes the necessity of a preceding instruction and knowledge of doctrine: "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them" (Mt. 28:19); they were added to the church who had been taught before by the apostles (Acts 2:41); the Samaritans who believed were baptized (Acts 8:12). Therefore as in adults faith ought to precede baptism (which is the entrance into the church), so examination of faith and knowledge ought to precede knowledge of the church.

2. From the nature of the thing itself.

IX. (2) From the nature of the thing. Now a unified society (group) supposes some necessary principle in which the members themselves are united. The unity of the church supposes a preceding unity of faith in which believers are joined. As in the state, which is the gathering of citizens, it is

necessary to have the right of citizenship before communion of the citizens in the republic; and in the family, which is a society of brethren begotten from the same father, it is necessary to suppose birth from the father before the communion of brothers; so the church is a city and family of God, into which no one is admitted without faith; the necessity of faith precedes communion, constituted by it. We have to desire to apply ourselves to other things in the church before we have faith and knowledge of the truth; to desire to be in the family of God before we are begotten from it; before we have the right of citizenship to be admitted into the republic and to know its nature—such is the doctrine respecting the church (Eph. 2:20).

3. From the fathers.

X. (3) From the sayings of the fathers. Jerome says, "The church does not consist in buildings, but in true doctrine. The church is where true faith is" (*Breviarium in Psalmos* [PL 26.1296] on Ps. 133). Ambrose says, "Therefore the faith of the church is commanded to be sought first of all, in which if Christ dwells, it is undoubtedly to be chosen, but if a faithless people or a heretical teacher deforms the habitation, the communion of heretics should be shunned and the synagogue avoided" (*Expositionis in Lucam* 6.68 [PL 15.1772] on Lk. 9:5). Augustine says, "Let us not hear, I say this, you say that; but the Lord says this. There are surely books of our Lord, whose authority we both assent to, believe and observe. There let us seek the church; there let us examine our cause" (*Ad Catholicas ... Contra Donatistas: De Unitate Ecclesiae* 1*.3.5 [PL 43.394]). And: "Among us and the Donatists the question is, where is the church? What, therefore, are we to do? In our words must it be sought? Or in the words of its Head, our Lord Jesus Christ? I think we ought to seek it in the words of him who is the truth and best knows his own body" (ibid., 1.2.2 [PL 43.392]). He discusses the same thing elsewhere (ibid., 1.16 [PL 43.421–24]). Nor can it be said with Perron that Augustine does not speak of an examination of doctrine, but speaks of an investigation of the external marks by which the church may be known. The opposite is evident to every reader. Again, if the marks of the church ought to be sought in the Scriptures, how much more the doctrine itself, which is far more necessary?

4. From reason.

XI. (4) From reason. The authority of the church cannot be admitted unless a twofold examination has been made. (a) Did God wish any such infallible authority to be given to the church to which believers must be subjected (*anexetastōs*) absolutely and without inquiry? For how can we be affected by such authority unless we are persuaded that it has been given? (b) If such authority is granted, does it belong to the church of Rome? For to no purpose will I be certain of the infallible authority of the church *in thesi*, unless *in hypothesi* I believe that the church of Rome is such. Now neither can be known unless the knowledge of the word of God is previously supposed (from which the knowledge of both ought to be drawn).

XII. (5) It is gratuitously supposed that the way of authority is far shorter and easier than the way of examination. On the contrary, it is clearly much longer, more difficult and more uncertain. For the way of examination (which is founded on the authority of God's word) rests upon this twofold hypothesis: (a) whatever God teaches us is true; (b) whatever the Scripture reveals to us is the word of God. This twofold hypothesis is acknowledged among Christians. The way of authority (which thrusts forward the authority and infallibility of the church as the rule of faith) also rests upon a double hypothesis, but far more obscure and uncertain; nay, most false—assuredly that an infallible visible church is granted upon earth which teaches nothing but the truth and that church is none other than the Roman. To examine both of these, there is need of a long train of arguments and an accurate examination of histories, since it supposes the truth of antiquity and of an uninterrupted succession. This cannot be ascertained without reading the whole of ecclesiastical history, councils and the fathers—a thing of immense labor (which very few of the learned can scarcely attain with diligent study; much less can it be perceived by the unlearned and the common people).

Sources of explanation.

XIII. Although an examination of faith and doctrine could not be made without study and labor, it does not follow that it is impossible or dangerous to the ignorant and uninstructed. It is not treated of a distinct examination

and knowledge of all the doctrines which can come into controversy and are accustomed to be agitated in the schools, but only of the doctrines necessary to salvation. These are contained in Scripture with sufficient clearness so as to be perceived by any believers furnished with the spirit of discretion. Hence Paul appeals to the judgment of believers and orders them to prove all things and to hold fast what is good (1 Thess. 5:21). John wishes believers to try the spirits whether they are of God (1 Jn. 4:1). Surely this could not be said if this examination were either impossible or dangerous to them.

XIV. Whatever difficulty occurs in the way of the examination of doctrine is no less in the way of the authority of the church because there is always supposed the necessity of the examination of that authority and of the church which claims it for itself (lest we be deceived in the judgment which ought to be made in both); since this cannot be made except by the Scripture, it always requires a previous knowledge of doctrine—for no person of sound mind would ever submit himself to the authority of any church who was not persuaded that it was legitimate and established by God. Besides, if it is difficult to understand the meaning of the Scripture, it is far more difficult to arrive at the sense of the church. For we must inquire what that church is. The ancient or the modern? And if it is the modern, where will it be found among the various Christian sects, among the Protestants or among the Romanists? And if among the Romanists, where does its authority reside, in the pope or in a council separately or in the two combined? Also the decisions and sanctions of councils and popes (which are thrust forward for the faith of the church) can be explained most diversely and are often involved in innumerable obscurities and contradictions which not even they with their keenest perception can evolve and harmonize.

XV. It is one thing to know the church with a confused knowledge as an assembly of men professing the same doctrine and using the same sacred rites; another to know the same by a distinct knowledge as an assembly of believers retaining the true faith and doctrine of Christ. In the former sense, we confess the knowledge of the church precedes the knowledge of faith; but in the latter, we deny it because the truth of the church rests upon the truth of faith.

XVI. As no one can be in the true church as a true member of it who does not hold its faith (at least as to doctrines necessary to salvation, since by faith he is received into it and becomes a member of it), so no one can have true faith who is not by that very circumstance in the church (out of which there is no salvation). Hence Perron reasons falsely (in order to prove that the knowledge of the church goes before the knowledge of doctrine) when he says that he who is in the church is sure of faith, although he does not hold its articles distinctly; but he who has faith and is not in the church cannot hope for salvation. He also takes for granted that a person can have faith and not be in the church, while, nevertheless, faith plants us in Christ and his mystical body. It is indeed true that he who is sure of being in the true church is sure that he has true faith. But it is false to say that he knows the true doctrine because he knows that he is in the true church; nay, on the contrary, he knows that he is in the true church because he knows that the church in which he is holds the true doctrine.

XVII. It is one thing not to acknowledge the true church and its lawful authority; another to be unwilling that the knowledge of the church should go before the knowledge of faith. We do not say the former, but the latter. For a knowledge of the church cannot be granted, unless the doctrine and faith which make a church to be a true church be known beforehand. Otherwise how could a person connect himself with an assembly of believers, if he does not know what it is to be a believer; and know what it is to be a believer unless he previously knows the doctrine of faith? How (among many churches contending with each other) can he tell which is true, unless the rule of truth and purity be first ascertained? But the Romanists by a preposterous order wish the church to be believed before they teach what the church ought to believe; and they wish the people to follow their leaders before they know whether those teachers inculcate true faith and the way of salvation. Their design is clear: namely, to subject the people in blind obedience to their authority and to withdraw them from the study and reading of the Scripture (which alone can make us wise [*sophisai*] unto salvation) that they may more easily reign in darkness and prevent their errors from being brought to the light of truth.

Second Question

Derivation of ecclesia.

I. That the word *ecclesia* is Greek derived from *ekkalein* ("calling out") as *concio* is deduced from *ciendo* (i.e., "calling together") is so well known as to need no proof. In Hebrew we have *qhl*, from which *kalein* seems to be derived with the Greeks and *calandi* with the Latins (which signifies the same as *kalein*) and *calata comitia* among the Romans (which were convoked by the voice of a crier, as Gellius remarks, *Attic Nights* 15.27 [Loeb, 3:116–20] and Theophilus [Antecessor], *Institutionum Graeca paraphrasis* 2, Tit. 10 [1967], 1:154). It designates both a separation by the force of the preposition *ek* and a collection and congregation from the emphasis of the verb *kaleō*, so that it is a society of men called out of some place or state and congregated into an assembly. The Holy Spirit transferred this (as many other words which were employed in a profane use) to a sacred use to signify the people of God by way of excellence (*kat' exochēn*) (to wit, an assembly of men called out of the mass of the human race by the preaching of the gospel to constitute a society of believers; or the mystical body of Christ, into which no one is received unless called).

Explanation of synagogue.

II. To the word *ekkldēsias*, the words *synagōgēs* and *episynagōgēs* (which so often occur both in the Septuagint and in the New Testament) answer. And now it is put for any assembly, whether sacred or civil (Ex. 12:3, 19; Num. 16:2); nay, even in a bad sense for an impious and profane assembly (Ps. 26:5; Acts 19:32); then for the place of assembling (Lk. 7:5), in which they were accustomed to assemble to hear the law, offer prayers and perform other public exercises of piety besides those which ought to be performed in the temple. Hence mention is so often made of synagogues (in which Christ taught) in the New Testament. Whether their origin is to be traced back to Moses (as some gather from Acts 15:21) or (what pleases others more, as Sigonio, *De Republica Hebraeorum* 2.8 [1608], p. 86) to the Babylonian captivity, in which (since they were without a temple for the worship of God) they selected a similar place in which they could both pray and teach.

These remained after the captivity, so that not only were synagogues built in other cities, but also in Jerusalem (in which the Jews tell us there were 480 synagogues). Hence it happened that the name synagogue was afterwards transferred but to designate the Jewish church in contradistinction to the Christian as the name *ecclesiae* was for a peculiar reason accommodated to the Christian.

III. It must not be supposed that this was done because "a synagogue is also of beasts, but the church only of men" (as Augustine on *Psalm lxxxi*.+ observes); as if the church of the Jews was a collection of beasts, for the Christian church also is described as a flock and fold (Jn. 10; Lk. 12:32; Jn. 10:16); or because the synagogue had respect to only perishable and earthly goods, while the New Testament church followed after spiritual and celestial goods (for the Old Testament was not without the promise of celestial goods also). Rather it was done to distinguish even in name the Jews and Christians from each other. For as the Jews called their assemblies "synagogues" (*synagōgas*) to discriminate between themselves and the Gentiles (who called theirs *ekklēsias*); so the Christians were obliged to distinguish their assemblies from the Jewish and thus employ words used by and known to the Gentiles on this account even the more because their assemblies as to the larger part consisted of Gentiles and also because the word *ecclesia* was best suited to express the nature of their society and the manner of its calling.

IV. Now although this distinction is carefully kept up in the New Testament, still there are two passages in which the apostles did not regard it: as when the apostle forbids us to forsake the assembling of ourselves together (*tēn episynagōgēn*, Heb. 10:25—i.e., the assembly or congregation of believers); and where he speaks of him who has entered "into the assembly" of Christians (*eis tēn synagōgēn*, Jam. 2:2), whether it refers to the place of assembly or to the assembly itself. The apostle seems to have used this word the more willingly, either that he might follow the prophetical rather than the apostolic style (which he has frequently done in his epistle), or because he addresses the Jews especially, to whom the word *synagōgēs* was better known and more common than *ekklēsias*.

Homonymy of ecclesia.

V. Further, the word *ecclesia* is one signifying many things (*polysēmos*). Not indeed that it can be taken for the place of meeting, as the Romanists and some of our divines also wish. For although the word "synagogue" is used by the Jews for the place of meeting (as appears from Lk. 7:5), as also *proseucha* from the prayers offered there (Acts 16:13), the same cannot be maintained concerning *ecclesia*; nor can any passage be adduced from the Old or New Testament from which it can be gathered. For that which is drawn by Bellarmine from the sixth chapter of Judith, last verse, does not belong here, since the word *ecclesia* does not occur in the Greek text; but only that "they called on the God of Israel all that night for help" (Jud. 6:20). The Vulgate alone has *per totam noctem intra ecclesiam oraverunt*. Nor is there any more force in the passage of Paul: "When ye come together in the church" (1 Cor. 11:18–22). For it can best be understood of the assembly itself of believers coming together for the exercises of piety, nor does any reason compel us to explain it of the place of meeting. Nor that they are said to "come together in the church," because this is referred to the assembly itself, not to the place—as senators are said to come together in the senate and pastors in a synod, not with respect to the place, but to the assembly. Nor that it is added to "come together" (*eis to auto*) because this denotes a unity and conjunction of persons, not identity of place, i.e., "at the same time" (*hama*), "with one accord" (*homothymadon*); as *ychdh* when used of an assembly does not denote a respect of persons to the place, but among themselves in turn—as in Ps. 2:2, which the Septuagint renders *epi to auto*. Finally, not that the church seems to be opposed to private houses: "Have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the church of God?" (1 Cor. 11:22). The contempt of the church is not referred to the place, but to the assembly.

VI. The church is not taken in the Roman sense for the pope or the head of the church, who bears the public person of the church, so that the church may be said to have declared to itself what is declared to him, and the pontiff will discharge to himself what was commanded to Peter, "Tell it to the church." This is what Bellarmine ridiculously wants: "The Pope ought to tell to the church, i.e., to himself" ("De Conciliorum Auctoritate," 2.19 *Opera* [1857], 2:70). For who does not see that it is absurd for one man, who (it is possible) does not belong to the church, from the decrees of our opponents themselves (namely if he has not been baptized or has incurred

excommunication actually on account of simony or secret heresy), to be designated by the name of the church (which necessarily includes in its conception a number and a multitude).

Threefold acceptation of the word "church."

For the invisible church.

VII. Now although the meanings of the word "church" are various and multiple, still they can all be reduced to these three principal ones: (1) the invisible church of the elect and believers; (2) the external church of the externally called professing faith; (3) the representative church of pastors. The church can be regarded either with respect to internal communion with Christ or efficacious calling (with respect to those selected in whom the word and sacraments are efficacious by the Spirit and work salvation) or with respect to the external profession or dispensation of the word and sacraments (as to those who are externally called) or with respect to sacred rule and government by rulers appointed by Christ. Thus (a) it is taken for the mystical body of Christ constantly and intimately united to him as its head according to eternal election and efficacious calling. In this sense, Christ says, "Upon this rock will I build my church" (Mt. 16:18)! Paul says, "Christ is the head of the church: and he is the Savior of the body" (Eph. 5:23); "Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it" (Eph. 5:25); and in Eph. 1:22, 23*, he is said to be given by God as "head of the church, which is his body"; and frequently elsewhere. This is the catholic church which we acknowledge in the Creed. It may be regarded either universally and all together (*kath' holou*) with respect to the whole multitude of believers (of which it is composed of whatever place and time) or particularly and as to its parts (*kata meros*) (now concerning that which reigns gloriously with Christ in heaven; then concerning this which labors and pursues its journey in the world and inasmuch as it is distributed into various particular churches which are designated by the same name as the whole).

For the visible church.

VIII. (b) For the visible assembly of the externally called who express belief in Christ and have a community of sacred things. In this sense, the churches are said to have increased daily by the preaching of the gospel (Acts 16:5); Paul and Barnabas ordained elders in every church (Acts 14:23); and frequent mention is made of the churches at Rome, Ephesus, etc.; the seven churches of Asia, to whom Christ writes, are also mentioned (Rev. 1–3*). Nor anywhere in the Acts of the Apostles or in their epistles are churches named except those societies of Christians which are bound together in some measure by these common exercises. But because external calling is directed not only to the elect, but also to the reprobate, hence it is that in the church (viewed in this light) two classes of persons are contained: those who are Christians by an external profession only; the others who are such by an internal communion (i.e., who not only profess that they believe, but also really believe). What difference should be determined between these will be shown in a special question hereafter.

For the representative church.

IX. (c) For the assembly of the rulers and pastors of the church, to whom is committed the dispensation of the word and sacraments and the public administration of discipline. Christ refers to these when he wishes a brother unwilling to be reconciled to be summoned before the church: "Tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican" (Mt. 18:17). This church undoubtedly means nothing else than a presbytery which has the power and administration of the keys, commonly called the representative in distinction from the collective church (which is constituted of the people or believers, who ought to be under the government of pastors). For although a Christian presbytery had not yet been established, still Christ had in view not only the present but also the future time. He provided for all posterity and could designate by the term "church" those assemblies of the Jews (by whose authority anyone was put out of the synagogue [*aposynagōgos*]) in imitation of whom Christians had their ecclesiastical courts, which excommunicated (*akoinōnētous*) the contumacious and rebellious.

Definition of the church.

X. Hence it is evident that a definition of the church cannot be given so agreeing with its various acceptations as fully to express their nature. In vain do the Romanists labor in giving a definition which can be accommodated to all the passages of Scripture where the word "church" is found. For it must be conceived of in different ways according to its threefold relations (*schesei*). For with respect to the first (which is the most proper and the principal), it is rightly defined as "an assembly of elect persons, whom God by his word and Spirit calls out of the state of sin into the state of grace unto eternal glory." With respect to the second (which is less proper), it is said to be "a society of persons called by the preaching of the gospel to the profession of one faith, communion of the same sacred rites and observance of the same order." Finally, with respect to the third, "an assembly of the rulers and pastors of the church, who are furnished with a lawful calling and the power to preach the word in it, administer the sacraments and exercise holy discipline, so that all things may be done decently (*euschēmonōs*) and in order (*eutaktōs*) to the glory of God and the public edification of all."

XI. Hence we can easily gather what is to be thought of Bellarmine's definition when he wishes the church properly so called to be "an assembly of persons bound together by a profession of the same Christian faith and a communion in the same sacraments, under the government of lawful pastors, and especially of the one vicar of Christ upon earth, the Roman Pontiff" ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.2 *Opera* [1857], 2:75). For this definition is faulty in many particulars. (1) Because a homonym is defined which is not distinguished according to the various significations which it has from Scripture, which are highly necessary to set forth its nature; especially while it is distinguished into the assembly of the called and of the elect called by Christ (Mt. 20:16; 22:14). (2) Because the definition is not essential which does not include, but excludes the form and proper adjuncts of the thing defined (to wit, the church, by which it is itself constituted and distinguished from other assemblies of men), while it makes no mention of faith, love and internal virtues, in which its formal reason consists according to Scripture; but only of the external profession and communion of sacred things which are common to believers and hypocrites and can be

found even in reprobates. (3) Because it is false, supposing a subjection to pastors (and especially to the Roman pontiff as Christ's vicar) to belong to its formal conception, when Christ nevertheless not only delivered nothing concerning that subjection, but expressly interdicted it, taking away all dominion from his disciples and claiming that prerogative for himself alone as head and monarch (as will be proved in the proper place when we come to speak of the head of the church). Besides, if this subjection is due to ministers, it is limited, not absolute; nor can it be said of others than those whom Christ ordained and who by a lawful call succeed in the ministry of the church (which cannot be said of the pope). (4) Because it is broader and narrower than the thing defined: broader, inasmuch as it refers even reprobates and hypocrites to the church, who although in the church, nevertheless are not of the church. They bear the name of the church only equivocally and by misapplication (*katachrēsin*). Narrower, because it excludes catechumens, the excommunicated and unbaptized, who can be members of the true church, although they are not in the visible church.

XII. The fundamental error (*prōton pseudos*) of the Romanists in the whole controversy is that the church is to be measured like a civil society, so that its essence consists only in externals and things striking the senses and that a profession of faith alone is sufficient to constitute a member of the church; nor are faith itself and internal piety necessarily required for it. Nevertheless, its nature is far different. We ought not to learn this from the corrupt light of reason or from our morals or those of others, but from the most pure mirror of the divine word, which is wont to make it consist not in externals (which are seen by men and can often mislead), but in internals (which are believed and recognized by God alone, as will be proved hereafter).

XIII. Further, from the threefold acceptation of the church (of which we have spoken) arises a threefold consideration of the church (which we will discuss distinctly). The first concerns its internal state or the church of the elect. The other concerns its external state or the church of the called. Finally, the third concerns its government or the vocation of pastors and ecclesiastical power.

Third Question: The Members of the Church

Besides the elect, are reprobates and infidels (whether secret or open) also true members of the church of Christ? We deny against the Romanists

I. The first question which occurs about the church considered as to its internal state, concerns its members or the parts which belong to it. This is agitated between us and the Romanists, who err both in excess and in defect: either by extending it too much with repect to some inside the church or contracting it too much with respect to others. They err in excess when they wish not only the elect and believers but also hypocrites and reprobates to belong to the church properly so called. They err in defect when they wish to exclude from the same catechumens, the excommunicated and schismatics. Hence a twofold controversy arises: first, does the church consist of believers and the elect alone or of the reprobate also? Second, do catechumens, the excommunicated and schismatics belong to the church?

1. The question concerning the parts of the church. Do reprobates also belong to it?

II. First it is inquired whether besides those called elect, reprobates and infidels also (whether secret or open) are to be considered as true members of the church. Bellarmine with others pretends this is so ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.2, 7, 9 *Opera* [1857], 2:74–75, 81–83, 85–89 and the following) when he teaches that in the definition of the church, pagans, heretics, the excommunicated and schismatics are excepted: "All others are included, even if they are reprobates, wicked and impious" because, as he immediately adds, "that a person may be said to be absolutely a part of the true church, of which the Scriptures speak, we do not think there is required any internal virtue, but only an external, especially a communion of faith and of the sacraments, which is perceived by the sense itself." The design is that no other church may be acknowledged except that of which the Roman bishop is head. And because they clearly saw (if they restrict it to the elect and believers) the pope might possibly not belong to it, therefore they wished to extend it even to the reprobate, provided they were embraced under the one visible head. Hence in the Council of Constance, this proposition of John Hus was condemned as heretical: "The holy universal

church is the universality of the predestinated" (Mansi 27:754). The importance of the controversy is such that on its decision depend all the others which are agitated concerning the church between us and the Romanists. Hence we must treat it the more accurately.

Statement of the question.

III. On the statement of the question we remark: (1) that the church can be regarded either as to its external or its internal state. The external answers to the external call by the word, upon which depends the external form of the church, placed in a profession of faith or an external and sensible communion of the same sacred things. The internal answers to the internal and efficacious call by the word and Spirit, which constitutes its essential and internal form in the communion of faith or the mystical union of believers with Christ by faith and with each other by love. The question is not whether the reprobate belong to the external state (which we do not deny), but to the internal state (which we do deny).

IV. We remark (2) that the question does not concern the equivocally so called members of the church (according to external appearance [*kata doxan*]), but concerns the members who are such properly and univocally. (3) The question is not Are the elect and believers in the church? (for our opponents confess this); but Is the church composed of believers and the elect alone? (as we hold). It is one thing for believers to be in the church; another for the church to be composed of them alone and for faith and piety to be of the essence of the church. One thing for the elect to be the purer and more essential part of the church (which Romanists do not reject); another for them to be the whole essence of the church, so that outside of them no other true members are to be sought (which we maintain). (4) The question does not concern sinners of any sort, even great ones (such as even the elect can be); but the question concerns the reprobate as such, who neither have, nor ever will have true faith and repentance. (5) The question does not concern the elect considered only in their eternal destination (in which sense it is certain they cannot actually be members of the church); but in its execution secured by their calling (by which the elect are made members actually and really).

V. Hence it is evident that Cardinal Perron puts the statement of the question falsely—Is the church to be defined by predestination, which is secret? We wish efficacious calling to be connected with predestination. Stapleton too, when he pretends that the question is Does the church consist of the elect, not the called? As if these were opposed which are subordinated, especially when it is treated of the internal call. Bellarmine acts a little more sincerely when he says the question is "whether the predestinated alone, or also the reprobate, belong to the church." However he errs in this—that he speaks of predestination alone, which is not to be separated from calling.

VI. Therefore, the question returns to this—whether, besides the elect efficaciously called (i.e., true believers), the reprobate and infidels also pertain to the church and are to be considered as true members of it. Or whether the essential form of the church consists in an external profession of faith alone or in the internal truth of faith. Whether the impious and impenitent (provided they connect themselves outwardly with the society which professes the doctrine of Christ, although in other respects destitute of faith and holiness) may be said to constitute the church. Are the pious and believers alone (who not only profess faith, but truly believe and are regenerated) styled by this name and do they enjoy this privilege? The former Romanists maintain; we hold the latter. We maintain (1) that the name "church" is predicated of it principally by reason of its internal form; (2) that the members of the true church consist properly of the elect and if with them many others are mingled in the external society, still they are never to be confounded with them; (3) the promises belong to them alone; (4) they who are Christians as to external form only and profession are properly speaking not members, but only equivocally, with respect to men, not with respect to God.

Proof that the church consists of the called elect alone: (1) because the church is the body of Christ.

VII. The reasons why we so determine are various. (1) From the titles which are given to the church relative to Christ, which are such that they cannot belong to the profane and hypocrites, nor be fulfilled in a mere

external profession. As when the church is said to be "the body of Christ" and all the members of the church "members of Christ" (Eph. 5:23; Col. 1:18; 1 Cor. 12:27). Now the body of Christ is none other than that which will actually be saved and of which he is said to be the Savior (Eph. 5:23); a body which is compacted by that which every joint supplies and increases in the increase of God (Eph. 4:16). Nor are the members other than those which are animated by the life of the head, in whom Christ dwells by faith (Eph. 3:17). They are influenced by his Spirit since "whoever has not the Spirit of Christ, is not Christ's" (Rom. 8:9). No one can doubt that this cannot belong to the reprobate and unbelievers, but is proper to the elect and believers alone. Here pertains Paul's comparison of the church with the human body, all of whose members are united together by the same bond of the Spirit (1 Cor. 12:11–26). This could not be said if some members were destitute of the Spirit of Christ and were not so much members of Christ as members of Satan. Finally, "Christ cannot have condemned members," as Augustine says (*Contra Cresconium* 2.21 [PL 43.482]). "Nor is that really the body of Christ, which will not remain with him for ever," as he also says (CI 3*32 [45] [FC 2:153; PL 34.82]).

VIII. Of no force is Stapleton's reply, "The church extends wider than the body of Christ; it contains those also who are joined together by profession alone, who are members on account of subjection, although not on account of participation." Although in external communion, the church includes these also who are connected by a profession alone, the same cannot be said of the internal state of which we speak. According to this, the church and body of Christ are reciprocal (from Paul, Eph. 5:23, 24), so that no church is a true church which is not the body of Christ, having him for its head. Nor better would you answer with Bellarmine, "That some members of the body of Christ are living, belonging to the life of the church; others dead and dry, belonging only to the body, and such are the reprobate" (cf. "De Ecclesia militante," 3.9 *Disputationes et controversiis christianae* [1599], 2:231). It is gratuitously supposed that a dead member can be the member of a living body (which is absurd [*asystaton*]); for there is no true member who does not partake of the life of the body. Hence, as Bellarmine himself testifies, various Roman authors—Turrecremata (Torquemada), Alexander of Hales, Hugo (St. Victor), Thomas (Aquinas), Peter a Sota (Soto) and (Melchior) Cano—say that these are members only

equivocally. Nor does Bellarmine really differ from them when he wishes them to be only of the body of the church (i.e., of the external communion, which no one denies), but not of the life. But who would say that he truly belongs to the church who is not of its life? Nor does he help himself by saying that the members may be viewed in two ways: "either as certain things, or as instruments; a bad bishop is not a member in the former sense, but in the second, inasmuch as God uses him as an instrument for his work." It is one thing to be a member; another to be an instrument. Nor is it necessary that a member should be an instrument or that an instrument should always be a member (as a carpenter uses an axe, a scribe a pen and ink, the painter his brush, an artisan his tools and these being laid aside he has lost no part of himself). If at any time a member has the relation of an instrument, it cannot act except as a living member animated by the same spirit and life. For it must be a member before it is operative and if it ceases to be a living member, by that very circumstance it is not an instrument either (as the fingers, the eyes and the tongue are not organs of action, unless connected with the body and animated).

2. Because the church is the spouse of Christ.

IX. Second, the church is called "the spouse" of Christ (Eph. 5:23); betrothed unto himself in judgment, in truth and for ever (Hos. 2:19); so closely united to him that they are not two, but one (Eph. 5:31); whom he loves and cherishes as his own flesh; who ought to be fitted for Christ as a pure and chaste virgin (2 Cor. 11:2); prepared as a bride adorned for her husband (Rev. 19:7; 21:2); whose mariage, begun here by the espousal made in grace, ought to be consummated by the nuptial of the Lamb to be celebrated in glory (Rev. 19:9). No one, however, would say that these attributes suit the reprobate and worldly, whom Christ never united to himself. Cleaving to the world and polluting themselves with spiritual adultery, they can be said to have no communion with Christ either in grace or in glory.

3. Because the church is a sheepfold.

X. Third, the church is "a sheepfold" (Jn. 10:16) which is composed only of sheep who hear Christ's voice and recognize and follow him, to whom he gives eternal life in order that they may never perish. Now the reprobate and unbelievers are neither Christ's sheep ("Ye are not of my sheep," Jn. 10:26), nor do they recognize, hear and follow him ("Ye hear not," Jn. 8:47), nor are they owned, led and made happy by Christ ("I never knew you," Mt. 7:23; "Depart from me, accursed," Mt. 25:41). Nor ought it to be objected by Perron "that to hear the voice of the shepherd is the duty of the sheep, but not the essential form of the church, or of the sheep" (*Reply of the ... Cardinall of Perron to the Answeare of the ... King of Great Britaine* 1.6 [1630/1975], p. 32). For since we are treating of the duty which suits all the sheep of Christ as an essential property, if anyone does not perform it, he ought not to be numbered among the true sheep of Christ. Nor is this property of hearing Christ here well separated from its form, since it necessarily flows from it; nay, the form is properly constituted in it as to the mystical sheep. Nor is it to be added with Bellarmine "that there are also goats in the fold because in the end they are separated." It is one thing to be "in the fold" (i.e., in the place where they are congregated and remain as to external profession, in which manner we do not deny that there are goats in the fold; yea, on that account they are sometimes called sheep equivocally because they are covered with a sheepskin and mixed with the sheep); another thing, however, to be "of the fold" (i.e., of the society of the sheep themselves, in which sense we deny that they can be properly called sheep since they neither hear Christ's voice nor follow him).

4. Because the church is the house of God.

XI. Fourth, the church is called "the building and house of God" (Mt. 16:18; 1 Pet. 2:5; Eph. 2:20) and such a house as cannot consist of reprobates and unbelievers, but of the elect and believers alone. (a) From the Author because God is its architect (Mt. 16:18), who does not build up the wicked. (b) From the material because they are "living," not dead "stones" (1 Pet. 2:5). (c) From the "foundation" because they are built upon a rock (i.e., Christ the cornerstone), not upon the sand, as the wicked (Mt. 7:24; 16:18). (d) From the "structure" because the whole edifice is fitly framed together (*synarmologeitai*, Eph. 2:21), i.e., fittingly and with just proportion it

coheres by the bond of love, so that nothing is wanting, nothing disturbs and nothing is superfluous. And yet there can be no union between the wicked and the good, righteousness and unrighteousness, light and darkness. (e) From "the victory over enemies" and her immovable stability because neither the gates of hell can prevail against it (Mt. 16:18), nor can it fall by any assault and be destroyed (Mt. 7:24), which cannot be said of the reprobate. (f) From the end and use which belongs to the pious alone because it ought to be "the house of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth" (1 Tim. 3:15); "the tabernacle in the Spirit, and a temple sacred to the Lord," in which he dwells for ever (Eph. 2:22; 1 Cor. 3:17; 2 Cor. 6:16, 17; Rev. 21:2–4).

XII. The exception of Perron is vain: "The victory which the gates of hell obtain over private persons on account of their immoral lives, does not injure the body of the church because vices injure those only, who perpetrate or approve them, but not the communion of the church." For since private individuals should constitute the very house as parts of it (Heb. 3:6), it is necessary that they, falling either wholly or in part, the house itself also should fall. And the apostle teaches that by the sins of private persons the temple of God is destroyed: "If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy" (1 Cor. 3:17). Hence either they who fall must be said to have been placed outside of the foundation, or not to have been built up by the Father, or not joined to the other members by the cement of the Spirit; or (what is most absurd) the reasoning of Christ is inefficacious. For if a part of the building falls and neither the foundation nor the structure nor the author prevent it, it will be allowable to argue from the less to the greater. Nor can it be said that the promise concerned the whole church, not individuals, that it would always stand, although certain parts were destroyed. This cannot be attributed to the whole unless with respect to the individuals who make up that whole. Hence Paul does not say only, the building is fitly framed together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord (Eph. 2:20), but "all the building" (*pasan oikodomēn*, i.e., not a certain part, but the whole). He also says, "the whole body" (*pan to sōma*) is fitly joined together (Eph. 4:16). But not only does Augustine agree with us here (as will afterwards be proved), but various Romanists. Ferus explains the passage concerning the church according to the Spirit, which embraces the elect alone (*In sacrosanctum Jesu Christi evangelium*

secundum Matthaeum [1559], p. 221 on Mt. 16). Jansen understands the kingdom of Christ, to which the kingdom of Satan will be hostile (*Tetrateuchus* [1853], 1:308 on Mt. 16:19). Cajetan understands the church, which consists of the congregation of believers ("Commentarii in Matthaei," *Quotquot in Sacrae Scripturae* [1639], 4:76 on Mt. 16:18). Maldonatus wishes the meaning to be that it will happen that the church (founded by Christ upon Peter) will carry the power of Satan by storm, so that it can resist by no art and by no strength (*Commentary on the Holy Gospels: Matthew* [1863], 2:40–41 on Mt. 16:18).

5. Because the church of the called ought to answer to predestination.

XIII. Fifth, the church ought to be such as it was conceived from eternity in God's decree, since calling (by which the church is congregated in the being of a church) is nothing else than the execution and fruit of eternal election. Nor can the true essence of anything be known better than from its first idea which the author has proposed to himself; especially when in its execution, he departs not even in the smallest particular from it, but has executed most perfectly what he had preconceived of it in his mind (which no one can doubt God has done). Now the destination of the church was not made simply to an external profession of faith and holiness, but to true faith and holiness. "According as he hath chosen us," says Paul, "in Christ, that we should be holy" (Eph. 1:4); "He predestinated us whom he would adopt in Christ, that we might be to the praise of the glory of his grace" (Eph. 1:5, 6); "He predestinated us to be conformed to the image of his Son" (Rom. 8:29); "God hath from the beginning chosen us to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth" (2 Thess. 2:13). Hence the church is described by those who are the called according to purpose (*kata prothesin*, Rom. 8:28), by "elect according to the foreknowledge of God through sanctification" (1 Pet. 1:2), by "elect" (Lk. 18:7), by "a chosen generation, a peculiar people" (1 Pet. 2:9) and by "the assembly of the firstborn, whose names are written in heaven" (Heb. 12:23). These are such as can be predicated of believers alone and not of the impious and the reprobate.

XIV. Perron gratuitously supposes that Heb. 12:22 treats of the church triumphant, "to which" we are said "to have come" (as is said in Phil. 3:20, "Our conversation is in heaven"), and by the "firstborn" are meant the patriarchs and fathers of the Old Testament (*Reply of the ... Cardinall of Perron to the Answeare of the ... King of Great Britaine* 1.9 (1630/1975), p. 42). But he does not speak of the assembly of those who are in heaven, but of those whose names are written in heaven (i.e., who were elected from eternity) in Scripture style (Lk. 10:20; Phil. 4:3; Rev. 21:27). Second, the word "firstborn" is general, belonging to all believers equally, inasmuch as their regeneration renders them the firstfruits of creatures and the firstborn of men and gives them the reality of the typical and legal primogeniture in a peculiar consecration to God, so as to become kings and priests, to enjoy a double portion and to be freed from the sword of the destroyer by the blood of the Lamb. Third, Paul says they "had come," which implies actual and real communion and not only in hope; as they are said to have come to God, the Judge, and to Jesus, the Mediator, by a true and real communion. Fourth, so far is this from denoting the church triumphant to the exclusion of the militant that the Hebrews could not have had communion with the church triumphant except through the militant (inasmuch as the latter is a part of the same whole); nor can he be a member of the church militant who will not in his own time have a part in the church triumphant. Nor does Bellarmine think differently when he says, "The church triumphant is united nay, rather is one with the militant, and therefore no one can wish to be separated from the one without being separated from the other" ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.5 *Opera* [1857], 2:79). No better do they disentangle themselves when they reply, "If the church militant is understood to be called an assembly of the firstborn, whose names are written in heaven, it is not because the elect are in it alone, although others also may be found in it." John precludes this way of escape when he says there shall in no wise enter into it anything that defiles, neither whatsoever works abomination, but they only which are written in the Lamb's book of life (Rev. 21:27). For if the elect alone belong to the church triumphant, they alone are also members of the church militant (which does not differ from the triumphant except in state, as the following argument will more clearly confirm).

6. Because God on the day of judgment will recognize elect believers alone as the church.

XV. Sixth, the church is such as God will declare it to be on the last day because the church which he will bless in glory is no other than that which he here justifies and regenerates in grace. Nor will Christ then create a new church and new believers and sons of God and members of the church, but will only declare who have been such in this life for the purpose of rewarding them. Nay, he testifies that those whom he will not acknowledge as his own were never such; nor were they ever regarded by him as such. "I never knew you" (Mt. 7:23), although they might have foretold the future, prophesied and done many miracles in the name of Christ, living in an external and visible communion. Believers and the pious alone (who rejoice in the name of sheep and for whom by God's eternal election the kingdom of heaven was prepared) are to be recognized by Christ and introduced into the church triumphant from the words of Christ himself—"Come, ye blessed of my Father" (Mt. 25:34)—hypocrites, the wicked and the impenitent being excluded.

7. Because the church is the communion of the saints.

XVI. Seventh, the church is such as we believe and confess it to be in the Creed. Now we believe in "the holy church," which itself is "the communion of saints." For these two evidently belong to the same thing and the first is exegetical (*exēgētikon*) of the other, in order that the nature and quality of the church may be more clearly set forth. For by no other law are the holy gathered together into the society of Christ than that they may mutually share with each other whatever blessings God bestows upon them. Therefore, since holiness is the proper and genuine mark of the church (as the Scripture intimates everywhere, Is. 35:8; 52:11; Joel 3:17; 2 Cor. 6:16, 17; Eph. 5:26; Cant. 4:7), everyone sees that none other than true believers and the elect (to whom such holiness belongs) can be its members.

XVII. Nor is it to be said here: (1) that it is called "holy by profession and baptism and external union with the Head." It treats of a true and not an

apparent and shadowy attribute; of a holiness real and internal, by which the church is holy to God, not of an external and empty holiness, which seems to be such in the eyes of men. True, profession and baptism imply a certain and external and sacramental holiness, but such as is wholly useless (nay, hurtful) without the internal and spiritual, which God especially looks to and requires. For to him, he is not a Jew which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly and circumcision is that of the heart, in the Spirit and in truth (Rom. 2:28). Thus a Christian is not said to be holy from his external profession only, but from internal truth. What is added ("that is denominated holy from the Head, Christ") is truly said, but by this very thing the truth of our opinion concerning the internal holiness of the church is confirmed because it is derived from the head into the whole body (which partakes of the life and influx of the head). But there is no union of the wicked with Christ, the head; for if they were united to Christ, they would no longer be wicked, but pious (unless we wish to say a holy head has a profane and wicked body, which is absurd [*asystaton*]). (2) No better is it said "that it is called holy on account of a part because the denomination is from the better part." For if it is called holy on account of a part only, it must therefore be called impure on account of the other part, since a denomination is made not only from the better, but also from the greater part. Second, I confess that the visible assembly is denominated from the better part, but I say the true church is that assembly of the better part of the assembly. For the church as such differs from the world and in it the holiness of the church resides—that it may be separated from the world. Hence when the church is called holy, this is only with respect to the assembly of true believers; not, however, with respect to the others, who although they are in the church, still are not of the church.

8. Because the reprobate belong to the kingdom of the Devil.

XVIII. Eighth, the reprobate belong to the kingdom and body of the Devil; therefore they cannot belong to the catholic church; nor is there any communion between these two: "What communion hath light with

darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?" (2 Cor. 6:14–16*). "Ye do not believe, because ye are not of my sheep" (Jn. 10:26). Elsewhere he calls them children of the Devil: "Ye are of your father the devil" (Jn. 8:44). Now who would say that such are true members of the church? Nor can it be replied with Stapleton that it is not absurd for those "who belong to God to be aliens from God" (i.e., "to belong to the body of Christ and of the Devil in a various and different manner"). These are incompatible (*asystata*). They can indeed be called and seem to belong to God, who belong to the Devil, but they cannot really belong to God. But above other things, the words of John are clear, where, speaking of apostates and seducers he says, "They went out from us but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us" (1 Jn. 2:19). Hence I thus infer: (a) Whoever go out of the church are not of the church. Now reprobates go out of it; therefore.… Again, whoever are in the church always remain in the church. But reprobates do not remain, but go out of it; therefore.… The foundation of the apostle's reasoning is the perseverance of true believers, of which they who are destitute by that very thing testify that they are such as they profess themselves to be—that they were indeed among true believers and of the true members of the church. Augustine explains this satisfactorily when he distinguishes the sons of God—of whom he says there are some who are not yet considered by us, but still are reckoned as sons by God; others on the contrary are called sons by us, who are not sons to God himself. "There are those who are called by us sons of God on account of grace received even temporarily, and still are not such to God, of whom John says, 'they went out from us, but they were not of us.' He does not say, 'they went out from us, but because they have not remained with us, they are not now of us'; but he says, 'they went out from us, but they were not of us,' that is, even when they seemed to be in us, they were not of us" (*Admonition and Grace* 9 [20] [FC 2:269; PL 44.928]). And a little after he says, "Those, who did not remain, were not even then sons of God, when they were in the name and profession of the sons of God" (ibid.).

XIX. In vain does Bellarmine hold that such are said not to have been of us because they were not Catholics in mind and will, but heretics and antichrists ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.10 *Opera* [1857], 2:89–94). Still they

are said to have gone out of us because although in mind and will they were not of us, still they were by external profession. In the same chapter, he adds to the passage quoted that Augustine does not mean that they are not really in the church, but that they are not in the way in which they seem to be, for if they were within in no way, but only seemed to be; with equal reason they would not truly have gone out. To no purpose, I say, is this brought forward. Because it is one thing to be in the external communion of the church (which we readily grant and according to it the apostate are truly said to go out when they fall away); another to be in it also by internal communion (in which sense John denies that such were of us). Nor could Bellarmine elsewhere dissent from this. When referring this passage to predestination, he says, "It is true that they are not of us, even when they seemed to be of us, both because they are not of the number of the elect and because they are now cut off in heart from us" ("De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 2.12 *Opera* [1858], 4:317). In vain also do our opponents distinguish here between a son of God and a member of the church "according to truth of essence (or form)" and "according to truth of end (or permanence)." "Such were indeed members of the church in the former, but not in the latter way" (Bellarmine, "De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," 3.7 *Opera* [1858], 2:83). For in these the end is so connected with the essence and form that it cannot be separated from them. Hence whoever is a child of God in truth of essence ought also to be such in truth of the end because he cannot be truly a son in truth of essence without being an heir (Rom. 8:17) and therefore without being bound in his own time to obtain the end (to wit, the inheritance). He cannot be a true member of the church except by love and the Spirit, as Bellarmine confesses in the same place from 1 Jn. 4 and 1 Cor. 12. But neither charity fails, nor can the Spirit once given be taken away or extinguished, since it is the incorruptible seed and a gift without repentance (*ametamelēton*).

9. Because Christ restricts the church to believers.

XX. Ninth, the nature and unity of the church ought to be such as Christ describes when he prays not only for his apostles, but also for the whole church of believers who would believe through their word. He desires that they all may be one as he and the Father are one: "That they may be one; as

thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us" (Jn. 17:21). Therefore, the unity of the church ought to be according to the exemplar of the most perfect unity of the Father and the Son (which should bear a certain resemblance to it, although it comes far short of it). But who believes that the external unity of a mere profession (which is common to the good and bad) is regarded by Christ and not the internal and mystical unity of true faith and love?

10. Because the promises belong to believers alone.

XXI. Tenth, that alone is the true church to which the saving promises of grace properly belong, because they are the fruits of the covenant of grace which God made with them. Now no one would say that these belong to the wicked and reprobate (who have no share in the heavenly inheritance), but to the elect and believers alone, to whom the kingdom was appointed from eternity (Mt. 25:34) and who are a peculiar people (Tit. 2:14), chosen and vessels of grace (Rom. 9:23, 25, 26), the seed (Is. 53:10), the sons of promise (Rom. 9:8).

11. The fathers confess this.

XXII. Last, the fathers in all places agree with us here. We quote only a few passages. Clement of Alexandria says, "From what has been said I think it is manifest that there is one true church, truly ancient, in which the just according to purpose are gathered together" (*Ek tōn eirēmenōn ara phaneron hoimai gegenēsthai, mian einai tēn alēthē Ekklēsian, tēn tō onti archaian, eis tēn hoi kata prothesin dikaioi enkatalegontai*, *Stromata* 7.17 [ANF 2:555; PG 9.552]). Cyprian says, "O Lord, to whom shall we go, thou hast the words of eternal life, and we have believed and known, since thou art the Son of the living God (to wit, signifying and showing that they who have departed from Christ perish by their own fault), while the church, which believes in Christ and which at the same time holds what she has learned, never wholly departs from him, and that they are the church, who continue in the house of God, and that that is not a field planted by God the Father, whom we see are not made firm with the stability of wheat, but as tares are driven away by the breath of the scattering enemy" (Letter 59* 7.3

[ACW 46:74–75; PL 3.833]). “This is my opinion, that he will be judged a lawful Christian, who had obtained in the church divine grace by the law and right of faith” (Cyprian, Letter 69* 13.3 [ACW 47:42; PL 3.1197]; cf. *On the Unity of the Church* 4, 5 [ANF 5:422–23]). Ambrose, on Psalm 35 near the end: “As the holy are members of Christ, so the wicked are members of the Devil” (*In Psalmum XXXV Ennaratio* 27 [PL 14.1010]). Gregory the Great says, “Within these bounds, therefore, are all the elect, without them all the reprobate, even if they seem to be within the limits of faith. Hence in Rev. 11 it is written, ‘The court which is without the temple, leave out, and measure it not’ ” (*Moralium libri ... in librum Job** 28.6.16 [PL 76.456–57]). Jerome says, “He, who is a sinner, and stained with any pollution, is not said to be of the church of Christ” (cf. *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Ephesios* 5 [PL 30.837–38]; “Psalmus 100*,” *Brevarium in Psalmos* [PL 26.1193–94]).

XXIII. But above all others Augustine builds up this truth in numerous places, from which we select certain more remarkable ones: “That is not truly the body of the Lord, which will not be with him for ever” (CI 3.32 [45] [FC 2:153; PL 34.82]). And in the same place, “Not only for ever, but also now, hypocrites are not to be said to be with him, although they seem to be in his church” (ibid.). “Whosoever disagrees with the Scriptures concerning the Head himself, even if they be found in all places in which the church is designated, are not in the church” (*Ad Catholicas ... Contra Donatistas: De Unitate Ecclesiae* 1.4.7 [PL 43.395–96]). “Since therefore the good and bad give and receive the sacrament of baptism, nor are the spiritually regenerated built up together unto the body and members of Christ unless good, verily this church is in the good, as it is said, like the lily in the midst of thorns, so is my neighbor in the midst of daughters. For he is among these who build upon the rock, that is, who hear the word and do it. He is not therefore among those who build upon the sand” (ibid., 1.21*.60; PL 43.436). “What is chaff is always chaff separated from the unity of that church, which is without wrinkle and spot, even who is mingled with the congregation of the saints in carnal hardness” (*On Baptism, Against the Donatists* 1.17 [NPNF1, 4:422; PL 43.123]). “That in the Song of Songs the church is thus described, ‘an enclosed garden, my sister, spouse, a sealed fountain, a well of living water, a paradise with the fruit of apples’; this I do not dare to understand except of a holy and just

church" (ibid., p. 476; PL 43.195). "That the wicked do not belong to the church of God, although they seem to be within it, appears most clearly from this" (ibid., 6.3, p. 480; PL 43.199). "I think I do not say rashly, that some are so in the house of God, that they are even the same house of God which is said to be built upon the rock, which is called the only dovecote, a beautiful spouse without a spot. It is evident, however, that others are said to be so in the house, that they do not belong to the constitution of the house, nor to the society of fruitful and peaceable righteousness" (ibid., 7.51, p. 511; PL 43.241). "Those condemned by Christ on account of an evil and polluted conscience are not now in the body of Christ, which is the church, since Christ cannot have condemned members" (*Contra Cresconium* 2.21 [PL 43.482]). And on John: "All heretics, all schismatics went out from us, that is, go out of the church, but they would not have gone out, if they had been of us; therefore they were not of us, before they went out" (Homily 3, *On the Epistle of John* 4 [NPNF1, 7:476; PL 35.1999]). And he adds afterwards: "They were not of the members because the members are never contrary to each other, but were as it were bad humors in the body. These humors went out from me, but they were not of me. What is this, 'They were not of me?' That is, they were not cut out of my flesh" (ibid., 477; PL 35.1999). Nor ought it to be said that Augustine ever retracted this opinion. As when he testifies that what he had said in his book on baptism concerning the church without wrinkle and spot, ought not to be understood as if it was such now, but because it is being prepared to be such when it will appear glorious (*Retractions* 44* [FC 60:156]). He said this against the Pelagians asserting the impeccability of the believer in order to teach that in the church militant there still remained various sins to be corrected, concerning which he adds we ought to say daily "Forgive us our trespasses"; but not that he may determine the true church to be composed of the wicked as well as of the good. And although he shows that in the external body of the church, the wicked are always mixed with the good as long as it remains on earth, he does not on that account hold that the wicked properly belong to the true church (which consists of the good); nay, he teaches expressly that they are separated from them, "For they are now spiritually separated from such by their religious lives, afterwards however they will be separated bodily also" (*Contra Donatistas post Collationem* 1.20.30 [PL 43.671]). And in the same place: "They were therefore both

mixed and separated in one, mixed indeed by bodily contact, separated however by difference of will" (ibid., 1.20.32; PL 43.673). "They are so in the body of Christ as bad humors, when they are ejected then the body is relieved, as also the wicked, when they go out then the church is relieved and says, these humors went out from me, but they were not of me" (Homily 3, *On the Epistle of John* 4 [NPNF1, 7:477; PL 35.1999]). Thus Bellarmine wishes them to be in the church as humors, teeth, hair and other things which are not members ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.9 *Opera* [1857], 2:86).

Sources of explanation.

XXIV. It is one thing to be in the church by a visible communion and to use the same profession and the same sacraments; another to be of the internal and invisible communion of the church and to be bound together by the same bond of faith and Spirit. I grant that the reprobate and wicked are in the church in the former sense, but I deny that they are in the latter. Christ denies it: "Ye are of your father the devil" (Jn. 8:44); "Ye are not of my sheep" (Jn. 10:26). John denies it, "They were not of us" (1 Jn. 2:19). And as "all are not Israel, who are of Israel" (Rom. 9:6), i.e., they who will spring from Israel according to the flesh still are not the true Israel according to the Spirit, to whom the promises are made; thus neither are all who are in the church of the church.

XXV. When the church is compared with a threshing floor, in which the chaff is with the wheat; with a net, in which are good and bad fishes; with a marriage feast, in which a guest is present without a wedding garment: it is viewed as to its external and visible state, not as to its internal and invisible state. These parables prove that the church militant on earth is mixed and confounded with a large extraneous crowd; but they do not prove that the catholic church consists and is composed of them. Augustine here most excellently distinguishes to be "mixed" and to be "a part," to "adhere to" or "to grow to" and to be "a member." Earth is joined to gold, chaff to wheat, good to bad fishes; but neither is earth for this reason gold, nor chaff wheat, nor are bad fishes good. "And thus whether they seem to be living within or are openly without, what is flesh is flesh, what is chaff is chaff," he says (*On Baptism, Against the Donatists* 1.17 [NPNF1, 4:422; PL 43.123]).

XXVI. The great house in which there are vessels of gold and of silver to honor, and some of wood and of earth to dishonor (2 Tim. 2:20) is either the world, in which are the good and bad (as Chrysostom, Homily 6, *Homilies on Timothy* [NPNF1, 13:496] and Theophylact, *Commentarius in II Epistolam ad Timotheum* [PG 125.111] explain it); or better, the visible church, in which are the good, adorned with faith and holiness (who are the golden vessels of grace), and the evil or hypocrites and the wicked, who for a time exhibit some piety and faith, but afterwards show that they are miserably retrograde and vessels prepared for dishonor. Therefore, they are in the house, but not of the house; within in the body, not in the soul.

XXVII. It is one thing for the elect and predestinated alone to be members of the church (which we hold); another for election alone to be sufficient to constitute a member of the church (which we deny), since with election is required effectual calling, which is the effect of election. Hence the many arguments of our opponents are futile which suppose that according to us election alone makes a member of the church. For instance, when they say that according to our hypothesis: (1) "the Turkish Mohammedans and heretics can be members of the church, provided they have been predestinated." They cannot be called members of the church actually, until they are effectually called; although they are members by destination, as Christ termed the Gentiles not yet called his sheep (Jn. 10:16). (2) "All would be uncertain, nor would the sheep know their shepherd, nor the shepherd the sheep, nor the brethren each other, since predestination is hidden in God, not in man." Although no one can know this *a priori*, which belongs to God alone (2 Tim. 2:19), who knows who are his people; still it can be known *a posteriori* by the judgment of charity from the fruits of faith and love (Jn. 13:35; 1 Jn. 3:9, 10). And if we cannot pronounce certainly concerning this or that one in particular, still we can certainly know what is the true church of Christ and where it is.

XXVIII. All baptized persons internally and externally are members of the true church because they put on Christ in baptism (Gal. 3:27) and are baptized into one body (1 Cor. 12:13). But there is not the same relation of reprobates and the wicked, who are indeed baptized externally, but not internally (to wit, with water, to wash away the filth of the flesh [1 Pet. 3:21], but not with the Spirit for the purgation of sin; by a visible symbol, but not by the invisible thing signified).

XXIX. The church is well likened to an organic body which has diverse members and functions, with respect to the diversity of gifts and ministries, but not by reason of a diversity of state as if some were elect and others reprobate. For in this sense, there is granted an identity of essence because all ought to be living members of the body of Christ. They differ therefore materially by nation, sex, age, condition and disposition, but agree formally in the same faith and spirit. And if there are those who sustain offices in the church, who are still not true believers, they belong to the external body alone, not to the internal and mystical. They are instruments in building up the house, but not the house itself, or a part of it (as the builders of Noah's ark were not saved in it; and the servants of King Hiram, who ministered in the building of the temple, although they were pagans).

XXX. Although we think true believers alone are members of the church, we do not on this account favor the error of the Novatians, Catharists and Donatists, or of the modern Anabaptists (which the Romanists calumniously charge us with doing), who hold that the church consists of those who are perfectly sanctified. For besides the fact that in the external communion hypocrites are mixed with true believers, the elect (who alone formally belong to the mystical body of Christ as long as they live on earth) are always exposed to various stains and sins (1 Jn. 1:8); as the moon never shines in such a way as to be without various spots.

Fourth Question

Do unbaptized catechumens, the excommunicated and schismatics belong to the church? We distinguish

I. This second question concerning the parts of the church is moved also by the Romanists, about which they themselves vary in opinion (as will appear from a distinct consideration of the various members of the question).

Do catechumens and the unbaptized belong to the church?

II. First, the question concerns catechumens and the unbaptized. Are they members of the church? With respect to this the Romanists do not agree among themselves. Bellarmine holds that such "are not in the church actually and properly, but only potentially; as a man conceived, but not yet formed and born" ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.3 *Opera* [1857], 2:75). On the contrary, Cano (according to Bellarmine, ibid., p. 76) maintains that "they belong to the church, not properly the Christian, but that which shuts up all believers in its embrace, which comprehends Abel also." Turrecremata and Bannes wish catechumens to be of the church "not in number, but by merit."

In what sense they belong to it.

III. We think the question can be solved by a twofold distinction. First, if the unbaptized (strangers to faith and religion) whom Paul calls those without [*tous exō*, 1 Cor. 5:12]) are distinguished from unbaptized believers or those already disposed to faith, although they have not yet received the external sacrament of baptism; for we think the latter only, not the former, belong to the church. Second, the church can be regarded in two ways: either as to external state and visible form, or as to internal and invisible form. Catechumens and the unbaptized are said to belong to the church not in the former sense and as to external state, but in the latter only. Thus they are of the mystical body of Christ, although they have not yet been called externally to the external and visible communion, nor have a right to sacred things.

IV. The reasons are: (1) unbaptized catechumens can be saved in that state; therefore they are of the church and in it. For out of the church there is no salvation, as the adversaries themselves do not deny. Now that such are saved is evident from the converted thief, who, although he had never been baptized, was nevertheless saved. Nor does the defense of Bellarmine avail him, that such are in the church by wish and potency, if not actually and properly. If no one can be a partaker of salvation except insofar as he is in the church, he who is only potentially in the church must be said to be saved potentially only and not actually and really. If by wish you mean an internal act of communion by which he now spiritually consents with faith and desires to be added to the external communion, we do not deny that

catechumens and the unbaptized can be said to be by wish in the external and visible church, because they are now really of the internal communion. But in another sense, if by being in the church by wish and potentially is meant only a potential communion with the invisible church, it is false that they can actually be saved because no one is actually saved who is not given to and planted in Christ and who is not a true and living member of Christ. Now whoever is actually a true member of Christ ought also by that very thing to be a true member of the church, which is the body of Christ.

V. (2) Catechumens and the unbaptized can be in covenant with God and partakers of Christ and his benefits before they have received the symbols of the covenant, as is evident in those who (aliens from the commonwealth of Israel according to the flesh) were reckoned in the body of the spiritual people and possessed the same blessings by faith: such as Melchizedek, Job and others in the Old Testament; and in the New, the centurion, the converted thief (Lk. 23:40–43), the eunuch (Acts 8:26–39) and innumerable martyrs who died before they had received baptism.

VI. (3) The grace of God is not tied to the sacraments (as Ferus observes, *In sacrosanctum Jesu Christ … Evangelium secundum Joannem* [1557], p. 60 on Jn. 3:5), and they do not deny that baptism is not necessary absolutely to salvation, but that it can be supplied by desire and martyrdom. Now if this is true of baptism (which is the entrance into the church), the necessity is not so great and so absolute; it readily appears that those who are not added to the external form of the church do not on that account simply perish. Nor yet is the order of the church interfered with by this because the same judgment ought to be formed of the external form of the church as of baptism (of which not a simple privation, but a contempt and spurning condemns).

Sources of explanation.

VII. If baptism is said to be the entrance into the church and this is said of external baptism, it is meant of the visible church only. If it is referred to internal baptism, it pertains also to the invisible church. But then the externally baptized (of whom we treat here) cannot be said to be baptized internally, as was the case with the thief and various unbaptized martyrs. In this sense, they who are truly and internally baptized always put on Christ

(as Paul says, Gal. 3:27); but in the other sense, they are said to put him on only sacramentally and symbolically.

VIII. They who are aggregated in the church either believe and receive baptism at one and the same time; or when they believe, still do not receive baptism, either compelled by necessity (as the thief on the cross) or influenced by free will (as the catechumens whose baptism was deferred in the primitive church even to the paschal feast; nay, sometimes even to the end of life). Those spoken of in Acts 2:41 (who were gathered into the church by baptism) pertained to the former, but this did not stand in the way of those who received Christ with true faith, nor yet at once received baptism (provided it was without any contempt for the sacrament), belonging now to the church because by faith they are made the sons of God (Gal. 3:26). It is one thing to be gathered into the visible church, which is done by baptism; another into the invisible, which is done by faith.

IX. If the ancients distinguished catechumens from believers, they took the word "believers" strictly for those who not only believed, but also had given a profession of faith in the external order and polity of the church. Yet this did not hinder them from having faith already and from being reckoned with true believers (who were already furnished with it internally, although they had not as yet made a public profession of it).

X. It is one thing to have a right to the external sacred things of the church, which refer to profession; another to the internal things of faith. Believing catechumens actually have a right to the latter because they are already partakers of Christ and of his benefits (although they have not as yet a right to the former, unless the order is preserved and baptism administered). Circumcision was a sign of the covenant, by which they who were destitute could not be reckoned of the people of God as to external form, although they could already be of the people of God according to election (as in the case of Job and Melchizedek). Thus baptism makes a Christian by profession, but not by internal truth.

Are the excommunicated members of the church?

XI. Second, as to the excommunicated (whom Bellarmine equally excludes from the church), we say that excommunication is either unjust (which is made with an erroneous impression and as such is not ratified by God, nor

is able to cut off from the body of Christ and the communion of the church, which Christ has not abdicated, such as was the excommunication pronounced against Christ and those who followed him, who were cast out of the synagogues [*aposynagōgoi*]); or just and lawful (which is either partial and relative in a certain degree, by which the excommunicated is kept away from the Lord's table, from prayers and assemblies); or absolute and total (which is called the greater, by which the excommunicated person is cut off from the very society of the church).

XII. This having been laid down, those excommunicated are out of the church who, content once with an external profession, had no true communion of faith and love with Christ and believers. When they are excommunicated, we must say about these what John said of the apostates: "They went out from us, but they were not of us" (1 Jn. 2:19). But others (who although ejected from the external communion, retain internal communion and do not cast aside the seed of faith and repentance) are rightly said to be of the church, even if they should not be admitted before death to peace with the church (on account of the severity of pastors), because God does not favor human vices—nor can he (who has once been admitted by faith into the body of the church) ever be cast out of it.

XIII. The reasons are multiple. (1) Excommunication is never absolute, but conditional (to wit, impenitence and obstinacy being supposed). (2) It is not so much from the mystical body of Christ, as from the external communion of the church and the use of the sacraments. If he who is excommunicated is declared to be separated from God and Christ, this is rather to be understood with respect to the intrinsic merit of guilt and as to the use of the good things of God and the consolation and peace of conscience (which follows the persuasion and sense of communion of the saints) than of his actual excision from Christ (which is impossible). (3) As it is a part of the polity (*politeias*) and government of particular churches, so it is not done by the catholic church, but only by a particular and visible church; nor is it done for destruction, but for salvation; for a time, not for ever (as it is a suspension and dismissal, but not an absolute excision and laceration).

XIV. No member of a church is outside of that church of which he is said to be a member; but the excommunicated, although outside of the particular visible church of which he was before called a member, does not cease to be

a member of the invisible church even after excommunication. Hence Augustine says: “For we do not separate from the people of God, those whom either by degrading or excommunicating, we reduce to a lower place for repentance” (*Contra Donatistas post Collationem* 1.20.28 [PL 43.669]).

XV. He cannot be a member of the church in whom faith ceases as to act and habit at the same time. But he can be a member in whom it ceases only as to the second and exercised act (as in the excommunicated); still not as to the first act and habit.

XVI. It is one thing to hold one as a heathen and a publican (i.e., to consider him alien from religion and the communion of the church, such as the heathen and the publicans were regarded among the Jews); another for him to be such in the truth of the thing. Concerning the excommunicated, the former can be said, but not the latter. If they are not cut off from the body of Christ, they do not forthwith suffer loss, since it is a great harm to be cast forth from the visible church and to be deprived of the communion of sacred things, by which Christ confirms and seals his grace in us.

XVII. Bellarmine says, “The excommunicated is in the church in mind, or desire, which suffices him for salvation, still he is not in body, or by external communication, which properly makes a man belong to that visible church which is on earth” (“De Ecclesia Militante,” 3.6 *Opera* [1857], 2:80). He plainly agrees with us because he holds that since there is no salvation out of the church, a certain invisible church must be acknowledged besides the visible. In it men can be saved in spirit, if not in body. He clearly confirms this when he says, “Excommunication makes the unrighteous friends of God and of the spirit of the church” (ibid.).

XVIII. To touch briefly upon schismatics, we readily grant that they who rashly and unjustly secede from the true church, by lacerating its unity, do not belong to the church. But we reject those who spitefully traduce us with this false name (because “[we] are unwilling to be in subjection to the Roman pontiff,” as Bellarmine has it) as being excluded from it.

Fifth Question: The Unity of the Church

In what sense may the church be called one?

I. Among the attributes of the church, the first is its unity, which flows from its nature. For since it is a holy society and a mystical body, embracing all the elect united in the bond of the same spirit, faith and love with each other and with Christ, it must necessarily have a certain unity by which all its members may be mutually joined together. Nor is it sufficient that the crowd of the elect should be embraced in thought and mind, unless we think of such a unity of the church in which we may be persuaded that we are truly planted; for unless we are united under Christ the head, with all the remaining members, no hope of a future inheritance awaits us. Hence, the husband says, "My dove is but one, she is the only one of her mother" (Cant. 6:9). Everywhere else she is represented under one body and one fold.

II. Since the church may be viewed either as to its external or its internal state, on this account the question concerning its unity may be disputed with respect to both. Here we do not treat of its visible unity and as to its external state, inasmuch as it is the domicile of believers (as to profession of faith and communion of sacred things); nor of the schisms which can take place in it (of which unity we will speak hereafter). Rather we treat the internal and invisible unity which belongs to the church properly so called, as to internal state.

III. Again, we do not treat of an accidental unity either of place or time or rites or age, since it is evident that it obtains a multiple diversity in these particulars and, as it has its seat in various places and belongs to all times, so it is not of one age but of many, through which it successively passes, experiencing now its infancy, then its youth and again its settled age. Nor is it uniform as to rites and government. But we treat of essential unity, which remains the same in various places as well as at various times, by which believers worship the same God, recognize the same Savior, have the same faith, are animated with the same spirit, and are members of the same body. These may be referred to six heads: unity (1) of body; (2) of head; (3) of spirit; (4) of faith; (5) of love; (6) of hope.

Unity of body.

IV. (1) Unity of body. Although it is constituted of various parts as so many members living in different places and times, still it is one body, which

arises from all those, as the apostle clearly declares: “For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ” (1 Cor. 12:12; cf. Rom. 12:5) (namely, the mystical Christ, i.e., the church). Thus neither a multitude of believers, nor diversity of offices, age, disposition can prevent their being one in Christ: “For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles” (1 Cor. 12:13). When Augustine explains this with regard to the believers of the Old and New Testaments, he uses the similitude of the birth of an infant whose hand appears before its head. “Just as in a certain birth the head not yet coming forth the hand has preceded; but still the hand is connected with the head. Do not, therefore, suppose, brethren, that all the righteous, who have suffered persecution from the wicked, even those who came to announce the advent of the Lord before his advent, did not belong to the members of Christ” (*In Psalmum LXI Ennaratio* 4 [PL 36.731]).

V. Since there is granted a continuous and discrete body, the latter is such by a mere aggregation, like the body of a state and family or a flock of sheep or the unity of a house. The former is such by the unity of one subject, such as the human body. Scripture is wont to describe the unity of the body of the church in a twofold manner, now under the symbol of the “unity of a flock,” in which Jews and Gentiles are united in one (“And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd,” Jn. 10:16), and of the “unity of a state and people under the same king” (“Therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God,” Eph. 2:19). And again under the symbol of the “unity of the body,” when believers are called members one of another and of Christ the head (1 Cor. 12:12; Eph. 1:22).

Unity of head.

VI. (2) Unity of head, which gives unity to the body from this—that there is one head to the church. It is also necessary that only one body constitute it, since neither can there be a two-headed body, nor a two-bodied head. Paul frequently unfolds this mystery, but especially when he says, “This was the good pleasure of God, that in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together (*anakephalaiōsasthai*) in one all things in Christ, both

which are in heaven, and which are on earth" (Eph. 1:10). "And gave him to be the head over all things to the church, which is his body" (vv. 22, 23*). Nor is any other head required for the universal church because, as omnipresent and omnipotent, he can be with his members everywhere and always, and govern and protect them by his vivifying influence. So that to no purpose do the Romanists pretend here that in order to constitute the truth of the church the unity of a visible and subaltern head is required (as will be seen in the proper place).

Unity of spirit.

VII. (3) Unity of spirit, which flows from the unity of head to constitute the unity of the body. For on this account, one head has one body joined to it because by one pervading spirit it animates all the members. Hence the apostle adjoins unity of spirit to unity of body (1 Cor. 12:13; Eph. 4:4) and elsewhere "he that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit" (1 Cor. 6:17). Now although this spirit is set forth under different symbols and is described as sevenfold on account of the diversity of gifts which he bestows on believers (Rev. 1:4; Is. 11:2), still no less is he one as to essence: "for one and the same Spirit works all these," says Paul (1 Cor. 12:11).

Unity of faith.

VIII. (4) Unity of faith, because faith is one (Eph. 4:5); as much that which is believed, as that by which it is believed (i.e., one doctrine of salvation proposed in the gospel), which faith embraces, which as much subjectively with regard to those believing as objectively with regard to the object towards which it is carried, always was and will be one, both before and after Christ, for Christ is the "same yesterday, today and forever" (Heb. 13:8). For although revelation could have increased afterwards as to mode and degree of manifestation and was now more obscure under the Old Testament, then clearer under the New, then again it will be clearest of all when "we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man" (Eph. 4:13), i.e., will be consummated in glory; still the substance of doctrine in things necessary for salvation (which must be believed by all) was always the same. This Irenaeus teaches

excellently: “The church sown through the whole world even to the ends of the earth, both by the apostles and their disciples, received the faith, which is in one God, the Almighty Father, who made heaven and earth, and in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, incarnated for our salvation, and in the Holy Spirit” (*Against Heretics* 1.10*.1 [ANF 1:330; PG 7.550]). “Since she has received this preaching and this faith, as we have said, the church diligently guards it as if inhabiting one house, and believes in like manner with them as if having one mind and one heart, and preaches, and teaches, and delivers these things harmoniously, as if possessing one mouth, for although in the world languages are dissimilar but still the traditions” (i.e., the doctrine of the creed delivered in Scripture) “are one and the same; nor do the churches founded in Germany believe and teach otherwise, nor those in Spain, etc. But as the sun, the creature of God, is one and the same in the universe; so also the light of the preaching of the truth shines everywhere, and illuminates all men who wish to come to the knowledge of the truth” (ibid., 1.10*.2 [ANF 1:331; PG 7.551, 554]).

Unity of love.

IX. (5) Unity of love, which follows the unity of faith by which believers united to Christ by faith ought to be gathered together by love that “the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace may be kept” (Eph. 4:3) and believers become one heart and one soul (Acts 2:46). On this account, it is called “the bond of perfectness” (Col. 3:14), not only by reason of the Christian virtues (because it binds them together so that he who has it, has and exercises all the others, and without it they are nothing), but also as to the church (which as the house of the Lord is held together by the cement of love, Eph. 4:16) and as to believers and members of the church (which unites them together so that each one performs his own duty and they give mutual aid to each other for the utility and conservation of the body).

Unity of hope.

X. (6) Unity of hope (Eph. 4:4), i.e., of the thing hoped for and of the heavenly inheritance to which we are all equally called and of which we will all be partakers, each in his own time (Col. 1:5; Rom. 8:17). Neither is

one glory laid up for the great, another for the small; one for the Jews, another for the Gentiles—but one and the same glory for all—the inheritance of the saints in light.

Unity of baptism.

XI. The unity of baptism, of which the apostle speaks in the same place, pertains to the visible church and its external state, unless we understand rather internal than external baptism (i.e., the thing signified rather than the sign).

XII. Although there are many particular churches scattered through the world, the unity of the church is not on that account broken up or his body despised because the catholic church remains always one, composed of these various parts, which (because they are homogeneous [*homoiomereis*]) obtain the same name with the whole.

XIII. To confirm this, the unity of God and the Father of all contributes greatly, who is said to be above all (*epi pantōn*) in authority and dominion; through all (*dia pantōn*) through his providence, by which he permeates, sustains and governs all things; and in all (*en pasi*) by his grace (Eph. 4:6).

XIV. Moreover, these various species of unity which occur in the church are so many effectual arguments for believers to cherish among themselves love and concord and to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace (for which purpose they are brought forward by the apostle, Rom. 12; Eph. 4; 1 Cor. 12).

Sixth Question

In what sense is the church called catholic?

I. Although all agree that the church is well called catholic, still they do not equally agree concerning the meaning of the word. For the Romanists circumscribe that universality by the limits of the Roman church so as to extend it only to those who in various nations and places are under the Roman pontiff, so that to be Roman and catholic are the same, as Bellarmine says. But it can be easily shown that the meaning of this appellation is different.

1. The name catholic properly denotes the church universal, triumphant as well as militant.

II. First, the proper signification of this word teaches not that an assembly, which is restricted to certain places, can claim for itself the name of catholic church; but only that society which embraces all the elect and believers (those triumphant in heaven as well as those militant upon earth), in whatever place they have been or will be, and in whatever time they have lived from the beginning of the world or will live even unto the end. In this sense, "The whole family of God" is said "to be named in heaven and on earth" (Eph. 3:15). Therefore in the Apostles' Creed the church is properly called catholic. Thus Augustine expresses it on Ps. 62: "His whole church, which is diffused everywhere, is his body, of which he is also the Head; however, not only believers of the present time, but also they who were before us, and who will be after us even to the end of the world, all belong to his body" (*In Psalmum LXII* Enarratio* 2 [PL 36.749]). And on Ps. 90: "The body of this Head is the church, not that which is in this place, but which is in this place and through the whole world; nor that which is in this time, but which was from Abel himself even unto those who will be born in the end, and will believe in Christ; the whole people of the saints belonging to one state, which state is the body of Christ" ("Sermo II," *In Psalmum XC Enarratio* 1 [PL 37.1159]). Gregory says, "Our maker has a universal vineyard (to wit, the church) which from Abel the just even to the last elect one who will be born, puts forth as many saints as it sends forth branches" ("Homilia 19," *XL Homiliarum in Evangelia* 1 [PL 76.1154]).

III. Now it is clear that this notion is adopted in the Apostles' Creed. First, from the genuine signification of the word, which, understood in its whole extent, ought to embrace the church universal and to be extended to all its parts, as much that which reigns in heaven as that which battles on earth; as much that which was from the beginning of the world and which now is, as that which will be even to the consummation of all things. These three parts constitute the one sole church, which is called catholic, without exception or limitation of time or place, in contradistinction to particular churches, which are members of that great body collected by Christ to himself out of the world. Second, what is immediately added concerning the

communion of saints confirms the same thing. For the saints are not only they who live on earth, but also they who reign in heaven and who will be born even unto the end, who ought to be mutually associated together by the bond of a holy communion. Third, as often as Scripture speaks of the church under the idea of universality, it means the whole church and not a part only (Eph. 1:22, 23; 5:25, 26; Col. 1:18; Heb. 12:23 and frequently elsewhere).

IV. Now although the word "church" popularly speaking denotes an external and visible assembly, it does not on that account follow (speaking accurately of the church of Christ) that its proper and natural signification implies simply a visible assembly or a simple external profession: for a spiritual and internal communion constitutes its essence, as has been seen. Therefore since mention is made of the universal church absolutely and simply, no other signification can be assigned more proper and natural than that it designates the universal society of the sons of God, in opposition to the society of the children of the world.

2. The church of the New Testament in opposition to that of the Old.

V. Second, the catholic church is taken more strictly for the church of the New Testament, which is diffused through the whole world in opposition to the church of the Old Testament, which was included within the narrow boundaries of Judea. And indeed both with respect to places and persons and times. (a) To places, because it is scattered through the whole world; so that believers are no longer bound to a certain particular place (as formerly) to worship God, but can everywhere adore God in Spirit and in truth (Jn. 4:21, 23; 1 Tim. 2:8). (b) To persons, because it is chosen without distinction from every kind, order and state of men. For there is no distinction either of Jew or Greek, slave or free, male or female (Rom. 10:12), but in every nation, he that fears him is accepted with him (Acts 10:35). "In Christ there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all" (Col. 3:11). Hence the elders give thanks to the Lamb because "he redeemed them out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation"

(Rev. 5:9). Finally, to times, because it ought to continue in this world even until the consummation of ages and the last appearing of Christ; on this account Christ wishes the memory of his death to be celebrated until he comes (1 Cor. 11:26). In this sense, the fathers most frequently speak of the catholic church. "The church is called catholic," says Optatus, "because it is diffused everywhere" (*De Schismate Donatistarum: Adversus Parmenianum* 2.1 [PL 11.941]). Augustine asserts the same thing (Letter 52, "To Severinus" [FC 12:243]; Letter 141, "To Silvanus" [FC 20:139]). Thus the catholic church is opposed to the particular churches which are contained within certain places and times.

3. With regard to the orthodox catholic doctrine.

VI. Third, the catholic church is frequently so called by the fathers with respect to doctrine because it holds and defends the orthodox catholic doctrine; "the whole of which she truthfully holds," as Augustine says, against which the heretics and innovators argued (Letter 93, "To Vincent" 7.23 [FC 18:79; PL 33.333]). Vincent of Lerins clearly sets this forth. "In the catholic church itself great care is to be taken that it holds what is believed everywhere, always and by all; for this is truly and properly catholic: which the very force of the name and reason declare, which truly universally comprehends all things" (*Commonitory* 2.6 [NPNF2, 11:132; PL 50.640]). In this sense, there can be many catholic churches; nay, all particular orthodox churches are catholic, as they are often called. And their bishops were said to be "bishops of the catholic church," so that by this title they might be distinguished from the assemblies of heretics and schismatics. The Theodosian Law teaches this, by which it is sanctioned: "That the church of those only should be called catholic, who worship the divine Trinity with equal honor; those who think differently should be called heretics and be stamped with ignominy" (cf. Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* 7.4 [NPNF2, 2:378; PG 67.1423–24]). And Augustine: "Not only the overseas catholics, but also the African catholics" (Letter 141, "To Silvanus" 6 [FC 18:141; PL 33.580]); he calls "catholic emperors," i.e., orthodox, also sound in faith (Letter 105, "To the Donatists," 2.4 [FC 18:199; PL 33.397]). The Roman Synod (A.D. 465) under Hilary, Bishop of Rome, begins thus: "Hilary, Bishop of the Catholic Church of the city of

Rome" (Mansi, 7:960). Here it is clear that Hilary does not call himself bishop of the universal church, since he restricts his episcopate to the city of Rome.

VII. But whatever is the reason of this appellation, it is certain that it does not belong to the Roman church, since it neither holds the catholic faith, nor is it everywhere diffused—innumerable churches both in the east and in the west having been separated from and having nothing in common with it.

VIII. Although Jerusalem could be the center of the Jewish church because as to the greatest part it was included within the bounds of Judea and restricted to a certain place, in like manner Rome cannot be the center of the catholic Christian church because it is restricted to no place peculiarly, but it can everywhere worship God in Spirit and in truth (Jn. 4:24). On this account, Christ substituted no certain seat and visible assembly for Jerusalem, but the heavenly and mystical Jerusalem, independent of every assembly and visible seat and mutually connected together by the bond of the Spirit alone and the communion of faith of equal (*isotimou*) honor (which neither distance of place, nor interposition of seas, nor any other obstacle can hinder).

IX. Although from the fact that heretics everywhere are accustomed falsely to ascribe to themselves the name of catholic church, it is rightly gathered that the name catholic cannot be a mark of the true church (as will be proved in the proper place against the Romanists) because it is often a title without the thing. Yet it does not follow on that account that catholicity is not the proper adjunct of a true and properly so-called church.

Seventh Question: The Invisibility of the Church

Is the true church rightly said to be invisible? We affirm against the Romanists

Origin of the question.

I. That the statement of this most vexed question may be rightly exhibited, the origin of the controversy must be inquired into and the occasion investigated from which it sprung at first. The Romanists suppose that the

church was called invisible by us in order to satisfy the question asked of us by them—where our church was before Luther. Since we could not show that our church was perpetually visible in the world, we excogitated this distinction—that the visible church is one thing, the invisible another. But they interpret our opinion falsely. For even if our church had been as large and conspicuous formerly as it is now, still we would say that the catholic church is nonetheless invisible. This question truly belongs to another controversy, concerning the perpetual appearance and conspicuousness of the church as to external state (of which we will treat in the following questions).

II. Therefore, the true origin of the controversy must be sought from this—that from the beginning of the Reformation the Romanists disputed from the Scriptures against Luther and others concerning indulgences, justification and human satisfactions (concerning which the controversy was at first carried on) and since they could not easily extricate themselves, they wished to drag them to the tribunal of the church that these questions might be decided by her dictation. They did not recognize any other church than the visible assembly externally professing faith (consisting of bishops, clergy and others, over whom the pope presided as head). But Luther was not only unwilling to allow this, but denied also that such either are or ought to be called the church. The true church was not to be measured by an external profession or subjection to the Roman pontiff, but by faith and internal piety alone (which cannot fall under the senses). Bellarmine acknowledges this: "Luther in book 4 of his *De servo arbitrio* since Erasmus had objected to him that it was incredible that God had deserted his church for so long a time, answered, God had never deserted his church, but that is not the church of Christ which is commonly so called, i.e., the pope and the bishops; but the church is the certain few pious persons whom he preserves as remnants" ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.11* *Opera* [1857], 2:94). Hence arose the question concerning the invisibility of the church.

III. Now although this question (the distinction between the internal and external state of the church having once been established; and the parts of the church constituted by the pious and elect and called believers alone) may seem less necessary (for if it is true that believers alone constitute the church, since they alone are known to God, nor can they be certainly and distinctly known by anyone else, it is clear that the church is rightly called

invisible). This Bellarmine confesses, “If they who are destitute of internal faith are not and cannot be in the church, there will be no further question concerning the invisibility of the church between us and heretics” (“De Ecclesia Militante,” 3.10 *Opera* [1857], 2:91). For as he adds at once, “No one can certainly know who are truly righteous and pious among so many, who externally profess righteousness and piety.” Still because it is one of the most important questions here agitated and capable of multiple relations (*schesin*), on this account we must treat distinctly of it.

Statement of the question.

IV. Before all things, it is to be observed here that the distinction between the visibility and invisibility of the church is drawn from the twofold call directed to it—the external by the word, the internal by the Spirit; and from the twofold form thence emerging—the one internal and essential, the other external and accidental. For by reason of the external call and form (to wit, the preaching of the word and professing of faith), it strikes altogether the sense and is called visible; but the same is invisible by reason of the internal call and mystical communion with Christ by faith: nor can it fall under the sense, but is known to God alone, who knows who are his. Hence it is evident that the distinction of visible and invisible is not a division of genus into species, as if we formed two churches in species opposed to each other (as our opponents slander us); but is only a limitation of the subject according to its various relations (*scheseis*). As the same man numerically can be said to be invisible and visible in different respects (*kat’ allo kai allo*). Thus the same church is rightly said to be visible as to external form and invisible as to internal. Meanwhile, because in the visible church of the called there are also the wicked and hypocrites, who are not in the church of the elect, the appellation “visible” extends more widely than that of “invisible” because many are called, few are chosen (Mt. 20:16).

V. That this may be more clearly perceived, we must see in how many ways the church can be said to be visible or invisible. (1) The church can be said to be visible with respect to the material or the men who constitute it, who can be seen. (2) With respect to the external form (to wit, the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments) which also strike the external senses in particular assemblies. (3) With respect to the splendor

with which it shines and is rendered conspicuous and illustrious in the world. Again it is said to be invisible: (a) with respect to the internal form and believers as such, who constitute the church, who do not fall under the senses, but are known to God alone (namely, by a certain and distinct knowledge of individuals). (b) With respect to catholicity, for although particular churches are visible, still the catholic church (inasmuch as it denotes the collection of all the churches in the world) can never be seen at the same time wholly, neither as to the part now triumphant, nor as to that which is as yet to come. (c) With respect to dissipation and defection, whether on account of stealthily springing errors which tarnish its purity or on account of assailing persecutions which disturb and destroy peace and liberty, when the Elian (*Eliana*) times come in which the pious are compelled to fly to the desert and hide there; nor can they be recognized by anyone and religion seems to be altogether exiled. The first invisibility is well said to be the invisibility of form or of essence. The second, the invisibility of parts. The third, the invisibility of signs and of exercised sacred rites.

VI. These things having been posited, the statement of the question is easily gathered. First, the question here does not concern the visibility or invisibility of the third order, which has reference to visible splendor or the hiding and scattering of the church. This belongs to another question, concerning the perpetual splendor and eminence of the church, which has regard to its external state (of which we will treat hereafter). Second, the question also does not concern the invisibility of parts and of men as such; for no one denies that they are sometimes visible and sometimes invisible by reason of the diversity of their states and that men as such who constitute the church are always visible. But the question concerns the first species of invisibility, which respects believers as such and men; not only those who constitute the church materially, but reduplicatively inasmuch as they constitute it formally; not by reason of external form, which consists in a profession of faith and the use of the sacraments (which we willingly confess to be visible by its own nature), but with regard to internal and essential form. Thus the question is reduced to these limits—Is the church, composing the mystical body of Christ, rightly said to be invisible, not by an invisibility of parts or of material or of signs, but by the invisibility of internal form and as such. The Romanists deny it. Bellarmine says, “The

church is an assembly of men so visible and palpable as is the assembly of the Roman people, or the kingdom of France, or the Venetian Republic" ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.2 *Opera* [1857], 2:75). Hence they are accustomed to traduce the invisible church as a Platonic idea and a mere figment or chimera of the Protestants. However, we affirm it, influenced by the most weighty reasons.

The invisibility of the church is proved: (1) from the nature of the church, which consists of believers alone.

VII. The first is drawn from all those passages and arguments by which we proved the church properly so called to consist of the elect and believers alone (Question 3). For since they are not visible as such, neither can the church itself (which is constituted of them) in this sense be visible, but only invisible.

From Rom. 2:28.

VIII. Second, the same thing is confirmed by Rom. 2:28, 29*: "For he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew, which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter." As by Jew the apostle denotes a member of the true church (as elsewhere by Israel and sons of Abraham) and by circumcision he means the same thing (Rom. 9:6; Gal. 6:16; Phil. 3:3), so when he says he is not a true Jew which is outward, but inward (*en tō kryptō*), he intimates that the truth of Judaism is not to be sought from the race or the external profession before men, but from the internal faith and piety of the heart, which is manifest to God alone, not to men; nor is true and saving and God-accepted circumcision the circumcision of the flesh (which is nothing else than a vain and external ceremony), but the invisible and internal circumcision of the heart (which is made by the Spirit, and which God primarily and by himself commands and approves, Dt. 10:16; Jer. 4:4). It is confirmed by 1 Pet. 3:4, where the apostle calls the gift of regeneration with which believers ought to be

adorned the hidden man of the heart (*ton krypton anthrōpon tēs kardias*) "which is in the incorruption of a meek and quiet spirit" (i.e., in the imperishable excellence of holiness and of the Christian virtues, which is opposed to gold, silver and precious garments, transitory and corruptible things, in which the women of the world seek their adorning). He says that it is "the hidden man of the heart" because the truth of faith and regeneration is placed in the heart and can be known to no one except God and the believer. Here belongs what is said about the white stone to be given to the one that overcometh, and "the new name to be inscribed upon it, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it" (Rev. 2:17). For as that new name is none other than the name and dignity of the sons of God (Jn. 1:12; Rom. 8:16; 1 Jn. 3:1), so while it is said that no man knows it except he who receives it, its invisibility is intimated with sufficient clearness. It is confirmed by 2 Tim. 2:19, where God is said "to know them that are his" (namely, certainly and infallibly, which does not belong to men except by the judgment of charity, in which they can often be deceived).

3. From the form and adjuncts of the church.

IX. Third, whatever things constitute the church properly so called are internal and invisible: election and effectual calling, union with Christ, the Spirit, faith, regeneration and the writing of the law on the heart, the reasonable (*logikos*) and spiritual worship. Hence she is described as the spouse of Christ who is "beautiful and glorious within" (Ps. 45:13*), i.e., who does not glitter with gold, gems and external ornaments, but with faith, piety, love and the other virtues which do not fall under the senses. She is described as "a spiritual house and tabernacle in the spirit" (Eph. 2:21; 1 Pet. 2:5), not because the church consists of spirits alone, but because the men who compose it do not compose it as men simply who are seen with the bodily eyes, but as spiritual men renewed by the Spirit, who do not fall under the senses. She is described as "the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven," which is seen in the Spirit (Rev. 21:10), to which the earthly is opposed (Heb. 12:18); as the visible and tangible mount (to which the Israelites approached with bodily motions when the law was given) is opposed to the invisible and mystical mount, designated symbolically by Zion, to which believers effectually called by faith approach: "For ye are

not come unto the mount that might be touched [*psēlophōmenon*]" by the external senses like Mount Sinai, "but ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem." Nor can it be said (as Bellarmine wishes) that this is restricted to the church triumphant, but it is also extended to the church militant, both from this—that believers are said now to have come to it and from the other circumstances added there which belong to the church militant.

4. From Christ, the head.

X. Fourth, the head of the church is invisible; therefore its body also is invisible. For although Christ was visible on earth (and is also in heaven as man), still as Mediator and head of the church he cannot fall under the senses. The same thing must be said of the church which is his body (Eph. 1:22); the men who constitute it are indeed seen, but not as believers and members of Christ. Hence as the unity and collection of the church into one mystical body is spiritual, by faith, such ought to be its form also. I know that the Romanists thrust the pope upon us as the head of the church, but we will in the proper place demonstrate the worthlessness of this figment. The thing itself shows it sufficiently; since the church is the body of Christ (not the natural, but the mystical), the head ought also to be homogeneous with it and mystical (which evidently cannot be said of the pope).

XI. Fifth, the catholic church is the object of faith, since we are ordered in the Apostles' Creed to believe in it; therefore it does not fall under the senses. "For faith is the evidence of things not seen" (Heb. 11:1). Nor is the ridiculous exception of Bellarmine and Turrianus to be listened to—that the church indeed is seen, but its holiness is believed, so that the article is to be conceived thus: "I believe the Catholic church to be holy" (as if the holiness of the church alone is set forth to be believed and not its existence also). Nay, both the subject and the adjunct are proposed for belief because neither falls under the senses. But Bellarmine himself, seeing the futility of this answer, adds that it is better said that in the church something is seen and something believed. "We see," says he, "that assembly of men which is the church, but that this assembly is a true church of Christ, we do not see, but we believe." This ingenuous confession of the truth throttles his opinion and confirms ours. Nor does the answer of Perron have any other tendency

when he says, “Faith is either of things invisible or which are apprehended under invisible conditions, such as those under which we consider the church when we believe it to be the spouse of Christ, the temple of God.… Otherwise,” says he, “to believe in Christ would not have been an article of faith while Christ was on earth, nor could baptism have been believed, as was sanctioned in the Council of Constantinople.” This is precisely our meaning—that it is faith to believe that men are the church of Christ not as men or as professing faith, but as planted in Christ by faith and love. Thus Christ was believed while he was on earth, not as man, but as the Son of God and a Redeemer. Baptism is believed not as an external laver of water, but as a sacrament of grace. Here belongs the remark of Pererius on Rom. 8 from Cajetan: “There are two things to be considered in the object of faith, one of which is the formality, the other the materiality; the material object of faith can be seen, but the formal is invisible.” Thus the church as to the material can be seen, but as to the formal is believed.

6. From Lk. 17:20.

XII. Sixth, the church is the kingdom of God. It does not come with observation (*meta paratērēseōs*, i.e., with worldly and royal splendor, which strikes the senses and can be observed, as if it were a temporal and earthly kingdom, such as the Jews dreamed of and even up to this day look for)—“for behold, the kingdom of God is within you” (Lk. 17:21, because it is spiritual and internal, erected in the minds of men and occupied with things pertaining to the mind; not “in meat and drink,” i.e., in external and bodily things, but “in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost,” Rom. 14:17). The ordinary gloss on this place has: “It could not be observed because my kingdom is not temporal, but spiritual, which has now begun by faith” (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria* [1617], 5:921 on Lk. 17:21). Or Lk. 17:21 may mean that among the Jews themselves Christ had already begun to found his kingdom by the preaching of the gospel received into their minds. This could not have been said if that kingdom had been visible. Bellarmine holds that by the kingdom of God is meant either the grace by which God reigns in the hearts of men or Christ himself. But in whatever way it is taken, our opinion is confirmed because it cannot be seen in whose hearts Christ reigns by grace.

XIII. Seventh, the true worshippers who constitute the true and properly so called church are only those "who worship in spirit and in truth" (Jn. 4:23) and who on that account cannot fall under the senses, since hypocrites, as to external appearance, do the same thing. Nor does Bellarmine differ from this when he says, "In this place it is taught that the principal worship of God in the church will be internal, but on that account it does not follow that the church itself is invisible, nor does it also follow that external worship is to be rejected, and external temples to be destroyed, since the Lord regards not the place of prayer, but the manner of the rite." Now (a) if the principal worship in the church is internal and invisible, assuredly the church (which on account of and with respect to that properly is and is called the church) is rightly said to be invisible. (b) Although it may also have an external worship, yet since it is not the principal, it cannot nor ought it to be judged from that who is properly a member of the church. (c) Christ refers not only to the mode and rite of prayer, but also to the place, while he shows that the worship of God would afterwards be fixed in no place or seat. "The hour cometh," says he, "when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father, but the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth." "In spirit" (i.e., with spiritual worship, in opposition to the carnal and external worship which prevailed under the Old Testament, Heb. 9:10). "And in truth" (i.e., with a true and real adoration, in opposition to the legal shadows and figures and the hypocrisy of external actions with which the carnal Jews were content).

Sources of explanation.

XIV. Although the word "church" is often taken in Scripture for a visible assembly (which can fall under the senses in two ways: both with respect to the men who constitute it [who are visible] and with respect to the external form and order which exists in it [which consists in a profession of faith and participation in the sacraments under lawful pastors, in which sense the ministry of the gospel is called a "candlestick" which shines in the church, which can be seen by the senses of the body]), it does not follow that the same word does not elsewhere denote the church, inasmuch as it is invisible as to internal form and is used in its proper signification, as could appear from the passages before praised. So that only falsely could Bellarmine say

that Calvin could not bring forward one passage of Scripture where this name is attributed to an invisible congregation ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.12 *Opera* [1857], 2:95–96). The various passages adduced by him (Num. 20:4; 1 K. 8:14; Mt. 18:17; Acts 15:3; 20:28; 18:22) show indeed that the name church is applied to an external and visible assembly, but they do not prove that this is the only and proper signification of the word (which often occurs elsewhere).

XV. "The city set on a hill which cannot be hid" (Mt. 5:14) ought not to be understood of the catholic church, but properly of the pastors and teachers, or the ministry of the church. For Christ addresses his apostles and disciples, whom as he had before called "the salt of the earth, and the light of the world," so now he adds that "a city that is set on a hill cannot be hid." He does this to teach that they are the light of the world, which ought to shine and, as a city set on a hill is concealed from no one but is conspicuous to all far and wide, so their faith, piety and life should be exhibited to all—all their acts and words be taken for examples. Hence he wishes to show them how anxiously they ought to strive not to do anything which can offend men, but rather that they should diligently care that the light of their good works may shine before men that they may be influenced to glorify God. Chrysostom and Theophylact properly remark on this passage, "Do not suppose that ye are hid as in a corner; you are conspicuous on all sides, wherefore look to it that you live blameless, that you may not be a stumbling block to others" (Chrysostom, "Homily 15," *On Matthew* [NPNF1, 10:98]; Theophylact, *Enarratio in Evangelium Matthaei* [PG 123.191] on Mt. 5:14).

XVI. Is. 2:2, 3; Dan. 2:35 and Mic. 4:1, 2 show the amplitude and clearness of the church under the New Testament by the preaching of the gospel in opposition to the times of the Old Testament and in relation to earthly kingdoms and empires. But they do not imply either that that splendor would be constant and perpetual or that the church of true believers as such is visible, because external glory and splendor do not implant us in the mystical body of Christ so that we become members of the true church; rather the internal glory of faith and regeneration, known to God alone (2 Tim. 2:19), implants us. Besides, it is certain that the prophets did not speak properly, but figuratively and mystically under the symbol of earthly things (viz., the external splendor of the kingdoms of the world

adumbrating the spiritual and heavenly glory of the gospel in accommodation to the rude state of the Jewish people and after the manner of the Old Testament, where carnal things were shadows of spiritual things). As by the Levitical and bodily worship is meant the evangelical in spirit and in truth (Zech. 14:20; Jn. 4:24); by pure offerings, prayers, giving of thanks and alms are meant (Heb. 13:15; Ps. 141:2); by splendor and glory, the light of good works (Mt. 5:14) and the glory of the image of God in holiness and righteousness (2 Cor. 3:18); by riches and treasures, the riches of grace and glory, the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (Col. 1:27; Eph. 2:7); by the tabernacle, the church (Eph. 2:22) and the hearts of believers, in which God has fixed his perpetual seat (Eph. 3:17; 1 Cor. 3:16); and by Israel according to the flesh, Israel according to the Spirit and the spiritual seed of true believers, whom he elected from eternity as his peculiar possession and will save for ever (Gal. 6:16).

XVII. Although circumcision was a visible sign of the visible Jewish church in respect to external state, it does not follow that the true church as such was visible; for all circumcised in the flesh did not belong to the true church, but they only who were Jews inwardly, circumcised in heart by the Spirit (Rom. 2:28). Just as now baptism is an external sign of the church as to external and visible form, but not of the catholic and invisible church, considered as to internal state.

XVIII. The saying that each believer is bound to unite himself with the church under peril of eternal death does not imply that the church is on that account visible. (1) This is to be understood of the catholic church, not of any particular and visible church. (2) The “internal communion” by faith is meant, not always the external communion by profession. The former is indeed absolutely and simply necessary, so that no one can be saved who has not been united to Christ and been made a member of his body (because to no one is salvation given without faith in Christ, Acts 4:12; Jn. 3:16). But this does not suppose the visibility of the church, because this ought to be brought about by the bond of the Spirit. While “external communion” with a particular visible church is not absolutely necessary (for sometimes that is impossible, as when any Christian captive should be detained among infidels), but it is necessary only conditionally (if, for instance, it is known to us and if we are prevented from uniting with it by no insuperable obstacle); but if we do not know it or cannot unite ourselves to it, we are not

bound. Otherwise Elijah and the seven thousand who united themselves with no assembly would be condemned; innumerable believers who, either held in prisons and mines (or captives among the Turks) and cannot connect themselves with any assembly, would be condemned. Bellarmine maintains that "the unjustly excommunicated can be saved, since he is still in the church in mind or desire, although not bodily or by external communication" ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.6 *Opera* [1857], 2:80). Therefore the necessity of union with the church neither can nor ought to be understood of external union with the visible church, but of internal and spiritual union with the catholic church.

XIX. It is one thing to know where the true church is; another who are its genuine members individually. The former is necessary to him who is bound to connect himself with the church, but not forthwith the latter. For although I am not able to discern with certainty who are true believers in particular who constitute the church, provided I know from the marks of the church where they are and in what society they live, it is sufficient that I should connect myself with it. The fold of Christ ought to be known to the believer that he may join it by a general and indefinite knowledge; that he may know it has the marks of a true visible church and that true believers are in it. And thus the pastor ought to know the fold of Christ that he may feed the sheep contained in it. But it is not necessary that he should know by a special and distinct and definite knowledge of individuals, so as to hold certainly by a true judgment particular persons to be the true church (which belongs to Christ alone, the chief shepherd [*archipoimeni*], who knows his sheep infallibly). It is sufficient for him to know this by a charitable judgment which can be exposed to error.

XX. Our adversaries falsely maintain that there can be no society of men unless they know each other; and that they do not know unless they see each other. As to the former, who is ignorant that there is a society and union between the church triumphant and militant, the spirits made perfect and those who have gained the goal in heaven and travellers on earth, among whom nevertheless there is no recognition? Undoubtedly, there are interchanges of duties which can be exercised between those who are known and near, but there are others by which we embrace those most unknown, while we commend them to God in our prayers and are united to them by the bond of the Spirit. As to the latter, it is false that no one can be

known except by the external senses. For as Christ is not known according to the flesh, so neither are believers. Thus I know Paul and other saints, not by external and visible signs, but by the communion of the Spirit. The same thing must be said of true believers who are united to each other and are mutually recognized by secret and invisible bonds. I confess, as to a particular church, visible signs are required for establishing an external union, but it is not so with the catholic church, which does not fall under the senses.

XXI. So far is the visibility of the church from being able to be elicited from the words of Christ—"Upon this rock will I build my church" (Mt. 16:18)—that on the contrary it strikes a deathblow to the cause of the Romanists. For as the foundation and structure of the edifice, such also ought to be the edifice. Now the structure of the edifice is spiritual and invisible since it is formed with the cement of the Spirit and the bond of faith and love by effectual and internal calling, which inserts and builds us upon Christ as living stones. The foundation also is not visible, but hidden in God. For Christ, although as man he was seen formerly on earth, could not be seen as the foundation and head of the church. Nor if the confession of faith made by Peter was external and sensible, does it follow that the foundation of the church is visible. The confession as such and in itself is not the foundation, but in virtue of the thing or doctrine declared in the confession. The true and saving application of it to the founding of the church was not in the mouth by confession (which can be deceptive), but in the heart by faith. That this passage, however, cannot be understood of the church as visible is evident from the adjunct added—that the gates of hell could not prevail against it. Satan can and often does prevail against particular visible churches, but against the catholic church, consisting of the elect alone, he never can prevail because it is built upon a rock (Mt. 7:24).

XXII. Earthly republics and kingdoms differ from the church because Christ's kingdom is not of this world (Jn. 18:36). Hence it does not follow that if republics are always visible or consist in an external and visible government, that therefore the church must also. Although the internal affection by which citizens are united to each other contributes greatly to the tranquility of a republic, yet the essential form of the republic does not consist in this, but in the bond of an external fellowship, by an external observance of the laws (which can be kept without internal affection). But it

is different with the church. Since its formal reason is in the mystical union of believers with Christ and with each other, the external union alone with him does not make anyone a member of the church; nay, without the latter union, true believers who dwell in separated places are members both of Christ and of his church. The contrary of this is the case in a republic, where those absent for a long time lose their rights of citizenship or at least do not enjoy them.

XXIII. Although visibility belongs to the church in virtue of the ministry and external means, it does not follow that the church properly so called is visible by reason of essence because the external ministry of the word is not to be separated from the internal efficacy of the Spirit, by which they are constituted true members of the church. Nor is the contrary proved from this—that the ministry of the word is common to the reprobate and the elect because it rightly belongs only to true believers alone, to whom it was destined by Christ (Eph. 4:12) and is directed to others only accidentally because they are mixed with believers. The other things usually brought forward by our opponents to prove the visibility of the church may be sought in the question to be discussed hereafter concerning the splendor and eminence of the church.

Eighth Question: The Perpetuity of the Church

Is the true church indefectible, which always was and always ought to be in the world until the consummation of the ages? We affirm against the Socinians

I. The question concerning the perpetuity of the church can be considered under a twofold aspect (*schesei*): either as it is visible and conspicuous to the eyes of men by the profession of the truth and the communion of sacred things; or as it is invisible and consists of true believers. In the former respect, it pertains to the external state of the church and lies between us and the Romanists, who contend for its perpetual conspicuousness and prominence (of which we will speak hereafter). In the latter sense, the question belongs to this place and is agitated between us and the Socinians, who deny that the existence of the church on earth is necessary and hold that it can wholly cease to exist.

Statement of the question.

II. The question here is not first, whether the church can fail on its own part or whether it is repugnant to the nature of the church. For no one denies that this can happen and would certainly happen if left to herself. Rather the question is whether it can fail on the part of God. This we deny because it is repugnant to his decree. Thus the necessity of its existence is not absolute, but hypothetical only. Second, the question does not concern defection from its bloom and prominence by obscuration (concerning which we will treat hereafter), but concerns its defection from life by a total destruction and extinction.

III. Third, it is not inquired whether this or that particular visible church can fail, whether by the death of the believers in it or by the violence of persecutions, by which the flock, which was at any place, is wholly destroyed, or by the corruption of doctrine and practice and the overthrow of its government. It cannot be doubted that this has often happened and can happen. Rather the question is whether the catholic church, which is the universality of believers scattered over the whole world, can ever fail. Or whether it could have happened formerly or can take place hereafter, that the church can fail altogether and there be none on earth who rightly worship God. This we deny. For if particular churches fail, it does not follow that the church itself totally fails; for it remains always in its true members dispersed over the world.

IV. Here, however, there is properly no controversy between us and the Romanists. For although they err grievously in this—that they refer this perpetuity to the visible church and indeed to the Roman in particular (to the exclusion of others), since they are little concerned about other particular churches, little about the faith and internal form of the church (which they deny to be necessary to a true definition), they spend their labor upon this one thing—the defense of their own seat, their own tribunal. In this they constitute the most important (*ta prōta*) element of the church and thus they deny that it can fail. The worthlessness of this comment we will show in the proper place. Still they agree with us in asserting in general the perpetual duration of the church. It is true that some of our opponents (as Stapleton and others) spend much labor to prove against us that the catholic church does not fail, as if we said this; but falsely and without reason.

Bellarmine himself acknowledges, “It must be observed that much time is wasted by our men, in proving that the church cannot absolutely fail, for Calvin and the rest grant that” (“De Ecclesia Militante,” 3.13 *Opera* [1857], 2:96). But here we deal with the Socinians and other enemies of the perseverance of the saints, who, defending the apostasy of the saints, maintain that the perpetual existence of the church in the world is contingent, not necessary (cf. Ostorodt, *Unterrichtung ... hauptpuncten der Christlichen Religion* 42 [1612], pp. 402–48). “No one,” says Smalcius, “denies absolutely that some, who are the true church of Christ, could always have existed; but it is only denied absolutely that it ought to have remained” (*Refutatio Thesium D.Wolfgangi Frantzii*, Disp. IIX [1614], p. 285).

V. On the contrary the orthodox with great unanimity teach that there always was and always will be on earth some church of Christ and that its perpetual existence is not contingent (so that it can altogether fail), but clearly necessary; not indeed absolutely, but hypothetically, both on the part of the first cause (to wit, the immutable will of God, Rom. 9:11) and of the second and proximate cause (to wit, the word of God and the Holy Spirit, who works efficaciously by it, Is. 59:21).

The perpetuity of the church is proved: (1) because it is the body of Christ.

VI. The reasons are: first, from the nature of the church. The church is the body of Christ (Eph. 1:23), which cannot be torn away from him and will last as long as even the head itself, which cannot exist without the body. That it will remain such even unto the end of the world appears from this—that it increases every day and grows even to its perfection, which it will gain on the last day (Eph. 4:15, 16). Here also belongs the title “spouse of Christ” ascribed to it. For since he has betrothed her unto him for ever (according to Hos. 2:19) and follows her also with a perpetual love until he has sanctified her perfectly and presented her blameless and without spot to God in heaven (Eph. 5:26, 27), where that mystical marriage ought to be consummated by the marriage supper of the Lamb, to be celebrated on the

last day (Rev. 19:9), everyone sees that its duration ought to be perpetual that it may enjoy these benefits.

2. From the nature of the covenant of grace.

VII. Second, from the nature of the covenant of grace which he made with the church. Since it is eternal and will never be abbrogated according to the sacred oracles (Is. 59:21; 61:8; Jer. 31:31–37; 32:36–44; Ezk. 37:26; Ps. 89:30–37), it is necessary that the church, which is the other covenanted party, should perpetually continue, that by receiving the benefits of the covenant, she may also perform her duty towards God, to which she is bound by the covenant. And on this account the more because the conservation of the world depends upon the conservation of the church, since for no other reason does he sustain the world than to collect from it the number of the elect, of whom the body of the church is composed. Thus the church could not wholly perish without the world itself (which is preserved on account of her) perishing.

3. From the divine promises.

VIII. Third, from the divine promises which assure the perpetuity of God's presence and grace to the church in the world, since Christ promises "to build his church upon a rock, and that the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail against it" (Mt. 16:18). Christ asserts, whatever may be the attempts and efforts of Satan to oppose the church, whatever the power of death and the grave (which are often designated by the gates of hell, Job 38:17; Ps. 9:13*; Is. 38:10), still they will never prevail to its total overthrow because it is built upon an eternal and immovable rock. Now this could not have been said if it could wholly fail and perish in the world; for then truly would it be said that the gates of hell and Satan and death were conquerors. Nor can it be objected that "it is promised here only that the church, as it is a church, will always remain unconquerable by death and condemnation." For the promise is made to the church, not only as it is a church (i.e., as long as it remains the church), but also as it is perpetually a church. For no other reason is it said that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the

church, except to intimate that the efforts by which they strive to oppress and destroy her will be vain and fruitless.

IX. Christ confirms the same thing by the remarkable promise, "I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Mt. 28:20). Christ refers primarily to the apostles, so that he promises them the perpetual presence of his grace in the exercise of their calling through their whole lives, even if it should continue unto the end of the world (in which sense Paul commands Timothy to keep the commandment until the appearing of Christ, 1 Tim. 6:14). It can also be referred to the true and faithful ministers of Christ, who in the ordinary office of pastors can be said to have succeeded the apostles; for as the preceding command pertained equally to all pastors, so also the promise must be extended to them so that the perpetual presence of Christ is promised to his faithful servants sacredly occupied in his service. There is no doubt that it is rightly extended also to the whole church (which Augustine frequently does) in order to teach that Christ did indeed depart from them by his bodily presence, but still is and will continue to be with them by his spiritual presence. Hence Jansen: "In the apostles themselves he speaks to all believers" because he addresses here his disciples, not only as apostles, but also as the elect of God and true believers representing the whole body of believers, with whom Christ will remain even unto the end of the world (according to the promise elsewhere given to the church, Is. 49:14; 54:8–10). Thus he seeks the protection and guardianship of the Father, not only for the apostles, but also for all who will be sanctified by the truth (Jn. 17:17–19). Therefore, they are in error who wish "this promise to be restricted to the apostles and their successors in the ministry of the gospel, with whom Christ will be, not absolutely, but with the condition that they act worthily in their office." It is so given to the apostles that it no less pertains to the church according to the nature of things related; for while Christ promises that he will be efficacious with the apostles (viz., by their ministry to the faith and conversion of the elect), by that very thing he supposes that believers will always be in the world, to whom the gospel may be preached and in whom he may exert his power unto salvation, as Mark (16:20) and Paul (1 Tim. 3:16) declare the promise from the event. The condition which is proposed, besides the fact that it does not occur in the text, is fulfilled by God himself in his believing servants, whom he makes fit for his work (2 Cor. 3:5, 6). Falsely also is it said that this promise

refers to the visible church because it refers to the apostles and the pastors succeeding them. It cannot refer to the visible church, except insofar as the invisible is contained in it. Otherwise it would follow that no visible assembly founded by the apostles could perish (which, however, experience teaches has happened).

4. From the office of Christ, the Mediator.

X. Fourth, from the mediatorial office of Christ, which should be perpetual as to its three parts. (a) As to the kingdom, which is said to be eternal and without end ("A kingdom which shall never be destroyed or overthrown," Dan. 2:44) and which shall never have an end (Lk. 1:33). Accordingly the apostle says, "He must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death" (1 Cor. 15:25, 26). Therefore, if he ought to reign until the destruction of death (which will be on the last day), the church in which he reigns ought also to continue until that time, unless we wish to form a kingdom without subjects and a pastor without sheep, which is absurd (*asystaton*). (b) As to his priesthood; for since he was constituted a priest forever (*eis to diēnekes*, Ps. 110:4), nor can he perform this perpetual office except as to intercession, there would be no place for it if the church militant (for which he ought to intercede) could altogether perish. (c) As to prophecy, because since this office belongs to the conversion of elect men and the preservation of them converted by the same preaching of the gospel (to wit, for the increase of the body of Christ), if there should be no longer any elect in the world, the necessity of preaching would also cease (for which purpose the apostle testifies that it ought to continue to the end of the world, Eph. 4:13). Therefore as in the church the ministry of the word and the use of the sacraments ought to be perpetual, so the church ought also to be perpetual.

5. From the perpetuity of the presence of the Spirit.

XI. Fifth, from the perpetuity of the presence of the Spirit in the church. "This is my covenant with them, my spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, from henceforth and for ever" (Is. 59:21). Here God

promises the perpetual presence of his word and Spirit through all ages even unto the end of the world. But how could this have place if the church could wholly fail and be destroyed? The promise of the Comforter given by Christ proves the same thing. He is to remain with believers for ever (*eis ton aiōna*, Jn. 14:16), i.e., not for some years only, as he had been with them, but perpetually, so that neither enemies nor death itself could take him away. Nor can it be said that this is promised under the tacit condition of the observance of God's commands, which failing, the Spirit might be repelled and depart. For thus all the certainty of the foundations of the church would depend not on the Spirit, but upon man's will; nor would the Spirit be determining and establishing, but rather determined and established. Besides, Christ wished to console his own people here. Now he does not console a man exposed to sin who says, "The Spirit will not depart unless you wish" because he did not fear except from himself, but he who says, "The Spirit will also make you to wish." On this foundation both our prayers and our giving of thanks are founded.

6. From the experience of all ages.

XII. Sixth, from the experience of all ages. From the beginning of the world up to this time, the church has always continued nor has it ever altogether failed. This can easily be shown through each period, in all of which God has had his believers, sometimes indeed lying somewhat concealed, but still truly called out of the world and received into union and covenant with God. And as to the Old Testament (for instance, from Moses to Christ), the matter is established beyond all doubt since the church not any longer shut up in one family, but diffused over an extended nation, was exposed to the eyes of men. As to the preceding ages, although it was several times more obscure and reduced to great paucity (as in the time of Noah and of Abraham before his call from Ur of the Chaldees), still many things prove that it always existed. In the first interval of the first world from Adam to Noah, the church began in Adam and his family. Hence the faith of Abel is celebrated (Heb. 11:4), and the piety of Seth and Enosh, in whose times "the name of the Lord began to be invoked" (Gen. 4:26), undoubtedly by public and solemn service, on account of the plurality of families who celebrated divine worship with greater frequency. Afterwards in Enoch and

his posterity it was continued up to Noah and from Noah it passed to Shem, who lived up to the times of Abraham. With him God willed to make a covenant in a more illustrious manner and thus he preserved the church in his family, which was increased wonderfully in Egypt, until it grew into a most populous nation, which he gathered together into the form of a republic, to which he gave his statutes and laws and which should subsist in that polity until Christ, although with various changes.

XIII. From the times of the New Testament, it is no less clear that the church has never failed from the testimony of history itself. And if it really did fail at any time that ought to have happened most especially, either during the most severe persecutions of the Roman emperors, or in the time of the Arian heresy (which occupied almost the whole world), or under the papal tyranny before the Reformation. But nothing can be said with less propriety. For so far from the church failing under the persecutions of the emperors, it manifestly increased and was propagated, God fecundating the blood and ashes of the martyrs as seed. The plague of Arianism pervaded indeed many parts of the world, but not all; and not only many private persons, but many churches were free from it. The papal tyranny did not prevent him from always preserving his own people under it, whom he wished afterwards to call out from Babylon. Therefore, since it is evident that thus far the church has not failed, it is fair to infer that it will never hereafter perish, since the same reasons demand its duration in both cases.

7. From the conserving causes.

XIV. Seventh, from the causes conserving the church, because all the causes of defection are removed from it and all the causes of perpetuity are affirmed of it. For if the church could fail, it would be either because it could be overcome by Satan or by a seductive world or be precipitated to death by the flesh in reigning sin. But it can neither be conquered by Satan, because he was overcome and triumphed over by Christ (Col. 2:15; Heb. 2:14), so that neither by sifting can he cause our faith to fail (Lk. 22:32), nor obtain that all his arts and efforts should prevail against the church (Mt. 16:18). Nor can it be seduced by the world, because our faith is the victory that overcomes the world (1 Jn. 5:4) and the elect cannot be drawn away (Mt. 24:24) or by the flesh be led back under the dominion of sin (1 Jn.

3:9). Nay, by the immutable purpose of God (Rom. 8:28; 2 Tim. 2:19), by the merit and intercession of Christ (1 Jn. 2:1, 2; Rom. 8:33, 34) and by the power and protection of the Spirit, believers are guarded unto salvation through faith (Jn. 14:16, 17; 1 Pet. 1:5), as has been demonstrated more at length under the topic of perseverance.

Sources of explanation.

XV. It is one thing that the visible and external church of the called can fail and has often failed in its various parts (which we grant, as it appears from the example of the Jewish church and various Christian churches). Here belongs the taking away of the kingdom and the removal of the candlestick (of which Christ speaks, Mt. 21:43; Rev. 2:5). However, it is another thing that the invisible church of the elect can fail (which we deny). It is evident by the perpetual consent of Scripture and of experience that always, even in the most disturbed and corrupt times, some reservation of the church according to gratuitous election was made (Rom. 11*:5).

XVI. There is the same reason of the church catholic as of all the particular churches which can fail, because the nature of the whole is the same as of the parts. It avails only in the same order, not in a different order —namely with respect to the catholic church of the called and of particular individual churches, not however with respect to the invisible church of the elect. Again, neither can it be admitted absolutely and simply that each and every particular church can fail at the same time on earth, but only successively and in different times.

XVII. What Christ says, “When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?” (Lk. 18:8), must not be understood absolutely, as if no believers would anymore exist upon earth. For Paul professes that at the coming of the Lord there will be found those who are alive (among whom he names even himself), who shall not prevent them which are asleep (1 Thess. 4:15) and after the resurrection of these shall be caught up to the Lord in the clouds. This he could not have said if he had not thought some believers would then exist. But this is said hyperbolically and comparatively because the church will be small when compared with its state in previous ages and very few believers will be surviving when he

shall come. Thus these words well denote the future obscuration of the church, but not its destruction.

XVIII. It is one thing for the church to be obscured and hidden so as not to appear; another for it to fail and be extinguished so as to cease to be. The former we grant, but not the latter. It is one thing to experience various conditions and to put on a different appearance, now splendid and serene, then deformed and sad (which we confess belongs to it); another for it to be abolished as to existence (which we deny).

XIX. A future universal apostasy is predicted (2 Thess. 2:3), not absolutely, but relatively because a few witnesses will survive (Rev. 11:3). And it is mentioned by the apostle for this purpose—that the believers of that time may diligently guard against being seduced. When "the whole world," says he, "wonders after the beast" (Rev. 13:3), by all the world are meant classes (to wit, all the inhabitants of the earth indiscriminately of every nation, condition, sex, whose names are not written in the Lamb's book of life, as it is explained in v. 8, i.e., who are reprobate in opposition to the elect and believers).

XX. If in Revelation many most bitter persecutions hanging over the church in the last times are foretold, nothing can be inferred concerning its total destruction. The flight of the woman into the desert (Rev. 12:6–14) certainly denotes the hiding and scattering of the church on account of the persecutions of the dragon, to defend herself from which she ought to consult safety by flight; but it does not imply its abolition and destruction. Nay, that she may not perish, the wings of a great eagle are given to her that she may suddenly fly away from the dragon and betake herself to the wilderness where she may be safely concealed.

XXI. The state of nature differs from the state of grace. In the former, the church was mutable and could, and really did, fail. But in the latter, it is immutable and can neither totally nor finally fail, no less than particular believers.

XXII. Although this and that particular church can fail (as in the place in which God today gathers a church for himself by the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments, through heresies and persecutions the purity of the divine word may in the course of time be expelled from it; nor to any particular church is given an absolute promise that it will be perpetual and not at all exposed to defection), still, speaking absolutely and

simply, the church never fails because God gathers to himself a church from the human race until the end of the world; if not in this, yet in another people and place.

Ninth Question: The Splendor of the Church

Ought the church to enjoy perpetual splendor and eminence; or can it be at times so obscured and lessened that no assembly of it appears publicly on earth? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists

I. As the preceding question asserted the perpetuity and indefectibility of the church, so this explains the manner of that perpetuity, which is not always connected with splendor and eminence, but often with obscurity. Although this controversy properly belongs to the external state of the church, yet because it has a great bearing upon the preceding, it is discussed by us here.

Statement of the question.

II. On the statement of the question, take notice: (1) that we do not treat of the invisible catholic church (which is the universality of believers dispersed throughout the whole world), but concerning any particular visible church in which there are pastors and sheep and, as Bellarmine expresses it, "prelates and subjects"; and indeed not definitely concerning this or that, but in species concerning every particular church without any exception, whether single ones dividedly or all connectedly are considered.

III. (2) The question does not concern internal splendor which consists in faith, hope, love and the internal gifts of the Holy Spirit; for we acknowledge this to be essential to the church and perpetual. Rather the question concerns the external splendor which is concerned with the assembling of men, tranquility from persecutions, clearness and purity of doctrine and the manifest and uncorrupted ministry of the word (which, as accidental, we think can be absent and not rarely is deficient in her).

IV. (3) The question is not whether this splendor often characterized the church and can still characterize her. This we readily grant and it is demonstrated by various examples in the Old as well as in the New

Testament. Rather the question is whether it ought to be perpetual and constant, so that the church should always exhibit such splendor as to be concealed from no one, but be exposed to the eyes of all; or whether it is sometimes so obscured and corrupted as to be withdrawn from the eyes of men and invisible. This we maintain; our adversaries deny. (4) The question does not concern essential invisibility which flows from her internal form, which cannot be separated from her (as was seen in Question 7). Rather the question concerns accidental invisibility which regards the external form—whether she ought always to be so conspicuous as to be visible to everyone, or so covered and corrupted sometimes as to be incapable of being observed.

V. The Romanists maintain that the church not only cannot fail, so as no more to exist, but that she cannot even be obscured or decreased and that there always remains a congregated multitude in which are prelates and subjects, especially the Roman pontiff as the head of the Catholic church standing out with majesty (as Bellarmine says, "De Ecclesia Militante," 3.13 *Opera* [1857], 2:96–97). Thus they not only wish the church to be always in the world, but maintain that she is visible and conspicuous, perpetually recognized and seen, no less than are other assemblies and societies of men and the empires of the world; and that this is no other than the Roman church to whose seat they hold God affixed the true church.

VI. However, we do not think so. The church can never wholly fail on earth (as was seen before), but not that it is always conspicuous and prominent, but is often so obscured and sunk (whether by persecutions or by errors) that no assembly of her appears clearly in the world, but remains obscure and withdrawn from the eyes of men. Undoubtedly as Christ the head of the church experienced a twofold state—one of humiliation, in which his majesty lay concealed under the veil of the flesh and the weight of the cross; the other of exaltation, in which his glory shines with full splendor—so the church, which is his mystical body, has her various states—now of humiliation and obscurity, when pressed either by the violence of persecutors or the craftiness of heretics or the frequency of scandal, and is compelled to lie concealed as "a dove staying in the clefts of the rock, in the secret places of the stairs" (Cant. 2:14); then of splendor and brightness, when she enjoys the tranquil administration of sacred things and glitters and shines with an uncorrupted splendor of her ministry and the public exercise

of divine worship. In this she beautifully resembles the moon. For as the moon has her various phases (*phaseis*), increments and decrements, sometimes shining with full light and sometimes suffering wanings and eclipses, so the church undergoes various changes, has her diverse times of light and obscurity, as by her sun she is illuminated more or less according to the times, whether of iniquity or of happiness. Now she shines by the public and free exercise of divine worship and ministry, then is obscured by the clouds of strengthening heresy and by the severity of persecutions, scattered and torn asunder by which she ceases to be gathered together and to be seen. And yet even then, she does not cease to raise her groans and lamentations from the clefts of the rocks and rejoices to make herself conspicuous even by her blood and martyrs. Here belong the words of Ambrose: "The church, like the moon, has her wanings and risings frequently, but she has increased by her wanings, and deserved to be enlarged by these, while she is lessened by persecutions and is crowned by the confessions of her martyrs" (*Hexameron* 4.8 [32] [FC 42:156; PL 14.218]).

Proof that the church is often obscured: (1) from the condition of the Old Testament church.

VII. Our opinion is confirmed by various reasons. The first is drawn from the condition of the church under the Old Testament, under which it is evident that she was not rarely obscured and destitute of all splendor (which can easily be demonstrated by her various intervals). Who can deny that she was without splendor before the flood, when all flesh had corrupted its way (Gen. 6:12), and in the flood when reduced to eight souls, she was included in the ark? In the time of Abraham before his call from Ur of the Chaldees, she lay concealed in a paternal family given to idolatry (Jos. 24:1, 2). What was the splendor of the church in Egypt, where she was so long a captive without any form either of a state or of a sacred ministry? What was her splendor under the judges, when after the death of Joshua the Israelites, having left the God of their fathers, went after other gods (Jdg. 2:7; 3:8, 12), concerning which times Azariah says, "Now for a long season Israel hath been without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law"

(2 Ch. 15:3)? What appearance and splendor did the church have in the time of Elijah, when he thought that he was left alone to worship God (1 K. 19:10); God in the meantime consoling him with this—that he had preserved seven thousand believers known to himself alone who had not bowed the knee to Baal? What splendor had the Jewish church under Ahaz, Manasseh, Ammon and other wicked kings, under whom the sacrifice was interrupted by law, the gates of the temple closed, an altar built after the form of those of Damascus by Uriah the high priest and idolatry introduced everywhere (as we read in 2 K. 16:11, 12, 14; 2 Ch. 28:3, 4, 24, 25)? And if we come down to the Babylonian captivity, where was the splendor of the church after the city had been razed, the temple polluted, the sacred vessels taken away, sacrifice abolished, the worship of God interrupted (which could not be performed except at Jerusalem) and the people brought into the most direful servitude? Hence the pious most mournfully lamented that the prophets and all the signs had been taken away (Ps. 74:9). In fine, what appearance and prominence could the church have had under the most dreadful persecutions of Antiochus and his successors, mentioned in the book of Maccabees and by Josephus (JW 1.30–40 [Loeb, 2:16–23]). In that time, Paul says believers "were stoned … were slain with the sword … being destitute … tormented, they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; in deserts, and in mountains and in caves of the earth" (Heb. 11*:37, 38).

VIII. The objections of our opponents are fruitless: (1) "That the synagogue and the church differ: the synagogue was to fail, but the church has the promise of firmness and stability, which the synagogue had not. That the synagogue was not the catholic church, as the Christian church is, and that outside of it were various believers as Melchizedek, Job, the centurion, Cornelius, etc." For although there is a multiple disparity between the church of the Old and New Testaments as to mode of dispensation, still there is none as to the thing itself. In both was the true church of God, having the same faith, the same hope, and which ought to agree in essentials. Therefore, if splendor is an essential property of the church, belonging to her always and everywhere, it ought to be found in the Old Testament no less than in the New. Hence elsewhere by the Holy Spirit the old church is brought forward as a type of the Christian church (Rom. 11; 1 Cor. 10:1–11). (2) The synagogue was indeed to cease after Christ, but

it must continue according to the sacred oracles until his advent and so retain its splendor, if that is the lot of the true church (which it did not do, the preceding examples demonstrate clearer than the meridian light). (3) The Jewish church was not catholic in that sense in which the Christian (diffused through the whole world) is; but yet it can be rightly so called because it contained within its embrace the complete number of called believers and outside of it there was no other visible assembly of believers (Ps. 147:20). Nowhere else was there a temple, a priesthood and the public exercise of divine worship. And if any were converted to God from the Gentiles, they were members of that church, if not in place and external fellowship (as was the case with proselytes), still in the desire of the heart and internal communion. As to Job and Melchizedek, as it is evident that they lived before the establishment of the Israelite church, they do not belong here.

IX. The reply to the example of Elijah, "that he does not speak of the Jewish church, in which Kings Asa and Jehoshaphat reigned in his time, but of the Israelite church, which was subject to the king of Samaria." But (1) whatever may be true of the Jewish church, it is certain that from this example—it appears that in Israel (i.e., among those Jews who lived under the rule of Ahab and Jezebel), there were seven thousand men who constituted the true church, but so invisible and latent that not even Elijah knew her. Thus the true church is not always illustrious and conspicuous, but can lie concealed and be preserved there where we least suppose, so that not only few recognize her, but not even the pious themselves. On this account, Elijah complains that he alone is left, not indeed as a prophet (as some hold), but as a true worshipper of God, as is clear from the answer of God: "There are left to me seven thousand men" (not prophets, but believers) "who have not bowed the knee to Baal." (2) Paul extends this passage to the whole of Israel in general (Rom. 11:3) when he calls himself (who was of the tribe of Benjamin and thus of the Jewish church) an Israelite (v. 1) and from these words paints the condition of the whole church to prove that as in the time of Elijah there seemed to be no church left among the Jews (when he complained that he alone was left), but still there were then many thousands of true believers whom God had preserved for himself, so not even now had the whole Jewish church failed. Although the greatest part had fallen away, there always remained a remnant

according to the election of grace. (3) Reasons are not wanting from which to gather that he treats of the whole Jewish church because he speaks of overthrown altars, which were lawful nowhere except in Jerusalem; because he betakes himself to the desert, not to Judea, whither he might otherwise have gone and found the pious worshippers of God because he is affected with so great sadness as to long for death instead of his sorrows (which sufficiently prove the corruption of the whole church). Hence in a description of the state of the church in those times, "The Kingdom of Judah," it is said, "kept not the commandments of the Lord their God, but walked in the statutes of Israel" (2 K. 17:19).

X. It is evident from other passages that this happened not once only, but frequently, where the most corrupt state of the Jewish church is described: as under Rehoboam, the first king of Judah after the division of the kingdom, "Judah did evil in the sight of the Lord, and they provoked him to jealousy with their sins which they had committed, above all that their fathers had done. For they also built them high places, and images, and groves, on every high hill, and under every green tree" (1 K. 14:22, 23). The same thing is said to have been done under various other succeeding kings and especially in the time of Manasseh, of whom the historian thus speaks: "He did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel. For he built up again the high places which … his father had destroyed; and he reared up altars for Baal, and made a grove, as did Ahab king of Israel; and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them.… And he built altars for all the host of heaven in the courts of the house of the Lord. And he made his son pass through the fire … and he wrought much wickedness in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger" (2 K. 21:2–6*). And that no one might suppose this to be confined to the one king, while the people were free from his crimes, it is added, "Manasseh seduced the Israelites to do more evil than did the nations whom the Lord destroyed before the children of Israel" (2 K. 21:9). Here belong the various complaints of the prophets, who speak of the most corrupt state of the church in their times: Is. 1:2–5, 21, 22, 29; 5:4; Jer. 2:8, 11, 13, 26, 27; 6:13; 7:28; Ezk. 7:26; 22:26, 28, 30; Hos. 4:1, 6, 9, 12; Mic. 7:1. For although afterwards it cannot be gathered that there were no pious worshippers of God anymore, still it is well inferred that there were very few, who lay

hidden in obscurity and did not constitute any visible and noticeable assembly, the public ministry and the whole body of the visible church being foully corrupted.

2. From the state of the church of the New Testament.

XI. Second, from the state of the church of the New Testament in the time of Christ, which the thing itself proclaims was obscure and without splendor, since it was comprehended in Christ and a few obscure men—Joseph, the blessed virgin, Simeon, Anna, Zacharias, Elizabeth, the fishermen, publicans and others of the lowest class; while pontiffs, the chiefs of the people, priests and Pharisees, who excelled in dignity and authority and power and who gloried in the name of the church (nay, arrogated this privilege for themselves alone) were not such really and were rejected by Christ as spurious and strangers. Nor is Stapleton to be heard, who does not blush to assert that such men were the true church. As if they who were open enemies of Christ, who persecuted him with internecine hatred and with obstinate unbelief and rebellion rejected his doctrine and miracles and at length delivered him up to the most cruel death, deserved the name of church; and not they who, following Christ, believed in him and were his genuine disciples. Thus in the time of his passion it is evident that the church was reduced to great obscurity and to the very fewest numbers, the apostles fleeing and deserting Christ and some even denying him. Where then was the glory and splendor of the church?

XII. And although after his resurrection and ascension, it obtained a memorable splendor by the effusion of the Holy Spirit and by the calling of the Gentiles, not long afterwards how wonderfully was it obscured by the dreadful and bloody persecutions by which it was afflicted and dispersed through three hundred years, both by the Jews and by the pagan emperors, who used every effort to destroy it utterly. What could have been the prominence and splendor of the church, while its state was most mournful, while its sacred edifices were overthrown, its pastors slaughtered, the flocks scattered and believers tortured in different ways, who were either put to death by the most cruel kinds of punishments or sent into exile or

compelled to waste away in crypts and caverns to escape the barbarity of their persecutors? Not only by the pagans, but also by the Arians afterwards were believers cruelly persecuted when that pestiferous plague, like a flood, spread over the church and at length involved it in thick darkness. Where was the splendor of the church then, when Arians occupied the episcopal sees, emperors arrayed themselves on their side, Athanasius and a few other confessors were driven into exile, deprived of the free exercise of religion, and "the whole world groaned and wondered that it was Arian" (as Jerome says)?

XIII. In vain does Perron endeavor to escape the force of this argument by saying, "The church is illustrious not only in lilies, but also in roses, that is, not only is she conspicuous and evident in tranquil and peaceful exercises, which are held for hearing the word and worshipping and partaking of the mysteries of the sacraments, but also in military exercises, which are martyrdoms and punishments endured in the defense of the faith." Whatever may be the glory of the martyrs, it cannot contribute to the splendor of the church (which the Romanists wish) as it is a visible and evident assembly of pastors and sheep, while on the contrary by persecutions of this kind in which martyrs are crowned, the assemblies are scattered and the face of the church obscured. Therefore since the cross and persecution are the undivided companions of the church (Ps. 129:1; Mt. 24:20; Jn. 15:20), everyone sees that the splendor and clearness which they ascribe to it cannot belong to it.

3. From Rev. 12:6.

XIV. Third, from the passage where "the woman, who had brought forth a manchild, is compelled to fly into the wilderness, where she has a place prepared of God, that she should there be fed a thousand two hundred and threescore days" (Rev. 12:6). For if the church, represented by that woman who produced the manchild (i.e., the mystical Christ in her members), is compelled to fly into the wilderness (i.e., a solitary and obscure place out of sight of the world, that she may there be more safely concealed and escape the fury and cruelty of the dragon, i.e., of the devil pursuing her), how can its state be always marked and visible? Nor without cause are eagles' wings said to be given to her, not only to denote swiftness of flight, but also its

imperceptibility (since the traces of the eagle are unknown, as the wise man says, Prov. 30:18, 19). Nor can it be objected that if the wilderness refers to invisibility, Babylon must be said to be invisible. John is said "to have been carried away into the wilderness, that he might see the woman sitting upon a beast" (Rev. 17:3). For there is a great difference. Babylon is not said to have been carried away into the wilderness and received by God, but John is said to have been carried away in the Spirit into the wilderness, so that it is a description of the ecstasy and the seat of the vision (to wit, he was carried out of himself and beyond the city and the crowd of men to a secret place where his mind, disturbed by no other objects, might be more freely fixed upon this alone).

4. From the revelation of Antichrist.

XV. Fourth, from the revelation of Antichrist who ought "to sit in the temple of God" (i.e., in the church) and to exalt himself above "all that is called God" (2 Thess. 2:4). Now if he ought to sit (i.e., exercise dominion in the church), what then could its splendor be; nay, what darkness and obscurity ought not to shroud its sky? The Romanists themselves do not deny it. Bellarmine says, "It is certain that the persecution of Antichrist will be most severe, and most known, so that all public ceremonies of religion and sacrifices will cease" ("De Romano Pontifice," 3.7 *Opera* [1856], 1:435). And afterwards: "Antichrist will interdict all divine worship, which is exercised in the church of Christians" (ibid., p. 436). And Stapleton: "The church could indeed be driven into the wilderness, during the reign of Antichrist, and in that moment of time in the wilderness, that is, in secret places, in caves and dens, to which the saints betake themselves, not unfitly does the church complain" ("De Principiis Fidei," 13.2 *Opera* [1620], 1:460). The Rhemensians: "A little before the end of the world the external state of the Roman church will cease, and the public intercourse of believers with the same, and apostasy will then everywhere prevail, and still then the pious will communicate in heart and mind with the Pope and the Roman Church" (*New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* [Rhiems, 1552/1834], p. 324). And on Rev. 12 they confess "that the church sometimes does not have external splendor, a public state and polity, nor the free exercise of sacred offices" (ibid., p. 424). Gregory of Valentia

acknowledges from Hilary and Jerome that "not always in coverings and exterior pomp is the church to be sought, but rather in prisons and caves" (*Analysis fidei catholicae* [1585], p. 143). Why then do they contend for its perpetual splendor?

5. From the fallibility of the church.

XVI. Fifth, from the fallibility of the church, because every particular visible church can fall into deadly error, in faith as well as in practice, as will be proved hereafter. Therefore it can also be obscured and fail; for such errors are the proximate causes corrupting and destroying the church. Otherwise there would have been no necessity for Christ to warn believers so anxiously as he does to beware of false christs and false prophets (Mt. 24:24). Nor ought John to have commanded Christians with so much earnestness to try the spirits (1 Jn. 4:1, 2), if in all ages the true church was to be illustrious and conspicuous. It would have been sufficient to have admonished them by one word—that they should never depart from the communion of such a church.

6. From the approving votes of the fathers.

XVII. Sixth, from the suffrage of the fathers, who here agree with us. Athanasius says, "What church now freely worships Christ, since she, if pious, is exposed to danger? For if the pious and those zealous of Christ are anywhere, they are in the same place hidden, as that great prophet Elijah, and thrust themselves into the caverns and dens of the earth, or wander about in solitude" ("Epistola ad omnes ubique solitariam vitam agentes," *Opera omnia* [1627], 1:846). Hilary at the end: "I warn you of one thing: Beware of Antichrist, for the love of walls has taken you badly, you venerate the church of God badly in houses and buildings, badly you bear the name of peace under these. Is it doubtful that Antichrist will have his seat in these? The mountains, and woods, and lakes, and prisons and whirlpools are safer to me, for in these the prophets, either remaining, or sunk, prophesied by the Spirit of God" (*Contra Arianos, vel Auxentium* 12 [PL 10.616]). Augustine says, "The church is the sun, and moon, and stars, as it is said, fair as the moon, and chosen as the sun. When the sun shall be

obscured, and the moon shall not give her light and the stars fall from heaven, and the powers of heaven shall be moved, the church will not appear, then impious persecutors raging beyond measure" (Letter 199, "To Hesychius," 39 [FC 30:387–88; PL 33.919]). And: "The church still constituted in this mortality of the flesh, is on account of her mutability signified in the Scriptures by the name of moon" (Letter 55*, "To Januarius," 6.10 [FC 12:268; PL 33.209]). "It is the church herself who is sometimes obscured and, as it were, covered with darkness by the multitude of scandals" (Letter 93, "To Vincent," 9.30 [FC 18:86; PL 33.336]). Jerome says, "The church does not consist in walls, but in the truth of her doctrines. The church is there, where true faith is. But fifteen or twenty years ago heretics possessed all walls here, for twenty years ago heretics possessed all the churches here; the church however was where true faith was" (*Breviarium in Psalmos* [PL 26.1296] on Ps. 133*). Ambrose says, "The church appears, like the moon, to fail, but does not fail; she can be obscured, she cannot fail" (*Hexameron* 4.2 [7] [FC 42:131; PL 14.204]).

Sources of explanation.

XVIII. The various passages of the prophets which promise splendor and eminence to the church do not favor the Romanists. (1) By Jerusalem and Sion, they do not mean a society composed of good and bad, nor any visible assembly attached to a certain seat; but the society of true believers, to which alone God's promises are directed and belong. (2) They do not speak so much of external glory and splendor as properly of a spiritual and internal glory according to the style of the Old Testament, by which heavenly and spiritual things are adumbrated by earthly and bodily (as we have said before). And thus Is. 60 must be explained, where God, about to raise up the prostrate church, shows how great is the efficacy of the word (of which he had spoken in the preceding chapter) and depicts the glorious state of the church under the Messiah symbolically by the glory of earthly kingdoms and by things most precious and most excellent. So far from being obliged to understand this of a sensible and earthly glory, the Holy Spirit attributes it to Babylon (Rev. 17:4, 5), who is introduced clothed in purple robes and adorned with gold and gems, while the heavenly Jerusalem (the spouse of the Lamb) is said to be "arrayed in fine linen, clean and

white, which is the righteousness of saints" (Rev. 19:8). (3) If any splendor and conspicuousness is to be understood, it is not to be extended to all the times of the church; rather it has reference to these four things most especially in which she ought to be more conspicuous. First, in the beginning of Christianity by the calling of the Gentiles, by which the Christian church was to be illustrious and conspicuous through the whole world; when the apostles, by the preaching of the gospel, founded the kingdom of Christ and triumphed gloriously over idolatry and the errors of paganism (to which the oracles—Pss. 87:3, 4, 6; 110:2, 3; Is. 2:1, 2—refer), because then the law is said to have gone out of Sion and the scepter of strength to have been sent from her into the world (cf. Is. 60:3–5). The second, in the progress of the same Christianity when it was wonderfully increased and manifested, whether by the conversion of emperors and princes, under whom the church was able to enjoy some peace and tranquility (while kings were her nursing fathers, and their queens her nursing mothers [Is. 49:23], whose breasts she should suck [Is. 60:16]), or by her remarkable reformations at various times. The third, in the general conversion of the Jews in the end of the world, after the fulness of the Gentiles will come in. At this time the prophets (and after them Paul) promise distinguished glory to the church which will be like a resurrection from the dead (Rom. 11:15). Paul testifies that Isaiah referred to this in chapter 60, when he refers to this the prophecy immediately preceding (Is. 59:20*, 21*) in Rom. 11:26. The fourth, in the end of the world, by the glorious resurrection and consummation of eternal happiness. The words found in Is. 60:18–20 prove that the Holy Spirit had reference to this in the aforesaid prophecy. The same Holy Spirit, who is the best interpreter of himself, transfers this to the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. 21:23–25). Now although the Christian church was to obtain some splendor, it does not follow that she would always have the same, because God wishes her to experience various states.

XIX. It is one thing for the gospel ministry to be the ordinary means of the gathering together and conservation of the church, which will perpetually endure even until the end of the world (which Paul asserts in Eph. 4:11, 12 and is granted by us); another for this ministry to be perpetuated in an uninterrupted succession in any one seat (to wit, the Roman) and always with the same splendor of uncorrupted doctrine as well

as of inviolate order and observable dignity. Following the Scriptures, we deny the latter. The Scriptures often set forth the varied conditions and vicissitudes of the ministry in this world (Acts 20:29; 2 Thess. 2:3; 1 Tim. 4:1–3).

XX. From the eternal founding of the church (of which Ps. 48:8 treats), its perpetual and constant duration certainly follows. But its perpetual conspicuousness and eminence cannot be gathered because from the removal of a separable accident (such as the external splendor of the church is) an argument cannot be drawn rightly to the removal of the very essence; nor forthwith can the church be said to have failed which is destitute of this splendor.

XXI. What is said in Is. 61:8, 9 ("I will make a perpetual covenant with them, that their seed may be known among the nations, and their offspring in the midst of the people: all who see them shall know them, because these are the seed which the Lord hath blessed") shows indeed that the church of the New Testament was to be propagated among the Gentiles and would be as great and as illustrious in those signs and effects of divine grace—that all who would see them would be rapt in admiration and be compelled to confess that these are sons of God, the seed which the Lord has blessed (as was to be said of Abraham [Gen. 12:3] and of the Jewish church brought back from her captivity [Ps. 126:2]). But it does not follow that this would be its state always. Nor is it necessary for the completion of the prophecy that this testimony should be given by all and always. It is sufficient that this be done at certain intervals, until perfection arrives on the last day of judgment, when God himself will confess his own before heaven and earth and all will behold the happiness of believers.

XXII. It is one thing for Christ to be always present with his church to teach, sanctify, console and defend her against the enemies by whom she is attacked, that she may never fail and that the gates of hell may not prevail against her, as Christ promised (Mt. 16:18; 28:20); another for Christ to exert that power of his in the preservation of the church by sensible effects and temporal blessings, which would make her state quiet and desirable (which, although it sometimes happens, still is not perpetual). Nor is it otherwise promised in the New Testament than under this condition—insofar as it conduces to promote and perfect the glory of God and the salvation of the elect. Therefore, although sometimes (nay, very frequently)

it is the case that its state is disturbed, we must not on that account think that God has not kept his promises.

XXIII. The things having reference to the state and office of the apostles and faithful servants of God are not to be transferred to the perpetual splendor of the church. Nor if the former are the light of the world and a city set upon a hill which cannot be hid (Mt. 5:14), will they exercise their ministry everywhere; and while they exercise it, it follows that this ministry will never be obscured or removed and the church always enjoy that light so as neither to be covered with clouds nor ever be put under a bushel.

XXIV. It is one thing to speak of the perpetual duration of the kingdom of Christ and of its internal glory and splendor; another of its external splendor and appearance. The former is said when it is promised to Christ that God will establish his seed for ever: "His seed also will I make to endure for ever, and his throne as the days of heaven" (Ps. 89:29). "His throne shall endure as the sun before me, and as the moon for ever" (vv. 36, 37*). But the latter is not indicated, for the kingdom of Christ can endure and not have external glory. The kingdom of Christ differs from worldly kingdoms. The latter cannot consist of a few and they cast down and hidden, but require a multitude and visible splendor; but as the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, it can reign in a few and they scattered by the Spirit, who on that account are well said to be his heavenly kingdom.

XXV. Although a particular visible church is not always conspicuous and apparent, it does not follow that it is impossible to join oneself to the church for salvation, since no one can betake himself to a hidden church. (1) The church (with which we are bound to connect ourselves and out of which there is no salvation) is not a particular visible church (as if it were bound down to one nation or place), but the catholic and invisible church, to which even they can belong who cannot have communion with a visible church. (2) Although external union with a visible church is also necessary (as often as and insofar as the opportunity is given and there is no hindrance on account of the iniquity of the times or of men, because the invisible is contained in the visible), still a simple privation of it does not condemn; rather only the refusal condemns when we are able. Thus the seven thousand men in the time of Elijah had no external union with the church since they were unknown to Elijah himself; still they were no less to be saved. Entrance into the church by faith takes place even when no church is

apparent (Heb. 12:22). It can be done by profession, even when the church is less illustrious and escapes the eyes of the world.

XXVI. Although the confession of the mouth is joined with the faith of the heart by the apostle (Rom. 10:10) because he who created and redeemed the body and the soul wishes to be glorified by both, still the necessity of faith and of confession is not the same. For faith is required always and everywhere, but not so confession—but only when the glory of God and our calling demand it, when it is sought from us (1 Pet. 3:15) or our faith is to be proved and the salvation of our neighbor to be promoted by it. Again confession may be public or private: the former is made before everyone, even the enemies of the truth, the other before believers; one before God, the other before men. Confession before God is always necessary, but not confession before men. Although it is never lawful to deny the Lord, we are not always bound to put forth a positive act of public and open confession unless our calling and the glory of God demand it. Therefore, although many (while the church lies concealed) cannot openly profess their faith before men publicly, it is sufficient that they approve it before God and his pious worshippers. The dilemma with which our opponents press us, when they say, "Either the hidden men, who constitute the invisible church, profess faith openly, and abstain from idolatry, or not. If they profess, assuredly the church is visible; if they do not profess, there is no true church, whose property it is to believe with the heart and to confess with the mouth," does not strike us because it errs by an insufficient enumeration and lacks the third member, which being added, solves the difficulty (namely, they either profess the faith openly or they do not; or secretly hold the faith and abstain from idolatry, as was done by the hundred prophets whom Obadiah in the time of Jezebel hid in a cave, 1 K. 18:4*). Nor can Bellarmine be gainsaid when he says, "Some are in the church in body only, some in soul only, others in body and soul together" ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.2 *Opera* [1857], 2:75). The same argument can be turned against the seven thousand men concealed in the time of Elijah. For they either confessed they were such with the mouth publicly or they did not. If the former, they were not hidden; if the latter, the question returns concerning them, how can they be believers and not confessors? The same can be said of all who withdraw themselves by flight from their persecutors and flee to caverns or crypts. Nevertheless, although they cannot openly

profess their faith, no one would expunge them from the number of believers.

XXVII. Although the church (from the duty demanded of her by Christ) ought "to be the pillar and ground of the truth" to promulgate and defend it, it does not follow that she ought either to perform that office always or to perform it conspicuously and prominently. Even the defection and destruction of the Ephesian church (of which he treats hypothetically in that place) sufficiently testifies of this.

Tenth Question

Where was our church before Luther and Zwingli, and how was it preserved?

I. Although from what has been said in the preceding question concerning the obscurity of the church, it is easy to answer the proposed question (for if the church can sometimes be so obscured and concealed as to be nowhere conspicuous on the earth—which our opponents themselves acknowledge concerning the times of Antichrist—why can we not say that our church certainly existed, but it was latent and obscured?) because they do not cease to press us over and over again with this question in order to prove that our church did not exist at all at that time. Since it cannot be shown where it was, it is thus a novelty and of recent origin. We must see what reply must be given to such a postulate.

II. However, here before all things it must be observed: (1) that by our church (or the Reformed church) is not meant that which by that express title and notion was distinguished from other assemblies, but which by consanguinity and profession of the same doctrine as to articles of faith and true ecclesiastical communion was the same with ours of today. (2) The true and catholic doctrine is here to be distinguished from discipline, and ceremonies from dogmas, and in the dogmas the questions and maxims of the schools; or the private opinions of doctors are to be distinguished from the necessary articles of faith to be embraced by the common faith of the church. Again, among those things which the church prescribes, some are of divine right (which are absolutely necessary to faith and salvation, in which the essence of Christianity consists); others are of positive right (which are

indeed useful, but nevertheless so that nothing prohibits their being changed and reconstructed in the progress of time).

The absurdity of the demand is shown.

III. Before we answer the question, however, the absurdity and unfairness of the demand must be marked. First, it supposes a false hypothesis, which is the prime error (*prōton pseudos*) of our opponents. Once this is denied and overthrown, whatever is built upon it must necessarily fall in like manner—namely, that the true church ought always to exist in the world with perpetual splendor. Since we have in the preceding question proved this to be most false and it is evident that there are times like that of Elijah in which the church lies hidden and is withdrawn from the sight of men, in vain are we asked to show where our church was. For it could lie hidden without splendor and prominence.

IV. Second, they falsely argue from the ignorance of a thing to its negation, as if it was necessary for a thing not to be because it is not known. And yet the truth of a thing is to be measured from itself, not from our knowledge or ignorance. For who doubts that a thing is able to be which is concealed from me and others, whether because it is secret and hidden or because we do not diligently attend to the investigation of it? This inference formerly beclouded Elijah, who, since he did not know where the church of his time was, nor who were its teachers, thought he was alone because the others were unknown to him (1 K. 19:10; Rom. 11:4). But the Lord taught him that this reasoning was faulty when he said, "Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal" (1 K. 19:18). If therefore the Israelite church could thus lie concealed so that Elijah was ignorant of it, who will wonder that the same thing happened in the time of our ancestors?

V. Third, they also reason faultily from the ignorance of place to the negation of the thing. For although the place of a thing may be unknown to me, it does not follow that the thing itself does not exist absolutely. Although I may not know where treasures in the sea are, it must not on that account be denied that they are there. Thus it is one thing to know that there is a true church; another to know where it is. Of the first, I may be persuaded, although I may know nothing certainly about the second.

VI. Fourth, the question is one of history, not of faith, the solution of which, therefore, is not necessary to salvation. It suffices for the private Christian to know and be persuaded that that assembly in whose connection he lives is the true church, since in it he has what fully suffices for his salvation and nothing which hinders it, although he may know nothing of where the church was in times past. For although it is a most pleasing spectacle to behold the face of the whole church in all ages, still no man can do that (nor is it necessary to our faith and salvation; nor can this be ascertained except by those best acquainted with history; nor can these things be discovered with any other than a historical faith; nor will any discussion be instituted concerning this thing on the day of judgment, so that our salvation will not be endangered by an ignorance of it). Imagine a man in childhood carried to ultima Thule by the force of a tempest, yet having a knowledge of prayer and of the true religion, but wholly ignorant of history. Will he on that account be the less saved because he does not know where the church was before him? Imagine a city plundered by pirates, the fathers and mothers and grandparents carried away into slavery, the infants alone remaining, who both from books and from the traces of instruction retain the same piety—who would exclude them from the church, although they knew nothing about this question?

VII. No more does it concern us to know where our church was in the time of the fathers than where it was in the time of the Decian persecution (which though it seemed to be wholly extinct, nevertheless sprang to life again from the ashes). This must be held as certain—that the church existed and revived. God knew the place; he is the one who marks out his own church; he provides places and support; when men are wanting, he substitutes ravens; when bread fails, he feeds with his word; he knows who are his, stamped by his sacred seal. This can the more properly be said for the reason that we certainly know that on the Christian church such times and evils will come and fall as will stain the Christian name with foul apostasy but not destroy it. Wherefore the book of Revelation was written and left to posterity for the singular consolation of the church, that in so great darkness we might have a sure polestar.

VIII. Fifth, the injustice of the demand appears also clearly in this—that they treacherously corrupt the writings of the fathers and endeavor to destroy whatever of candor remains and extinguish all memory of antiquity

as far as they are able (most base men). They wish to turn against us the arms of truth which they themselves have tampered with, overlaid and expunged because we cannot bring them forward. They, who persecuted the pious with flames and the sword, now make sport of them, evidently as the Jews who, smiting Christ with rods, said, "Prophesy who struck you." Thus they wish us to prophesy and to give a reason for a previous time.

IX. Sixth, if our opponents wish us to answer the proposed question, they are also bound to answer us—where was their church in the time of Christ and the apostles, in which nothing concerning either transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, the invocation of saints and the worship of images, purgatory, indulgences, the pope and his authority, and the other errors theoretical and practical prevailed as yet among believers? Let them show us where then was that magnificent apparatus of temples and ceremonies which has corrupted Christianity completely and converted divine worship into a show. Where was the papacy in the first six centuries of purer (or at least of less impure) Christianity? For although various errors began gradually to creep into the church, still it is certain that far more numerous and grievous errors were introduced in the following ages or received strength: the worship of images, transubstantiation, communion under one species, the infallibility and monarchy of the pope, the use of a foreign language in the sacred service, etc. Let them show where the church was in the tenth century (which Baronius calls the "iron" age), in which there were more than fifty popes succeeding each other, not so much apostolical (*apostolici*), as "apostatical" (*apostatici*) and "apostactical" (*apostactici*) (according to Genebrard).

The question has reference: (1) to faith.

X. Nevertheless, that we may not seem to shun the question (as if it were insoluble [*alytos*] by us), we can answer directly that the question puts on a fourfold relation or has reference to four things: (1) the doctrine and faith of the elect, who constitute the church; (2) their persons and condition; (3) the place where they were; (4) the form of government under which they lived and the external worship which they had. As to the first, if we treat of the Christian faith, we say the substance of the things to be believed and done in order to salvation was always in the Scriptures, in the Apostles' Creed, in

the law of God and the Lord's prayer, sealed by the sacraments, which by a special providence he willed to preserve always in the church for sustaining the elect, although that doctrine was frequently mixed with various errors. So that we must here accurately distinguish the substance of faith from the corrupting accidents in doctrine and worship, in the midst of which God knew how to preserve his elect in that purity which was necessary for salvation, until the age of the Reformation.

2. To the persons.

XI. Second, if we treat of the persons themselves (i.e., of the church properly so called, inasmuch as it denotes the mystical body of Christ, constituted of the elect alone), we say that it subsisted in all the elect who were from the time of the apostles, who in all ages have believed in Christ according to the publicly preached truth of the gospel, who separated the substance of saving doctrine in the public ministry from the errors repeatedly creeping in. These we are no more bound to show to them than Elijah was to show the seven thousand men who had not bowed their knees to Baal, although they were truly in Israel.

XII. The condition of this church was miserable and afflicted, both because it was obscure and destitute of splendor (which was adumbrated by the woman flying into the wilderness [Rev. 12:6], small in number and reduced to great paucity, designated by the "two witnesses" [Rev. 11:3], because they were very few when compared with the multitude of those wandering in error) and because it was partly corrupt, partaking in some measure of the errors of the papacy, although it always retained the foundation of salvation and so seceded from the papacy (if not positively, yet negatively; if not in place, still in faith and religion), disapproving of her errors and opposing themselves to them as far as they could.

3. To place.

XIII. Third, as to place, the question can be understood in two ways. It may be understood definitely concerning the certain and constant seat of the church (such as Rome is) and in that continued series of bishops or pastors which the Romanists would wish. But this is false. (a) The church of the

New Testament is bound to no fixed place as in the Old, but is ambulatory and migrates from place to place, as appears from the example of the Asiatic churches spoken of in Rev. 2 and 3 and of many others which have perished. (b) It is not bound to have that succession, since it either wholly fails with the churches themselves or is changed into a succession of wolves who devour the flock (Acts 20:29) or who impiously domineer over it (2 Thess. 2:3, 4). Or it may be understood indefinitely of a seat and domicile in general, which, according to the dispensation of God, it has obtained in various places, now here and then there.

XIV. In this sense, we say the true church before Luther and Zwingli was already in various assemblies separated from the Roman church, many of which, it is certain, existed both in the east and in the west. The arrogance (*authadeia*) and tyranny of the Roman bishop, in the corruption of doctrine as well as in the depravation of worship and innovations upon the order and government of the church, so displeased them that they not only never wished to subject themselves to him, but did not hesitate openly to oppose and turn away from him. It is well known that the Waldenses and Albigenses were particularly such. As long as they either relied upon the authority of princes or trusted to their own numbers, these could hold public assemblies and they thus rendered the church visible and conspicuous: as in Bohemia, in certain parts of England and in the provinces of southern France—Aquitania, Occitania (Languedoc)—and in the Narbonne region of France as far as the Alps. But afterward the princes, excited by the fury and arts of the Roman bishop and fascinated by a blind zeal, persecuted those pious believers with arms in order to gratify him, ejected them (wasted by various defeats and most cruelly treated) from their cities and natural habitations and endeavored to destroy them by fire and the sword. Then the external appearance of that part of the church was indeed so obscured that it seemed to have altogether failed. In the meantime, the monuments of history testify that a remnant of them still survived (although dispersed and scattered) in various places, especially in the Pyrenean forest and in the enclosed valleys at the bases of the Alps. Even this single fact would be sufficient to rebut the unjust crimination of our opponents—that we cannot show where our church was before Luther—since it is evident that those purer Christians who held the same faith with us in essentials existed in various places and had their segregated assemblies, although somewhat

concealed. And since no mention is made by historians of their secession from the Roman church, it is reasonable to infer that they never had any communion with her, but had always lived separated from her and had preserved pure and uncontaminated the truth handed down to them by the preaching of the gospel.

XV. But we add further that our church was in the papacy itself, inasmuch as God always preserved in the midst of Babylon a remnant for himself according to the election of grace (to wit, true believers who, groaning under that captivity, panted for spiritual deliverance; who are said to have been in the papacy not as to communion with it [since they disapproved of and turned away from its errors and superstitions], but as to tarrying and as guests because they lived in the midst of the papal church, not conjointly, but scattered through kingdoms, provinces, cities and families, in which God wonderfully preserved his people).

That the church existed before the Reformation is proved: (1) from passages of Scripture.

XVI. This is proved by many arguments. (1) From various passages of Scripture, as 2 Thess. 2:4, where it is said, "The son of perdition and the man of sin will sit in the temple of God" (i.e., will exercise dominion in the church, everywhere designated by this name, which therefore would be oppressed and captive there). Also from Rev. 7:3, where the angels are prohibited from hurting the earth until "the servants of God are sealed in their foreheads," to intimate that his pious worshippers, who constantly adhere to him in time of apostasy, are marked with the seal of God, so that the certain protection of them by God's providence may be denoted. By this seal, they will be taken away from impending calamities, in allusion to the custom of kings, who mark with their own seal what they do not wish to be touched (Dan. 6:17); or to the custom of shepherds, who put a mark on their sheep that they may be known from others; or to the typical markings of the Old Testament by which exemption was procured from some destruction, separation from the others who were involved in it, as of the Israelites from the Egyptians (Ex. 12:13), of Rahab from the perishing (Jos. 2:18), of those sighing among the people of God from the rest who were to be devoted to

destruction (Ezk. 9:4). This is a manifest sign—that in the midst of the corruption of the world the elect always remain faithful, whom God ever preserves under his mark and protection. Here belongs what is said in Rev. 11:1, 2 concerning the measure of the temple and the altar and those that worship therein, while the court which is without is excluded and the city, which is given to be trod under foot by the Gentiles, to denote that God always saves the sanctuary and the church and true believers, who worship him with a pure heart, in the midst of the city (i.e., in the visible church, which is profaned and polluted by the uncircumcised Gentiles, that is, the impious and unbelieving). What is added (v. 3) concerning the "two witnesses prophesying" (i.e., the few asserters of divine truth), who should bewail with continual complaints the foul corruption of the church and would confirm the purity of faith and of the gospel worship against the papal errors and superstitions, both by words and works and with their own blood; and what is still further said (12:6) concerning the woman who is nourished in the wilderness, of the angels (i.e., the gospel preachers, 14:6, 7) and those commanded to come out of Babylon (18:4), this could not be said unless the people of God (i.e., the true church) was still to be in the midst of Babylon.

2. From the faith of history.

XVII. (2) From the faith of history, which exhibits multiple worshippers of God and witnesses of the truth, who repeatedly opposed themselves to the papistical errors and bore testimony to the truth. For if there are granted many who by words, deeds and writings disturbed the Roman court on account of its errors, idolatries and tyranny and who for that cause were treated in the most unworthy manner and exposed to the most cruel persecutions, there is no doubt that they constituted the true church which we seek. Now that there were innumerable such persons the catalogues of Magdeburg, of Illyricus, Plesseus, Fox and others prove, which give the names and writings of those mourning the condition of the church under the papacy, while seeking and urging a Reformation. Ussher also should be examined (*De Christianiarum Ecclesiarum in Occidentis* 6 [1613], pp. 142–74); and Voetius, where he proves the succession of the true faith and church under the New Testament through all ages up to the Reformation

and brings forward various examples of the pious lamenting and protesting against the errors of the papacy (*Desperata Causa Papatus Novissime* 3.2 [1635], 530–703).

3. From similar examples.

XVIII. (3) From similar examples of the church both of the Old and of the New Testaments. In the Old Testament: (a) of the church in Egypt after the death of Joseph and his brothers (Ezk. 16); (b) of the Israelite church under Elijah, who complains that he is left alone, God however reserving for himself seven thousand (1 K. 19:18); (c) of the church in Samaria after the ten tribes had been carried away to Assyria (2 Ch. 30:11; 34:33); (d) of the Jewish church in the Babylonian captivity, with which is compared the state of the church under the tyranny of Antichrist (Rev. 17; 18). Under the New Testament: at the time of the birth of Christ, the church was not to be found among the scribes, Pharisees and pontiffs (who gloried in the name of the church, but were the enemies of God and Christ), but in a few pious persons and believers waiting for the redemption of Israel. At the time of Paul, the Jewish church was reduced to a few elect with Paul, others remaining hardened and unbelievers (Rom. 11:1, 5). What wonder, then, if we say that the true church was equally in the midst of the spiritual Babylon and Egypt, stripped of her distinctive marks and external ornaments?

4. From the conformity of the ancient church with ours.

XIX. (4) From the conformity of our church with the primitive apostolic church. For since no one can deny that the primitive church was instituted by Christ and the apostles, neither can it be denied that our church, if it is conformed to that both in faith and in worship, was even then in it. Now it is easy to prove that it is conformed if we approach the examination of doctrine, as we so often desire. From this it will appear that nothing is received by us to be believed or done which was not delivered by Christ and the apostles; and whatever is rejected by us has no foundation in their writings, but is beyond what is written (*par ho gegraphtai*) and beyond that

gospel which they preached (Gal. 1:8). Nor is it to be said here that the ancient church cannot be said to be the same with ours because it did not reject the papacy, as we have done. (a) Faith and religion by themselves (and essentially) are not negative, but positive, since a negation or a rejection of error is by accident and positive faith suffices for the essential unity of the church. (b) If it did not reject explicitly (because the papacy had not yet sprung up), it rejected it implicitly and virtually by teaching such things as are incompatible (*asystata*) with it (in which way the Scripture is said by the positing of the truth to reject errors not yet arisen, but only about to arise in the progress of time).

5. From the confession of our opponents.

XX. (5) From the confession of our opponents, who cannot deny that before Luther and Zwingli, there were innumerable persons who professed our faith and protested publicly against the papal errors. See what is related of the Waldenses and Albigenses, Hussites, Wyckliffites, Lollards and Picards by Thuanus (de Thou), *Historiarum sui temporis* 6 and 27 (1625), 1:111–34 and 540–57; Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II), "Historia bohemica," 35 *Aeneae Sylvii ... Opera* (1551/1967), pp. 102–5; Poplinerius, *L'Histoire de France* (1581), 1:7–8, 24–26; Charles Molinaeus (Dumoulin), "De Monarchia Francorum," *Opera omnia* (1658), 3:2012 and not a few others who trace their origin long before the Reformation. Nor can Eck deny it when he says that Luther did nothing else than recall heresies previously condemned in the Waldenses, Albigenses, Hussites and others (*Enchiridion of Common Places* 28 [trans. F.L. Battles, 1979], pp. 186–89, esp. p. 186). Cochlaeus acknowledges that the Lutherans received their doctrine from the Hussites (*Historiae Hussitarum* 8* [1549], p. 283). Nor must we omit here the testimony of Reynerius, 300 years before, an inquisitor against the heretics, concerning the dwellers in the enclosed valleys (commonly called Waldenses), of whose antiquity and integrity he assures us in his book written about them and published by Gretser and republished in *Bibliotheca Patrum:* "Among all the sects," says he, "which still are or were, none was more dangerous to the church than the Leonistarian" (or the poor people of Lyons [i.e., the Waldenses], against whom the treatise is inscribed). "And this from three causes. The first is because it is more ancient than all; for

some say that it has continued from the time of Sylvester (I), some from the time of apostles. The second because it was more widely spread; for there is scarcely any land in which this sect is not found. The third because while all the sects by their coarse blasphemies against God horrify the hearers, this has a great appearance of piety in that they live justly before men and truly believe all things concerning God and observe all the articles contained in the Creed, only they blaspheme the Roman church and clergy" (cf. "Reineri Ord. Praedicatorum contra Waldenses haereticos," in La Bigne, *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum* [1654], 4:749). Claudius Sesselius, Archbishop of Turin, in a book which he wrote against the Waldenses, relates "that the Waldensian sect took its rise from a certain Leo, a most religious man, in the time of Constantine the Great, the first emperor of the Christians, who being opposed to the avarice of Sylvester, and the too great liberality of Constantine, preferred to follow poverty in simplicity of faith than to remain with Sylvester and be contaminated with a rich benefice, to whom as many adhered as thought well of the faith" (*Adversus errores et sectam Valdensiam disputationes* [1520], fol. v–vi). Moreover that their religion and faith were conformed to ours is gathered not only from the passages cited of Thuanus and Aeneas Sylvius, in which the principal heads of their belief are given, but also from the ancient confessions and their writing quoted both by John Paul Perrin, *Histoire of the Waldenses and Albigenses* (1624) and a few years before by Joannes Legerus, pastor in the same place, *Histoire Generale des Eglises Evangeliques des Valdes* 3–4ff. (1669/1980), 21–30ff., where he accurately treats of their antiquity and faith.

Concerning the form of government.

XXI. And thus it has been shown where our church was before Luther as to place or seat. If now fourthly the question respects the form of government and of external worship such as now obtains among us, since it is certain that it succeeded the form which prevailed in the Roman church (as a reformation to corruption and a cure to a disease, which brought back all things to the beginning, i.e., to the institution of Christ and the apostles), we readily grant they were not before the Reformation, since by the Reformation itself they were restored. But this does not hinder the perpetual subsistence of the church, as the healing of a deadly disease which has

attacked a man in old age does not prevent his being the same man as to substance that he was before. Nay, it necessarily supposes it, since a reformation necessarily demands a preexisting subject to be reformed.

XXII. Now although from the time of the apostles there has always existed a visible ministry of the church, it cannot be said to have existed pure, but with various corruptions which so disfigured its face that it could hardly be recognized. Hence God is said to restore it as it were by a resurrection (Ezk. 37:1–10; Rev. 20:5, 6). And it was necessary from this cause that at various times reformation should be instituted to purge it of its filth, that it might be restored to the pristine purity of the apostolic times.

XXIII. If anyone moreover seeks further, what pastors the church of those times had, the answer is forthcoming—the Holy Spirit always taught his church internally (according to the promise of Christ, Jn. 16:13), but externally, those very ones who publicly taught (to wit, the teachers of the Roman church). For although they mixed many grievous and deadly errors with the purer doctrine of the gospel, yet because they professed to retain as yet the foundations of religion and salvation, true believers could separate the purer and sound doctrine from the deadly, and the healthful food from the poison; as sheep, in pastures filled with poisonous as well as healthful herbs, know how to select the healthful and to abstain from the noxious. In those times especially those errors and that false worship did not enter into laws, nor were they sanctioned by public authority and obtruded upon the conscience under punishment of a curse (as was done afterwards), which therefore they were free to receive or to reject.

XXIV. But if anyone proceeds to ask concerning these teachers, how they could receive the truth from false teachers and seducers (such as we say the Roman teachers were), we answer that they can be considered under a twofold relation (*schesei*): either inasmuch as they proposed to their hearers the gospel and the doctrine of faith contained in it; or inasmuch as they mingled with it the leaven of their own corruptions and traditions. In the former sense, it can be said that they were true teachers because they delivered those things which they had received from Christ. But in the latter, they are rightly called seducers altogether in the same way in which the scribes and Pharisees were both true teachers and seducers: true teachers when sitting in the seat of Moses, they so delivered his doctrine (Mt. 23:2) that the people were bound to do what they taught; seducers when sitting in

their own seat, they uttered their own traditions and comments from the leaven of which Christ wished to guard his people. In the former sense, they were to be heard, but in the latter to be shunned. Thus in the Christian church the teachers of the Roman church could be considered true teachers and were to be heard as far as they set forth the word of God and the doctrine of salvation; but when to this truth they tacked on their falsehoods, to this word of God their traditions, to this spiritual bread their own leaven, then they were sitting in their own seat and were no longer to be heard (as they were not heard by believers, who as rational sheep knew and followed the voice of Christ, but separated the leaven from the healthful food, so that the former being left, they could feed upon the latter).

By what means the church was preserved before the Reformation.

XXV. And hence it can now be clearly gathered by what means that church was preserved (which is the other part of the proposed question). For although it does not seem to be of great necessity to know this (nay, although it could not be explained by us how God preserved his elect in the papacy), still the thing itself (which is supported by so many arguments) ought not to be called in question and we should be thoroughly persuaded that God (who can do innumerable things above all that we are able to think) had a thousand ways to preserve his church. Still we can here also partly satisfy the question. If we say that by the same means by which in the beginning the church was gathered and founded, it was also preserved and propagated through all ages (to wit, by the efficacy of the Holy Spirit and the ministry of the word according to the prophecy of Is. 59:21). Since the Spirit, as the teacher of truth given to the church that he may remain with believers for ever and lead them into all truth, was always more or less efficacious in true believers for the preservation of faith and piety by means of the word of God (which although veiled in the Latin language and as it were shut up, was nevertheless read by many and understood). There were not wanting also various versions of it, read by many, although not promiscuously by all. Besides, by the providence of God the principal heads of religion were comprehended in the Apostles' Creed, the decalogue, the

Lord's prayer and the sacraments. Although interpolated in different ways, they were always preserved among them, from which they could derive what was to be believed and done for salvation.

XXVI. The ordinary public ministry which obtained in the papacy contributed not a little to this. For although it was corrupted by various deadly errors added to the sound doctrine, yet because it still retained and set forth those principal heads of Christianity, God did not permit them to accomplish their work by these defective instruments, procuring by his grace that the reasonable (*logikai*) sheep of Christ could separate by the spirit of discretion the truth from the falsehood and the solid and healthful food from the poison mixed with it (as was said before). And this could the more easily be done because these corruptions which obtained were not introduced by way of open opposition and of the rejection of the faith and Christian religion handed down by the apostles, but by way of conjunction and mixture of falsehood with the truth, and superstitions and will-worship (*ethelothrēskeiōn*) with the pure worship of God. Hence it was not difficult for believers, furnished with the gift of the Holy Spirit, to retain the good (the evil being rejected) and to embrace the truth alone, having repudiated the falsehood. Nay, because the papal doctrine was composed of articles really contradictory, partly delivered by God in his word, partly invented by men (for instance, from the sacrifice of the cross and the sacrifice of the Mass, from the worship of God and of saints and images, from the merits of Christ and human merits), it came to pass that the retention of the truth brought about the rejection of error (for example, the precept concerning the merit and most perfect righteousness of Christ to be embraced for justification, by that very thing excluded human merit and satisfactions; the command to adore one God proscribed the worship of saints and images; and the doctrine concerning the sacrifice of the cross, the true ransom [*lytrō*] of the soul, overturned the figment of the propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass). Hence it happened that the hearts of the hearers were often more holy than the mouths of the priests and teachers.

XXVII. To this public ministry, exercised in public and customary assemblies, a private was added which was instituted privately, both in colleges and monasteries. Remarkable examples of this occur in Luther, Zwingli, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Oecolampadius and others, who in cloisters and convents learned religion, whether by the reading of the Scriptures and

of the purer fathers and other writings of this kind in which the rays of truth shone, or by the instruction of those who knew how to separate pure Christianity from the papal errors. Also in families, where private and domestic instruction could often correct public errors and the pious both by prayers and by reading and meditation on the heads of religion, the Dominical gospels and the various vernacular writings of ascetics and practical persons (in which it was far otherwise treated of the certainty of salvation and the various heads of faith than in the shadowy disputations of the schools), preserved the seeds of truth, instilled it into their children and propagated it to their posterity.

XXVIII. But besides the ordinary ministry, God provided also for his people an extraordinary ministry, frequently raising up faithful witnesses of the truth who opposed themselves to the errors gradually creeping in and restored the doctrine of faith to its purity. As formerly among the people he raised up prophets, who rebuked false worship and steadily opposed the increasing idolatry (whether in the Jewish or Israelite kingdom), so the providence of God in the Christian world raised up in various places strenuous defenders of the truth, who manfully stood up against the growing corruptions. This was done in the case of the worship of images by Charles the Great and the fathers of the Council of Frankfurt; and of transubstantiation by Bertram, a presbyter under Charles the Bald, and afterwards by Berengar. Such men are designated by the "two witnesses" and the "two olive trees" and the "two candlesticks" (Rev. 11:3, 4*), as by them God cherished in the hearts of believers the light of truth and the sacred unction or gifts of the Holy Spirit; also, by the angel flying in the midst of heaven, bringing the everlasting gospel to the earth (Rev. 14:6) and by others in the same place predicting the fall of Babylon (vv. 8, 9), by whom the faithful servants of God and gospel preachers are symbolically adumbrated who, thundering against Antichrist in their discourses and writings, exhorted believers to shake off his tyrannical yoke and to receive gospel liberty. Such were Waldo in France, Wyckliffe in England, John Hus and Jerome of Prague in Bohemia, Peter Martyr in Italy, Luther in Germany and very many others.

XXIX. Finally the wonderful dispensation of divine providence enters here. Although to chastise the wickedness of men, he willed to permit his church in progress of time to degenerate from its apostolic purity and so fall

into deadly errors, still (*akmēn*) he was unwilling that those errors should be imposed upon all, but willed so to keep them down as that they should grow little by little and slowly (either introduced at first by private teachers and proposed in the schools and variously agitated, or received from mere habit by the people) before they were sanctioned by public authority and passed into laws which would bind the conscience and against which it would not be lawful to think or to murmur and the evil would be wholly incurable. Therefore, since the papal errors had not as yet been incorporated in laws and were not thrust upon the conscience under the penalty of a curse (as was afterwards done by the Council of Trent), it can readily be conceived how believers could keep themselves free from them.

Sources of explanation.

XXX. It was not more difficult for the pious to be preserved in the papacy than for the seven thousand men in the time of Elijah, than for the believers who at the time of the coming of Christ lived in the corrupt Jewish church, than the orthodox under the corrupt ministry of the Arians. For as a negative secession could be sufficient for them by a rejection of errors and abstinence from the superstition and idolatry (which prevailed), so it was sufficient for our people to secede from the papacy negatively, until there should be granted to them a way and opportunity of seceding positively.

XXXI. Although the church which was in the papacy before the Reformation did not have among the articles of its faith justification by faith alone, the rejection of all sensible sacrifices besides the sacrifice of Christ and the repudiation of the worship of images and of the invocation of saints and other articles (concerning which there is a controversy between us), it does not follow that believers did not have in the doctrine received for that time the necessary food for salvation. Such articles are not positive and affirmative, containing things that are to be believed and done, in which therefore the essence of faith and religion consists, but negative and excluding the errors which ought to be rejected, which do not pertain to the building up of faith. As no one would put down among nourishments the care of avoiding poisons which could produce death, so the positive articles work salvation properly, while the negative only remove those things which can interfere with salvation.

XXXII. Although it is impossible for one to work out his salvation under a Socinian ministry (because it formally and directly destroys the foundation of Christianity by denying the mystery of the Trinity and of the divinity of Christ and the truth of his satisfaction), it ought not to be said that it was equally impossible to live under the papal ministry, although corrupted in a different way. It did not destroy the foundation formally by denying and opposing it, but by adding other things to it which were incompatible (*asystata*) with it. In both ministries, there was indeed grievous and deadly sin; but in the Socinian, there was far more danger because they are guilty of withdrawing fundamental truths. In the other, however, they sinned by an addition and mixture of deadly errors with the foundation. Now who does not see that it is far easier to reject what exceeds by separating the true from the false, than to supply, not only what is deficient, but also what is rejected and attacked by any ministry?

XXXIII. It is rightly said that the church before the Reformation was in the papacy and the papacy in the church in diverse respects. The church was in the papacy as to external form, inasmuch as it lay concealed under that deformed and corrupt surface; while the papacy was in the church because as an accident attached to and corruptive of the subject, it adhered to it. Hence we must accurately distinguish between the church which is in the papacy and the papacy itself. The papacy was indeed in the church, but was not the church itself, only an ulcer and a gangrene feeding upon it. And the pious who lived under the papacy remained, it is true, as to place and seat in that assembly; but not as papal and Antichristian. They who seceded, seceded only from the papacy and not from the church.

XXXIV. Although the external appearance of the church as to polity and external rights and form of government was different in the church which preceded the Reformation from that Reformed church which exists today, it does not follow that it was a different church from ours as to essentials, because the former (which are circumstantial and accidental) do not take away or establish the essential truth and unity of the church; nor does external union or disagreement as to them make its identity or diversity.

XXXV. The things which pertain to the essence of the church must not be confounded with those which belong to its external state and form. That is immutable and always continues the same. This, however, can be changed in different ways. The essence of the church consists in this—that

it is one body composed of many believers united together in communion and worship of the true God under one Christ, their Mediator and head. This being removed, the church is removed; without it the church cannot be and with it, it cannot but be. The state, however, according to which it can be changed, is placed in all those things which depend upon a different disposition of times, places and persons. For example, to have the bodily presence of Christ, to have apostles and evangelists for their pastors, to enjoy the gift of miracles and the like, is the state of the primitive church, but a state which was changed in subsequent ages. To have pastors distinguished and remarkable for zeal, knowledge and piety; to be tranquil and conspicuous without persecution, without schism, without error, is the state in which the church was and can be, but neither always, nor everywhere, nor with respect to all the persons of whom it is composed, but only sometimes, somewhere and with respect to certain persons. Thus the multitude, external splendor, peace and freedom of profession, visibility of assemblies, purity of ministry, and form of government and of discipline are things which belong not to the essence of the church, but to her state (of which she can be deprived either wholly or in part and yet not totally fail). Therefore, although our church could be changed as to these things in various ways, still it always remained the same as to essence. Nor can novelty in this respect be objected against her, unless it is proved (which can never be done) that our society and faith are essentially different from those which Christ and his apostles founded in the beginning and which have continued even up to this time and that something is wanting to her which is necessary to the constitution of the church.

XXXVI. If a ministry although corrupt was sufficient for the salvation of the pious before the Reformation without an open secession, it could not on that account be sufficient for us also because the times and the situation of affairs are different. The times of captivity existed then in which God had as yet not opened the way for secession and errors although grievous and dangerous had not yet (*akmēn*) reached their highest point, nor been so incorporated into laws as that they were to be received with unavoidable necessity and under the pain of an anathema. But from the time when the evil became wholly incurable and the error intolerable and sanctioned under the penalty of a curse; from the time when God raised the standard of the gospel everywhere for casting off the yoke of Antichrist and calling

believers to liberty, a positive secession was necessary because provision was to be made for the consciences of that and following ages and the church was to be purified of her filthiness that she might have her faith and public worship, her riches and sacred things cleaned from their pristine corruptions.

Eleventh Question: The Infallibility of the Church

Is the church infallible or can it err about faith? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists

I. The question concerning the infallibility of the church is the most agitated of all which lie between us and Romanists about the church and of so great importance that the papacy seems to rest upon it as its principal fulcrum. For no other reason do they fight so sharply for the infallibility of the church than that they may attach this privilege to their own, which they hold to be the only true church. Thus they claim for it the supreme and unaccountable (*anypeuthynon*, i.e., "not liable to human criticism") judgment in matters of faith, to which each and every person is bound to submit themselves without question (*abasanistōs*) and in blind obedience.

Statement of the question.

II. That the statement of the question, which is often inaccurately set forth, may be rightly obtained, we must remark: (1) that the question does not simply concern the invisible church of the elect or the universality of believers, whether it can err in the foundation (which our doctrine concerning the perseverance of the saints sufficiently proves is slanderously charged upon us), but whether it is to be said to be so infallible as to be exposed to no error (which we deny). (2) The question is not properly of the collective visible church of believers, but especially of the representative church of pastors; not indeed of the first who founded it (such as the apostles were, whom all confess were infallible), but of the subsequent, who preserved and ruled the church when founded. Nor does the question treat these separately considered (whom the opponents do not deny can err), but taken conjointly and gathered in council.

III. Bellarmine thus sets forth the received opinion among them. "Our opinion," says he, "is that the church cannot absolutely err, neither in things absolutely necessary, nor in others which she proposes to us to be done or believed: And when we say the church cannot err, we understand this as much of the universality of believers, as of the universality of bishops, so that the sense of the proposition—'the church cannot err'—is that which all believers are bound to believe is true and of faith and in like manner that which all bishops are bound to teach as pertaining to faith, is true and of faith" ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.14 *Opera* [1857], 2:98). Now although this privilege is here extended by Bellarmine to the universal multitude of believers, yet elsewhere (with little consistency) he restricts it to the bishops when he intends to prove that approved general councils cannot err. "Because," says he, "the whole authority of the church is formally only in the prelates, as the vision of the whole body is formally only in the head; therefore it is the same thing that the church cannot err in defining matters of faith and that the bishops cannot err" ("De Conciliorum Auctoritate," 2.2 *Opera* [1857], 2:43). However, if it is inquired whether this belongs to each and every bishop, in the same place he teaches that this is to be understood only of them congregated in a council "because the individuals separately can err." Again, if anyone seeks whether this belongs absolutely and simply to the bishops congregated, he does not wish to acknowledge even this, unless the councils are approved by the pope. "All Catholics," says he, "uniformly teach that general councils, confirmed by the supreme pontiff, cannot err" (ibid.). Hence it is gathered that the foundation of this infallibility is to be found in the pope alone, "on whose will it depends to sanction decrees and to change those sanctioned" (as Baronius says, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Annus 373.21 [1866], 5:370). And thus under the name of church they understand the Roman pope, its head. In the meantime, that this infallibility of the pope is not to be understood absolutely, the same Bellarmine teaches when he says, "Catholics agree that the pope, even as pope, and with the assembly of counsellors, or with a general council, can err in controversies of fact, depending upon human information and testimony: and that the pope, as a private teacher, can also err in universal questions of right, both of faith and of practice and that too from ignorance, as sometimes happens to other teachers" ("De Romano Pontifice," 4.2 *Opera* [1856], 1:477). But elsewhere, he says it is probable and can be

piously believed that as a particular person the pope cannot be a heretic. He adds afterwards, "Catholics agree that the pope with a general council cannot err in establishing decrees of faith, or general precepts of practice; and that the pope, whether he can be a heretic or not, cannot in any way define anything heretical to be believed by the whole church" (ibid., 4.6, 1:484). "The supreme pontiff," says he, "when he teaches the whole church, in things pertaining to faith, can in no case err" (ibid., 4.3, proposition 1, p. 478). Here he sufficiently betrays his own confusion (*akatastasian*). No less than Andrew Duval says, "Even if it is not of faith that the supreme pontiff, separated from the council, enjoys the privilege of infallibility, although he acts as pontiff" (which he solidly proves by various reasons) "still this is absolutely certain and indubitable" (*De Suprema Romani Pontificis*, Part 2, Q. 1.8 [1877], p. 105). But the Jesuits do not stop at this. They proceed further and extend the infallibility of the pope not only to questions of right, but also to questions of fact. This is evident from the Theses put forth at the College of Clermont in 1661, in which it is asserted, "Christ committed the government of his church so to popes as to grant to them the same infallibility which he himself had, as often as they would speak authoritatively" (cf. "Supplementum Secundi Tomi," in Caroli D'Argentre, *Collectio Judicorum de novis Erroribus* [1736], 3:320–23). They thus conclude: "There is, therefore, in the church of Rome an infallible judge of controversies of faith even outside of a general Council, both in questions of right and of fact." To this assertion, unheard of before in France, the Parisian Synod manfully opposed itself in its decree of January 22, 1663 (cf. A. G. Martimont, *Le gallicanisme de Bossuet* [1953], pp. 216–36, esp. p. 235).

IV. Still we must confess that all Romanists do not hold the same opinion on this subject. For as not a few think the church can err in things not revealed (as Cano, "De Locis theologicis," 4.4 *Opera* [1605], pp. 195–205), either in things not pertaining to faith; or which are of fact, not of right (as Alphonsus a Castro, *Adversus omnes haereses* 6 [1556], pp. 156–201), so as to the pope there are many distinguished men among them (and even councils themselves) by whom this infallibility is not approved—nay, by whom it is openly denied. Bellarmine acknowledges this while he gives the opinion of those who hold that "the pope, as pope, can be a heretic, and teach heresy, if he defines without a general council, and that sometimes

this has actually happened" ("De Romano Pontifice," 4.2 *Opera* [1856], 1:477). He ascribes this opinion to Nilus (*A Briefe Treatise Concerning ... the Popes Usurped Primacye* [1560], pp. 9–14), Gerson, Almayno, Adrian VI and the Parisians, who place infallibility of judgment concerning matters of faith not in the pope, but in the church, or in a general council. The fathers of the Council of Basil confess that "they had often found and read that the pope erred" ("Epistolae et Responsiones Synodales, III," Mansi 29:249). The Gloss says, "The pope is to be judged by no one, unless he is found to have strayed from the faith" ("Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. 40.6, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:146). Now why should such a restriction be employed if this was impossible? The same opinion was held by Peter d'Ailly, Cardinal of Cambrai (*de Auth. Eccles*. p. 3, cap. 3+); Nicholas of Cusa ("De Concordantia Catholica," 1.15 *Opera Omnia* [1939], 14:79–81) and commonly by the French church and the Sorbonne—expressly in the censure exhibited to the king in the year 1663 of the proposition of Amadeus Guimenius and Vernantius, where the infallibility of the pope was defended. In the sixth proposition, the faculty says, "It is not a dogma, nor doctrine of the faculty, that the chief pontiff, no consent of the church being added, is infallible" (cf. A.G. Martimort, *Le gallicanisme de Bossuet* [1953], p. 235). This the assembly of French clergy had confirmed two years before, decreeing among various things this also in their fourth proposition: "The pope has the principal authority in matters of faith; but his decisions are not certain without the consent of the church."

V. Thus the Romanists among themselves are split into various parties about this infallibility of the church. The opinion of the orthodox returns to this: (1) the invisible catholic church, however it can be said to be infallible objectively, inasmuch as it cannot commit deadly error in the foundation, so as absolutely to cease to be (as was proved above), still while it wars on earth, it is always exposed to various errors no less than sins. (2) The visible church, which is collected in particular assemblies through the whole world, whether it is regarded collectively or representatively in its rulers; either considered by individuals apart or all joined together in a council, is not infallible, but is liable to deadly error as well in faith as in practice, in questions of right as well as in questions of fact. The privilege of freedom from error (*anamartēsias*) was not given nor does it any longer belong to any church or person after the apostolic time.

That the church is not infallible is proved: (1) from the imperfection of regeneration.

VI. The reasons are various. The first is drawn from the imperfection of regeneration. Infallibility supposes a perfect knowledge of things and excludes all ignorance, which is the mother of error. And yet to no church or believer does this perfection belong, as long as they are upon earth. Nay, in this the church triumphant differs from the militant, that the former (seeing God face to face) is absolutely perfect and, as to knowledge and holiness, free from all error and stain. The latter, because it bears about with it the remains of sin and only beholds in a mirror and darkly, is still exposed to both: "For we know in part and prophesy in part" (1 Cor. 13:9); "And we walk by faith, not by sight" (2 Cor. 5:7). Therefore, as there is no one who does not sin, so there is no one who does not err or who cannot err. "Who can understand his errors? Cleanse thou me from secret faults" (Ps. 19:12*).

2. From the nature of the promises given to the church.

VII. (2) From the nature of the promises given to the church, which always include the tacit or expressed condition of perseverance in the faith: "If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed" (Jn. 8:31); "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him" (Jn. 14:21); "If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him" (v. 23). Thus to the church at Rome the kindness of God is promised, provided she continues in it; otherwise excision is threatened: "Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off" (Rom. 11:22). Therefore, as these promises are conditional, they cannot have a place unless the condition is fulfilled and since this is wanting in various cases, this privilege also must necessarily cease. I confess that in the elect God works the condition itself, so that they may be

free at least from fundamental error. But in this respect it cannot be said of others.

3. From the hypothesis of our opponents.

VIII. (3) From the hypothesis of our opponents. The church, according to Romanists, consists not only of true believers, but also of unbelievers and reprobates, who can be destitute of all internal virtues, faith, hope and love (as Bellarmine owns, "De Ecclesia Militante," 3.2 *Opera* [1857], 2:74–75) and, as was seen before, to whom no one would say the privilege of infallibility is granted. In vain, then, does he add in the same place that he believes all virtues are found in the church, because he expressly acknowledges that this does not necessarily belong to it.

4. From the fallibility of individuals.

IX. (4) From the fallibility of individuals. Individual pastors and rulers of churches are fallible, as our opponents confess; therefore also the whole. For what individuals apart from each other do not possess, they cannot have when gathered together; nor can an assembly or council, which is composed of fallible members, be infallible. Nor does the presence of Christ make them more infallible than two or three believers, who are gathered together in the name of Christ, in the midst of whom Christ promises that he will be.

5. From the silence of Scripture.

X. (5) From the silence of Scripture. For if the church ought to be infallible, the Holy Spirit would undoubtedly somewhere have told believers of it, as of a thing of the greatest importance to confirm the faith of the pious and to guard them against all seductions. Otherwise he would appear to have been wanting in a thing the most necessary of all and which it was of the greatest moment for the church to know. But nowhere is mention made of this privilege having been given to any certain church; for it will be shown hereafter that the many passages adduced by our opponents to prove this thing do not prove it. So far from its being said that this was granted to the Roman church (as ought to have been said by all means, if any such thing

belonged to it), on the contrary Paul earnestly admonishes it of the danger of defection and of their impending fall: “Because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not highminded, but fear: For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee” (Rom. 11:20, 21*). Now why should the apostle have said this if he believed the gift of infallibility had been bestowed upon it? And he urges them “to mark them which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which they had learned; and avoid them” (Rom. 16:17). And he who compares the Roman church of today with the primitive will easily perceive the propriety of this premonition.

6. From the experience of all ages.

XI. (6) From the experience of all ages. It is evident that the church often erred under the Old Testament. The Israelite church erred when Aaron made the golden calf and built an altar before it (Ex. 32:2, 5). Now it makes little difference whether this was done by the well-ordered judgment of the church or by a tumultuary concourse of people, provided it appears that the rulers of the church themselves with the people fell into such a sin. Nor does it relieve the matter whether for a long time or for a little while they remained in that sin. It is sufficient that such a crime was committed in order to prove that the church was not infallible. And although Aaron had not as yet been consecrated a priest in solemn manner, still that he had been already designated and determined upon by God and acknowledged by the people is evident even from the fact that the priests are ordered to sanctify themselves (Ex. 19:22) and that the people came to him to make the calf (which they would not have done unless they now regarded him as a priest). What is said of the Levites (that they did not recognize father or brother in taking vengeance on idolators, Ex. 32:26; Dt. 33:9) shows that there might have been found many among the Levites who had not polluted themselves with this crime or who at once recognized the sin committed and endeavored in this way to wash it off; but it does not prove that the tribe of Levi was absolutely free from it since Aaron, the head of the Levites, was the author of that sin.

XII. The Israelite church erred under the judges, when after the death of Joshua they deserted the Lord and served Baal. The magnitude of this

corruption is graphically described in Jdg. 2. She erred under the impious and idolatrous kings of Samaria as well as of Jerusalem in the times of Joram, Ahaziah, Manasseh, Ahab and others, under whom the people lapsed into foul idolatry, the temple of God was often shut and public worship was neglected and miserably corrupted. And that no one may say that the prophets, priests and the greater and more reputable part of the people were not infected in the same manner, the utterances of the prophets should be consulted, from which it is evident that the leaders of the church and the priests and prophets were not free from it. Isaiah bitterly inveighs against the priests and shepherds of the people because they were drunk, blind and held by the spirit of deep sleep (Is. 29:9*, 10; 42:19); because they were blind and deaf (Is. 56:10, 11), dumb dogs, all blind watchmen, who sleep and love to slumber and cannot understand. Jeremiah rebukes them for falsehood and lying, idolatry and avarice, perfidy and defection from God (Jer. 2:8; 5:30, 31; 6:13; 8:8–10; 10:21; 23:27, 28; 50:6). Ezekiel warns them because they did violence to the law, did not distinguish between the sacred and profane and polluted the sanctuary (Ezk. 7:26; 22:26). And so everywhere with the others. Nor can the difference between the church of the Old Testament and the church of the New be brought forward here. Bellarmine confesses that "the Jewish priests had the privilege of not erring, until Christ should come" ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.17 *Opera* [1857], 2:104). No better is it said that the prophetic words are figurative, directed indeed to all, but still not to be understood of all, but only of many. Although God has always preserved for himself a remnant of grace in the most corrupt state (Is. 1:9), still it clearly appears that the multitude of priests, who arrogated to themselves the title of church, shamefully erred. Nor is it to be added that this is not said of the council of priests, but of the pastors and prophets who separately deceived the people. For they who were such separately, when joined ought not to be any better. Besides, the Holy Spirit speaks not of one or another separately, but of the whole order and the entire college of priests: "The priests shall be astonished, and the prophets shall wonder" (Jer. 4:9); "The law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancients" (Ezk. 7:26); "Night shall be unto you, that ye shall not have a vision; and it shall be dark unto you, that ye shall not divine; and the sun shall go down over the prophets" (Mic. 3:6); "As troops of robbers wait for a man, so the company of priests murder in the way by

consent" (Hos. 6:9). Finally, the example of the four hundred false prophets opposed to Micaiah (1 K. 22), proves that not one or another, but the company (*collegium*) itself erred. Nor were these the prophets of Baal (because Micaiah does not rebuke them), but the prophets of Jehovah, who boasted of that name, though falsely. Hence Jehoshaphat asks, "Is there not here a prophet of the Lord besides (*'vdh*)" (v. 7), as Cajetan properly observes ("In Libros Regum Commentarii," *Quotquot in Sacrae Scripturae* [1639], 2:223 on 1 [3] K. 22:7).

XIII. The synagogue grievously erred in the time of Christ, making void the commandment of God by their traditions (Mt. 15:3*), twisting the law by their corruptions (Mt. 5), tainting the purer doctrine with the deadly leaven of various errors and striking upon a stone of offense. Not the few and ignoble, but the chiefs of the people, priests and scribes, pastors who held the succession of places and person, not only separately, but collectively in council. Here they not only decreed excommunication (*aposynagōgos*) to the followers of Christ (Jn. 9:34), but the condemnation and death of Christ also (Jn. 11*:50; Mt. 26:65, 66), as an impostor and false Messiah. Now since no one can deny that this was the greatest of all crimes, they must also confess that the synagogue, in relation to which the church of that time was visible, most basely erred.

XIV. Vain are the refuges sought by Romanists to escape the force of this argument which presses them. (1) "Caiaphas did not err in this oracle" when he said that it was expedient for one man to die for the people, because he is said by John "to have prophesied" (i.e., he uttered it in a prophetic spirit, which was done to the execution of the divine decree). But who can hear this without horror? As if the Devil and the wicked do not sin when God uses them (although contrary to their intention) to execute his counsel. Or if he is said to have prophesied in thus speaking, on that account he did not err. For he did not do it willingly and knowingly, but from the counsel of the Holy Spirit, who wished such words to be uttered by him as would open this purpose of God, although beyond his mind. (2) "He erred in mind, not in words." But Bellarmine refutes this from Mt. 26:65, where Caiaphas says of Christ, "He hath spoken blasphemy: what further need have we of witnesses?" "For then, surely," says he, "he did not prophesy, but blasphemed" ("De Conciliorum Auctoritate," 2.8 *Opera* [1857], 2:49). Besides, when the question is Can councils err? the dispute is not about the

words, but the meaning of the council. For laws consist not in the words, but in the sense; nor can they be said to be obedient to councils who, tenacious of the words, despise the opinion and the intention. (3) "He erred in fact, not in right, not by condemning the Messiah, but him whom they believed used the name of Messiah falsely." But this also is well refuted by Bellarmine because this very thing pertains to right and refers to the most momentous dogma of all concerning the true Messiah. The ignorance of fact is then an ignorance of right when there is no reason for doubting the fact; otherwise the Jews of our day would have to be excused who, blaspheming Christ, think they do not deny the true, but a false Messiah. (4) "This was not a lawful council." But although it was not lawful intrinsically (because they were not assembled in the name of God, nor proposed the glory of God to themselves, but their own depraved affections), still it could not be called unlawful extrinsically because there was nothing wanting to the constitution of a council extrinsically lawful: the head presided, its members lawfully called together were present, and, the matter having often before been called up in the council, a decree was passed. (5) "It erred indeed, but, Christ being present, the privilege of not erring had ceased, nor, while Christ lived on earth, whose authority was supreme and absolutely infallible, was there need that the council could not err; nay, it was predicted that it would err." But (a) either that privilege ceased at the advent of Christ in the flesh or only at his death. If the former, why did Christ so often send persons to the priests? Why did he command those sitting in the seat of Moses to be heard? Why did he frequent the temple and attend the sacred rites performed by them? If the latter, as Lombard maintains, "In the death of Christ only were all legal things terminated" (*Sententiarum*, IV*, Dist. 3.10 [PL 192/2.845]). Therefore the office and privileges of the priests (which they pursued) still remained, nor ought they to have erred. (b) If the fall of the synagogue was predicted, so also was the fall of the Christian church. If it could happen that while Christ was living and speaking on earth, the church so disgracefully erred, what hinders this also from being the case today, Christ being now absent and received into heaven and speaking only in the Scriptures?

7. From predictions.

XV. (7) From the various predictions, from which it is evident that the church of the New Testament should err. In 2 Thess. 2, Paul (speaking of the apostasy of the last days) says, "The day of the Lord shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God" (vv. 3, 4). Here there are as many weighty arguments as there are words. Mention is made of "an apostasy" which was to come (namely from faith) by "the man of sin and the son of perdition," i.e., a remarkable apostate who should be the author of this so great defection, both most wicked in himself and the author of the sin and error of others and thus devoted to eternal perdition and destruction; who boasts himself as lawless (*hanomon*) and not amenable to law (to wit, free from all laws); who is to be judged by no one and who arrogates to himself the authority of judging all; who should "sit" (i.e., exercise authority and dominion) "in the temple of God" or the church "as if he was God," lording it over the conscience, "exalting himself above God" (to wit, opposing his authority to that of God, prohibiting what he has permitted and permitting what he has prohibited) and "above all that is called God" (namely, above kings and princes, who are often so designated in the Scriptures, while he demands from them worship, submission and service). Now if such and so great an apostasy was to have place in the church, who would say that the gift of infallibility belongs to it?

XVI. By this apostasy cannot be meant (1) political defection from the Roman Empire, instead of a spiritual and ecclesiastical defection from the faith of Christ. Neither the words nor the adjuncts by which it is described allow this. Not the words because as often as the Scripture of the New Testament uses the word *apostasias* or the verb *aphistēmi*, it denotes a defection from the faith (Acts 21:21; 1 Tim. 4:1). Not the adjuncts because it treats of a defection which is connected with miracles of lying and all the seduction of iniquity (2 Thess. 2:9, 10), which the mystery of iniquity works (v. 7), which exerts itself by the efficacy of error, that they who are unwilling to believe the truth may believe a lie (v. 11). Hence it is elsewhere described by defection from the faith, by attention given to seducing spirits and the doctrines of devils and by spiritual fornication and adultery (Rev. 17:2, 4); or idolatry, by which the bond of God's marriage with the church

is sundered. (2) Nor is a defection to Mohammedanism meant. The sitting in the temple of God does not agree with Mohammed; nor did the Turkish domination rage so much by fraud as by force; nor did it attack the conscience so much as the body; nor do we read of its using such lying signs or tricks in order to instill its poison. It is one thing to compel with the sword as a tyrant; another to hinder with the keys as the false bishop. One thing with the open mouth of the dragon to gape at the prey; another under the lamb's skin and with the horns of the dragon to belch out blasphemies. Finally, Paul speaks of such a mystery as had even begun then and whose eruption and open revelation delayed the Roman Empire (which the apostle understands by "withholding" [*ton katechonta*]), which cannot be said of Mohammedanism. (3) Nor is the defection to Gentilism meant. It is such a mystery as the revelation of something stood in the way of. Now nothing stood in the way of Gentilism at that time; nay, all things appeared to return to it (nor ought that to be called a mystery which external force or the enticements of the flesh were openly recommending). Besides, it could not have been said that the son of perdition was still to be revealed, because Gentilism was already sufficiently manifested and prevailed among almost all nations. Finally, it is said to be about to sit in the temple of God, which does not apply to the Gentiles. Hence it is evident that this apostasy can refer to nothing else than the general defection which should arise in the Christian church by the advent of Antichrist. This has elsewhere been more fully proved in our Disputation 7, "De Secessione ab Ecclesia Romana" (*Opera* [1858], 4:147–77), where the figment of Grotius concerning Caligula and Simon Magus is refuted, and many more things are to be found on this subject.

XVII. Here belong the many other predictions concerning the corruptions and errors that were to be introduced into the church by false christs and seducing spirits in the last times, which believers are commanded to avoid: "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves" (Mt. 7:15); "There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect" (Mt. 24:24); "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost has made you overseers … because after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing

the flock … men speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them" (Acts 20:28–30*); "The Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils" (1 Tim. 4:1); "There shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies" (2 Pet. 2:1); "Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists" (1 Jn. 2:18). Note especially the book of Revelation, where the great Babylonian harlot and the mother of fornications is said to intoxicate the kings of the earth and the inhabitants of the world with the wine of fornication (i.e., idolatry, chaps. 17 and 18). On this account, God calls his people out from her, lest sharing in her sins they may also partake of her destruction. Since from all these it appears that deadly errors were to have a place in the church, everyone sees that infallibility cannot be predicated truly of her.

8. From an examination of doctrine.

XVIII. (8) From an examination of the doctrine imposed upon believers. They are recalled to the "law and testimony" (Is. 8:20), i.e., to the law which contains the testimony of the divine will towards us, which alone they ought to consult (magicians and soothsayers being despised), so that whatever is handed down by them should be brought to this standard. Elsewhere they are commanded "to search the Scriptures" (Jn. 5:39); "to try the spirits whether they are of God" (1 Jn. 4:1), i.e., by the touchstone of the Scripture, not only by the public judgment of the church, but also by private judgment, which belongs to all the pious that they may establish their faith from the word of God. In this manner, Paul wishes believers "to prove all things" (1 Thess. 5:21), i.e., all the doctrines proposed to them, according to the polestar of the word and the analogy of faith and "to hold fast what is good" (i.e., the sound doctrine—error and falsehood being rejected). The same apostle elsewhere orders the Corinthians to judge concerning what he spoke (1 Cor. 10:15), namely, by comparing it with the Scriptures, whether these things were so (after the example of the Bereans, Acts 17:11). On this account, he testifies "that by manifestation of the truth, he commends himself to every man's conscience" (2 Cor. 4:2), which could not be done without examination. Now why should this examination and judgment be

enjoined upon believers so earnestly, if infallibility had been given to the church? Would it not have been sufficient to put believers in mind of this privilege that by absolute submission and without examination they should receive whatever was delivered to them by the church? And since this is nowhere done (nay, on the contrary each one is ordered to live by his faith), it hence clearly appears that the comment of infallibility is obtruded falsely and without foundation.

9. From the uncertainty of this doctrine among the Romanists.

XIX. (9) From the uncertainty of this doctrine among the Romanists themselves. They are not yet agreed among themselves on the seat of this infallibility, nor is it known as yet with whom it ought to be—with the pope or with a council. Some claim this privilege for a council, as is done by all those who believe the pope to be fallible and who on that account wish the council to be above him (as it was decreed in the councils of Constance and Basil and is constantly believed by the French church). Others ascribe it to the pope, as those who maintain that he is superior to a council (as the Council of Trent determined and with it the canonists and Scholastics). Again, although it should be evident with whom such infallibility exists, no less would the faith in this mystery shake, because on their hypothesis concerning the necessary intention of the minister to the essence of a sacrament, it can appear by no certain argument either that this council is an ecumenical council lawfully assembled and consisting of fit members, or that the man who sits in Rome is the true pope, in whose infallibility our faith ought to be resolved. For according to them, it is not of faith that this pope numerically seated today is the lawful successor of Peter and the vicar of Christ, much less that those who are gathered in council are lawful bishops, properly baptized and ordained. How then can they be certain of their own infalliblity or demand from others that certainty which they cannot even themselves have? Thus all things waver and remain uncertain among them because the last resolution of faith is not made in the divinely inspired (*theopneuston*) Scripture alone, but in the worthless comment of the infallibility of the church (about whose certain seat they disagree among

themselves and which it is most certain cannot be found either in the council or in the pope).

XX. For as to the council, besides the fact that many of the Romanists maintain that even general councils are exposed to error (hence they distribute them into reprobated, approved and mixed) and that they suspend their infallibility upon the confirmation of the pope, it is certain that freedom from error (*anamartēsian*) can no more belong to all the members of a council conjointly than to individual pastors separately (who are believed to be fallible by themselves). Nor is any promise of infallibility given to a council rather than to private persons. Besides it is known that various councils erred, as the Ariminsian (Rimini) and Seleucian under Constantius II, which confirmed Arianism (cf. Hefele, 2:246–71); the Ephesian (second piratical [*lēstrikon*]) under Theodosius the Younger (II), in which the Eutychian heresy was approved (cf. Hefele, 3:221–62); and not a few others. This is not obscurely confirmed from the dissonance and contrariety of the councils which passed discordant decrees. The Roman under Stephen (VI) rescinded the acts of the Formosan, and the Roman under John IX set aside the acts of Stephen and restored the Formosan. The second Nicene introduced images; Constantinople and Frankfort ejected them. The synods of Constance and Basil subject the pope to the council, but the Lateran and Tridentine reverse it. The Constantian took the cup from the people; the Basilian restored it under certain conditions. But what was the spirit in the latter councils (which the Romanists use most) can appear even to a blind man, from the acts of the second Nicene and the Constantian councils: the former sacrilegiously treads underfoot the second commandment of the decalogue, while the latter treads underfoot the precept of Christ concerning receiving entirely the supper instituted by himself.

XXI. Many things prove that the popes also are not infallible. (1) The faith of history, from which it is evident that many of them were not only most abandoned, magicians, simonians, poisoners, atheists and given to every kind of vice, such as were those whom Baronius investigates (as if so many monsters had thrust themselves into that seat); cf. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Annus 900 [1868], 15:467–78; and Genebrard, when he says "that through almost 150 years about fifty Popes from John VIII, namely, until Leo IX, wholly failed, apostactic or apostate, rather than apostolical"

(*Chronographiae* 4 [1580], p. 318). Rather they also fell into heresy: as Liberius subscribing to Arianism; Honorius I subscribing to Monothelitism and on that account condemned in the general Council VI (Constantinople III, A.D. 680–681), Act 13 (cf. Hefele, 5:167); Marcellinus I sacrificing to idols; Zosimus favoring Pelagianism; John XIII denying the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, condemned in the Council of Constance; Gregory VII and Boniface VIII claiming for themselves supreme power over kings and princes; and very many others of whom even Romanist historians speak. (2) The Romanists themselves did not believe that infallibility, who so often rescinded the acts of their own predecessors and passed various contradictory decrees about many articles of faith, in which the latter recede from the decrees and opinions of the former, which they would assuredly not have done if they had believed this privilege of infallibility residing in that seat. (3) Many councils exercised their power over popes, deposing them on account of heresies and crimes and pronouncing them heretics. (4) The appeals to a future council, often made against the wishes of popes and the Roman Curia, testify the same thing. (5) There would have been no need to call together with so much trouble councils to give an opinion of doubtful authority, if an infallible judgment could have been found in the pope. For to no purpose is that done by more which can be done more fitly and certainly by fewer. Finally (not to heap up any more reasons which could be adduced), if the pope were infallible, he would himself be the principle and norm of believing; and dying, the infallibility of the church would fail.

XXII. Nor do their ridiculous little distinctions help the Romanists at all, by which they endeavor to deceive the more simple and to encrust in some way this absurd comment, while they maintain: (1) “The pope indeed as a private teacher can err, but not as a pope speaking authoritatively” (*ex cathedra*). For although sometimes the same private person can put on a public character (*schesin*) as consul and a private character as the father of a family, according to his twofold state and office, there can be no room in this argument for such an abstraction because it is treated everywhere of the same office of teacher and of the same doctrine to be taught. Now how can it happen that as pope, he can determine and judge contrary to what he himself thinks as a private person? Can sweet and bitter flow out of the same mouth? Thus the same one as pope will be orthodox, while as a

private person he will be a heretic. The same man as an infallible pope could be acquitted and saved in the judgment of God and as an erring private man be condemned in the same judgment. Why then does this man not consult for himself that he may cease to err and not perish? Again, since it is not as yet evident what that seat is, how can it be evident and by what marks may it be discerned when he speaks *ex cathedra*, when not? Nay, since the pope from the very moment of his election and inauguration is considered as occupying that sacred seat of Peter, there can be no moment of time in which he can be sought or conceived to be out of it and so in which he can act or determine anything out of the seat which is liable to error. And if God had willed the pope to be infallible for the salvation of the church, would he not have provided that he should determine nothing erroneously by private and personal act, no less than by public and judicial act?

XXIII. (2) "He can err in questions of fact, not of right." But first, the Jesuits, who ascribe both kinds of infallibility to him, do not admit this. And although this opinion draws after it various most gross absurdities (as the censors of the Clermont Thesis observe), still they all fall back upon it (who defend the infallibility of the pope in controversies of right) because the question of fact is often resolved into a question of right: for example, he who can err in a fact, could err in the application of passages of Scripture to the controverted heads of faith. This necessarily involves the question of right. Thus he who can err in fact can also doubt concerning the creation of the world, the advent of Christ into the world and his resurrection, all of which draw after them most momentous questions of right. (3) "He can err in those things which pertain to morals, but not in those which are of faith." But Bellarmine holds the contrary. "The pope," says he, "cannot err not only in decrees of faith, but neither in precepts of morals, which are prescribed to the whole church" ("De Romano Pontifice," 4.5 *Opera* [1856], 1:483). Again, he cannot err contrary to good morals by determining something from the plenitude of his power which in itself is unjust and unlawful without being bound by this most grievous error in the faith—that this belongs to him of right. Finally, if there is granted the perpetual assistance of the Holy Spirit to furnish infallibility to the pope in matters of faith, why could he not have the same in those things which pertain to morals? Nor does the distinction into dogmatic and practical infallibility

avail, as if the former may well be ascribed to him and not the latter, according to the example of Peter, who, infallible in faith, yet sinned in morals. It is not treated here of the sinlessness of men in the action of life (which we do not read of having been granted to anyone, not even to the apostles), but of the public exercise of office, concerning the making of dogmas of faith and precepts of morals, about which the distinction of dogmatic and practical infallibility cannot have a place.

Sources of explanation.

XXIV. The church, which is governed by Christ and the Holy Spirit only and always, does not err; but the church militant neither only nor always is so governed by the Holy Spirit because it is not rarely governed also by the flesh, which lusts against the Spirit (Gal. 5:17). Nor on this account is the error or infirmity of the church or of its particular members to be ascribed to Christ and the Holy Spirit (quickening this mystical body and each of its members) anymore than a dislocation of the foot or of the hand is ascribed to the soul, informing the natural body and its individual members. So that here that expression of Augustine ought always to obtain: God so administers all the things he created as to permit them also to exercise their own motions (CG 7.30 [FC 8:387–88; PL 41.220]). Hence not the same perfection is to be looked for in the church as in the primary teacher of the truth (who is the Holy Spirit thus acting in the church according as its capacity and measure bears, no more wiping away from it all pollution than all tears).

XXV. Although Christ is the spouse of the church, it does not immediately follow that she ought to be infallible; or if he wills to preserve her from all fundamental error that she may not err totally; and finally, it does not follow that he has determined to remove all error from her. On the contrary, he wishes to try her faith repeatedly by permitting her sometimes to fall into errors. Nor if at times sleeping, the church does not hear her spouse's voice, does she on that account wholly desert or repudiate him, as he who passes by with deaf ear the dictation of conscience in any action has not immediately rejected reason itself. As he does not become an unbeliever at once who weakens the doctrine of faith by any reason whatsoever, but he only who overturns the foundation and does not retain the head (Col. 2:19).

For as a carnal marriage is not destroyed by any disagreement whatsoever, so the bond of spiritual wedlock is sundered not by any error or any heresy. And although idolatry, which is spiritual adultery, furnishes the most just cause of a divorce, still God by his long-continued patience and clemency recalls his bride to better fruit before he repudiates her.

XXVI. Although there is in the church a perpetual standard and the most certain rule of doctrine, admitting no stain of error in itself, it does not follow that the church is absolutely infallible. The church, which creeps in the mire, does not altogether receive that accuracy (*akribeian*); nor can anyone affirm this, except him who confounds the beginning with the end, the starting place with the goal. And thus the church (by which he believes the doctrine of the divine word) is free from a fall, but the church (by which he believes imperfectly and is surrounded by the wind of human doctrine) errs.

XXVII. It is one thing for Christ to be always present with the invisible church of the elect, to preserve it from fundamental error and from a total and final fall; another to be present with the visible church (and in particular with the representative) to provide infallibility to it in all its decrees. Christ promises the former (Is. 59:21; Mt. 16:18; 28:20; Jn. 14:16), but not the latter because these promises are not fulfilled in others than true believers and the elect (in the number of whom are all those who compose ecclesiastical assemblies) can be discovered by no one; nay, from various examples it is evident that the number of the wicked and worldly often prevails in them.

XXVIII. When Christ promises the presence of the Spirit (who would lead them into all truth, Jn. 16:13) to his disciples, he primarily and absolutely refers to the apostles who, as founders of the church and institutors of the canon of faith, ought to be infallible (as Toletus, Jansen and others of the Romanists acknowledge). Secondarily, it is certainly extended to ordinary pastors and to particular believers, but not in the same degree and measure of gifts; otherwise all would be equally infallible. Therefore the influence of the Holy Spirit is not to be understood absolutely and simply as to all truth universally, but with a limitation and relatively with respect to the subject matter (i.e., truth necessary to salvation, as Carthusianus observes; cf. ?“Enarratio in epistolae I B. Pauli ad Corinthos,” *Opera omnia* [1901], v. 13 on 1 Cor. 1:5) in the same manner as the

Corinthians are said "to be enriched in all utterance" (1 Cor. 1:5) and Paul is said "to have declared all the counsel of God" (Acts 20:27). Ministers are led into all truth by the Spirit of God speaking in the Scriptures and so long are they directed by the Spirit as they hear the word proposed by him and do not swerve from this rule; but no one would dare to say that they never will turn out of this course (Paul testifying the contrary [Acts 20:29, 30], as well as the experience of all ages). Otherwise the Spirit is promised to each one of the apostles separately, so it would belong to each pastor separately, which our opponents do not hold. This promise then, given by Christ first to the apostles, is indeed well said to be extended to their successors, but in a lower degree which can belong to ordinary ministers, not as to the apostolic preeminence (*hyperochēn*) of infallibility which was peculiar to them. Again, it refers only to the genuine successors of the apostles, who are no other than they who retain their doctrine.

XXIX. When the church is said by Paul "to be the pillar and ground of the truth" (1 Tim. 3:15), (1) it denotes indeed her office and function in proposing, holding, vindicating and defending the truth, but not her immutable privilege—what she is bound to do and not what she always does; just as "the priest's lips," are said "to keep knowledge, and to seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts" (Mal. 2:7). Not that this is always done by him (since it is immediately added in the following verse, "But ye are departed out of the way; ye have caused many to stumble at the law"), but because this duty was imposed upon him. Thus often the words which signify an action are to be understood of a duty (Ezk. 34:2; Mal. 1:6). (2) It is treated here of the Ephesian church in particular, in which Timothy, its bishop, was to be employed, to which Rome is unwilling to ascribe infallibility. (3) This is said of the church collectively in contradistinction to the pastors and not of the representative, about which the question is properly moved by them. See more on the meaning of this passage Volume I, Topic II, Of Scripture, Question 6, Section 25.

XXX. What is said only conditionally is not to be understood absolutely: "He that receiveth you receiveth me" (Mt. 10:40); "He that heareth you heareth me" (Lk. 10:16) (to wit, if you hear me and propose nothing but my word, delivering nothing else than what you received from me, nor speaking anything else than what I have taught you [Ezk. 3:17; 1 Cor. 11:23], which the thing itself cries out is not always done by pastors).

Otherwise if they propose figments of their own genius and the doctrines of men, so far from their being listened to, they ought to be rejected and considered as under the curse (Gal. 1:8). Thus the scribes and Pharisees sitting in the seat of Moses are commanded to be heard (Mt. 23*:2, 3) (i.e., as long as and insofar as they sit in it, to wit, by retaining and delivering the doctrine of Moses, since nevertheless elsewhere he had commanded the pious to keep themselves away from their leaven, that is, their false doctrine, Mt. 16:6, 12).

XXXI. (1) On this account, the church is not the more to be considered infallible when it is ordered to be heard (Mt. 18:17), or those bearing rule when we are commanded to obey them (Heb. 13:17), than either any ordinary judge to whom obedience in like manner is to be rendered (Dt. 17:12) or any parent to whom we are religiously bound to listen according to the prescription of Solomon (Prov. 6:20, 21). Therefore this expression means only that authority should be respected in those who are in public office, but always under this condition—that they prescribe nothing base, for then they should be resisted. So it is false that we are absolutely bound under the penalty of a curse to believe whatever the church teaches. For as Christ enjoined upon pastors to teach what he himself committed to them (Mt. 28:20), thus he enjoins upon believers to believe the same things and no other. This is so certain that Paul did not hesitate to denounce an anathema upon the one preaching another gospel (Gal. 1:8). (2) It is treated in the same place of the eldership of each particular church, to whom, however, no one has dared to ascribe infallibility, and concerning the exercise of discipline, not concerning doctrines of faith. Nor ought the severe punishment which is denounced against one unwilling to hear ("Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican") to be urged because severe punishments are also denounced against those who do not obey a magistrate and parents, who nevertheless no one would say are infallible. Thus the anathemas which councils hurl upon heresies, which they condemn from the Scriptures, no more prove their infallibility than the solemn denunciations of the divine wrath against sins pronounced by individual pastors prove them to be infallible. Here belongs that expression of the Master of Sentences (Lombard): "God does not always follow the judgment of the church, which sometimes judges dishonestly and

ignorantly, but God always judges according to the truth" (*Sententiarum*, IV, Dist. 18*.6 [PL 192/2.887]).

XXXII. Although infallibility is not given by God to the church, it cannot on this account be said that God was wanting in things necessary to her, because it is not necessary to have a supreme and infallible tribunal among men upon whose decrees and responses our faith should be suspended, since it is sufficient for her to have an infallible rule of faith and practice in the Scriptures, which as long as she observes, she will not wander from the right track.

XXXIII. From the fact that Christ promises to be in the midst of two or three gathered together in his name (Mt. 18:19, 20), it is well inferred that to any pious pastors and believers assembling in his name (i.e., from his call and his name being invoked that they may seek his glory and promote his cause and with the purpose of following his command), he will give so much of grace and help as will be necessary to them in accordance with their condition and their call. But improperly would anyone infer either that all who are congregated assemble in the name of Christ in this manner or that to those who rightly come together absolute infallibility is granted, because they do not need it in their call. Thus they ought not to be a rule of faith because that belongs to the Scriptures alone, to which all things are to be referred; otherwise the same privilege would belong to any of the laity assembling in the name of Christ.

XXXIV. The infallibility of the church having been denied, it does not follow (as the Bishop of Meaux [Meldensis] maintains in his conference with the celebrated Claudius [of Turin]) that any private person, although ignorant, is bound to believe that he can more rightly understand the word of God than whole synods and the entire true church; nor is this believed or said by us. Rather we hold only that private believers gifted with the Holy Spirit are bound to examine, according to the word of God, whatever is proposed for their belief or practice by the rulers of the church; as much by individuals separately as by many congregated in a synod. Also they are to believe that by the guidance of the Spirit, by pious prayers and diligent study of the Scriptures, they can better find out the meaning of Scripture in things necessary to salvation than whole synods receding from the word of God and than a society which claims for itself (but falsely) the name of the true church. Therefore, the examination which they are bound to make is

not made for the purpose of correcting the meaning of the true church and of finding out a better (as if they were wiser), but to investigate and follow it. Nor is the right of examination founded in this—that we ought to believe ourselves wiser and more sagacious than entire synods and the whole true church; but in this—that since the privilege of infallibility has been granted by God to no church or pastor, nor are we certain whether they who compose ecclesiastical assemblies are members of the true church and faithful servants of God, who are partakers of the Holy Spirit and follow his guidance; nay, it can happen (and it has too often happened) that such assemblies have erred in their decisions. Hence no other means is left for the believer to know the legitimate authority of these assemblies and the decisions made by them with the certainty of faith, than a comparison and examination of them with the word of God, which he not only permits as possible and lawful, but commands as just and necessary. That cannot, therefore, be considered rashness or pride which belongs to the execution of an indispensable office imposed upon all believers. Nor under the pretext of avoiding pride ought believers to blind themselves and to divest themselves of their right in order that their consciences by a blind obedience may be reduced to bondage.

XXXV. It is not absurd that believers piously and in the fear of the Lord searching the Scriptures can better ascertain their meaning than worldly and hypocritical rulers of the church who, by following the guidance of blind reason, endeavor to obtrude the figments of their own genius and human traditions instead of the word of God. For thus God according to his most free grace "reveals his mysteries unto babes, while he hides them from the wise and prudent" (Mt. 11:25). So he gives "to his disciples to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, which he denies to others" (Mt. 13:11). So "the secret of the Lord is with them that fear him" (Ps. 25:14). And "if any man will do the will of the Father, he shall know of the doctrine of Christ, whether it be of God, or whether he speaks of himself" (Jn. 7:17).

XXXVI. Since faith is not perfected in us in a moment, but is carried forward little by little and by degrees exerts itself, there is no absurdity in saying that a child or a Christian recently baptized, who has not yet seen or read the Scriptures, cannot at once elicit an act of divine faith concerning the infallibility of the Scripture formally considered; and that he can, not indeed doubt professedly through the ignorance of a depraved dispostion

concerning its truth or falsity, but be simply ignorant whether such a Scripture is granted through an ignorance of pure negation; or believe it only by a human faith which is such, not indeed with regard to the object or the principle, but with regard to the argument and motive, as is merely human (namely the instruction and authority of parents or of the church itself), before he believes with divine faith (i.e., the divine arguments and motives drawn from the reading of the Scriptures). Besides, although a Christian recently baptized can be granted who does not yet know the Scripture formally and who consequently has as yet exercised no act of faith about it, no moment can be conceived in which (if he has the use of reason) he ought not to have some knowledge of the principal heads of religion contained in the Scripture, the belief of which is usually demanded from an adult to be baptized and from a baptized child as soon as he has reached the age of discretion (concerning which accordingly he can elicit an act of faith). But nothing can be opposed here concerning the impossiblity of an act of faith about the Scriptures in a Christian recently baptized that with equal (nay, with far better reason) cannot be retorted with respect to an act of faith about the church and its infallibility.

XXXVII. Although the authority, which according to us belongs to synods, is great, still it is not absolute and unlimited, to which we are bound to submit in blind obedience and without examination; rather it is limited and ministerial, depending upon a twofold condition. The first is that they decide nothing except from the word of God. The other, that they always leave to believers the liberty of the examination of their decisions. The clause of submission, appended to the letters to the synod, means nothing else when the churches protest that "they will submit themselves to all that will be determined in the sacred assembly, being persuaded that the Holy Spirit will be present there, and will lead its members into all truth and justice by the rule of his word." For this evidently includes a tacit condition (to wit, that all the decisions will be made according to the rule of the word, from which if it is found to have departed, by that very circumstance all obligation to submission ceases). Therefore, this persuasion of the presence and guidance of the Holy Spirit is the persuasion of charity, which judges and hopes well of that assembly—that it will decide all things by the word of God—until the contrary appears. It also includes a tacit wish for that guidance. But it is not a persuasion of infallibility, implying absolute

submission and excluding the right of examination. Nor can a favorable presumption which we can have concerning the learning and orthodoxy of those who constitute the synod hinder believers from being always bound (after the example of the Bereans) to examine whether whatever is decreed there is consistent with the Scriptures.

XXXVIII. Although the condition is not set forth in the letters expressly and explicitly, this reticence cannot be considered an illusion or equivocation and a mental reservation because that condition is understood rightly; it is natural and fundamental, flowing spontaneously from our principles and expressly maintained in Article 5 of our (French) Confession (Cochrane, 145–46) and other writings of our divines, so that it is obvious to everyone and cannot escape anyone's notice. Now although the clause of submission has the force of an oath, it does not at once imply the certainty of infallibility because there are some oaths which are made concerning things done and past which ought to depend upon the certainty of things, not upon a mere presumption of them; others, oaths or promises of future things, which are founded upon presumption and include a tacit condition. The oath of fidelity which the soldier swears to his leader is founded only upon the presumption of the fidelity of his leader towards the prince and necessarily supposes this condition. It is the same with covenants which rest upon a similar presumption and always include a condition if not expressed, still tacit and implied.

XXXIX. Although the decision of a National Synod is final in the order of human means and from it there is no appeal to a higher tribunal and to it believers are bound in the external forum for the peace of the church and the preservation of good order (*eutaxian*), it is not on that account to be considered infallible, obliging the conscience itself, because the right to examine whatever is proposed for belief always belongs to the believer; nor does that decision bind the conscience further, except insofar as it will appear to it to be conformed to the word of God. But concerning the nature and power of those decisions, more will be said in the following questions when we treat of ecclesiastical power.

Twelfth Question: The Marks of the Church

Is the truth of doctrine which is held in any assembly, or its conformity with the word of God by the pure preaching and profession of the word, and the lawful administration and use of the sacraments, a mark of the true visible church? We affirm against the Romanists

I. After having treated of the nature, properties and adjuncts of the church, the order demands that we discuss its marks. This question pertains to its external state and is of the highest importance in religion. For since salvation cannot be obtained except in communion with the true church and many glory in this sacred name who are destitute of its truth, it is of great value to know its true marks that we may be able to distinguish the true fold of Christ from the dens of wolves; and the genuine society of pious Christians (to whose communion we are called) from the conventicles of heretics, which must be shunned by us; also that thus we may know what that assembly is to which it is necessary that we should join ourselves that we may obtain salvation. And because the question can be twofold (the first concerning the true marks, which are asserted by us; the other concerning the false and adulterous which are obtruded by the Romanists), we will discuss each separately and now treat of the first.

What are marks?

II. By marks, however, are commonly understood certain external signs striking the senses by which we arrive at the knowledge of a hidden thing, which are called by the Greeks *gnōrismata*. Now these are either only probable and verisimilar (which are called *eikota*), of which this is the nature—that they in some measure designate by a probable but least necessary reason a thing; to wit, those which are drawn from external and accidental adjuncts which clothe and attend the thing itself. Others are necessary and essential (which are called *tekmēria*, which indicate the thing investigated certainly and infallibly: as smoke, fire; respiration, life; because they are taken from the essence of the thing or from its inseparable properties). Now we do not here treat of marks of the first order, but of the latter.

III. For the truth of a mark, various persons require various things. Some require that it be essential, not accidental; proper and not common; certain,

clear and sensible, not doubtful and unevident. Others (as Bellarmine) require that it be proper, somewhat known and inseparable. We think only two are required, to which the others are easily referred—that it be proper and that it be somewhat known. For if it is proper, it is also necessary, essential and inseparable; if somewhat known, it is evident and sensible.

Statement of the question.

IV. (1) As the church can be viewed either as to internal and mystical state and as invisible, or as to external state and as visible and instituted, it can be disputed in different ways about its marks. Either inasmuch as it is invisible for recognizing the true elect and believers, in which sense it has for marks faith, hope and love put on by efficacious calling, from which each one is certain of his own calling (2 Pet. 1:10) and by which he renders it at least probably certain to others (Mt. 5:16; Jam. 2:18). But we do not treat of these marks here. Or inasmuch as it is visible and according to the form of collection and external union. Thus concerning its marks, it is inquired what are the marks and characters by which the true visible church (to which believers ought to join themselves for salvation) can be known.

V. (2) The question does not concern the marks of the Christian church in general; for the profession of Christianity sufficiently distinguishes this from the heathen and other unbelievers. But it is treated in particular of the marks of a particular visible church that we may distinguish an orthodox and purer church from a heterodox and heretical; so that this being found wanting, we may betake ourselves to the communion of that. Thus a twofold confederation of Christians must be distinguished here. One general, founded upon the profession of Christianity and contained in the Apostles' Creed and baptism as marks of Christianity, which indeed can suffice to constitute a baptized Christian, but certainly not to the obtaining of salvation; since it is often exposed to various fundamental errors, in faith as well as in worship. The other special, in a communion which has the purity of the word and the sacraments, mingled with no heresy and idolatry, in which salvation can be obtained (concerning which we properly treat here). Not in what manner a society of Christians can be distinguished from an assembly of pagans, Turks and other unbelievers; but how of the various assemblies which profess the name of Christ, the true and orthodox can be

distinguished from the false and heretical, which are unworthy of the name of the true church.

VI. Now although in assigning the marks of the true church, a certain diversity in words occurs among the orthodox, still they agree in the thing itself. For whether it is called one alone (to wit, the truth of doctrine and conformity with the word of God) or many (to wit, the pure preaching of the word with the lawful administration of the sacraments, to which some add the exercise of discipline and holiness of life or obedience given to the word), it is all the same thing. For where the truth obtains publicly, there also love and holiness flourish in their own way; nor can the pure word of God be preached anywhere without the sacraments being also administered lawfully in the same place and the discipline prescribed in the word of God being observed and thriving, since these two flow from the word of God and are appendages of it.

VII. Further we must observe about these marks: (1) That there are different degrees of necessity and some are more necessary than others. In the first degree of necessity is the pure preaching and profession of the word, since without it the church cannot exist. But the administration of the sacraments does not have an equal degree of necessity which so depends upon the former that it may nevertheless be wanting for a time (as was the case with the Israelite church in the desert, which was without circumcision). The same is the case with discipline, which pertains to the defense of the church, but which, being removed or corrupted, the church is not immediately taken away. (2) There is a certain latitude of these marks as they admit various degrees of purity—now more perfect, then more imperfect, as they more or less approach to the rule of Scripture (hence they argue a church either purer or impurer). But not on this account is this latitude to be extended so far as that fundamental errors should be tolerated, but only faults and lighter errors. As therefore that society cannot retain the name of a true church which cherishes capital errors overturning the foundation of salvation, so it does not straightway lose the name of a true church which impinges anywhere upon doctrine. And although it can no longer be called a pure church, still it does not cease to be a true church. Hay and stubble do not immediately take away the dignity of a church from any assembly, provided it is not built upon them as a foundation, according to the rule of the apostle (1 Cor. 3:12). (3) The church can be viewed either

as constituted or as to be constituted; either in a pure and uncorrupted state or in an impure and partly corrupt state. The question is here instituted concerning its marks—with respect to the former and not the latter state. (4) The opinion of the church is not to be estimated from the private opinions of rulers and bishops who, seized with a frenzy for disputes, often pass over to steep places, which nevertheless are either not understood or are not approved by the church. Rather the opinion of the church is to be estimated from the doctrine and practice publicly received and retained.

VIII. Since the truth and conformity of doctrine with the word of God or the sincere preaching and observance of the gospel are said to be the proper marks for distinguishing the church, others are not excluded, but included. For whether or not you attend to the voice of God, it is the word; or the faith of men, it is about the word; or life and obedience, it is the fruit of the word; or good order (*eutaxian*), it is from the word; or the sacraments, they are seals and appendages of the word, and the word visible. And thus wherever we turn our eyes, the divine word is a true criterion (*kritērion*) of the church, which on that account is said to be a standard, scepter, light, rule and balance by whose polar star and rule all things must be examined. However, a mark can be spoken of in two ways: either with respect to the efficient cause (to wit, God, who uses it to sealing the true church); or with respect to the receiving subject (when received by the hearers it brings forth the fruits of faith and piety, from which it is known).

Proof that truth of doctrine is a mark of the church.

IX. It is proved that this is a true and essential mark of the church. (1) From Scripture, which by this sign distinguishes true Christians as members of the church from false: “My sheep hear my voice and follow me” (Jn. 10:27). Here Christ proves that the unbelieving Jews are not of his fold (i.e., do not belong to the true church) because they do not hear the voice of the shepherd. “Ye are not of my sheep, as I said unto you” (this reason being added), because “my sheep hear my voice” (v. 27). As therefore they who do not hear the voice of Christ are not of his fold, so on the opposite, they who hear and follow him truly belong to it and are members of him. However, what is the case with individuals, the same ought to be the case with the whole church, which is gathered together from individuals. Nor

ought it to be objected here: (a) "that the mark of the sheep is set forth, not of the church, and it is taught who are the elect, and not where the church is." Both are necessarily contained here. For the sheep of Christ cannot be known or who the elect are without the church being known from this very thing (which consists of sheep and the elect) and where it is. For if the church is a flock of sheep and the sheep are no other than they who hear the voice of Christ, wherever the voice of Christ is heard, there the sheep of Christ (and so the true church) must necessarily be. (b) "It cannot be a sensible mark because that hearing, to be true, ought to be of the heart, not of the body." That hearing ought so to be made with the heart that it should also exert itself outwardly, both by external docility and a profession of the word and by a real obedience to a following of Christ. Now although this docility with respect to others does not produce an infallible certainty, but only a moral certainty from the judgment of charity (because it cannot make us certain of its sincerity), still it forms an indubitable argument both with respect to individuals (because he who is persuaded that he hears the voice of Christ, by that very thing knows that he is a disciple of Christ and a member of the church); and with respect to the whole assembly (because where the voice of Christ sounds and is heard, there the true church cannot but be).

X. (2) To the same belongs what Christ says, "If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" (Jn. 8:31, 32); "He that is of God heareth God's words" (v. 47); "If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him" (Jn. 14:23). Here the keeping of the word of Christ and his precepts is set forth as a mark of his true disciples and as the means of obtaining his presence in the midst of them. However, where Christ dwells with the Father, there it cannot be denied that the true church is, since it is his house and temple. This is confirmed from Mt. 18:20, where Christ promises his presence in the midst of those who are gathered together in his name. For since the saving presence of Christ has place in the true church alone and it is promised to those who are gathered together in the name of Christ (i.e., who assemble by his authority to preach and hear his word), that is undoubtedly the true church where believers come together in the name of Christ. Nor can it be said that "it is demonstrated from this passage where

Christ is, but not where the church is." Christ cannot be found without his church also being found (in which he dwells and which is his body, which cannot be separated from him).

XI. (3) The same thing is proved from Acts 2:42, where the mark of the apostolic church is set forth by a perseverance in the doctrine of the apostles, by communion and the breaking of bread. "The disciples continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers." Thus the pious exercises of the primitive church are pointed out, which are so many marks of it, by which the church of Christ was distinguished *a posteriori* from the Jewish synagogue and other assemblies of unbelievers. However, three things are mentioned as the principal: preaching and hearing of the word, prayers and the partaking of the Lord's Supper (described synecdochically by "the breaking of bread," as in Acts 20:7). And thus "fellowship and breaking" (*koinōnia kai tē klasei*) is put by hendiadys for "fellowship of breaking" (*koinōnia tēs klaseōs*) (as in Virgil, "we make a libation with bowls and gold," *Georgics* 2.192 [Loeb, 1:128–29], i.e., with golden bowls). As therefore the apostolic church was discerned by these signs (*gnōrismasi*), by the same it ought to be known at this day. Therefore wherever the doctrine of the apostles and the legitimate use of the sacraments and of prayers are, there the true church of Christ certainly is.

XII. (4) Because there ought to be some method for distinguishing a true church from a false, as for distinguishing a false church from a true, and false prophets from true teachers. Now this is no other than falsity of doctrine and its disagreement with the word of God (Is. 8:20; Dt. 13:1, 2; Lk. 16:29). Hence, Christ (speaking of the false prophets) says, "By their fruits ye shall know them" (Mt. 7:16); not only as to morals and life, but especially as to doctrine (as is gathered from Lk. 6:45). And John wishes the spirits (i.e., the teachers) to be tried, whether they are of God (1 Jn. 4:1). If you seek the rule of trying, he brings it forward in the following verses from the truth of doctrine: "Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God" (vv. 2, 3). And more clearly in the second epistle, "Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son"

(2 Jn. 9); “If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house” (2 Jn. 10). Paul confirms this when he denounces an anathema upon him who wished to preach another gospel than what had been preached: “If I, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed” (Gal. 1:8). He not only wishes to be rejected whatever would be foreign to the gospel, but that an anathema should be denounced upon him who should dare to introduce it into the midst of them, whoever he might be, whether an apostle on earth or even an angel from heaven (by whom after Christ nothing more illustrious and more to be revered can be granted). Thus Paul excludes the most specious marks of authority and the greatest miracles which can be obtruded (such as the descent of an angel from heaven). Now if the presence of an angel or the authority of an apostle cannot secure faith from us (if it is opposed to the gospel), how much more ineffectual will that authority be which a local or personal succession can conciliate, since such successors cannot be reckoned greater than the apostles? Again, if the apostles wished the doctrine of the gospel to be the rule by which true or false teachers are known, how much more today when nothing infallible remains to us except the Scriptures?

XIII. (5) Because what always belongs to the church alone and as a whole ought to be an essential and specific mark of it, by which it is discerned from all these assemblies, not only of unbelievers, but also of heretics. And yet the truth of doctrine, which shines forth in the preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments, is such. For the church alone is the house of God, the pillar and ground of the truth (1 Tim. 3:15). Alone, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets (Eph. 2:19, 20); alone has the seal of the covenant (Mt. 28:20; 26:28; Acts 2:42; Gen. 17); alone possesses the word and by it is distinguished from other assemblies (Ps. 147:19; Dt. 4:6). Nor do these privileges belong to it for a time, but always and for ever even unto the consummation of ages (Eph. 4:11, 12). Thus it is well gathered hence, that where the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments are, there the church is; and in turn, where the church is, there is the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments.

XIV. (6) That by which the visible church is constituted, congregated and conserved, so that, it being posited, the church is posited, it being removed,

the church is removed, that also is its proper and essential mark. For no mark is more certain than that which is drawn from its cause and inseparable property. Now such is the preached and received word (1 Cor. 4:15; Eph. 2:19, 20; 5:26; 1 Pet. 1:23; Jam. 1:18; Mt. 28:19, 20), which constitutes, conserves and nourishes the church so that, it being posited, the church is posited, and it being removed, the church is removed. Hence the removal of the candlestick or the ministry of the word draws after it the destruction of the church (Rev. 2:5); and the ceasing of prophecy implies the scattering of the people: "Where there is no vison, the people perish" (Prov. 29:18).

XV. (7) The fathers agree with us. Tertullian: "That must undoubtedly be retained which the church received from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, and Christ from God" (*Prescription Against Heretics* 21 [ANF 3:252; PL 2.33]). And speaking of heretics: "Their very doctrine compared with the apostolic from its diversity and contrariety will pronounce that neither was an apostle its author, nor an apostolic person" (ibid., 32 [ANF 3:258; PL 2.45]). And he introduces the church speaking thus: "I am the heir of the apostles; as they provided in their will, as they committed it to faith, so I hold it" (ibid., 37 [ANF 3:261; PL 2.51]). And afterwards: "Whence, however, are heretics extraneous and enemies to the apostles unless from diversity of doctrine, which each one according to his will either brings forward or receives against the apostles?" (ibid.). Chrysostom says, "A Gentile comes and says, I wish to become a Christian, but I know not to whom to join myself. There are among you many contentions, seditions and tumults, I know not what dogma to select, what to prefer. Individuals say, I speak the truth, I know not which to believe, since I am ignorant of the Scriptures, and they cover over both the same, indeed this is much for us. For if we should say we believe reasons, deservedly would you be disturbed; but since we receive the Scriptures, these are simple and true, it would be easy for you to judge—if anyone agrees with them, he is a Christian, if anyone fights against them, he is far from this rule" ("Homily 33," *Acts of the Apostles* [NPNF1, 11:210–11; PG 60.243–44]). "Where faith is, there is the church; where faith is not, there the church is not" (Chrysostom, "Homilia sexta," *Opus imperfectum: eruditi commentarii in evangelium Matthaei* [PG 56.673]). "When heresy, which is the army of Antichrist, obtains, there is no proof of the church, except only by the

Scriptures" (Chrysostom, "Homilia 49*," *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* [PG 56.908–9]). The author of the commentary on the Psalms under the name of Jerome on Psalm 133: "The church does not consist in walls, but in the truth of doctrines. The church is there, where true faith is. But fifteen or twenty years before, all these walls of the churches here held heretics. The church, however, was there, where true faith was" (*Breviarium in Psalmos* [PL 26.1296] on Ps. 133). Ambrose: "The faith therefore of a church especially is commanded to be sought, in which if Christ is a dweller, it is undoubtedly to be chosen, but if the people are faithless or a heretical teacher deforms the dwelling, the communion of heretics is to be avoided, it is to be considered a synagogue to be shunned" (*Expositionis in Lucam* 6.68 [PL 15.1772] on Lk. 9:5). Augustine: "Let us not hear, I say this, you say that; but let us hear, the Lord says this. There are indeed Dominical books, in whose authority we both agree, we both believe, we both observe. There let us seek the church; there let us decide our cause" (*Contra Donatistas: De Unitate Ecclesiae* 3.5 [PL 43.394]). "I have the most manifest voice of my pastor commending to me, and without any hesitation setting forth the church, I will impute it to myself, if I shall wish to be seduced by the words of men and to wander from his flock, which is the church itself, since he specially admonished me saying, my sheep hear my voice and follow me; listen to his voice clear and open and heard; who does not follow him, how will he dare to call himself his sheep?" (ibid., 11*.28 [PL 43.410]). "To salvation itself and eternal life no one comes, except him who has the Head, Christ. No one, however, could have the Head, Christ, except him who was in his body, which is the church, which we ought to recognize as the head itself in the sacred canonical Scriptures; not to seek it in the various rumors and opinions of men, and in their deeds and words. Let them demonstrate their church if they can, not in the discourses and rumors of Africans, not in the councils of their bishops, not in the writings of any disputants, not in deceitful signs and wonders. But in the prescription of the law, in the predictions of the prophets, in the singing of Psalms, in the words of the shepherd himself, in the preaching of the evangelists, i.e., in all the canonical authorities of the sacred books" (ibid., 18*.47 [PL 43.427–28]). "The question between us and the Donatists is, where is the church? What, therefore, are we to do? Are we to seek it in our words or in the words of its Head, our Lord Jesus Christ? I think we ought the rather to seek it in the

words of him who is the truth and best knows his own body" (ibid., 2.2 [PL 43.392]). Many such things proving our point are to be found in the same place which we omit for the sake of brevity. "In the Scriptures we have learned Christ, in the Scriptures we have learned the church, we have these Scriptures in common, why shall we not retain both Christ and the church in them?" (Letter 105, "To the Donatists" [FC 18:206; PL 33.401]). Vincent of Lerins, as Sixtus Senensis observes, lays down the authority of the Scriptures as the first rule of discerning a true church from a heretical church (*Bibliotheca sancta* 6, annot. 104 [1575], 2:153).

XVI. (8) Not a few Romanists are on our side here. Bellarmine places holiness of doctrine among the marks of the church and defines it "by a profession of the same Christian faith and participation of the same sacraments" ("De Ecclesia Militante," 3.2 *Opera* [1857], 2:75). Elsewhere, he concedes, "When the Scripture is received and speaks clearly, and the question about the church arises, then the church can be judged from the Scriptures as better known" ("De Notis Ecclesia," 4.2* *Opera* [1857], 2:108). Thus, while he answers to the *dicta* of Augustine (in which he affirms that the church ought to be demonstrated from the Scriptures), he confesses that "the Scriptures teach, what are the marks of the church" ("De Notis Ecclesia," 4.2 *Opera* [1857], 2:108). Hence no less evidently than necessarily, it follows that the Scripture is not only a mark of the church, but also the principal and primary of all marks, since from it and by it its remaining marks are known. Driedo: "The church is to be known and sought from the Scriptures" ("De ecclesiasticis scripturis et dogmatibus," 4.4 *Opera* [1572], 1:239). Cassander acknowledges that "the marks of the church are the doctrine of the gospel and the use of the sacraments" ("De Articularis Religionis … consultatio," Art. 7 in *Gerogii Cassandri ... Opera* [1616], p. 927). Stapleton says, "The preaching of the gospel is the proper and very prominent mark of the Catholic church" ("De Principiis Fidei," 1.22 *Opera* [1620], 1:25). He also grants that "the church of Christ is known to the wise and spiritual by sound doctrine and the right use of the sacraments" ("Relectionis Principiorum Fidei," I, Q. 4, Art. 5 *Opera* [1620], 1:577). Gregory de Valentia says, "We confess that the church of Christ can be without neither truth of doctrine, nor the legitimate use of the sacraments and of those with whom these are altogether retained, the true church

consists" (*Commentariorum theologicorum*, Disp. I, Q. 1, Punct. 7.18 [1603–1609], 3:148). Others also confess the same thing.

Sources of explanation.

XVII. It is one thing to ascribe the marks of the church falsely to themselves and to boast of them; another to possess them truly. That is of fact; this is of right. The false boasting of heretics claiming the marks for their assembly ought not to prejudice the certain persuasion of believers because we must judge of marks not from the dreams of the sick or the opinion of the proud, but from the truth of the thing. No more can it be said that our marks are not proper, but common because heretics (even schismatics) ascribe them to themselves: (1) than if one should say the covenant of God is common to the rescinded and cut off Jews with the Christians because they boast of it; or that the justice of a cause belongs as well to the plaintiff as to the defendant because both claim it. (2) *Ad hominem* for the same reason, the marks of the Romanists will have to be rejected because not a few besides them ascribe them to themselves (as antiquity, unity, holiness of doctrine and other things of this kind). (3) Nay, no marks of anything in the world can be granted which some impudent and mendacious sophist will not claim for himself. Who is ignorant that the Devil wishes to hold himself as God; that the prince of darkness transforms himself into an angel of light, Antichrist, to arrogate to himself the name of Christ; and the harlot, to conceal herself under the habit of a matron.

XVIII. It is one thing to know who are the elect singly; another to know where they are and in what assembly they may be found. Our marks do not go so far as to manifest the former to us, but only the latter (which is sufficient that we may ascertain to what assembly we ought to join ourselves). As in the state, it is not necessary to know distinctly and certainly who are true and faithful citizens, who obey the laws heartily; it is sufficient for us to know what is the republic in which such laws flourish.

XIX. Although the pure preaching of the word does not always prevail in the church, it does not follow that this mark is separable from the church and that it is therefore falsely said to be a mark. That purity ought to be understood with a certain latitude, nor does the church at once cease when the purity ceases according to some degrees, provided it does not cease

altogether. Purity ought to be in fundamentals in order that it may be a true church, although in other respects various errors can obtain in it from which it could contract various degrees of impurity (which although they take away from it the name of a pure church, still they do not remove the name of a true church, as long as the foundation remains safe and unimpaired). The pure preaching of the word and the purity of the church walk hand in hand. If the former is in every part pure and free from error, the latter also will be pure; but if the church begins to be corrupt it does not at once cease to be a true church until the foundation is assailed.

XX. Although the dispensation of the word and sacraments are good and gifts to the church, still they are no less its marks since the one is not opposed to the other: as in earthly things, possession and use of these is the mark of a transferred ownership, nor moreover does it cease to be a fruit or a good. Thus the word is a mark of the covenant made by God with the church (as its authentic instrument, sealed with the seals of the sacraments, from the lawful dispensation of which the richest fruits redound to the possessors).

XXI. Better known by nature is one thing; better known by us is another. Scripture is better known by nature than the church because it is the principle and foundation of the church. Hence it cannot be certainly and infallibly known except from the Scripture. The church is better known than the Scripture by us with a confused and inchoate knowledge because it is the means and instrument which leads us to the Scripture and which draws it to us. Thus the Scripture and the church give each other mutual help; but the authority belongs to the Scripture and the ministry to the church. The church shows the Scripture by her ministry and *a posteriori*, as the effect the cause and a light the candlestick; the Scripture shows the church by her authority and *a priori*, as the cause the effect.

XXII. To no purpose does Perronius cavil when he objects that "doctrine cannot be a mark of the church, neither that which is not controverted because all agree concerning it, and thus it is not a mark of distinction, but rather of union; nor the controverted because it is undecided, nor can a decision be made except by the church." Answer: (1) we do not say simply that doctrine is a mark of the church, but inasmuch as it is conformed to the Scripture (the principle received among Christians). If there were no rule for deciding controversies or it was so obscure that it could hardly and not

even hardly be known, I confess that a doctrine controverted could not be a mark. But we have a canon in the word according to which the pious can be easily taught concerning the truth of its conformity with the rule. (2) Doctrine not controverted (such as the Lord's sermon, the law and the Apostles' Creed) can decide a controverted doctrine if it agrees with or differs from it. Thus the affirmative articles concerning which we agree are the rule of the negative concerning which we dispute, as the right is the index of itself and of the wrong. For if Christ is our Mediator and Advocate, on that very account he ought to be the only one because he is impatient of an associate. If the sacrifice of the cross of Christ is a propitiation (*hilastikon*), there can be no room for another. If Christ is the head of the church, therefore there cannot be a pope because they are incompatible (*asystata*) with each other. (3) If because an adversary raises a controversy, a certain mark ceases to be a mark, all the marks brought forward by our opponents would be in danger because they can be controverted.

XXIII. No better is his supposition that conclusions concerning faith and infallible decisions cannot be made except by an infallible means which can be neither human reasoning (which is fallible) nor private inspiration (which can often be fallacious) but only the authority of the church (which God has given to us as an infallible intepreter). (1) The infallibility of the object or of the doctrines is falsely confounded with the infallibility of the subject or the human intellect. Doctrines have an absolute infallibility, but the human intellect has properly no infallibility (although it has its own certainty in working, which does not deceive). Nor is it necessary that what is fallible in its own nature, always actually deceives; otherwise there would be no certainty of knowledge (which nevertheless there is). There is no need, therefore, that the means which lead us to the knowledge of an infallible doctrine should at once be infallible. It suffices that it be such as (rightly employed) does not deceive. Thus the human mind (not alone, but enlightened by the Holy Spirit) can be such a means by which the truth can be distinguished from error. In this sense, Paul says the spiritual man judges all things (1 Cor. 2:15) and John says that the anointing teaches us all things (1 Jn. 2:27). Thus there is no need for a believer to be subjected to any ecclesiastical tribunal to know the doctrine, since there is no apostle (nay, not even an angel and much less any pope or council) who is not subject to that examination, according to the oracle of Paul (Gal. 1:8). Nor if fanatics

falsely boast of their inspirations, does it follow that the believer cannot be certainly persuaded of his inspiration; as the wise man does not cease to know certainly that he is sound in mind and reasons well, although an insane man claims the same for himself. (2) The cardinal falsely confounds the internal means and organs of knowledge with the external object when he compares together reasoning, inspiration and the authority of the church. For reasoning and inspiration are the internal means and organs by which we arrive at a knowledge of the truth; but the authority of the church is the external means which has the relation of the object which proposes it. Now if the two former means are fallible, they will be equally so as much with respect to the church as to the Scripture; nor can they err less in receiving the decisions of councils than in judging the doctrines of Scripture.

XXIV. It cannot be said that the simple crowd and rustics are not capable of examining doctrine and so need other sensible marks which are better suited to their comprehension. It is treated here not of any doctrine whatsoever and of all the questions which can be agitated about it, but only of the doctrine necessary to salvation, in which the essence of faith consists (which stands out perspicuously in the Scriptures and can be perceived by any believer). Otherwise, in vain would the psalmist say the law of God makes wise the simple (Ps. 19:7*) and Paul say that Timothy from a child had known the holy Scriptures, which are able to make him wise unto salvation (2 Tim. 3:15), and that "the spiritual man discerneth all things" (1 Cor. 2:15). Nor is it less difficult for the simple people to ascertain the marks of the church which are brought forward by the Romanists and to assent to their truth than to make an examination of doctrine (as will be proved hereafter).

XXV. Although it is not necessary that a mark should be the essential form of the thing or its specific difference, still it does not hinder it from being a mark; nay, no more certain mark can be granted, since form gives being to a thing. Nor is it an obstacle that the forms and differences of things for the most part lie concealed. The mark, however, ought to be sensible and external. For natural and bodily things which strike the senses and whose marks consequently ought to be external and sensible differ from spiritual and moral, which fall under the intellect. Now such is the church (about which we inquire), which has its own moral and spiritual being, because it is not regarded here simply as an assembly of men united with

each other by external acts of religion, but by true faith in Christ and a sincere administration of the sacraments. This truth of faith and purity of divine worship, however, is discerned only in the intellect through a comparison of the doctrine with the word.

XXVI. When the church is shown by doctrine, no more is the same declared by the same than when the thing defined is explained by the definition. For although the definition agrees with the thing defined (nor differs really from it), still it is clearer and plainer than the thing which makes known: as when I say, man is an animal endowed with reason; a grammarian is one who knows or teaches grammar. Nor can it be called a begging of the question, because a thing is explained by its form and difference.

XXVII. Although an infidel and heretic can come to a confused and obscure knowledge of the church sooner than to the knowledge of doctrine, still never could he be certainly and infallibly persuaded of the truth of the church and of its purity and impurity, unless the purity or impurity of doctrine on which the church is founded was first known. Material knowledge is of the sense and does not produce demonstration, but no formal knowledge can be given unless the form is known and it is proved that this form is in this material.

XXVIII. A mark is either regarded in itself and in the abstract or in the concrete inasmuch as it is applied to any subject; as the seal of a prince is either attended to in itself and with respect to its own nature and the use to which it is destined, or with respect to the application which is made to letters, or to the things which ought to be sealed. In the former sense, the mark of the church is in Scripture because this is the rule, canon and standard of all truth. In the latter, this mark is the impress of the church by profession of doctrine and a practice of divine worship conformed to the Scripture. When it is asked concerning the mark of the church (inasmuch as it can be distinguished from other societies), it is not understood in the former, but in the latter sense, by reason of its conformity with the word.

XXIX. From what has been said, it is evident that truth of doctrine or conformity with the word of God is the true and genuine mark of the true church *in thesi*. Afterwards also it is not difficult to gather *in hypothesi* what is that true church to which we are bound to join ourselves in order to obtain salvation. Whether it is the modern Roman church, which retains so

many capital errors and idolatries altogether (*dis dia pasōn*) opposed to the word of God in faith and worship; or, on the other hand, ours, which is content with the word of God alone. But concerning these more must be said hereafter.

Thirteenth Question

Are the name catholic, antiquity, continued duration, amplitude, the succession of bishops, harmony in doctrine with the ancient church, union of the members with each other and with the head, holiness of doctrine, the efficacy of the same, holiness of life, the glory of miracles, prophetic light, the confession of adversaries, the unhappy end of the persecutors of the church and the temporal happiness of those who have defended it, marks of the true church? We deny against the Romanists

I. In the former question, we saw what is the opinion of the orthodox concerning the marks of the church and by what arguments it is established and defended. Now we must take up the opinion of Romanists who, conceiving in their minds the idea of the church as similar to a civil monarchy, fabricate marks agreeing with it and claim them for their church. Still, concerning the number and order of these, they are not agreed even among themselves, since some enumerate fewer, others more.

The varying opinions of Romanists concerning marks.

II. Some are content with one, which they wish to be either the Roman pontiff and the chair of Peter (as Lindanus, *Panoplia evangelica* 4.83 [1560], pp. 447–55) or to be under the pope (as Canisius, *Ane catechisme* [1588], p. 49) or the succession of Roman pastors (as Horantius, *Locorum Catholicorum* 6.6 [1796], 2:314–20). Others make two, as the Catechism of Trent on the Apostles' Creed, that it be catholic and apostolic ("The Creed: I Believe in the Holy Catholic Church," *Catechism of the Council of Trent* [trans. J.A. McHugh, 1923], pp. 106–7). Others make three: as multitude, visibility, perpetuity (Stapleton, 'Prooemium,' "De Principiis Fidei," 4 *Opera* [1620], 1:112). Others make six: (1) loftiness and sublimity; (2)

splendor and clarity; (3) latitude and immenseness; (4) succession and perpetuity; (5) agreement and unity; (6) unconquerable faith and constancy (Sanders, *De visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae* 8.50 [1571], pp. 793–99). Others make four: that it be holy, catholic, one and apostolic (Hosius, "Confessio Catholicae," 21 *Opera Omnia* [1566], p. 14). Bellarmine increases the number up to fifteen that he may surpass others in multitude, which nevertheless can in some way be reduced to those four (which are commonly assigned from the Constantinopolitan Creed [A.D. 381]; cf. Hefele, 2:367): one, holy, catholic, apostolic ("De Notis Ecclesia," 4.3 *Opera* [1857], 2:109).

III. These marks are: (1) the name catholic; (2) antiquity; (3) perpetual duration; (4) multitude; (5) succession; (6) agreement in doctrine with the ancient church; (7) union of the members with each other and with the head; (8) holiness of doctrine; (9) efficacy of doctrine; (10) holiness of life of the first authors; (11) glory of miracles; (12) prophetic light; (13) confession of opponents; (14) the unhappy end of persecutors; (15) temporal happiness of her defenders. Of these we will first notice some in general; second we will discuss each in particular.

Against the marks of the Romanists in general.

IV. In general against these marks we observe: (1) If these marks are taken together, they would be far more difficult to know than that which we propose (viz., the conformity of doctrine with the word) and on this account they cannot be marks which ought to be more known: such as antiquity, succession, perpetuity, which cannot be known unless the history of all the councils is examined and the annals of all ages consulted. (2) Many are drawn from things merely external, political, temporal, accidental and contingent. Therefore they can make truly accidental and contingent marks, not necessary and essential: such as the confession of opponents, temporal happiness, unhappy end of persecutors, holiness of life of the first authors, etc. (3) They are common to other assemblies, not proper, and on that account they confound rather than distinguish: as multitude, antiquity, perpetual duration, etc. (4) That can deservedly be retorted against them which is undeservedly objected against us—that they are neither proper, nor more known, nor inseparable. (5) If they have any truth, all of it is reducible

to the primary rule of the true church and of all truth in religion (which we have already mentioned). (6) They do not apply to the Roman church herself.

V. If Augustine sometimes seems to bring forward various of these marks (as especially *Against the Epistle of Manichaeus Called Fundamental* 4 [NPNF1, 4:130]), first, this is accidental and *ad hominem* with respect to heretics, against whom the true mark could not have a place because they did not admit the Scriptures. (2) They are not adduced by him as the principal and primary motives which ought to persuade the mind, but as secondary and less principal, which can prepare the mind to know the church until the truth itself persuades. (3) He confesses that the truth is far more powerful and to be preferred to all these prerogatives. "Therefore that I may omit this wisdom," says he, "which you do not believe to be in the Catholic church, there are many other things which most justly hold me in her bosom. The consent of peoples and nations holds me, the authority begun by miracles, nourished by hope, increased by love, strengthened by age, etc. Lastly, the very name Catholic holds me. Therefore these so many and great and most dear bonds of the Christian name rightly hold a believer in the Catholic church, even if on account of the slowness of our understanding the truth does not exhibit itself most openly. If the truth is shown so manifestly that it cannot be doubted, it is to be preferred to all those things by which I am held in the Catholic church" (ibid., 4.5 [NPNF1, 4:130; PL 42.175]). "Let us follow those who invite us to believe first what we are not as yet able to behold, that, having become stronger by faith itself, we may deserve to understand what we believe, not so much men, as God strengthening and enlightening our mind" (ibid., 14.17 [NPNF1, 4:136; PL 42.183]). From this it is evident that Augustine brought these forward not principally, but secondarily and as something over and above (*epimetron*) against the Manichaeans.

In particular: (1) against the name "catholic."

VI. In particular against "the name catholic," we say: (1) it cannot be an essential mark because it is often a title without the thing (Is. 1:10; Rom. 2:17, 28; Rev. 3:1). The angel of Sardis is said "to live, who" nevertheless "was dead." Christ predicted that false christs would come, who would call

themselves christs (Mt. 24:24). The Jews boasted that they were the people of God and the children of Abraham, who nevertheless were nothing less (Jn. 8:33). The false apostles called themselves ministers of righteousness (2 Cor. 11:14, 15). Believers are to be estimated not from their name, but from the truth of the thing; nor must we inquire who are called catholics, but who are really such. Augustine says, "How do you glory that you are a Christian? You have the name and have not the deeds." And afterwards: "If you do not show by deeds that you are a Christian, though all may call you a Christian, what profit is the name to you, where the thing is not found" (Homily 5, *On the Epistle of John* [NPNF1, 7:492; PL 35.2019]). The same thing must be said of the name "catholic." (2) It is not proper because formerly the Novatians, Donatists, Arians and other heretics claimed this name for themselves. Lactantius says, "Individual assemblies of heretics think they are Christians specially and that their church is the Catholic church" (*Divine Institutes* 4.30 [FC 49:325; PL 6.543]). Augustine says, "All heretics wish themselves to be called Catholics" (*Against the Epistle of Manichaeus Called Fundamental* 4 [NPNF1, 4:130; PL 42.175]). (3) It is not inseparable because there was a church in the Old and New Testaments, while it was called neither Catholic nor Christian. (4) The mark of a disputed thing is badly taken from a name, since the imposition of names is not only arbitrary but also often apart from all reason; especially is it senseless from a name which each one ascribes to himself as willing to be such as the word signifies. For certain ones are rebuked for calling themselves Jews when they are not; but they lie and are a synagogue of Satan (Rev. 2:9). Thus the argument from the name is most trivial and sophistical. For oftentimes flatterers and sophists impose specious names upon the most disgraceful thing. Nor does it always arise from the institution, but often from use and the opinion of the common people, who ascribe names and titles to the most unworthy. However we seek here real, not nominal marks which (men even being silent) may designate the thing. We do not seek words, which being changed, the thing itself will not be changed. (5) If to be called catholic is a mark of the church, this arises from God; but the Scripture is entirely silent about it. Or it arises from opponents; but they are not our judges. Or it arises from their own people; but what right have they to assume for a mark the name which they ascribe to

themselves, since heretics are accustomed to set up in front of themselves specious names?

VII. (1) In vain do our opponents object that the name catholic agrees with no heretics or schismatics, who are denominated from their authors—Arius, Nestorius, Eutychus, Pelagius, etc.—but with the true church alone. For it is either understood of the name alone without the thing and so can agree with schismatics and heretics (as the experience of former as well as of our times testifies); or of the thing itself with the name and thus it is certain that it does not agree with them. But thus a departure is made from the question which concerns the name, not the cause of the denomination. (2) It is falsely supposed that heretics and schismatics are always denominated from their authors, since the authors of many heresies are unknown, which are denominated from the thing itself: such as Acephali, Angelici, Collyridians, Gnostics, Alogians, Cataphrygians, Apostolics, Nazarenes and the like.

VIII. If the fathers formerly distinguished the orthodox from heretics by the name catholic, they did not do this because they thought they could be discriminated from each other by the mask (*larva*) of a name, but on account of the catholic and orthodox doctrine which they constantly held. And if, regard being had to places and times, they commend this name, they no more wished to determine in it the law of the church to be marked than our divines in the name of the Reformers. Again when the fathers speak thus, they understand not only the name, but the thing joined together with the name. Cyril teaches that "the church is called catholic because it teaches with catholicity and perfectly all the doctrines which men are bound to know" (*katholikēn, dia to didaskein katholikōs, kai hanellipōs hapanta eis gnōsin anthrōpōn elthein opheilonta dogmata*, *Catechetical Lectures* 18.23 [NPNF2, 7:139–40; PG 33.1044]).

2. Against antiquity.

IX. The second mark of the Romanists is antiquity. But (1) neither is it an essential mark, because it is a common affection of all ancient things, whether they are good or bad. (2) It is not proper, since the synagogue of the old serpent is also ancient, propagated from him by Cain even down to the present time. (3) It is not inseparable because the nascent church in the

Old and New Testaments was not ancient; and what today is old at another time was new. As the human race began, so also did the church. (4) It is not clear, but most obscure because its knowledge depends upon a most accurate knowledge of all ages. Now how few there are who can obtain this knowledge and know with certainty when this or that doctrine and church commenced. (5) It is fallacious, for as the Gibeonites (having feigned a long existence) deceived the Israelites, thus many forge antiquity who sprung up yesterday or the day before and whose inventions are very recent. (6) The pagans in their disputes against the Christians perpetually appeal to their antiquity. Justin ascribes to the heathen the saying, "It is good to preserve ancient customs [*ta palaia ethē kalon einai tērein*] and to postpone truth to custom bespeaks the unwise [*anoētōn*]" (*First* Apology* 49 [FC 6:86; PG 6.401]). Symmachus says, "If great age reconciles authority to religions, the faith must be preserved through so many ages and our parents are to be followed by us who happily followed theirs" (cf. "Relatio Symmachi Urbis Praefecti," *Ambrosii ... Epistolae in duas Classes Distributae: Prima Classis* [PL 16.1009]). Lactantius says, "These are the religions which, handed down to them from their ancestors, they most pertinaciously continue to protect and defend; nor do they consider what they are, but trust in this—that they are approved and true because the ancients transmitted them, and so great is the authority of antiquity that to inquire into it is considered a crime" (*Divine Institutes* 2.6 [FC 49:119; CCSL 19.122]). Augustine says, "The pagans on account of their antiquity contend that they hold the truth because what is anterior, they say, cannot be false, as if antiquity or ancient custom settled the truth" ([actually Ambrosiater] *Questiones veteris et Novi Testamenti: Quaestiones ex utroque mixtum* 114 [PL 35.2345]). And a little afterwards: "This is a diabolical custom that falsehood should be commended by a derivation from antiquity"+. What the ancients, therefore, answered to the pagans, the same we also must answer to the Romanists—that a religion is to be estimated not from its antiquity, but from its truth.

X. (7) Antiquity and "custom without truth, is the antiquity of error" (Cyprian, Letter 74 [73], "To Pompey" [ANF 5:389; PL 3.1181]). As Cyprian says, "If Christ alone is to be heard, we ought not to mind what another before us thought should be done, but what Christ, who is before all, first did. For neither is it fitting to follow the custom of man, but the

truth of God" (Letter 62 [63], "To Caecilius" [ibid., p. 362; PL 4:396–97]). His master, Tertullian, had already taught this: "The truth is more ancient than all unless I am deceived, and on this account antiquity established upon divine literature serves me" (*Apology* 47 [FC 10:114; PL 1.581]). "No one can write before the truth, not space of times, not the patronage of persons, not the privilege of regions. Our Lord has denominated himself the truth, not custom. Not so much newness, as truth has overcome heresies; whatever is wise against the truth, this will be heresy, even an old custom" (Tertullian, *On the Veiling of Virgins* 1 [ANF 4:27; PL 2.888–89]). "Living and germane divinity is judged neither from newness, nor antiquity, but from its own truth" (Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 1.8 [ANF 3:276; PL 2.255]). Arnobius says, "Authority is not to be estimated by time, but by divinity" (*Case Against the Pagans* 2.71 [ACW 7:183; PL 5.926]). Thus it is contended concerning the faith not by number of years, but by weight of arguments; nor does antiquity cause errors to change into truths or make what is doubtful certain. (8) In canonical law, the authority of an ancient custom is subjected to the truth: "The truth being manifested, custom yields to truth. No one places custom before reason and truth because reason and the truth always exclude custom" ("Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. 8.4 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:14 from Augustine). And from Gregory: "If perchance you oppose custom, we must recollect what the Lord said, I am the way, the truth, and the life. He did not say, I am custom, but I am the truth; and certainly, to use the opinion of Cyprian, any custom, however old, however common, is to be altogether postponed to the truth" (ibid., Dist. 8.5).

XI. Therefore, when we treat of the antiquity of the church, it is not to be understood either with respect to the men of whom it is composed, because they are continually changed and every day others succeed in the place of the deceased; or with respect to places and times, because nothing hinders a new doctrine from being proclaimed in the most ancient edifice; or with respect to chairs, because they who occupy them can change the doctrine of their predecessors; but with respect to the doctrine which is delivered in it—when the same has always continued and has never failed nor been changed. In this sense, it will be disputed concerning doctrine (to wit, which is the most ancient). And thus antiquity alone could not be a mark of the church, as the Romanists contend, so that from it even the doctrine being unknown, it can be certainly and infallibly known which is the true church;

rather antiquity of doctrine (in which sense it will pertain to our mark) and thus we confess that the most ancient doctrine is the truest.

XII. Antiquity of doctrines, however, can be estimated from the Scripture alone, so that it only is considered to be true, not which is drawn from a few ages, but from the first origin and the institution itself. For what can be said to be ancient to us and our age as having prevailed for a thousand or more years, can be new in religion if it began after its institution. To this Christ recalls us (Mt. 19:8) when, speaking of divorce, he says, "From the beginning it was not so" (*ap' archēs ouch outōs hēn*), to teach that we must ascend to the beginning or first origin of religion if we wish to ascertain its truth; from the turbid and muddy streams to the fountain; from lying and irresolute men to Christ (not knowing how to deceive and change, who is today, yesterday and always the same). In this sense, Tertullian says that is first which is the truest: "If that is evidently truer which is prior, that is prior which is from the beginning, from the beginning which is from the apostles, and thus it will be equally evident that that was handed down from the apostles which was truly holy in the churches of the apostles. Let us see what milk the Corinthians drew from Paul; by what rule the Galatians were corrected; what the Philippians, Thessalonians, Ephesians bequeathed" (*Against Marcion* 4.5 [ANF 3:349–50; PL 2.366]). Here he terminates the proof of antiquity on the epistles of Paul. In this sense, he speaks against the authors of sects and heresies as new and lately born. After he has said, "Who are ye? When and whence come ye?" he adds, "The possession is mine, I formerly possess, I possess before, I have sure origins, from the very authors to whom the thing belonged. I am an heir of the apostles, as they committed it in their will, as they entrusted it to faith, as they swore, so I hold" (*Prescription Against Heretics* 37 [ANF 3:261; PL 2.51]). Nor is the reason obscure; for since Scripture alone is creditable (*autopistos*) of itself and divine, and more ancient than others (while the writings of the fathers from which they wish to derive their antiquity are merely human and far more recent and more intricate, and many also are doubtful, supposititious and spurious), the Scripture alone must necessarily be the rule of that doctrinal antiquity. According to this rule, we readily suffer our religion and church to be compared and if it is destitute of this antiquity, it will be condemned as false. But if this examination is instituted, it will clearly appear that with us

is that true and genuine antiquity, and the novelty with which they charge us, with our opponents. For the doctrines thrust forward by the Roman church and disputed between us are not anywhere read to have been handed down from Christ or the apostles, and thus their faith has necessarily changed and departed from the ancient (*pristina*).

XIII. Our opponents, to remove from themselves the charge of newness, maintain that their doctrines have always prevailed in the church, unless it can be shown precisely from what author they proceed and in what time they arose. Thus they contend that no change has been made in the Roman church because, as Bellarmine says, "In every remarkable change these six things can be demonstrated: (1) its author; (2) some new doctrine; (3) the time in which it began; (4) the place where it began; (5) who opposed it; (6) some small assembly, which by the addition of others little by little began to increase" ("De Notis Ecclesiae*," 4.5 *Opera* [1857], 2:110). All of this (which he asserts) best agrees with our churches and in no way with his own. This ingenious comment Arnauld eagerly seized and endeavored to confirm with great labor in order to evince that no change has been made in the faith of the Roman church about the Eucharist (*La perpetuite de la foy de l'Eglise Catholique touchant l'Euchariste* [1669]). He contends that it was not probable and from this proves that so remarkable a change could not have been made in the church without a great contention of minds and without many contradictions, no mention of which, however, is made by the ancient writers.

XIV. But that this subtle figment in which our opponents wonderfully applaud themselves is a mere illusion (by which they strive to impose upon the more simple), it is easy for one examining it closely to recognize. First, it is ridiculous (where a thing is evident) to hunt after the circumstances and when a change appears to deny its possibility. If anyone has found a man lying in a ditch, does he doubt or will he deny that he is in a ditch, whom nevertheless he sees to be there, unless he first understands by whom and when he was thrown into it? If anyone should find on the way a wounded and expiring man (nay, even a dead man), still will he not believe it unless he knows the author, the time and place of the murder? If anyone has come upon a sunken ship, will he not believe, unless he knows how and at what time it began first to take on water? Now since these are in the highest degree absurd, to what ridicule do our opponents subject themselves, who

come to us with the same argument, to get rid of the charge of newness and defection? We say that the Roman church, miserably changed, has departed from her ancient faith and we are prepared to show it. But they, in order to avoid this examination, have recourse to the impossibility of a change and are unwilling to believe any change has been made, unless we point out the authors, place, time and other circumstances of that change to them. Second, they falsely pretend that to demonstrate a change, those six things ought to concur; the second head is sufficient (to wit, newness of doctrine). For if by a sure argument it can be demonstrated that the doctrine is new and not contained in the Scriptures, it is sufficient to prove a change, although the author of the doctrine or the time and the place of change may be unknown. The rule of truth given to us by God is his word, not the history of the ages. Christians are bound to know it for salvation as alone inspired (*theopneuston*), but they are not bound to know history as being a merely human writing. Besides, God binds us to reject whatever is added to the word or is not contained in it. That it may therefore be found to be an ancient and not a new doctrine is to be proved from Scripture. Cyprian excellently teaches this. "Whence is this tradition," says he, "descending from dominical and evangelical authority or coming from the commands and epistles of the apostles? For God testifies that those things must be done which are written and proposes it to Joshua, the son of Nun, saying, the book of this law shall not depart out of your mouth, but you shall meditate on it day and night, that you may observe to do all that is written in it" (Letter 73, "To Pompey" [ANF 5:386; PL 3.1175]).

XV. Third, it is a most absurd inference to gather from the ignorance of the author or of the time and the place of any change, that there is none; as if a stolen article having been discovered on one, the thief would think it sufficient for his justification that the lawful owner of the article could not indicate the place, time or manner in which the article had been stolen from him. Now if the stolen article is found with the receiver, the possessor of good faith (claiming his goods and proving his right) obtains the cause and the receiver is condemned, although he cannot point out where, by whom and when the theft was committed. Thus a falsehood is known. Thieves, however, are accustomed to commit their depredations by night and secretly. It would go well with thieves if they would not be considered thieves and I would have no right to my stolen property, unless I would

demonstrate those six things. But one is enough—the thing is mine. When I hold this, justice will be done. Thus just as soon as it appears to be an error and a new doctrine, the affair is settled; nor is there any need for further proof either of the author or of the time. Fourth, a change may be into good or into evil. The former indeed is light, dispelling the darkness and on that account the more evident and the easier to be observed—for the light shines and does not seek concealed arts. But the latter is accustomed to be made not openly, but secretly and stealthily that it may not be noticed by men and that it may the more easily insinuate itself after the manner of adulterers, who creep in secretly and by the back door, far from the sight of men; and of thieves, who are accustomed to break into houses and make attacks at night without the knowledge of men. Such is the additional sowing of tares, done at night, the master and his servants being asleep, who on this account wonder at what was done: "But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way" (Mt. 13:25*). Nor must it be said with Bellarmine, the tares were sown, not grown in the night; but as soon as they sprung up they appeared. For it is not said either they grew only in the day or as soon as they sprung up they appeared; but when "the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also." Hence the servants certainly see the change, but are ignorant of the author, the time and manner because it happened while they were asleep. Thus while men are not attending, a hostile man sows tares in the church of God and changes her true state.

XVI. Fifth, as in diseases some are sudden, which suddenly attack a man previously sound and well, whose time and cause can be marked (as a pestilence, apoplexy, etc.), others are slow, whose beginnings are secret, progress tardy, which at first indeed are not felt or are not certainly observed, but at length pervade the whole body (as the phthisis, dropsy, cancer and gangrene) whose cause and time cannot be so exactly marked. Thus in the body of the church, there are certain changes sudden and open, since there is suddenly and openly in one or more articles a departure from the truth, pious and orthodox teachers setting themselves in opposition, whose circumstances can be known. But others are slow and concealed, which have indeed a small beginning and afterwards creep on more and more like gangrene (2 Tim. 2:17), until at length they occupy the whole body of the church (the circumstances of which on this account whether as

to time or as to authors and manner can hardly and not even hardly be known). Now the thing itself cries out that such a change has occurred in the Roman church and sufficiently intimates the name of mystery of iniquity. Here belongs what Aristotle observes: changes (*metabolas*) which are made gradually are not perceived by the sense, they seem indeed to have been made, but how and when they are made cannot be observed (*Politics* 5*.5.11 [Loeb, 21:410–11]); as in the mass fermentation is seen which is produced by leaven, but neither its beginning nor mode can be perceived. Thus if from a great heap of grain, some grains should be removed daily and as many others substituted in their place and mixed up in the heap, who could recognize that change? Who could note how much daily is added to the growth of a child or how much a man daily grows old? Who, looking at an old man having a face deformed by wrinkles, can precisely mark the moment, hour, month or year in which he began to grow old, to change color and to suffer a diminution of strength? Yet he would be crazy who would either deny or not acknowledge such an open change in old age. Innumerable examples of changes can be adduced whether in sciences or in public affairs or in physical things, which are wont to be made little by little, gradually and without the feeling of them, nor can their beginnings or their progress be precisely observed. Thus in the Roman state, historians observe that a great change was made by which as Livy relates "discipline gradually relaxing, despairing morals afterwards more and more lapsed, then began to rush precipitately, until we reach the times of Augustus, in which they could endure neither their vices nor the remedies" ("Preface" to Book 1*.9 [Loeb, 1:6–7]). Nor yet can the first authors of that change or the time or the other circumstances be pointed out. In an evidently similar way, we light upon a remarkable change in the Roman church and a degeneracy from the ancient faith from a comparison with the ancient Roman church, although no one can exactly mark the individual circumstances of that change. However, this (in the matter of religion) is more likely to be the case because the Devil insinuates his poison secretly and fraudulently and artfully that he may attain his wish, working the mystery of iniquity with concealment and treachery (2 Thess. 2:7), putting on the horns of a lamb (Rev. 13:11) and transforming himself into an angel of light (2 Cor. 11:14). Nor has he employed one, but many authors; nor introduced corruptions in doctrine and worship at once and together, but little by little and

successively; not by a direct opposition and assault or extinction of the truth believed, but by the indirect apposition of a falsehood and a conjunction of an error with the truth, which can under the appearance of an explanation imperceptibly creep in and be introduced under the mantle and the terms of the truth itself.

XVII. Sixth, this very thing can be demonstrated by various examples. In the Jewish church, everyone knows that the greatest and the grossest change in doctrine was made from the time of Malachi up to the advent of Christ. But anyone would labor in vain to specify the authors, places and times of this deadly depravation. Nor do we read of Christ (who had the moments of all times and things numbered and than whom no one could do it better, having a most absolute knowledge of chronology and history) having ever met the scribes and Pharisees and doctors of the law with this argument while he argued with and convinced them of the changed and corrupted ancient doctrine of the law. He employed only Scripture and doctrine, teaching us by his example what way we ought to follow in uncovering and reforming errors (to wit, the rule of the word, not that scrupulous observance of all the circumstances which are nothing to the purpose when the thing itself is evident). Thus it is known that into the church of the Galatians and Corinthians most grievous errors had been introduced not long after the preaching of Paul; yet who can mark either the authors with certainty or the time precisely? No one is ignorant that in the primitive church also the error of the millenarians prevailed; yet who could designate from whom, where and when it commenced? The same could be said of the Lord's Supper being administered to infants; of souls of saints not entering paradise immediately after death; and of various other errors which had a place in the ancient church.

XVIII. Seventh, if we come to an examination of the errors taught in the Roman church, it could easily be shown both that they were unknown to the apostolic and primitive church and were introduced afterwards at various times and so are novel and more recent. They ought to be rejected by us deservedly according to the hypothesis of the Romanists themselves. The veneration and worship of images was not sanctioned until the eighth century, in the Second Nicene Council in the year 781 under Pope Adrian I, but was shortly afterwards condemned by the Council of Frankfort gathered by Charles the Great. The supreme authority of the pope, spiritual as well as

temporal, by which he is said to judge the whole world and to be judged by no one and to be able to absolve subjects from the oath of fidelity, to depose kings and emperors, and similar things of this kind (which are called "dictates of the pope"), was sanctioned in the year 1076 by Gregory VII, as Baronius acknowledges. A little before the year 1050 under Nicholas II, it was decreed in a special council that the body of Christ is sensibly touched and broken by the hands of the priests and eaten by the teeth of believers. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, transubstantiation was sanctioned by Innocent III in the Lateran Council and added to the new creed as an article of faith in the year 1218. And in the year 1264* the festival of the sacraments was instituted by Urban IV and a procession of the same in the year 1336 by John XXII. The doctrine of purgatory was received as an article of faith in the Council of Florence under Eugene IV in the year 1439. Communion under one species (the cup being withheld from the people) was decreed a little before the year 1414 in the Council of Constance. The same thing could easily be shown about other errors, the time and authors of which are not unknown. Nay, it can be clearly demonstrated that many errors and superstitious rites took their origin either from paganism and Judaism, or flowed from the ancient heretics (if our plan of reasoning would allow this).

XIX. Falsely do our opponents maintain that the newness of our religion is gathered from the newness of those who professed it, such as Waldo, Wycliffe, Hus, Luther and others. They were not its authors, but only "heralds and restorers," who proposed no other doctrine than the prophetic and apostolic. It is one thing to purge an ancient doctrine of its corruption and recall men to it; another to devise a new doctrine not as yet delivered and propose it for belief. The former, not the latter, was done by the Reformers. They gave nothing of their own, but delivered what they had received from Christ. Hence the religion is not to be ascribed to them, but to Christ, who had taught it in his word.

XX. The passages of the fathers, adduced by our opponents in behalf of antiquity, are either to be referred to the antiquity of doctrine (which we readily grant) or pertain to probable signs only, not to certain and essential marks to which the truth is always to be preferred. Augustine notes this when he says if the Manichaeans can show that they have the truth, all other things by which he was held in the catholic church being set aside, he

would pass over to them (*Against the Epistle to Manichaeus Called Fundamental* 4 [NPNF1, 4:130]).

3. Against perpetual duration.

XXI. The third mark of Bellarmine is "perpetual and altogether uninterrupted duration," for it is called the Catholic church, not only because it always was, but also because it always will be. In this it differs from the preceding mark because that refers to the past, this to the future. But this is false. (a) This is not an essential mark, since duration is the accident of a thing contradistinguished from its essence. (b) It is not proper, since it belongs neither to the whole church (for example, to the recent and new), nor to it alone because assemblies of pagans, Jews, Arians, Mohammedans, etc. have continued and still continue. The tares ought to continue even to the time of harvest (Mt. 13:30), nor will the goats be separated from the sheep until the day of judgment. (c) Nor is it inseparable, as the examples of the church of the Old and New Testaments show, to which several interruptions and variations of duration happened. (d) Since the perpetual duration of any assembly, considered apart from the true doctrine, does not make it a true church, this duration cannot be a mark from which he who is ignorant of the doctrine can reach unto a certain and infallible knowledge of the church, but the commencement will always have to be made from the examination of doctrine. Nor from any other source than the Scriptures can a certain judgment be reached concerning the perpetual duration of the faith and doctrine which any assembly professes, since the word of God alone is incorruptible and endures for ever. But this is shunned by our opponents as a dangerous rock.

XXII. It is one thing for the invisible church of the elect to endure always and never to fail; another for a particular visible church to endure to which we ought to join ourselves. The former we grant and have already proved; the latter we deny. The passages which speak of the eternity of Christ's kingdom and which say that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the church are to be understood of the invisible and properly so called catholic church (which is not bound down to a certain seat or succession), not of a visible and particular church, as was proved before.

XXIII. Paul, speaking of heretics, says, “They shall proceed no further: for their folly shall be manifest unto all men” (2 Tim. 3:9). Yet it does not follow that this can be said universally of the assemblies of heretics—that they are not about to continue long. For the contrary appears from various examples; yea, the apostle adds, “Evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving, and being deceived” (v. 13). But the meaning of the apostle is, if pious pastors diligently perform their duty, false teachers (*pseudodidaskaloi*) and heretics cannot accomplish as much as they would wish. They would indeed deceive many, but not true and pious believers, who cannot be seduced.

4. Against amplitude.

XXIV. The fourth mark is amplitude or the “multitude of believers.” They prove from this that the truly catholic church ought not only to embrace all times, but also all places, all nations and all kinds of men. But (a) it cannot be an essential mark of the church because it is a mere accident which belongs contingently to the church; for it conduces not at all to orthodoxy, whether they are few or many who profess it. Where two or three only are gathered together, the church does not cease to be. (b) It is not proper because so far from the church being commended on account of amplitude, on the contrary paucity is a mark of it. Hence it is called by Christ “a little flock” (Lk. 12:32), as compared with the world. “Strait” is said “to be the gate, and narrow the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it,” while “wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat” (Mt. 7:13, 14), and a false church draws after it a multitude. Hence it is said “all the world wondered after the beast … and he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads” (Rev. 13:3, 16). “The whore,” it is said, “will sit upon many waters” (Rev. 17:1). Nor is it obscure that this was the case with Arianism, which at one time occupied the whole east and west. Nay, it suits even paganism and Mohammedanism today—if we can believe Brerewood. “If,” says he, “the known regions of the earth be distributed into thirty equal parts, the portion of Christians will be as five, of Mahometans as six, and of pagans as nineteen” (*Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages and Religion* 14 [1614], p. 118). (c) It

is not inseparable. The time was when it contained very few members, as in the time of Noah, of Abraham, of Christ and in those most mournful ages in which the woman should be compelled to fly into the wilderness (as experience demonstrates this). Nor can Romanists themselves deny it, who think that at the coming of Antichrist the church by his cruel persecution will be reduced to the lowest numbers. And in the end of the world at the advent of Christ, he himself has predicted that faith will be most rare. (d) This mark cannot be a mark to everyone. For how few know who and how many profess faith throughout the whole world? Nor can anything be known about it except from the fallacious and doubtful report of lying men.

XXV. (e) The fathers frequently confirm this. Chrysostom says, "What have I to do with multitude. I prefer one precious stone to many small pieces of money" (cf. 'Homilia XXVI,' "Ad populum," in *Opera* [1530], 4:473). "What utility, pray, is there that there is much hay rather than a few precious stones? Multitude consists not in multitude of number, but in the worth of virtue. Elijah was one, but the whole world was not worthy to be exchanged for him" (cf. 'Homilia. XL,' "Ad populum," in *Opera* [1530], 4:516). In the works of Athanasius, there is a discourse against the Eutychians, whose title is *Adversus eos qui ex sola multitudine veritatem dijudicant*. Here he teaches that Christ in sending his disciples did not command them to follow crowds and myriads, but myriads adhered to the twelve. His truth always has strength, although it is found among few; a multitude without a demonstration of truth can indeed strike terror, but cannot persuade. And afterwards: "Do we not hear the Lord Jesus saying, many are called, few chosen, the gate is strait which leads to life and few there be who enter it; who, therefore, does not rather wish to be of the number of the few who are saved than of the multitude of those who through the wide gate rush to destruction?" (PG 28.1342). He adds many things in the same place which exactly suit our purpose, most worthy of being read. Gregory Nazianzus says, "Where are they who define the church by multitude and despise the small flock? They have homes, we are sojourners; they have temples, we have God; and that too because we are temples of the living God, living victims, spiritual holocausts; they have the crowd, we have angels; they have rashness and boldness, we have faith; they have threatenings, we have prayers and discourses; they have gold and silver, we have the unadulterated doctrine of faith" ("Oration 33*," *Against*

the Arians [NPNF2, 7:328, 333; PG 36.214–15, 231, 234]). Jerome says, "A multitude of associates will by no means prove you to be a catholic, but a heretic" (*Dialogue Against the Pelagians* 3.17 [FC 53:375; PL 23.615]; cf. also Augustine on Psalms 29 [ACW 29:292–312] and 128 [PL 37.1688–96]).

XXVI. The passages which describe the amplitude of Christ's kingdom (as Ps. 2:8 and Ps. 72:8) are oracles concerning the call of the Gentiles and are not to be understood absolutely, but comparatively and relatively; not with respect to the world and totality of the wicked (which was always greater than the totality of believers), but by antithesis to the state and church of the Old Testament, which was affixed to one region and nation. It is one thing, however, for the church of the New Testament to be ample and extended indiscriminately to all nations; another for amplitude to be a mark of the church. Although the church was to be spread through all nations, it does not follow either that all nations would at the same time and together embrace the gospel or that all men in those nations belong to the church; rather it suffices if some nations receive the gospel and in those nations some belong to the church.

XXVII. Although Christ gave wonderful success to the preaching of the apostles, yet the number of pagans was for a long time greater in the Roman empire than the number of Christians. When Christians prevailed over the heathen in the empire, they never can be said to have prevailed with respect to the whole world.

5. Against succession.

XXVIII. The fifth mark is "the continued succession of bishops without any interruption, from the apostles even to our times." But here (in the first place), we must distinguish succession: one is personal and local, as to persons and places; another is doctrinal, as to faith. We do not deny that the latter is a mark and thus it coincides with ours. But the former (of which we treat here) cannot be a mark. (a) It is merely contingent and aside from the nature of the church, unless it is founded on unity of sound doctrine and true faith (Eph. 4:4, 5, 11, 12). Nay, since the church is ambulatory and not tied down to this or that place, such also is its succession. (b) It is not proper because it belongs also to false teachers. Annas and Caiaphas succeeded

Aaron in the priesthood; the scribes and Pharisees succeeded the fathers and the interpreters of the law; Arians succeeded the orthodox; the Greek church (which the Romanists consider schismatical and heretical) glories in an uninterrupted succession of bishops from the apostles. Bellarmine himself confesses that "the church cannot necessarily be inferred to be where a succession is" ("De Notis Ecclesiae," 4.8 *Opera* [1857], 2:118). (c) A local and personal succession can be without a succession of doctrine. Therefore it cannot be a mark of the church because it cannot be a true church which does not have the apostolic doctrine. For the church is not to be sought in walls and temples, but in doctrines. The church is where true faith is. "They do not have the inheritance of Peter, who have not the faith of Peter" (Ambrose, *Concerning Repentance* 1.7* [NPNF2, 10:334; PL 16.496]). (d) It is not inseparable because in the first beginnings of rising churches there is no place for a succession. The Christian church was from the beginning true and apostolic and yet it did not have a succession. (e) If local succession is a mark of the church, therefore, many heretical and schismatical churches are true churches because they can have such a succession, where false teachers succeed in the places and in the seats of true pastors. (f) It would make our condition miserable if our faith depended upon the faith of those who were between us and the apostles. It is not ours to inquire nor would it profit us to know what kind of persons they were. Besides this knowledge can be obtained only from histories and annals of trifling authority, which even the most learned cannot gain.

XXIX. The seat of Moses, in which the scribes and Pharisees are said to sit (Mt. 23:2), is not a continuous personal succession to the office of Moses. For since his office was extraordinary, terminating in him, it could not have a succession; nor is it ever said that any seat was assigned to him. But we must understand it of the doctrine of Moses, which was committed to the scribes and Pharisees and which in the synagogues on every Sabbath was accustomed to be read and expounded (Acts 15:21). In this sense, Gregory Nazianzus in his discourse on Athanasius very aptly says, "That which is of the same opinion is of the same seat. What, however, is of a repugnant opinion, is of a contrary seat. This has indeed the denomination, but that the truth of succession; nor is he a successor who teaches a contrary doctrine, but he who is of the same faith, unless anyone says he is a successor, as disease is the successor of health, darkness of light, a tempest

of a calm, and extravagance of prudence" (*To men gar homognōmon kai homothronon, to de autidoxon, kai antithronon, kai hē men prosēgorian, hē de alētheian echei diadochēs, oud' ho ta enantia doxazōn, diadochos, all' ho tēs autēs pisteōs, ei mē houtō tis legoi diadochon, ōs noson hygieias, kai skotos, kai zalēn galēnēs, kai syneseōs ekstasin*, Oration 21, *On the Great Athanasius* 8 [NPNF2, 7:271; PG 35.1089–90]).

XXX. When the fathers bring forward succession in disputing against heretics, they do not mean so much a personal or local as a doctrinal succession. They even always connect and suppose a doctrinal succession. Tertullian openly delivers this: "They therefore publish the origin of their churches, they unroll the list of their bishops, so running down by succession from the beginning, that that first bishop had as his author and predecessor someone of the apostles, of apostolical men who yet continued with the apostles. Heretics may devise something such, but although they may have devised, they will not succeed any better, for their doctrine itself compared with the apostolic will expose it from its diversity and contrariety, because as the apostles did not differ from each other in their teaching, so also apostolic men would not teach contrary to the apostles" (*Prescription Against Heretics* 32* [ANF 3:258; PL 2.44–45]). Thus Irenaeus: "It becomes us to obey those presbyters who are in the church, who have a succession from the apostles, as we show, who with the succession of the episcopate have received the sure anointing of truth according to the good pleasure of the Father; but we ought to suspect the rest who stand apart from the principal succession, and in whatever place they are collected together, either as heretics and of evil science, or as dividers and proud, and pleasing themselves; or again as hypocrites for the sake of gain and of vainglory working here" (*Against Heresies* 4.26*.2 [ANF 1:497; PG 7.1053–54]). Augustine: "Whoever dissents from the sacred Scriptures, even if they are found in all places in which the church is designated, are not the church" (*De Unitate Ecclesiae* 4.7 [PL 43.395–96]). And cap. 16+, "We are unwilling to prove our church either from a succession of bishops or from the authority of councils or from the frequency of miracles."

6. Against harmony in doctrine.

XXXI. The sixth mark is "harmony in doctrine with the ancient church and the fathers after the apostles." About which we say, if by the ancient church they mean the apostolic, such as we have in the evangelical and apostolical writings, we grant that it can be called a mark and so it coincides with ours. But if by it they mean either the ancient church of the first four or five centuries from the apostles, or which preceded our times some centuries ago, we deny it to be a mark. (a) It is not essential. The church is built only upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles (Eph. 2:20), not upon the monuments of the fathers (Ezk. 20:18, 19; Mt. 5:21, 27; Gal. 1:8, 9). (b) Nor is it proper, because heretics also boast of that agreement and at least in certain things can have it, as the purity and soundness of the ancient church was not always the same. (c) Nor is it inseparable, because it cannot belong to the patriarchal and apostolic church.

XXXII. (d) Since it is fallacious and incautious, men are most easily imposed upon by its name as a dictate concerning antiquity; especially since no witnesses or authentic and canonical acts are extant to which creedence is to be absolutely given. Nor did all the fathers write, nor did they write about all things; nor did they intend to give us a rule of faith. Many of their writings have perished and consequently have not come down to us. (e) It is in the highest degree obscure and difficult to be known by the people (also of infinite labor), requiring a full and perfect knowledge of all ages and the opinion of individual fathers. Now how few are there who can do this? The most learned labor in reading and understanding, nor do they always get the opinion in all things. They get twisted in reconciling passages and often cannot free themselves from the difficulties which occur. (f) It is either treated concerning doctrines (in which there is agreement) or concerning controversy. If concerning the latter, as necessary because we seek marks for discrimination, the greatest part of our controversies was unheard-of by them or not written. It is however unjust to apply to the opinions of today the voices of the fathers more securely uttered before they had observed the result of the things. (g) What is read in one or another is not to be held as a doctrine of faith by general councils or is proposed as a doctrine by the consent of all the fathers. (h) They who wrote, even the most ancient, were not free from blemishes and errors. They often dissent from each other and do not all agree in all things. In addition, their writings have not come down to us pure and entire, but miserably corrupted and vitiated and many forged

and spurious writings have been ascribed to them, as has been proven by learned men. The fathers themselves did not wish us to be bound by their writings and to be held by their opinions, as was proved by us in Volume I, Topic II, Question 21. (i) The Romanists themselves often recede from the fathers and do not wish to be bound by their opinions when they see that they are in opposition to themselves. Baronius: "The Catholic church does not always in all things follow the most holy fathers in the interpretation of the Scriptures" (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, Annus 34, 209* [1864], 1:167). Bellarmine does the same thing, carping at and refuting the opinions of the fathers who oppose him.

XXXIII. The ancient church is either the apostolic or the primitive church of the fathers after the apostles. The church which agrees with the former is a true church simply (Eph. 2:20); the church which agrees with the latter however is a true church only relatively (i.e., just so far as it retains the foundation of apostolic doctrine, 1 Cor. 3:11, 12). In vain is agreement with the church of the following ages boasted of, which preceded our age only a few centuries. For no antiquity is true except that which is traced from the beginning according to the rule of Christ (Mt. 19:8).

7. Against the union of members with the head.

XXXIV. The seventh mark is "the union of the members with the head and with each other." But neither can this be a mark. (a) For since a union can be twofold—one internal, the other external—neither can be a mark. Not the internal and mystical of believers with Christ and with each other because it is invisible, known to God alone. Not the external or with a visible head because there is none; or of the members with each other by the possession of the same doctrine and communion of the same sacred things and symbols and offices of mutual love because this can be obscured and hypocritical, separated from the truth of doctrine (without which there can be no true union).

XXXV. (b) Again it cannot be an essential and proper mark because it belongs also to many profane and heretical assemblies. Before the flood, the earth was of one tongue and all flesh had corrupted its way (Gen. 6). The ten tribes in Bethel adored calves; the Jewish synagogue is united against Christ to destroy him. The whole world, it is said, will follow Antichrist

with great agreement and concourse (Rev. 17). The Arians gloried in their union also, to which pertain these words of Hilary: "The name of peace is indeed specious and the opinion of unity beautiful, but who doubts that the only peace is that of the church and the evangelists, which is of Christ.… The forerunners and ministers of approaching Antichrist boast of their peace, i.e., the unity of their impiety, acting not as bishops of Christ, but as priests of Antichrist" (*Liber contra Auxentium* 1 [PL 10.609]).

XXXVI. (c) It is not inseparable because there can be dissension among Christians, while the truth is unimpaired and often was (Acts 11:2; 15:39: Phil. 3:15, 16). It is indeed the property of a well-constituted church; it is the duty of all. It is the surest method of defending and preserving the church, peace and concord being recommended unceasingly (*adialeiptōs*) by Christ and the apostles. But not forthwith does a church cease to be true which is afflicted with certain discordancies and whose parts are drawn asunder in various heads, provided an agreement as to the foundation remains. Thus formerly there were various differences between the apostles about the primacy, between Paul and Peter, Paul and Barnabas. Thus among the ancients (between the Eastern and Western churches), there was a fierce contention which lasted through many centuries about the celebration of the Easter. Among the fathers there was more than one dissension: as between Irenaeus and Victor, Cyprian and Stephen, Chrysostom and Epiphanius, Jerome and Ruffinus, Cyril and Theodoret and various others, which nevertheless did not make the church of that time lose either its name or the truth.

XXXVII. (d) Since there are various species of union—some in evil, others in good and the truth—that unity only is to be proved which rests upon the truth. Hence unity is to be estimated by faith, not faith by unity. And thus the truth of doctrine, on which all true and saving union is founded, must first be known before the church can be evident. Otherwise, as Nazianzus well remarks, "A discord arising on account of piety is better than a corrupt concord" (*kreisson empathous homonias hē hyper eusebeias diastasis*, Oratio 6.11, *De Pace* [PG 35.736]). Therefore it must be accurately observed and defined in what Christian union is to be constituted: that it be not either tyrannical and slavish, on account of a fear of punishments and a severity of inquisition; or Herodian, as when Herod and Pilate (otherwise not in the least agreeing with each other) associated

themselves together for the persecution of Christ; or erroneous, when there is a conjunction in the profession of the same error, which should be called not so much a consent and true union as a deadly conspiracy—such as were made in various robber (*lēstrikois*) councils which adopted the deadly heresies either of the Arians or Eutychians or Pelagians and similar heretics and approved them by their votes. Rather union must be evangelical and founded upon the truth of faith.

XXXVIII. The ancients never believed that the consent and obedience given to the Roman pontiff was a mark of the church, for they considered the churches of Asia as churches, although Victor had excommunicated them; as also the African, although they differed from the pope. Thus the Greek churches no less than the Latin retained their own name, although they often disagreed with the Roman and exhibited no subjection to the pope. Athanasius did not cease to be orthodox, although Liberius had consented to his condemnation. Nor Cyprian, although Stephen had expelled him from his communion and would not receive into common converse the bishops sent by him from Africa. He commanded the whole fraternity not to admit them to their houses, so that not only hospitality, but also peace should be denied to the ones coming (as Cassander informs us on the seventh article; cf. "De articularis religionis … consultatio," Art. 7 *Opera* [1616], p. 930).

XXXIX. The passages of Scripture which say the church is one body, one spouse, one fold (Rom. 12:15; Cant. 6:9; Jn. 10:16), do not refer properly to the visible church (of whose marks we inquire), but to the invisible church of true believers. They certainly teach that union is required for the constitution of a church (to wit, in faith and truth, Eph. 4:4, 5), but it does not thence follow that union simply and separately can be a mark of the church. This agrees with innumerable other things which have either a natural or political unity.

8. Holiness of doctrine.

XL. The eighth mark is holiness of true doctrine because the true church, as Bellarmine says, "Is not only catholic, apostolic and one, but also holy, as the Council of Constantinople held. Now the church is holy because its profession is holy, containing nothing false as to the doctrine of faith,

nothing unjust as to the doctrine of morals" ("De Notis Ecclesiae," 4.11 *Opera* [1857], 2:127). But this mark plainly coincides with ours and concedes to us what our opponents elsewhere strive to wrest from us. For if holiness of doctrine is a mark of the church, therefore much more is the doctrine itself a mark, since holiness is only a quality of the doctrine. Again, if the church is holy on account of holiness of doctrine, therefore much more on account of the doctrine itself to which such holiness belongs. Third, since holiness of doctrine can be known from no other source than the truth of the doctrine from which it is derived ("Sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth," Jn. 17:17; "Ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you," Jn. 15:3), to say that holiness of doctrine is a mark of the church is to say that the truth of doctrine or conformity with the word of God is a mark (which we maintain). Nor do we refuse to assent to this statement—that church which is said to be holy, because it contains nothing false as to doctrine of faith, nothing unjust as to doctrine of morals, which can be known from no other source than a comparison with the Scriptures, is true.

9. Efficacy of doctrine.

XLI. The same thing must be said of the efficacy of doctrine, which is their ninth mark. For the only true church holds doctrine, not only immaculate, but also converting souls (as it is said, Ps. 19:7*; Heb. 4:12). For since no doctrine can have that divine efficacy in the conversion of men unless it is inspired (*theopneustos*) (consigned to the writings of prophets and apostles), efficacy of doctrine cannot be a mark of the church without the doctrine itself (which produces such an effect) being much more a mark. Second, since error also has its own power and efficacy to deceive (according to which it is said, "The coming of the man of sin will be after the working of Satan, with all power"; and God, it is said, "shall send them strong delusion [*energeian planēs*], that they should believe a lie" [2 Thess. 2:9, 11*]; and Babylon is said to intoxicate all the inhabitants of the earth with the wine of her fornications [Rev. 17:2; 18:3]), we can distinguish between the efficacy of Satan and the divine Spirit in no other way than by the torch of the divine word. For no conversion of men from one religion to another argues immediately the divine efficacy of grace and the true church; but that only

which is to a true faith and religion, which can be known in no other way than by the word of God and the truth of doctrine drawn from it. But because our opponents wish to measure the efficacy of doctrine by the multitude of those converted, we say that in this sense it cannot be a mark of the church because although the preached word of God never falls altogether in vain (Is. 55:11), yet neither always, nor everywhere, nor in an equal degree, does God cooperate with his word, but when, where and as far as it pleases him (Mt. 11:26, 27; 13:11). There are times of fruitfulness in which a plenteous harvest is gathered to the Lord. There are times of barrenness in which few are converted and the faithful servants of God complain of the rebellion and unbelief of sinners, as was often done by the prophets, by Christ and by the apostles.

10. Against the holiness of life of the fathers.

XLII. The tenth mark is "the holiness of life of the authors or first fathers of religion." But (a) holiness of life cannot prove the truth of the church except in relation to the truth of doctrine, of which it is the effect. (b) No one can be infallibly certain of the holiness of life of others because true holiness is something internal, known to God alone (the searcher of hearts) and is often so counterfeited by hypocrites that they are considered to be saints who are most corrupt; as "Satan transforms himself into an angel of light, and deceitful workers transform themselves into ministers of righteousness" (2 Cor. 11:13–15). Thus holiness of life cannot be the mark which we seek. For if it is treated of internal holiness, it is invisible, while external holiness is deceitful and doubtful. (c) Not a few heretics boasted of peculiar sanctity, as the Donatists, Cathari and Manichaeans, of whom Augustine says they manifested so great an appearance of sanctity as to deceive many (*Of the Morals of the Catholic Church* [NPNF1, 4:41–63]). Nay, Pererius and Acosta teach that the counterfeiting of hypocritical holiness would be proper to Antichrist (cf. *Benedicti Pererii ... Commentarium in Danielam prophetam* 14 [1591]; and Acosta, *De Christo Revelato ... De Temporibus Novissimis* 20 [1592], pp. 628–31). (d) The fathers or authors of religion (since we acknowledge no one to be the author of our religion except Christ, whose inspired [*theopneustoi*] interpreters were the prophets and apostles alone—the holiness of his life being absolutely perfect) cannot be

the mark we seek. For all Christians who acknowledge the Scriptures claim that for themselves and things common do not make a distinction. It certainly contributes to the proof of the truth of the Christian religion against infidels, but not to distinguish the true orthodox church from false assemblies who glory in the name of Christ.

11. Against the glory of miracles.

XLIII. The eleventh is "the glory of miracles." But (a) it cannot be an essential mark because they depend on and are to be judged by the doctrine, nor are they to be received except insofar as the doctrine (in confirmation of which they are wrought) is conformable with the word of God; otherwise they must be rejected as spurious (Dt. 13:1–3*). (b) It is not proper because false prophets glory also in miracles (Mt. 7:22, 23; 24:24, 25) and heretics boast of them; as the Donatists, according to Augustine (*De Unitate Ecclesiae* [PL 43.391–446] and Tractate 13, *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:93]), the Nazarenes, according to the same (*De Haeresibus* 9 [PL 42.27]). Above others, Antichrist would be famous for them (2 Thess. 2:9–11; Rev. 13:13, 14; 17). (c) It is not inseparable because the church, collected by many prophets and by John the Baptist, was distinguished by no miracles. (d) Miracles are accidents and extraordinary gifts which were given to the church only for a time, not always; for the first establishment of Christianity, not for its continuance. "Miracles of this kind were necessary," says Ferus, "in the beginning of the gospel, until the word of God might be placed in possession, if I may so speak, of the truth. Now, however, since it has been once received by all and believed as truly the word of God, there is no need for new miracles, but it is sufficient to bring forward the miracles wrought by Christ and his apostles" ("Praefatio" to Book 2, *In sacrosanctum Iesu Christi evangelium secundum Matthaeum* [1559], p. 94). Stella says the same thing on Lk. 11+ and Maldonatus on Mt. 7 (*Commentary on the Holy Gospels: Matthew* [1862], 1:247–50 on Mt. 7:22).

XLIV. (e) The fathers often acknowledge this. Augustine: "Against these wonder-workers my God has made me cautious, saying, in the last days shall arise many false prophets doing signs and wonders, so as to deceive, if it were possible, even the elect. Behold I have told you beforehand.

Therefore the Surety has put us on our guard because we ought not to be deceived even by miracles" (Tractate 13, *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:93; PL 35.1501]). Also: "Let either these figments of lying men or wonders of deceiving spirits be removed; for either they are not true which they say are, or if any wonderful things of heretics are done, we ought to be the more on our guard, because since the Lord had said there would arise certain deceivers … he adds, Behold I have forewarned you" (*De Unitate Ecclesiae* 1.19.49 [PL 43.428]). And afterwards: "Concerning deceitful sights, however, let them read what has been written, and because Satan himself transfigures himself into an angel of light, and because his dreams have deceived many. They also hear what the pagans narrate were either wonderfully done or seen concerning their temples and Gods, and yet the gods of the Gentiles are demons" (ibid., PL 43.429). Chrysostom: "Is there not even now also a seeking for signs, of those tempting? There are indeed even in this our age those who inquire, why are not signs given now also? If you are a believer, as you must be, if you love Christ as he ought to be loved, you will not need signs, for signs are given to the incredulous" (Homily 24*, *Homilies on John* [NPNF1, 14:84; PG 59.143–44]). Gregory the Great: "My brethren, is your faith shaken because ye do not perform these miracles? But these were necessary in the beginning of the church that the multitude might grow up to faith; because even we when we plant a vineyard, pour water upon the vines until we see them sustained in the ground, and if once they have taken root, the watering will cease" (*XL Homiliarum in Evangelia* 2.29.4 [PL 76.1215]).

XLV. (f) In miracles everybody knows that there are innumerable frauds and impostures which reveal their worthlessness and make those which are not really such to be palmed upon the crowd as miracles; either because cases are recited which never occurred; or because they are unusual (which can exceed the power of ordinary natural causes), but are not true miracles (which surpass all finite power); or because they are mere figments by which the common people are miserably cheated. Lyra observes, "The greatest deception is practiced on the people with feigned miracles by the priests or those adhering to them on account of temporal gain" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria* [1545–1603], 4/2:1689 on Daniel 14). Valla says juggling and vagabond priests hoaxed the people with feigned miracles (*De Donatione Constantini* [1519]). Nor would it be difficult to adduce

innumerable examples of such figments and false miracles, if we were now upon that subject.

XLVI. Not everything necessary for a time is necessary absolutely; nor what is necessary for a thing forthwith a mark of the thing. Miracles were necessary to Moses and Christ for the confirmation of their doctrine, but not equally to us because the consequence does not hold good from the church to be established, to it as established; from the doctrine to be confirmed, to it as confirmed. Bellarmine himself cannot deny this when he says, "Miracles are necessary to a new faith or to an extraordinary mission." Yet neither do we preach a new faith, but recall to an old one, which was confirmed by the miracles of Christ and his apostles; nor do we boast of an extraordinary mission which is instituted by God out of the ordinary course, although (as will be shown in its place) not every extraordinary mission stands in need of miracles.

12. Against prophetic light.

XLVII. The twelfth is prophetic light. But falsely, whether by it is meant the gift of prophesying future events or the gift of interpreting prophecies. (a) It is an extraordinary, not a perpetual gift, which belongs to miraculous gifts, as the species to its genus. (b) This gift was granted sometimes by God to false prophets and impostors also (Dt. 13:2; Num. 23:7; 24:3; Jn. 11:51; Mt. 7:22). The heathen also paraded their oracles and heretics their revelations. Nor do our opponents themselves deny this: Thomas Aquinas (ST, II-II, Q. 172, Art. 6, pp. 1900–1901); Pererius (*Selectarum disputationum ... super libros Exodi* [1607], "In cap. xi Exodi: De plaga decima," Disp. 2, pp. 302–4); Maldonatus (*Commentary on the Holy Gospels: Matthew* [1862], 1:247–50 on Mt. 7:22). (c) There are many true churches which are without these remarkable gifts, which were peculiarly granted to the apostolic church at the beginning of the New Testament. The spirit of prophecy ceased in the ancient church from the time of Malachi to Christ, and yet it did not cease to be a church. Nor after the doctrine revealed to us in the Scriptures are we to gape after new revelations or rashly to believe them. (d) If it was a mark of the church, new prophecies would have to be expected every day (which is absurd).

XLVIII. Joel 2:28 indeed promises under the New Testament the richest miraculous effusion of the Holy Spirit at the beginning, but the perpetual assistance of the Spirit afterwards and ordinary gifts, not miraculous, according to the style of the Old Testament, where gospel mysteries are expressed in legal terms; but it does not on that account prove it to be a mark because not every gift is a mark.

13. Against the confession of opponents.

XLIX. The thirteenth is the confession of opponents. But it is not an essential mark, as being an external testimony drawn from those without, which has no force in a cause (which ought to be decided by the divine testimony alone). For he alone is approved whom the Lord commends (2 Cor. 10:18). Nor is it proper, because Christians in their candor freely ascribe both to Gentiles and heretics whatever praiseworthy and virtuous quality they may possess. Thus Basil praises Libanius, the Sophist; Ausonius praises Symmachus; Augustine praises Tyconius, the Donatist; nor for this reason do they approve their system. It is ingenuous to praise virtue even in an enemy. Nor is it inseparable, because if at anytime they are compelled by the force of truth to praise the church, more frequently they treat her with ridicule and slander her with calumnies, according to the prediction of Christ (Mt. 5:11). Nor is it legitimate, because no confirmation of the truth comes thence; it is not honest to borrow strength from the testimony of enemies. Hence Christ shuts the mouth of Satan that he may not predict him to be the Messiah. The testimony of opponents can indeed be an efficacious argument *ad hominem*, but is not on that account a mark of the church.

14. Against the unhappy end of enemies.

L. The fourteenth mark is the unhappy end of her enemies and persecutors. But who would say that what is outside the church can be a mark of it, much less that it is an essential and proper mark? Besides a sad end has often happened also to the church and its members in this life: for example to Christ, the apostles and the holy martyrs. Happy indeed is the exit of the pious, but it is not conspicuous to the world; nay, they appear to be most

miserable. Finally, although there are very many tremendous examples of the divine judgment upon persecutors, still all have not perished unhappily, nor are there wanting those who died a natural and peaceful death.

15. Against temporal happiness.

LI. Finally, the fifteenth is made to be temporal happiness, but contrary to all Scripture, which speaks of the cross and calamity as the standard of Christ, the companion of truth and the portion of believers (Acts 14:22; 2 Tim. 3:12; 1 Cor. 15:9; Mt. 5:10). It is a mark of Babylon, which is ascribed to the world (Jn. 16:20; Rev. 18:7). So far therefore is the true church from being discerned by temporal happiness from a false church that on the contrary by this criterion the false church can far more certainly be distinguished from the true; the false saying is, "I sit a queen and shall see no sorrow" (Rev. 18:7). The promises of temporal blessings, made to piety (1 Tim. 4:8; 1 S. 2:30) and which were obtained by pious patriarchs and kings, are to be understood of true and solid felicity; not however of external only, which is fleeting and evanescent and common also to the wicked. And that too with the exception of chastisement and the cross, which the Scriptures add (Is. 30:20; Mk. 10:30; Ps. 99:8). Finally, it is one thing for a promise to be given to the church; another to be a mark of it.

LII. From all this it appears that these marks are falsely adduced by Bellarmine to prove the true church. No better do others strive to deduce as many marks of it from the four specifications of the (Apostles') Creed (viz., that it is one, holy, catholic and apostolic). For these descriptions of the true church belong to any church, only on account of faith and true doctrine, so that it alone is the mark of the church. For it is truly one, holy, catholic and apostolic which religiously retains the unity of the faith once delivered to the saints (Jd. 3) and the holiness of catholic truth according to the foundation of the prophets and apostles (Eph. 2:20).

LIII. Now although these which the Romanists obtrude as marks were as true as they are spurious, it would be easy to show that Rome falsely boasts of them, nor can they really belong to her. Not the name "Catholic" because it is absurd (*asystaton*) that a particular church such as the Roman should be considered catholic and universal, as the world is greater than a city. Not antiquity because the Greek church is more ancient than the Roman and the

doctrines which Rome today proposes for belief differ from ours, are novel and of recent origin, or known only for a few centuries. They were unheard-of and unknown to the first and true antiquity which is to be sought in the times of Christ and the apostles. Of those times, we can say with Christ deservedly, "From the beginning it was not so" (*ouch houtōs ēn ap' archēs*, Mt. 19:8). It would be very easy to demonstrate this of the primacy and infallibility of the pope; of purgatory and human satisfactions and the treasury of indulgences; of the bodily presence, transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass; of the merit of works and the powers of free will; of the invocation of saints and the worship of images; of unwritten (*agraphois*) traditions and other errors of this kind theoretical and practical, which Rome has sanctioned and thrust forth to be believed, under the pain of a curse (as has been fully proved by our party).

LIV. Not amplitude because the jurisdiction and communion of the Bishop of Alexandria and of Constantinople through Asia and Africa is far more extended than that of the pope through Europe. If you except Spain and Italy, there is no nation which adheres unanimously to him and there are powerful kingdoms and states which have thrown off his yoke. Not uninterrupted succession, for besides the fact that she lacks doctrinal succession, as can be gathered from an examination of her doctrine ("Now there is no true succession without true doctrine," as Stapleton says in "Relectionis Principiorum Fidei," I, Q. 4, Art. 2 *Opera* [1620], 1:564), who can deny that the thread of personal succession has for a long time been broken in that see? Both by a long vacation of the seat or antipapal dissension; also by an unlawful occupation of the seat, whether by violence or by fraud or by simony and magical arts; and by heresies and various other schisms, which have taken place in the Roman church, by which our opponents themselves cannot deny that the succession could not be continued. Where, for example, was the uninterrupted succession when various heretical popes occupied the seat, many of whom thrust themselves into it by wicked arts? Where was it in the ninth and tenth centuries (which Baronius calls the iron age), in which (according to Genebrard) more than fifty popes wholly failed from the virtue of the ancients, apostate and apostactic, rather than apostolical? "What then was the face of the Roman Church," says Baronius, "than most squalid; since at Rome the most powerful as well as most sordid harlots reigned, by whose will seats were

changed, bishops created and what is horrible and dreadful, false popes (their lovers) were thrust into the seat of Peter, who are written in the catalogue of Roman popes only to sealing so great times. For who could say that those intruded by such abandoned women without law were lawful Roman popes? Nowhere is mention made of the clergy electing or afterwards consenting. All the canons were silenced, the decrees of popes trampled upon, ancient traditions proscribed, the old customs in the election of the supreme pontiff and the sacred rites and the pristine usages wholly ignored, etc. Then evidently Christ was sleeping profoundly in the ship, etc. And what seemed worst, there were wanting the disciples to awaken by their cries the Lord thus sleeping, all of them snoring. Now what kind of presbyters and deacons do you think would be chosen cardinals by such monsters?" (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, Annus 912, 8 [1868], 15:533). Let our opponents now go and boast of their uninterrupted succession. The same thing could be shown concerning the time of those most grievous and lasting schisms by which the Christian republic was miserably torn asunder —antipopes raging in turn against each other with censures and excommunications (which are recorded at length by historians).

LV. Nor agreement in doctrine with the ancient church, whether the primitive and apostolic is considered (from whose faith they differ immensely); or that which came after the apostolic times in the following ages (a comparison of both with which abundantly teaches that it little agrees). Nor would it be difficult to show that the fathers, whatever Romanists may boast, by no means favored the Roman church (various cautions being pointed out): (1) if you regard the writers of the former ages in which Christianity was still purer, for in the following ages we do not deny that errors greatly increased; (2) if you take away the false writings and cut out the spurious; (3) if you seek the consent of all, nor rest satisfied with one or another; (4) if you cull out and examine not only one or another passage, but the opinion and mind of the authors from all their writings diligently; (5) if you take away all the forged dicta added and thrown in (which can appear from a comparison of many manuscripts); (6) if you completely read entire passages, not the abbreviated and garbled; (7) if you remove forged sentences and opinions falsely ascribed to them; (8) if you distinguish what they said panegyrically rather than didactically; what carried away by the excitement of disputation and going towards extremes;

what in order to serve their cause; what with a doubtful and undecided mind; what allegorically and figuratively, rather than properly; (9) if you distinguish their private opinions or errors from the doctrines received in the church and observe other things of this kind. Rivet has set these forth fully in *Catholicus orthodoxus oppositus catholico Papistae* (1641); cf. also Jewel, "A Reply unto M. Harding's Answer," *Works* (1848), v. 1–3; Scultetus, "Praefatio," *Medullae theologiae patrum syntagma* (1634); Morton, *Apologia Catholica* (1605); and Daille, A *Treatise on the Right Use of the Fathers* (1856).

LVI. So far is Rome from being able to prove her agreement with the ancient purer church (which from a comparison of the doctrine received by each in faith as well as in worship, it is easy to demonstrate, as has often been done by our divines) that it is easy to prove rather her harmony and consent with various heretics formerly condemned. With the Angelics, Collyridians and Staurolatri, in the worship of angels, of the virgin and of the cross; with Montanists, Manichaeans, Encratites and Tatianists, in the choice of food, stated fasts and the law of celibacy; with Pelagians and Semi-pelagians, in the doctrine of free will, the merit of works and the perfection of righteousness; with Marcionites and Pepusians, in the baptism of women; with Manichaeans, in the prohibition of the cup and communion under one species; with the Essenes, in the use of a foreign tongue in sacred things; with the Euchetians, Nudipedalians and Apostolics, in the vows of monks; with the Sampseans, in the worship of relics; with the Basilidians, Carpocratians and Gnosimachians, in the prohibition of the Scriptures; with the Eutychians, Marcosians and Elkesaitians, in transubstantiation; with the Heracleonites, in extreme unction; and with all heretics in the necessity of traditions and the accusation of the Scriptures, as has been proved at length by Rivet ("Prooemium," *Catholicus orthodoxus* [1641], pp. 1–31), Molinaeus, Downame and others.

LVII. Nor the union of members with each other and with the head, since there are the most bitter contentions and disputes among the Romanists themselves, not only concerning external rites and ceremonies, but concerning the most important doctrines and the principal heads of faith: as the infallibility of the pope; his authority above the council or of a council above the pope; predestination, grace and free will; the conception of the virgin; the merit of works; the visibility and locality of the body of Christ in

the Eucharist; transubstantiation and its consequences and innumerable others of this kind. Among the Thomists and Scotists, Molinists and Jansenists, predeterminists and patrons of middle knowledge, Franciscans and Dominicans, these are agitated daily and their head has not yet been able to settle them.

LVIII. Nor holiness of doctrine, since she opens with her various doctrines a wide gate to crimes and establishes the most corrupt errors, wicked idolatries and the most oppressive tyranny. Nor efficacy of doctrine, unless you understand the efficacy of error, which the apostle ascribes to the mystery of iniquity (2 Thess. 2). For the thing itself exclaims how little fitted it is to the conversion of sinners, and our opponents seem to be sufficiently convinced of this, who for the propagation of the faith use not so much the light of persuasion, as the violence of arms; not so much reasons drawn from the Scriptures and the demonstration of truth to the conviction of the conscience, as the enticements of promises and the terrors of threatenings and torments. On the one hand, by the parading of dignities, delights and riches alluring sordid souls; on the other, raging with fire and sword, sanguinary edicts and the most dreadful persecutions. Thus they convert the sword of the divine mouth (by which error ought to be exterminated) into the mouth of the sword (by which believers themselves are destroyed).

LIX. Not the holiness of life of the first authors of religion. For they either meant the prophets and apostles, whose holiness cannot contribute anything to those who have receded from their faith; or the popes and the founders of religious orders. But how little the morals of most of them were chastened (not to say how impure and wicked), the Scriptures do not allow us to doubt. Nor miracles, whether you regard the miracles of Christ and the apostles, because they can indeed serve to confirm apostolic doctrine (which we retain), but contribute nothing to the confirmation of the errors which they have introduced beyond and contrary to the Scriptures. It would be ridiculous to wish to prove from these purgatory, transubstantiation, indulgences and other fables of this kind not even the names of which were then known. Or whether you attend to the miracles of the following ages and those which in the most recent times are blazoned abroad by the Romanists. Indeed they boast, but do not demonstrate: nor do they perform them when we are present and are looking on (whom nevertheless it would

be proper either to turn or to take vengeance upon); nay, they have often professed that the presence of a Protestant hindered that thaumaturgic (*thaumatourgon*) force of their images and relics. And although they continually boast that miracles have been wrought here and there, still scarcely any of them obtain the approbation of the pope. Thus they are fully conscious of frauds and falsehoods in that kind. A whole volume might be filled with such impostures. See Capellus, *advers. Ferra. c. de Imposturis*+ and Molinaeus on 2 Thess. 2+. Nor is it unknown how many have been convicted of falsehood publicly; as can be seen with Paponus (cf. *Recueil d'arrests notables des Corns Souveraines de France* 3.5, 6 [1616], pp. 163–64). "We cannot deny," says Cano, "that sometimes the most distinguished men, especially in describing the prodigies of the gods, both received scattered rumors and also related them in their writings to posterity" ("De Locis theologicis," 11.6 *Opera* [1746], p. 333). And a little after: "Nor do I except here the author of that book which is inscribed the Mirror of Examples, nor even his history which is entitled Golden Legends; for in that you may oftener read monsters of miracles, than true miracles; this man wrote from an iron mouth, leaden heart, and a mind certainly of little care and prudence." Although such miracles were as true as they are false, they who proclaim them ought not to be heard when they assert a doctrine contrary to the gospel (Gal. 1:8). On this account even the more—that it is said that Antichrist would come with signs and lying wonders.

LX. Not prophetic light, which has for a long time ceased in the church with the gift of miracles; nor do they dare to ascribe this either to the popes or councils. The revelations of which they boast are so useless and silly that they are not believed among themselves. Nor the confession of opponents, for although our divines do not hesitate to acknowledge whatever good still remains in the Roman church, yet no one who knows her errors can ascribe to her the name of a true and orthodox church. Nor the unhappy end of her adversaries, whatever the Romanists most falsely babble about the unhappy death of our Reformers (as it has been frequently disproved by our most satisfactory arguments). But with how much better right can we retort upon them the tragic examples of God's judgments in the deaths of various popes, kings, princes and other persecutors of the church, recorded by historians? Nor temporal happiness, the great loss of which by the various

wounds inflicted upon the church of Rome, our adversaries themselves cannot deny. But we have said enough upon this subject.

Fourteenth Question

Can the church of Rome of today be called a true church of Christ? We deny against the Romanists

I. From what has been said *in thesi* about the marks of the church, it is easy to gather what must be thought *in hypothesi*, either concerning the Roman church or the Reformed and evangelical church. About this we will treat separately and first of the Roman church.

Statement of the question.

II. The question is not about every church of Rome, even that which flourished in the age of the apostles and whose faith was celebrated throughout the whole world in the time of Paul (Rom. 1:8). Rather the question concerns the papal church of today which is under the dominion and power of the pope. Romanists not only maintain it to be true, but also catholic and the only one on earth, outside of which there is no salvation. However, we think she neither is nor can be called the one and only catholic or true church.

III. The church of Rome can be regarded under a twofold view (*schesei*): either as it is Christian, with regard to the profession of Christianity and of gospel truth which it retains; or papal, with regard to subjection to the pope, and corruptions and capital errors (in faith as well as in morals) which she has mingled with and built upon those truths besides and contrary to the word of God. We can speak of it in different ways. In the former respect, we do not deny that there is some truth in it; but in the latter (under which it is regarded here) we deny that it can be called Christian and apostolic, but Antichristian and apostate. In this sense, we confess that it can still improperly and relatively be called a Christian church in a threefold respect. First, with respect to the people of God or the elect still remaining in it, who are ordered to come out of her, even at the time of the destruction of Babylon (Rev. 18:4). (2) With respect to external form or certain ruins of a

scattered church, in which its traces are seen to this day, both with respect to the word of God and the preaching of it (which, although corrupted, still remains in her); and with respect to the administration of the sacraments and especially of baptism, which is still preserved entire in her as to substance. (3) With respect to Christian and evangelical truths concerning the one and triune God, Christ the God-man (*theanthrōpō*) Mediator, his incarnation, death and resurrection and other heads of doctrine by which she is distinguished from assemblies of pagans and infidels. But we deny that she can simply and properly be called a true church, much less the one and only catholic church, as they contend.

IV. Now in order to demonstrate this, even this one thing would be sufficient (which we have before proved)—that the proper and essential mark of the true church is no other than the doctrine of conformity with the word of God (which is retained in any assembly). It is clearer than the meridian light from a comparison instituted between both that the doctrine of the Roman church in many most important articles is diametrically opposed to the Scriptures. With whatever pigments and colors it may be covered in order to conceal its foulness and so smooth over its harshness, by that very thing it is evident that neither is she the true church, nor can she be so called except falsely.

V. But that this may be more distinctly evident, we must attend to those various marks and rays of divinity which shine in the word and by which the saving and fundamental doctrine ought to be distinguished and proved, which is drawn from the word of God and is taught in the true church (to wit, truth in faith free from heresy; purity in worship purged of all superstition and idolatry; freedom in government apart from servitude and tyranny; holiness in morals opposed to filthy vices and the uncleanness of the flesh; and certainty and consolation far removed from doubt and distrust). As therefore that can be called a true church which retains this foundation of salvation and whose doctrine exhibits these signs, so whatever church is destitute of them (such as we think the Roman to be), we rightly maintain cannot be called a true church.

Proof that the church of Rome is not a true church: (1) because it impinges upon the foundation.

VI. (1) It is not only not built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, nor rests upon it alone as the true church of Christ (Eph. 2:20; Gal. 1:8, 9), but in various ways strikes against it, both by addition and by subtraction. First, by addition: by adjoining to the canonical Scriptures, which were given to us as a rule of things to be believed and done, unwritten (*agraphous*) human traditions, rejected by Christ himself (Mt. 15:9); by laying another foundation than that which is laid (1 Cor. 3:11); by inventing another head of the church than Christ, other merits besides his obedience alone, another propitiatory sacrifice in addition to his cross, another purgatory than his blood, other names by which we can be saved besides the name of Jesus; and by proposing more doctrines of this kind which are wholly incompatible (*asystata*) with fundamental articles and evidently destructive of them by direct and immediate consequence. Nor are they to be heard who think that these can be made to agree with each other "because subordinates are not at variance" and that to add something to the foundation is not forthwith to overthrow the foundation itself. Truly he who adds to the foundation things homogeneous with it does not overthrow the foundation; but he who adds things contrary to and most incompatible (*asystata*) with it, by adding, overthrows, for he joins together things which cannot stand together (*asynklōsta*). Thus he who adds unwritten (*agraphous*) traditions to be received with equal affection and reverence with the Scriptures, by this very thing denies that the Scripture is a rule to which nothing is to be added and from which nothing is to be taken. He who adds to the sacrifice of the cross another propitiatory (*hilastikon*) sacrifice, by that very thing denies the unity and perfection of Christ's sacrifice. He who sews on other merits to the merit of Christ denies that his righteousness is sufficient for us. Thus, since its unity belongs to the nature of the foundation, so that no other can be laid besides that which is laid (1 Cor. 3:11), nor is there salvation in any other than Christ (Acts 4:12), no one can add anything to it as a foundation without destroying by adding and opposing by composing. Hence Paul so often teaches the incompatibility of our own righteousness with the righteousness of Christ, of the merit of works with grace and faith (Rom. 10:3; 9:6; Gal. 5:4). And he proves that the head is not held by those who join other objects of worship to Christ (Col. 2:19). Second, by subtraction: the perfection, integrity and authority of Scripture being denied; the imputed righteousness of Christ alone for our

justification before God being rejected; the second commandment of the decalogue being tampered with; and the sacramental cup being withheld from the laity.

2. Because she is heretical.

VII. She is apostate and heretical, having failed from the faith once delivered to the saints and teaching various deadly heresies and thrusting them forward to be believed under pain of a curse. Such are the doctrines concerning justification by works and their merit, human satisfactions and indulgences, transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass, sin and free will, sufficient grace, the possible observance of the law, the ecumenical pontiff and primacy of the pope, the infallibility and authority of the church, the efficacy and number of the sacraments and other similar erroneous doctrines which obtain among them, especially those which are reckoned by the apostles among the doctrines of devils (to wit, abstaining from meats and forbidding to marry, 1 Tim. 4:1, 3*), as has already been proved by us in their proper places or will be in the following.

VIII. In vain do our opponents reply here: (1) "that such errors are not fundamental." The thing itself cries out that the primary heads of faith are attacked by them: as the perfection of the word, the mediation of Christ, the unity of his sacrifice, the efficacy of his grace and other similar things in which the essence of religion consists. Again, although by themselves and separately each would not be capital, they become such conjointly by this very thing—that they are placed by them among necessary articles of faith which are proposed to be believed under pain of a curse, the conscience being forcibly bound to them, nor yet convinced. Finally, although all may not be equally fundamental, it would be sufficient for one or another to be such; nay, sufficient to make the religion intolerable and the church false, in which salvation could not be obtained. (2) "Oftentimes the private opinions of doctors are proposed as the opinion of the church." But that the errors above noted are not the private ones of certain persons only, but the public ones of the whole church, is testified to by the sanctions of councils, the decrees of popes and other like authentic writings, and the practice and usage of the whole church, in which they are prescribed to be believed and professed by each and all, as the common and publicly received doctrine.

(3) “That the mind of the Roman church is falsely conceived by us and a false meaning attached to it.” But he easily discovers that nothing more false and more beyond reason can be said, who wishes attentively to institute this examination; nor can the exposition and elucidations overcome this which are brought together by some to palliate the errors, cover the poison and shun the crime of idolatry (as was most recently done by Bishop Condomensis [Bossuet] in his *Exposition de la doctrine de l’Eglise catholique* [1678]). Whatever color they use in ingenious writings of this kind to encrust errors and wash away the stains with which thus far the face of the church of Rome is polluted, it is plainly gathered either that they are trying to raise a smoke or are employing evil deceit by which good words are given seeming to approach the truth, while in the meantime nothing is remitted from the fountain of all errors (viz., the infallibility of the church and the primacy of the pope) to entice and deceive the incautious more easily. They recede from the common and constant doctrine and practice of the church and another meaning is affixed to it than that which the decisions of councils, the declarations of popes, public confessions and formulas and other similar writings exhibit, and which have thus far held their ground among the principal supports of the Roman church and its prominent teachers. This is that of which no one could persuade himself had it not with sufficient clearness either thus far been understood or explained as the meaning of their church.

IX. (4) “The errors ascribed to them do not flow from their doctrine, except by inferences, argumentations, consequences deduced from them and these indeed rejected and reprobated by them, which on this account cannot without the imputation of slander be ascribed to them,” as the same Bishop says (*Doctrinae Catholicae* [1678], p. 14). But (a) it is here gratuitously supposed that nothing was directly and formally delivered by their men which interferes with the foundation. And yet the thing itself openly testifies to the contrary. For what do we (by consequences only and those twisted and reprobated) charge upon the Romanists that they wish traditions to be received with a firm faith and with equal affection of piety and reverence as the written word; that the Mass is a true, proper and propitiatory sacrifice; that the pope is the head of the church; that transubstantiation is to be granted; that there is a purgatory; that man is not justified by faith alone, but also by works; that the sacrament is to be adored

with an inferior worship; that we must bow with religious worship before images of God, Christ, the virgin and the saints; that saints are to be worshipped and invoked, and other like doctrines theoretical as well as practical? Do not the Romanists directly and positively profess such in doctrine and practice? If certain consequences are urged against them, they are not remote, violent and inevident, supported by no reason, but necessary, proximate, evident and innate, spontaneously flowing from their principles and having the force of firm and necessary proof. Thus from the doctrine of transubstantiation, the sacrifice on the altar, the adoration of the host, the invocation of saints, we infer by necessary consequence that the nature of the body of Christ is destroyed, the most perfect sacrifice of the cross weakened, the supreme honor due to God given to the creature. Thus from the communion under one species, we gather that the sacrament is mutilated and the institution of Christ violated. From the positing of one contradiction, the removal and subversion of the other necessarily follows, unless we wish to make a contradiction in the thing added and maintain an opposition in an apposition. Nor can the necessity or evidence of these consequences be obscured or weakened by vain petty distinctions (like dust thrown into the eyes) which neither Scripture furnishes, nor former ages acknowledged, nor the people understand, nor introduced practice observes —nay, openly destroys. (b) Then only does the stain of calumny apply, when consequences are deduced not from principles received and asserted, but from principles forged and denied; not from the public and constant opinion and practice of the church, but from violence done both to words, to confessions, to the mind perpetually and from the beginning declared and exposed. Such are those consequences which are most iniquitously forced upon us by the Romanists from the most wicked distortion of our doctrine (which on this account, as violent and most false, we not only do not acknowledge, but with our whole soul turn away from and condemn). But that nothing like this has been done here by us, the definitions of the Roman church, her usual practice and constant discipline sufficiently prove, even if we should be silent.

3. Because she is idolatrous.

X. Third, she is idolatrous and superstitious, both with respect to the object which she worships and with respect to the mode in which she worships. With respect to the object, inasmuch as besides God (who as alone omniscient, omnipotent and best ought to be the sole object of worship and invocation), she venerates and adores creatures also which are not by nature gods (Gal. 4:8): as the blessed virgin, angels, defunct saints, the consecrated host, the sacrament, the cross, the pope, the relics of Christ and of the saints. With respect to the mode, in the making, worship and adoration of effigies and images, so solemnly prohibited by the law of God. And these things appear not from the private opinions of teachers, but from public sanctions and constant practice. So that nothing here is improperly charged upon them by us.

XI. Nor do the various refuges which our opponents are accustomed to seek in order to weaken the force of this argument and cover over the baseness of their error at all avail them. (1) "That all this worship which is exhibited to creatures is said to be religious because it necessarily terminates on God," as the Bishop says (*An Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church*, Sect. 3 [1685], p. 4). It is not sufficient to make worship legitimate, that it terminates on God as the ultimate end and meanwhile is extended to other objects besides God. But it is required that it be exhibited to God alone to the exclusion of creatures because the jealousy of God does not suffer his glory to be given to another. Again, under this pretext could easily be excused the idolatries among the heathen, who did not terminate their worship on the stone, wood or gold of which the idols were made, but maintained that it was given to and terminated on the deities represented by the idols; nor would the Israelites have sinned in the worship of the calf, which they terminated on Jehovah, who had brought them out of Egypt.

XII. (2) "That invocation directed to the saints is made in the same spirit of charity by which living believers on earth are prayed to, that they may pray with us and for us and that the mode of praying to the saints differs greatly from the mode of praying to God; God indeed is asked to pity us, while the saints are asked only to pray for us." Thus the same Bishop has it (*An Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church*, Sect. 4 [1685], p. 5). But these things are uttered gratuitously for the purpose of deceiving the more simple. (a) The civil worship of a Christian society, of mutual help

between those living and present, is falsely confounded with an act of religion, invocation, adoration, trust, prayer, sacrifice whose objects are dead, far removed from civil commerce, neither present by nature, or operation, or knowledge, nor ever commanded to be invoked; less in that manner and with the end which modern Rome approves. Now who does not see how great a difference there is between these? Who would ever say that the living ought to be religiously invoked? (b) It is supposed also that they do not go to the saints as principal causes (who may either give blessings or free from evils); or with the same formulas of prayer with which they approach God. But the fathers of the Council of Trent sanction the invoking of them suppliantly, having recourse to their help and assistance; hence all the parts of divine worship towards them—invocation, adoration, supplications, vows, festivals, temples, altars, incense, gifts, giving of thanks. Hence the sacrifice of the Mass, in which Christ is said to be offered up to the Father, is offered in honor of a saint, than which nothing can be considered more religious. Hence the public formulas (whatever our opponents may say to the contrary) in which they are besought to pity them, to spare, deliver, save, answer, blot out sins, enlighten minds, bestow spiritual grace, relieve in the hour of death: as everywhere in the litanies and prayers to the blessed virgin, to Peter and Paul, etc. In the corrected Office of the Blessed Mary, published by order of Pius V, they thus address her: "Thou consolation of the desolate, way of the erring, salvation of all who hope in thee." And in *Hortulo animae* (1557), edited at Antwerp, "Hail Mary, hope of the world, hear me a miserable sinner trusting in thy mercy and piety; mother of mercies, mother of grace, hope of all the desolate, consoler of all the despairing, salvation of all who hope in thee" (cf. *Hortulus Animae* [1602], pp. 358–59, 268). Nor do they invoke her as their only "hope," but also as their "one only hope." "Thou art the one only hope of sinners, through you we hope for the pardon of offenses and in you is the most happy expectation of our rewards" ("Festa Septembris: Die IX," *Breviarium Romanum* [1884], 2:700). Hence Costerus on the Hymn "Ave maris stella" explaining these words, "break the chains of the guilty," thus comments: "unloose by your prayers, by your merit, by your authority, by your sway" (cf. *Libellus sodalitatis* [1588], p. **5). Now is this merely to pray to the virgin to pray for us? Is it not also that she may pity us and obtain grace itself by herself? And if nothing else was intended in the

worship of the virgin than that she should pray for us, why could not the *Liber consiliorum salutarium ad indiscretos B. Virginis cultores*, published at Cologne (which has no other tendency than to refer the worship of the virgin to this and endeavors to correct the superstitious and idolatrous practice prevailing everywhere) escape the mark of the censor's condemnation—both of Rome and of the Spanish Inquisition—as if the author was guilty "of impiety towards the Scriptures, the virgin, the saints and images"? While on the other hand the book of Crasseti opposed to it in the year 1679, edited with the approbation of the Provincial and under the auspices of the Archbishop of Paris, replaces and approves whatever the more insane worshippers of Mary did not blush to say before: as "that omnipotence on earth and in heaven belongs to her, that nothing is impossible to her, that she can save the desperate, that she approaches to the tribunal of God, not only as a servant who prays to her Master, but as a mother who commands her son" and very many other like things which cannot be read without holy indignation (*La veritable Devotion envers la S. Vierge* [1679], p. 28). See also what Rivet ("Apologiae pro Sanctissima Virgine Maria," *Opera* [1651], 3:597–744) and Drelincourt (*De l'honneur qui doit estre rendu à la Saincte et Bien-heureuse Vierge Marie* [1643]) have written. Nor is the practice different towards the holy relics, which they religiously invoke, not only as intercessors, but as protectors from evils and bestowers both of grace and of glory.

XIII. (3) "That they do not render *latreian* or supreme worship to the saints, but only *douleian* or *hyperdouleian* or a subordinate and inferior worship." But we have elsewhere proved the worthlessness of this distinction (Topic XI, The Law of God, Question 7, Section 10). And from this it is easily refuted that it supposes that there are degrees or species in religious worship, which we maintain to be one only and undivided and not less proper to God alone than conjugal love is due to the husband alone. (4) As to images, "no divinity, no virtue is attributed to them, except for exciting a remembrance of the prototype, that the worship and honor shown to them is referred to the prototype, so that they are not so much worshipped as the prototype before them, nor are they honored by themselves with absolute but only with a relative worship." But if such an exception avails, the heathen would have to be excused from idolatry. For no one is ignorant that they palliated by the same pretenses the worship of

images according to Tertullian, Origen, Minucius (Felix), Arnobius, Lactantius and Augustine; that they did not ascribe divinity to the images, but only worshipped the gods in them and the deity signified by the idol; that they were esteemed as symbols of divinity; that the signs and images of the gods were worshipped in honor of God; and more things of the same kind. The Romanists themselves do not dissemble that in many things there is no difference between their opinion concerning the saints and that which the heathen thought concerning their gods and that the Romanists seem to have reached the supreme adoration usually given by the heathen to their images: as Polydore Virgil (*De rerum inventoribus* 6.13 [1671], pp. 417–24), Vives (*Saint Augustine, of the Citie of God ... with ... comments of Ludovicus Vives* [1620], pp. 282–320) and Cassander ("De Articulis Religionis … consultatio," Art. 21 *Georgii Cassandri ... Opera* [1616], pp. 963–81) remark. As to adoration, although many seem to shrink from it and speak of veneration alone and worship, still they cannot deny it from the decree of the Council of Trent which commands veneration to be paid to images. The same was sanctioned by the Second Council of Nicea, where *proskynēsis* ("adoration") is expressly enjoined and indeed in opposition to a bare *timēsin* (or "veneration"), as we find in the Fourth Act (cf. Tanner, 1:136). This is also the opinion of Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Cajetan, Biel, Vasquez, Bellarmine and others, which the universal practice and the blind superstition of the people equally approve.

4. Because her doctrine is doubtful and opposed to the certainty of salvation and peace of conscience.

XIV. Fourth, the doctrine of the church of Rome "cherishes doubt and is opposed to the certainty of salvation and to peace of conscience," which can be obtained in the true church alone. The former is not only collected from the innumerable capital controversies which are agitated among Romanists (which the pope, although the supreme judge of controversies, has not as yet been able to settle), but appears especially from these two articles. (a) From the pretended infallibility of the church, concerning which (since the parties are not yet agreed among themselves with whom it resides—whether with the pope or with a council) nothing certain can be held; also

concerning all the doctrines which are suspended upon that infallibility. (b) From the intention of the minister being necessarily required in every sacrament—from the Council of Trent, Session 7, Canon 11 (Schroeder, 52). For since such an intention is hidden and discoverable by no one except God, the searcher of hearts, whatever is done by such ministers must also necessarily be doubtful and uncertain. Hence no one can be certainly persuaded of his baptism, whether he is a Christian and truly baptized, because he does not know whether the bishop or priest who baptized him really had the intention to baptize him; and whether said bishop and priest had been properly ordained with the intention of the ordainer. Thus the mind of the man is involved in inextricable difficulties, nor has he anything in which he can rest. Hence also it arises that the man laboring under that uncertainty is exposed daily to the most present danger of idolatry in the adoration of the host (viz., doubtful of the presence of Christ) because he cannot know whether the priest had the intention to consecrate and if he had it, whether he had the power to consecrate (to wit, being properly ordained by the bishop) and other like things which keep the mind of the people in continual doubt and anxiety. The latter (concerning the inefficacy of the Roman doctrine to tranquilize the conscience of the sinner before God) appears abundantly from their dogma concerning "the uncertainty of faith and salvation and perpetual doubt" and suspense (*hepochē*), in which man is ordered to remain (as we have seen in its place, Topic XV, Question 17), by which it happens that the conscience, terrified with a sense of sins and a fear of the divine judgment, can obtain no solid peace and tranquility either in life or in death; but is tossed about continually by the waves of doubt and distrust because it cannot know certainly whether he is a believer and in a state of grace, whether in the love or the anger of God, whether he ought to be admitted into heaven or be thrust down into hell. Nor is it strange (since trust in Christ alone and his most perfect righteousness and most fragrant sacrifice, which alone can appease the anger of God, satisfy his justice and expiate sin, having been left) that they wish to build upon the rotten and weak foundation of their own righteousness and merit, human satisfactions and papal indulgences. Since these cannot endure the test of the divine judgment, or avail to protect and defend the sinner against the arrows of the divine wrath and curse, they keep the man smitten and enslaved by perpetual fear. This is not a little increased also by the fear of the fierce

flames of purgatory and of the dreadful torments by which through many ages souls should be tormented after death. Thus the conscience cannot help being miserably disturbed and almost driven to desperation.

5. Because she is opposed to piety and good morals.

XV. Fifth, she is in many ways opposed to piety and good morals by the various dogmas which are repugnant to virtue and open wide the door to sin. Such are (a) the prohibition of matrimony and the law of celibacy, imposed upon the clergy against the word of God, according to which it is better for those who have not the gift of continence, not "rather to marry than to burn" (according to the command of Paul, 1 Cor. 7:9); but to burn and commit fornication and defile themselves with the most horrible lusts, rather than to marry. It can scarcely be said how many and how huge monsters of lust and pollution have sprung forth from this cesspool, so that not without a cause did Pius II say, "With great reason marriages were taken away from the priest, but for a greater they ought to be restored" (*Historia B. Platinae de Vitis Pontificum Romanorum* [1611], p. 329). (b) The monastic vows by which youths even in their minority are withdrawn from their father's power and the obedience due to their parents and the yoke of blind obedience and slavery is so imposed upon them by men, that without any examination or investigation they are bound straightway and unhesitatingly to perform whatever their superiors teach should be done whether just or unjust; than which nothing more iniquitous can be conceived and more contrary to the light of reason and the sacred liberty of believers. (c) Auricular confession, which experience teaches too well is the executioner of consciences, the school of crimes and impurities, the machine of Roman tyranny and rapacity, the fittest key to open and penetrate into the secrets of families and kingdoms, and the master of the basest conspiracies, treacheries and regicides. Most especially on account of the seal of confession, which it is not lawful to break for the most weighty cause, even if the subject is the death of a father or of a king or the overthrow of a state. "No evil can be as great," says Eudaemon-Joannes, "for the sake of escaping which it is lawful to betray the confession" (*Confutatio Anticotoni* 3* [1611], p. 91). And Toletus: "The obligation of the seal is to be considered so great that for no cause absolutely, not even to

save one's own life, nor to save the whole state, can the priest reveal the sin of the penitent" (*Francisci Toleti ... Instructio Sacerdotum* 3.16.3 [1628], 1:482). Emanuel Sa (*Aphorismi* [1607], pp. 78–85 on *confessor*) and Suarez (*Commentaria in tertiam partem D. Thomae ... De poenitentiae*, Disp. 33, Sect. 1 *Opera Omnia* [1856–78], 22:686–90) have the same thing. (d) The most base doctrine of equivocations and mental reservations to be used even in trials, by which they maintain that it is not only lawful to lie, but also to commit perjury for the sake of a greater good when the affair demands it, with a mental retention. Thus there is no longer anything certain in pacts and covenants; nay, it is right for a Christian to foreswear his religion before a heathen judge, saying, "I am not a Christian," but mentally supplying, "that I should tell it to you" (cf. what was said in Topic XI, Question 12). (e) Allied to this is the perfidious doctrine concerning not keeping faith with heretics. For although some private teachers are ashamed of such an infamous doctrine, still we know it by the Council of Constance, Session 19 (Mansi, 27:791–801), and approved by their savage treatment of John Hus and Jerome of Prague (and elsewhere frequently confirmed in the most dreadful slaughter and mangling of believers against the faith given to them); cf. Topic XI, Question 11.

XVI. (6) The portentous dogma concerning "the power of the pope to depose kings and absolve subjects from their oath of fidelity," by which it happens that not only a mortal man sacrilegiously invades the rights of God and presumes impiously to dispense with an indispensable bond, but also a wide gate is opened to the basest rebellions against superiors and to horrible regicides. From this principle after the sentence of excommunication has been passed, the king ceases to be legitimate, nor can he any longer occupy his kingdom except tyrannically. "He begins to be a tyrant in title because he is not a lawful king," as Suarez says. "Now anyone of the people can kill him holding power tyrannically, if there is no other remedy, for he is a public enemy" ("Defensio fidei catholica," 6.4+ *Opera* [1856–78], 24:675–83). For according to Urban II, he is not a murderer who kills one excommunicated. "We do not consider those homicides to whom burning with the zeal of their Catholic mother against the excommunicated, it may have happened to have slaughtered some of them" (cf. "Decreti," Pt. II, Causa XXIII, Q. 5.47* *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:945). The atrociousness of this most pestilent error, President Forget, in an oration

delivered in the School of Sorbonne, graphically describes: “From this error,” says he, “like poniards thrown into a kingdom with which the citizens would fight with each other … from this fire a torch was kindled which afterwards was carried through all France and reduced it almost to ashes, thence exposing the kingdom as a prey and betraying to foreigners agitated counsels; from these beginnings the detestable plot against Christianity and the truly Catholic King Henry III took its rise, and himself at length was slain by an abominable parricide, the mind of the wicked deserter being preoccupied with the poison of this pestiferous opinion. Thence flames, blood, slaughters, sacrileges, robberies, savageness, monsters, prodigies and the Iliads of evils, which have held that miserable kingdom now seven years” (cf. Thuanus, *Historiarum sui temporis* 114 [1628], 3:701). Although it cannot be denied that many of the Romanists detest this wicked doctrine, and the Parisian Senate has frequently launched the most severe edicts against it, still it is certainly commonly and publicly received and has been frequently sanctioned by various decrees of popes and the canons of councils. Thus Bellarmine, Baronius and Perronius maintain that this “is the opinion and voice of the whole Catholic church,” which they confirm by a great weight of testimonies. Here belongs the fact that Gregory VII reckons among the *Dictati papae* these: “It is lawful for the pope to depose emperors. He can absolve the subjects of the unjust from their fidelity” (PL 148.408). Also the one presiding over the Roman Synod confirms the same thing in the canon “Nos Sanctorum.” “We observing the statutes of the saints, our predecessors, by apostolical authority absolve from their oath those who were bound in fidelity or by an oath to an excommunicated person” (cf. “Decreti,” Pt. II, Causa XV, Q. 6.4 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:756). Gelasius confirms this (“Decreti,” Pt. II, Causa 25, Q. 6.3 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:756); and Gregory IX (“Decretalium Gregorii Papae IX, Bk. V, Tit. 7.16 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 2:789–90). Also the Lateran Council under Innocent III in the year 1215. History testifies that all these were often approved by most cruel practice: by Gregory VII against Emperor Henry IV; Innocent III against Otto IV; Innocent IV against Frederick II; Boniface VIII against Philip the Fair, king of France; Julius II against Louis XII; Pius V against Elizabeth, Queen of England; Sixtus V against Henry III; and Gregory XIV* against Henry IV; cf. more upon this subject in Molinaeus Hyperaspistem lib. 3.,

cap 1.2+ and Gallic Tract *de doctrina et Praxi sanguinolenta et factiosa Ecclesiae Romanae*+; and our Disputation 5, On Secession from the Church of Rome (*Opera* [1849], 4:99–122).

XVII. (7) The nefarious dogma concerning the dispensation of the divine laws (according to which the pope arrogates to himself the power of dispensing with the law of God, i.e., the grace of making obedience and of freeing from the necessity of obeying God). The pope dispenses with vows and oaths, frees young children from the power of their parents and subjects from sworn subjection to kings and princes, breaks marriages lawfully contracted and grants dispensations (the first degree between the father and his children being excepted) in all other degrees of consanguinity prohibited by the law of God, even between brothers and sisters. "The supreme pontiff," says Bertachinus, "can concede to a brother for a great cause the right to marry the wife of a deceased brother" (*reperto. voce Papa ex Antoni. Consi*. 33+). This license Henry VIII, King of England, obtained (also others frequently). Antoninus says the same thing, "Martin V, dispensed with a certain one, who had contracted and consummated matrimony with his own sister, with whom he had had illicit intercourse" (*Summa Theologica*, Pt. 3, Title 1, 11*.1 [1740], p. 42). The Decretals of the Popes and the Glosses of Canons affirm "that the pope dispenses contrary to the apostle" (cf. *Decretum Gratiani emendatum*, Pt. 2, Causa 25, Q. 1 [1601], p. 1781). The Glossator proposed, "According to the plenitude of power he can rightly dispense above right" ("De concessione praebendae," Tit. 8.4 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 2:489; cf. "Decreti," Pt. 1, Dist. 34.18 ["Lector"], ibid., 1:130). The Gloss interprets this: "The pope dispenses against an apostle, also against the Old Testament, also against a vow and an oath." And the Gloss of the Canon: "The pope dispenses himself in interpreting the gospel" (*Decretum Gratiani emendatum*, Pt. 2, Cause 25, Q. 1 ["Sunt quidam"] [1601], p. 1781). For if we believe Toletus, "Not all things which the apostles instituted were instituted by divine right" (*Francisci Toleti ... Instructio Sacerdotum* 1.68.2 [1628], 1:233). Hence Andradius says, "They did not err, who said that the Roman popes could sometimes in their laws dispense from Paul, and the first four councils" (*Defensio tridentinae fidei catholicae* 2 [1580], p. 402). Nor ought that to seem wonderful to anyone, since, as Bellarmine says, "In a good sense Christ gave to Peter, and then to the pope, the power of making sin no sin,

and no sin sin" (*The Power of the Pope in Temporal Affairs Against William Barclay* [1949], p. 168). And: "If the pope should err in commanding vices, or prohibiting virtues, the church would be bound to believe vices to be good, and virtues evils, unless he would wish to sin against his conscience" ("De Romano Pontifice," 4.5 *Opera* [1856], 1:484).

XVIII. (8) The foul merchandizing and bartering of sacred things by which the pope has restored the tables of the moneychangers overturned by Christ, making a peddling shop where the sanctuary ought to be. This infamous corruption Aeneas Sylvius (or Pope Pius II) could not conceal. "There is nothing," says he, "which the Roman Curia gives without silver; the very imposition of hands and the gifts of the Spirit are sold, nor is pardon of sins obtained except by money" (Letter 66, "To Ioanni Peregallo," *Aeneae Sylvii ... Opera* [1551/1967], p. 549). Hence in the bulls of indulgences, this clause is always inserted—these indulgences are granted "as assistants to those extending the hand." The scandalousness of this crime Espensaeus bitterly deplores, complaints concerning it being quoted from various persons ("In epistolam divi Pauli apostoli ad Titum," Digr. 2 *Opera Omnia* [1619], 1:478–88), especially Mantuanus: "Whoever for sacred wealth would give his paltry gold should go to Rome; there sacred things are sold. Yes, temples, priests and altars; sacred rites and crowns; and fires, incense, prayers, heaven and God are venal found" (citing Mantuanus, ibid., p. 481). Ferus on 2 John confirms this: "Who does not see the insatiable avarice and impostures of the priests and clergy and popes? Among them all things are sold, not only sheep and oxen, which they call benefits and offices, both greater and lesser offices, but also doves, i.e., the gifts and spiritual goods of the Holy Spirit" (*In sacrosanctum Jesu Christi ... Evangelium secundum Joannem* [1557], p. 49 on Jn. 2:16). Theodoricus a Niem (than whom no witness could be richer), who was the amanuensis and confidant of three popes, had already grievously complained of it after others. He says, "The apostolic vault is like the sea, in which all things enter, and it does not overflow. For thus into it are brought from different parts of the world thousands of gold in weight and still it is not filled. In it are many leeches saying, Give, give, etc." (Tractatus 6.37, "Nemus unionis," in *Tractatus utilissimi* [1629], p. 504). He who wishes to see a description of this infamous trafficking should consult *Taxam Cancellariae Apostolicae et taxae Sacrae Poenitentiarae Apostolicae*

(1664), where what ought to be paid for benefices, provisions, dispensations, absolutions (even from the greatest sins) and other immunities and privileges of the same kind is accurately stated; nor can it be read without horror. Now who could say that these belonged to the character and genius of the true church of Christ and to the doctrine of Simon Peter, who according to the command of Christ also gave what he had freely received (Mt. 10:8); and do they not rather belong to the disposition of Simon Magus, who thought the gift of God could be purchased with money (Acts 8:18), and to the genius of Babylon, who makes foul merchandise of sacred things and of the souls of men (Rev. 18:13), whose whole kingdom is a mere trafficking to make money and scrape together riches from all quarters (cf. Espensaeus complaining of it, "Diui Pauli Apostoli, Epistola ad Titum," cap. 1 *Opera Omnia* [1619], pp. 465–506)?

XIX. Many other things could be adduced to show the impurity of the church of Rome in doctrine as well as in practice, concerning which we read frequent complaints in Bernard, Theodoricus a Niem, Alvarus Pelagius, Petrarch, Nicolaus of Clemangis, Wessel of Groningen, Mantuanus and others who wrote concerning the most corrupt state of that church. The same thing could be confirmed from the most foul permission of brothels which prevails at Rome and the most iniquitous gains collected thence by taxes which are exacted from them and thrown into the treasury of the church, although God of old forbade "to bring the price of a whore, or the price of a dog, into the house of the Lord for any vow: for even both these are abomination unto the Lord thy God" (Dt. 23:18). Not to speak of the innumerable other infamous things and the lusts to be expiated by fire alone which were practiced there with impurity and (dreadful to relate) in published books are extolled with praises, about which the authors above cited are not silent and mention is made in Jurieu, *Histoire du Calvinisme* 1.9* (1683), pp. 147–55. This could also be further proved from the impure moral theology of the Jesuits, who from their doctrines concerning probability, direction of intention, attrition and other similar principles seem entirely agreed on this to extenuate and excuse every wickedness. Thus little cushions are sewn together under the armpits of sins that they may the more easily indulge their disposition and cast themselves headlong into every sin: as has been fully shown in (Pascal) *The Provincial Letters*, in the

censure of Amadeus Guimenius (i.e., Matthaeus de Moya) and Jacques de Vernantius (cf. d'Argentre, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus* [1733–36], 3:106–15) and in other writings published against them. But what has been said ought to be sufficient to prove that the doctrine of the church of Rome in various articles is opposed to piety and good morals.

6. Because she is opposed to freedom by her tyranny.

XX. Sixth, because she is opposed to the liberty which Christ acquired for us, by the cruel tyranny which she introduces and exercises over bodies as well as over souls. This is most foreign to the spirit of Christianity and to the doctrine of Christ, which wishes "faith to persuade and not to command"; whose "weapons are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, and to bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ" (2 Cor. 10:4, 5). The apostles founded and propagated religion not by violence and the sword, but with the light of truth alone and with the strength of an invincible power; not by killing, but by dying; not by employing persecution, but by suffering and bearing the cross after Christ. The primitive Christians also followed this way and the wiser of our opponents have often testified that it should be followed, confessing that "war is not a lawful mode of healing the rents of the church" (as the voluminous de Thou says should be done here and by a demonstration of the truth, by which consciences may be convinced; not by violence, which compels the body; so that we ought to fight with arguments, not with weapons; and error is to be smitten with the sword of the divine mouth, not men to be destroyed with the edge of the sword; cf. "Epistola," *Historiarum sui temporis* [1625], v. 1). But the mind of the Roman church and of the popes is different. Distrusting the goodness of their cause, they supposed that there was no other method more effectual for establishing their tyrannical sway than violence and cruelty, flames and the sword; everywhere stalking about with slaughter and blood and raging with the most dreadful persecutions against believers. This (even if we were silent) is proclaimed too loudly for us to be ignorant of it by the multiple most mournful torments inflicted upon the Albigenses and Waldenses; the more

than Punic perfidy of horrible manglings and the more than beastly barbarities exercised towards believers in France, Calabria, Bohemia, Piedmont, Ireland, Spain, Belgium and various other places; the innumerable most cruel punishments inflicted upon so many thousand saints; and the thousand arts of destruction upon which both formerly and even now in our day (from a hatred of the truth alone and of the religion they profess) the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the Extirpation of Heretics is founded to destroy the genuine disciples of Christ. To this catalogue ought to be referred the sanguinary counsels suggested to princes for the destruction of religion and the savage edicts extorted from them, by which (contrary to the public faith of compacts) privileges once granted and often confirmed are taken away from believers, their temples demolished, congregations scattered, pastors driven into exile or sentenced to death, and the liberty to exercise sacred things and their consciences (far dearer than the most precious things) denied to them. If we add to these the tyranny over the conscience by the imposition of the intolerable yoke of various human traditions and will-worships (*hethelothrēskeiōn*), by the thunders of the most iniquitous anathemas, by the halters thrown around the mind, by the torture of the Spanish Inquisition and innumerable other methods of raging violence, we easily conclude that no sect (not even paganism itself excepted) has ever been more cruel. The celebrated author copiously and accurately proves this (Jurieu, "Histoire du Papisme," Recrimination 1 and 2, in *Histoire du Calvinisme* [1683], pp. 8–281).

7. Because Antichrist sits in her.

XXI. Seventh, Antichrist sits in her, the author of the great apostasy described by the apostle in 2 Thess. 2, who, under the pretext of a vicar, professing himself to be in the place of Christ (*anti christou*), by impiously usurping the authority of the Lord betrays himself to be really Antichrist (*antichriston*), the rival of him and an opposing and self-exalting enemy (*antikeimenon, kai, hyperairomenon*) who, sitting in the temple of God as if he were God, exalts himself above all that is called God (to wit, emperors, kings and princes of the earth, and departed saints in heaven) and shows himself that he is God. That all these criteria of Antichrist can be found in the Roman pope can easily be gathered from a comparison of both, as has

been proved at length in our Disputation 7, "De Necessaria Secessione," *Opera* (1848), 4:147–77.

8. Because she is Babylon.

XXII. Eighth, she is the mystical Babylon, from which the pious are commanded to come out (Rev. 18:4) as a most corrupt society diametrically opposed to the mystical Zion, the true church of Christ, and incompatible (*asystatos*) with it. Both the description of John proves and our opponents themselves do not deny that by Babylon is meant no other than Rome. John's description (Rev. 17) belongs exactly to her alone, especially as to the two marks by which he distinguishes her: that she is a seven-hilled (*eptalophos*) city, who "sitteth on seven mountains" (v. 9); and that she obtains power over the kings of the earth (v. 10). It is evident that she is seven-hilled and in the time of John no other except herself was the mistress of the world, the head of the earth and the queen of nations, who on this account was called by the Greeks "the ruling city" (*basileuousa polis*). Bellarmine acknowledges this: "John everywhere in the Revelation calls Rome Babylon, as Tertullian observed, and is clearly gathered from chapter 17 of the Revelation, where Babylon is said to sit upon seven mountains and to have dominion over the kings of the earth; for no other city than Rome had dominion over the kings of the earth in the time of John and it is most certainly known that she was built upon seven hills" ("De Romano Pontifice," 2.2 *Opera* [1856], 1:367). With him agree Baronius on the year 45 (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, Annus 45.16–19 [1864], 1:297–98), Ribera (*In sacram Beati Johannis ... Apocalipsin Commentarii* [1594], pp. 370, 372 on Rev. 14, par. 27 and 30), Viegas (*Commentarii Exegetici in Apocalypsin* [1608], pp. 770–75 on Rev. 17), Lessius, Gagnae* and not a few others.

XXIII. Nor can they escape by saying that the heathen, not the papal Rome is meant; or that she would relapse to heathenism. For the mere reading of the words proves the contrary and teaches that they are spoken of that Babylon, which in no way agree with pagan Rome, but fitly with papal Rome: as that she would intoxicate and fascinate the nations and kings of the earth with the golden cup of her fornications (Rev. 17:2; 18:3); that they would commit fornication with her, that she would make merchandise and gain of souls (Rev. 18:13); that on her forehead she should wear the name

"Mystery" inscribed (Rev. 17:5); which would become a habitation of demons after her fall (18:2); that the kings of the earth who would commit fornication with her should lament her destruction (18:9); that she would glory in her infallibility and majesty as "a queen, who would see no sorrow" (Rev. 18:7); that she would wear the horns of a lamb and have the mouth of a dragon (13:11); that she would be drunk with the blood of the saints (17:6); in whom would be found the bodies of the prophets of the Lord; and other things of a similar kind which are so plain in themselves as scarcely to need any application, especially if we add that John wondered with great astonishment when he saw her (17:6)—for there was no cause for wonder to see heathen Rome worshipping idols or persecuting the saints. But since he understood that Rome converted to Christ and boasting herself as the mother and mistress of all churches was represented to him in this vision that it at length (nor without reason) excited his wonder—that the seat which they call apostolic should not only become apostate, but would degenerate so greatly from her pristine piety as to stand forth the mother and mistress of all superstitions and harlotries in the Christian world and the cause of persecutions against the holy martyrs of God, and would be the seat of Antichrist himself. Now as old pagan Rome cannot be meant by her, so neither the new (which it is supposed was about to relapse to heathenism under Antichrist, as Lessius and Ribera imagined). This comment is not only unwritten (*agraphon*) (having no foundation in the Scriptures), but also contrary to what is written (*antigraphon*), since Antichrist was to set up his empire in Christianity and to sit in the temple of God. On this account it is rejected by Justiniani, Suarez, Malvenda and others. On the other hand how fitly Rome is designated by Babylon, as much as to pride and haughtiness as to tyranny and cruelty; as to errors and idolatry, impurity and corruption and other similar adjuncts, has been shown elsewhere by us (Disputation 6, "De Necessaria Secessione," *Opera* [1848], 4:125–43). Let this one remark be sufficient now: Since she is such, she cannot be regarded by us as a true church, but as a false and apostate church; from which as our ancestors had the most just causes for seceding, so they are bound from conscientious duty to send her notice and obtain a divorce from her; as many as maintain that Christ should rightly be preferred to Antichrist; a reasonable worship (*logikēn latreian*) in spirit and in truth to an idolatrous and superstitious worship; evangelical and orthodox truth to erroneous and

heretical doctrines; the sacred liberty which Christ purchased for us by his blood to an intolerable tyranny.

Sources of explanation.

XXIV. (1) It is one thing to retain the foundation alone without addition, the whole without subtraction, the pure and untouched without corruption; another to retain it mixed, mutilated and adulterated. The church which retains the foundation in the former sense is a true church, but not that which only in the latter, as the church of Rome, which, although professing to retain the foundation, retains it neither alone (because beside the fundamental heads concerning which we are agreed, very many other articles are added by our opponents as to belief and practice, and are commanded as necessary as to faith and morals under pain of a curse); nor whole because they withdraw various heads; nor pure (because in different ways they corrupt it). But what good is it to retain certain heads of Christianity if others of Antichristianity are added; and to appoint salutary foods if they are mixed with an added poison; to hold certain truths but many more erroneously? (2) It is one thing to retain something of the true church; another to be the true church simply; as it is one thing for the body to have some sound parts, another for the body to be sound simply. The Pharisaic church retained something of the true church in the time of Christ, nor yet on that account was she a true church. The same is the judgment concerning the Arian, Donatist and other factions whose baptism and ordinations the Catholics never repeated.

XXV. It is one thing to retain the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the decalogue, in which the substance of the Christian religion is contained, with a literal faith only, but not with a mental faith; with the mouth and as to words and profession. But it is another to retain with a sincere heart as to meaning and truth. The church of Rome can be said to hold these in the former, not in the latter way (about which she greatly errs in the exposition of these heads). Nor does the consequence hold good from the profession of all the articles of the Apostles' Creed to the truth of the church, not even according to the Romanists, who are unwilling that we should be a true church, although we receive the whole Creed; nor are the Socinians

considered a true church either by the Romanists or by us, although they profess the Creed, because they retain it in words, not in meaning.

XXVI. If some of our divines have said that the fundamentals remain in the papacy, they did not on that account think that the Roman church is a true church in which salvation can be obtained—the contrary of which they maintained with so much zeal, urging secession from her as a thing of the highest necessity for salvation. But thus they wished only to demonstrate the verity of our faith from this—that nothing is believed by us as to articles purely affirmative, which is not equally retained by the Romanists. So that on this account, it is not necessary to trouble ourselves with proving our faith, which is not controverted by our opponents. Although concerning other things they maintain that there is a great difference both in the mode in which these fundamentals are retained by each and in the negative articles in which we differ in all respects (*dis dia pasōn*).

XXVII. The verity of baptism proves indeed that truth of a church with regard to Christianity in general, in opposition to assemblies of unbelievers; but not with regard to Christianity pure and purged from the errors of heretics. For true baptism can be found among heretics who are not the true church; as true circumcision and sacrifices to the one God were consecrated in the church of the ten tribes, which was not on that account a true church. Nor can our opponents deny this. They acknowledge our baptism to be true, yet deny us the name of a true church.

XXVIII. Although the church of Rome was formerly a true church in the time of Paul and in the immediately following ages, it does not follow that she has always been true and is so even now in our day. Since the privilege of infallibility was granted to no particular visible church, it is evident also from a comparison of both churches that the modern has departed from the faith of the old and introduced innumerable capital errors into religion, theoretical as well as practical. These are diametrically opposed to the doctrine delivered by the apostle to the Romans and received and believed by them.

XXIX. Where there is a pure and uncorrupted ministry (at least in the fundamentals), we do not deny there also is the true church. But it does not hold good as to a corrupt and impure ministry, such as we assert the popish ministry to be.

XXX. The exception of ancient possession (which the Romanists obtrude to demonstrate the truth of their church and shun the examination of doctrine) cannot bestow upon them a sufficient title, that the condition of possessor should be pleaded for right. (1) It can prescribe nothing against the truth, nor can the possession of false doctrine render its profession legitimate. A lie is always a lie with however great antiquity it commends itself, and a heresy no matter how old is none the less damnable. Neither can nor ought those things which might be true in civil and positive right, hold equally true as to divine and natural right. For there is one method for earthly property and possession, another for articles of faith and doctrines of religion: in the former there is place for prescription by lasting possession that ownerships may be certain and lawsuits avoided; but not in the latter, in which it is treated of a divine and indispensable right which refers to heavenly truth, and the salvation of souls whatever time may have flowed from the rise of any error, it is always lawful to impugn it. (2) By this exception, all religions and all heresies and superstitions throughout the world would be safe by right itself, after they had remained a long time certain and fixed, all controversy, investigation and examination afterwards concerning them being dismissed. Neither Christ nor the apostles had the right to oppose pagan idolatry and the Gentiles could, with as much right as the Romanists, urge their long-continued possession to show the truth of their religions (as they frequently did according to Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, Minucius, Arnobius). (3) A just title is required in the possession or a just cause of possession; but this is the very question between us and the Romanists (to wit, by what right they hold that power which the popes, cardinals, priests claim for themselves—whether it was given by Christ or by the apostles and where and when). (4) The possession ought to be tranquil in order to found a prescription; otherwise if an injunction and opposition intervenes, the prescription is taken away by that very circumstance. Now who is so ignorant as not to know, who so impudent as to deny that public repeated resistance has been made in both the Eastern and Western worlds to the usurped rights of the pope, to the ecumenical pontificate, to his supreme power over kings and emperors, to the celibacy of the clergy, the worship of images, the invocation of saints, the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist and other similar Roman errors? (5) Since the origin of all lawful possession in the matter of religion is to be

sought in the first institution of it by Christ and the apostles, in vain is the possession through many centuries thrust forth, unless they ascend to the first age and show that it had already prevailed in the time of Christ and the apostles.

XXXI. Although we acknowledge that the pious before the Reformation could have obtained salvation in the church of Rome, it does not follow that that visible church as papal was a true church. Although they remained in her bodily as to seat, still they did not remain in mind as to faith, seceding from it negatively, if not positively. Besides, those times differ from our times; nor if a negative secession was sufficient for them, can it be sufficient for us also in such great light of truth and liberty (as we have already remarked).

XXXII. Although Rome boasts that she is the only true church (like the Jews saying, "the temple of the Lord," Jer. 7:4), it cannot on that account obtain faith from us. No one can be a judge in his own cause. It is one thing falsely and rashly to ascribe something to oneself, another really to possess it. Nor with whatever pigments she may be distinguished to us in deceitful mirrors and covering (which our opponents so anxiously endeavor to do), exhibiting her with a false and useless mask, can she ever be regarded truly as the holy and true spouse of Christ.

Fifteenth Question

Are the evangelical and Reformed churches true churches of Christ? We affirm

Proof that the Reformed church are the true church.

I. Since it is evident from what has been said in the preceding question that the Roman church of this day is not the true church of Christ, it cannot be less clear from the rule of opposites that this title cannot be denied to the Reformed and evangelical churches (which seceded from Rome, in communion with which therefore salvation can certainly be obtained),

whatever our opponents may maintain in their most rash and iniquitous judgments.

II. Nor is it difficult to prove this further from what has been said before concerning the marks of the church. For since it has been shown that it only is a true church in which the pure preaching of the word and the religion instituted by Christ and the apostles obtain, it cannot be denied that our churches are rightly designated by this name, if it is true (as we maintain) that our faith and religion are no other than the faith and religion of Christ and the apostles.

III. That the matter is really so clear appears from an examination of the religion itself. For in whatever manner that is viewed, either as to faith or as to worship or as to government (which three things it is accustomed to embrace), there is nothing in it not founded upon the word of God and which was not instituted and delivered by Christ and the apostles; as can be seen from an examination of particular heads. And this is the primary foundation of our faith, to which we always have and do now appeal. And if anything is taught by us beyond or contrary to the word of God, by that very circumstance our churches should be considered false. But if, on the other hand, it is certain that nothing is delivered by us, whether as to faith or as to morals and worship, inconsistent with the doctrine delivered by Christ and the apostles in the word, no one can doubt that the truth of faith and religion necessarily draws after it the truth of the church professing it. If our opponents wish to deny or call this in question, we must come to an examination of doctrine (which they so zealously decline).

IV. I know that the Romanists carp at various doctrines of ours which they persuade themselves are opposed to truth as well as to piety and on account of which they are wont to brand us with the mark of heresy. But that this is a most unjust accusation can appear clearer than the midday sun from a discussion of the things themselves. From this, it appears (1) that some things are calumniously and most falsely charged against us, from which we are the furthest removed and which we utterly detest: as that we make God the author of sin because we assert his efficacious providence about sin; that we deny the omnipotence of God because we teach that God cannot make the body of Christ to be essentially present in many places at the same time; that we destroy the equality of the divine persons because to the Father we ascribe a preeminence (*hyperochēn*) of divinity, while we

hold that the Son is not *autotheon* ("God from himself"); that we impose from divine providence an absolute and fatal and Stoical necessity upon all things; that we make all sins equal because we maintain that all are mortal and none venial; that we deny the true humanity of Christ, taking from him personality; that we assert that Christ despaired on the cross; that we deny inherent righteousness and recognize no necessity of good works; and other similar things which one who knows our faith and has read our public confessions and symbolical books, cannot but know are most false and by sheer calumny charged against us (as has been shown by us in this whole work as to each head). (2) That others are falsely educed by most false consequences from our true principles; as that the doctrine of predestination (as taught by us) extinguishes in the souls of men all religion and is the mistress either of profaneness or of despair; that we take out of the way the moral law, the necessity of good works being removed; that in calling we make man a trunk and log, as holding himself (according to us) merely passive in the first moment of calling; that in justification we think man is not made just in himself, but remains an unjust and unclean sinner and is reckoned just alone in Christ; that men, however they may sin, ought to be none the less certain of their perseverance; that by our doctrine of the certainty of salvation and righteousness incapable of being lost, we corrupt the idea of true perseverance, abrogate the use of all fear and destroy the nature of the Christian virtues; and many other things of this kind which, if anyone will more attentively examine, he will find to be most foreign to our doctrine rightly understood, and which can be deduced only by violent and contorted consequences against the nature of the things themselves (as has been proved by us in the appropriate places). Or (3) that things which are in themselves most true and consistent with the word of God, have most unjustly been accused of falsity: such as what is taught by us against the invocation of saints and the worship of images; against purgatory and human satisfactions; transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass; the primacy of the pope and other things with which we fight against papal errors. Or (4) that the harsher words of certain writers and the private opinions of teachers never received by the church are obtruded as its public and uniform faith.

V. These things will shine forth more clearly, if we mentally conceive the true and genuine idea of our religion, as opposed to the false and fallacious

which our opponents through sheer calumny or ignorance and blind prejudice are wont to invent to traduce it, not only as absurd and a mere skeleton without moisture and unction, destitute of all ornaments; but also as impious and impure, worthy of the hatred and indignation of all; while nevertheless nothing can be conceived more sacred and pure, nothing more worthy of the love and veneration of men. Our religion is that which is wholly occupied with knowing the one and triune God, the Creator, preserver and Redeemer, and rightly worshipping him according to his command. It gives the entire glory of our salvation to God alone and writes against man alone the true cause of his sin and destruction. It is our religion which recognizes no other rule of faith and practice besides the sacred Scriptures; no other Mediator and head of the church than Christ; no other propitiatory sacrifice than his death; no other purgatory than his blood; no other merit than his obedience; no other intercession than his prayers. It is our religion which teaches that God alone is to be adored and invoked and does not allow the glory and the religious worship due to him to be transferred to creatures. It is our religion which depresses man as much as possible by taking away from him all presumption of his own strength and merits; and raises him to the highest point by preaching that the grace and mercy of God is the one only cause of salvation, both as to acquisition and as to application. It is our religion which proclaims war against all vices, recommends all virtues and presses the necessity of holiness and good works unto salvation; places piety and worship, not in bodily exercises, which are of little advantage (for instance the distinction of food, the observance of festivals, fasts, pilgrimages, flagellations and other external ceremonies and will-worships [*ethelothrēskeiais*], which God has nowhere enjoined), but in worship in spirit and in truth, consisting in a pure heart, a good conscience, faith unfeigned, love and the practice of good works. It is our religion which brings solid peace and consolation to the soul of the believer in life and in death by the true confidence which it orders him to place, not in the uncertainty and vanity of his own righteousness or human satisfactions, but in the sole mercy of God and most perfect righteousness of Christ, which, applied to the heart by faith, takes away doubt and distrust and ingenerates a vivid persuasion of salvation after this life. It is our religion which not only does not forbid the reading of the sacred Scriptures as dangerous, but commands it as most useful and highly necessary; which

does not wish sacred things to be gone through with a foreign tongue by which the wretched people do not understand God speaking and are held in ignorance the furthest removed from the mysteries; but commends the use of the common tongue known to all that she may consult for the edification and instruction of all. It is our religion which imposes upon all the obedience due to superior powers and thinks that not without great wickedness and sacrilegious audacity can any moral person arrogate to himself the power of deposing kings and absolving subjects from their oath of fidelity. It is our religion which, content with the two sacraments instituted by Christ (baptism and the Supper), rejects all others as the inventions of human genius. It recognizes the true, spiritual and sole saving presence of Christ in the Supper and cannot admit the bodily and Capernaitic presence by which God is believed to be not only made by man but also to be eaten, as opposed to sense, reason and faith and full of ten thousand contradictions. Now what falsity or impiety can be discovered in all these things? On the other hand what can be found which does not breathe truth and sincerity and agree with the word of God and the spirit of Christianity? Can there be anyone so shameless as to dare to say that those who truly believe and sincerely observe such things ought to be consigned to eternal flames and condemned without the hope of salvation?

VI. If one would be pleased to institute a parallelism of the Roman religion with ours, it could easily be gathered which is the more holy and worthier of the desire and veneration of men and which the more impure and shameless. The Roman, which transfers the worship due to the Creator alone (God blessed forever) to creatures and orders rational man to prostrate himself before mute and inanimate pictures and statues? Or ours, which orders the ever living and true God alone to be adored and worshipped? The Roman, which divides the glory of our redemption, conversion and salvation between God and man; or ours, which ascribes it solely to God? The Roman, which acknowledges and venerates a weak man, a sinner and a mortal, as head of the church and as the supreme judge of controversies and of consciences; or ours, which subjects neither the mystical body of Christ, nor its individual members to another than Christ alone, the consubstantial (*homoousiō*) Son of the blessed God? The Roman, which still seeks Christ on earth under the species of a perishable thing against the testimony of the senses, reason and Scripture; or ours, which seeks him only in heaven

sitting on the throne of the Father and uses the sacrament, not for creating, but honoring Christ; not for sending his body into our hearts, but for raising our hearts to him? The Roman, which, in order the more easily to reign in darkness, places the candle under a bushel, prohibiting the reading of the Scripture and testament of our Father, enjoining the use of a foreign tongue in sacred things, and maintains that faith should be defined by ignorance and blind obedience rather than by science and knowledge? Or ours, which exhorts all to read and study the Scriptures, commends itself by a manifestation of the truth and places faith in the knowledge of sacred mysteries? The Roman, which equates human traditions with the word of God, corrupts the precepts of the law and mutilates the sacrament in one of its parts? Or ours, which, content with the divinely inspired (*theopneustō*) word of God, suffers nothing to be added to or taken away from it. From these (not to mention others) everyone sees what is to be judged concerning the truth or falsity of each religion and church.

VII. But to come into closer quarters with our opponents, from their confession we gather the truth of our religion and church. For since we believe nothing as to articles merely affirmative (which contain things to be believed, whether as to faith or as to morals and worship, which they themselves do not profess to believe with us as most true), they ought to confess either that our faith is true or that theirs, which they hold in common with us, is false. It is confirmed from this—that our whole controversy with the Romanists is not about these affirmative articles, which the Catholic church in all ages has constantly taught and Rome herself also now receives and professes; but about negative and exclusive articles which she thrusts forth to us as necessary to be believed—we, however, constantly reject them as false and erroneous. For example, the question between us is not whether the Scripture is the divinely inspired (*theopneuston*) word of God, the rule of faith and practice (which is our belief and which they themselves also admit); but whether besides the Scriptures there are unwritten (*agraphoi*) traditions to be received with equal affection of piety and reverence as a rule of faith (which they maintain and we deny). It is not disputed whether Christ is our Mediator with God and his death a propitiatory (*hilastikon*) sacrifice for our sins (which is confessed on both sides); but whether besides Christ there are other mediators, whether of redemption or of intercession, and whether

besides the sacrifice of the cross, any other truly propitiatory sacrifice must be admitted (which they hold and we reject). It is not controverted whether God is to be worshipped and adored (concerning which we both agree); but whether besides God we lawfully may and ought to worship and invoke creatures. The question is not whether Christ is the head of the church (which is asserted on both sides); but whether besides Christ the pope is also a secondary head (which is their error, to which we are opposed). Finally, not to mention more heads, it is not disputed whether we are justified by faith apprehending the merit of Christ (which we hold with the Scriptures); but whether we are justified also by works (which they urge and we repudiate). Since it thus plainly appears that these heads of our faith do not come into controversy with our opponents, it cannot be denied that our religion, which is contained in these heads, is true and, consequently, the church which professes it is true. Nor can it be said that its falsity is gathered as to the negative articles because we are unwilling to receive and believe whatever they obtrude upon us to be believed. It is one thing not to believe whatever is imposed to be believed; another to believe what is false. The former the Romanists can reproach us with, but not the latter. Nor can the want of that faith be turned against us as a fault, unless it can be shown beforehand that such articles (obtruded for our belief) are necessary and delivered in the Scriptures (which they will never be able to do).

Sources of explanation. (1) The crime of schism.

VIII. However, because they endeavor by various prejudices to overthrow the truth of our religion and church, their worthlessness must be shown briefly. The first is the crime of schism—that we seceded from the church of Rome and thus have been separated from the true church. But various replies can be given. (a) Every secession is not evil and schismatical, but only that which is made rashly and unjustly. Since this cannot be said of ours (which had the most weighty and highly necessary causes), schism cannot be charged upon us (as has been proved by us elsewhere, Disputation 1, "De Necessaria Secessione," *Opera* [1848], 4:3–27). (b) It is gratuitously supposed that to secede from the church of Rome and to secede from the true church are the same thing. Yet they differ greatly from each other. We seceded indeed from the Roman and papal church, but we did not

on that account secede from the true church of Christ; nay, for this reason we left the Roman communion—that we might retain the communion of Christ, with which that was incompatible (*asystatos*). (c) Since the privilege of infallibility was granted neither to Rome, nor to any particular visible church (as we have already proved), no one can pretend that secession from her communion is unjust, unless she has shown beforehand that the truth of doctrine is with her. For if it is true that some church is heretical or idolatrous, who can doubt that the believer ought necessarily to secede from her if he wishes to provide for his salvation (as he is altogether bound indispensably)? For I do not think anyone in his senses would wish to adopt that crude and impious paradox of the author of the book *de praejudi*. cap. 7+ (to wit, "One ought never to secede from the church of Rome; nay, even though she should be heretical and idolatrous"), as if heresy and idolatry were not incompatible (*asystatoi*) with salvation and Paul had falsely said there was no fellowship of Christ with Belial, of light with darkness, of the temple of God with idols, and that idolators would be excluded from the kingdom of heaven.

2. The newness of the Reformation.

IX. (2) The newness of the Reformation is urged as showing the newness of the religion. But religion is here falsely confounded with the Reformation. Religion is the body of doctrine delivered by Christ containing whatever is either to be believed or done by us for salvation. Reformation is nothing else than the purging of the errors and corruptions brought by the papacy into the doctrine of faith and practice delivered by Christ. The Reformation is indeed new (i.e., recently made, as supposing the preceding state of the church to have been corrupt), but not on this account by this Reformation was a new religion or church instituted which had not existed before; rather that which existed already was made better by the ancient rule (to wit, the word of God). But it is not a new thing for the truth to be accused of novelty and for a lie to hold up before itself a sacred and venerable antiquity. The Jews objected this newness against Christ and boasted that they were the lovers and followers of antiquity (Mk. 7:5; Mt. 15:2). The Gentiles, under the pretext of newness, brought the first Christians into hatred and no less proudly than falsely displayed the monuments of their own antiquity. But as

Christ beat down the falsity of this charge by citing the Scriptures which gave testimony concerning him (Jn. 5:39) and confirmed the doctrine delivered by him (as the Christians defended themselves against the Gentiles with the same weapons), so the same method ought to avail to clear us and remove the charge urged. We demand that the antiquity not of persons, but of doctrine should be considered (which we maintain stands rightly with us).

3. Defect of calling and mission.

X. (3) Another prejudice is the defect of our calling and mission, that we are self-called (*autoklētoi*), having no authority or right to reform the church, and on this account are to be condemned even unheard. But (a) this is gratuitously supposed, not proved. For we assert that neither did our Reformers lack a lawful call, nor do we lack it (as will be demonstrated when we discuss the calling of pastors). (b) It is again falsely supposed that an ordinary call is always necessary for the exercise of the ministry and the reformation of the church because there is one rule for the church instituted and to be conserved, another for it to be restored and reformed. As in a well-ordered state, it is not lawful for anyone to rise against the ordinary commanders-in-chief and if anyone should attempt it, he would be guilty of sedition and treason; but if that should take place in a disturbed state for the purpose of averting any treachery excited against the king and kingdom, it would not now be considered a crime worthy of punishment, but an action heroic and deserving praise. Thus if anyone in contempt of the order well established in the church, should wish to invade the sacred office without a call (which was done by the Anabaptists and similar disturbers), he would be deservedly condemned. But when the ministry itself is corrupt, when all things are disturbed in the church and the most immediate danger of destruction threatens, if anyone should wish to provide for his own and his neighbor's salvation, he would not need a peculiar call, nor would he want any other authority than zeal for the glory of God and a desire for his own salvation (to procure which each one is bound from a general call). Now we contend that this was the state of the church of Rome and we are prepared to prove it from the highest corruption of religion which prevailed in it. If we assert that falsely, we must be considered guilty of rashness and

insolence. But if it has been proved to be so, who can blame us if we wished in time to provide for our salvation by the rejection of falsehood and error and the public profession of the truth? (c) They most unjustly maintain that we (even unheard) can be condemned from a defect of mission, since the laws themselves constantly forbid this. Hence Nicodemus: "Doth our law," said he, "judge any man, before it hear him, and know what he doeth?" (Jn. 7:51). For how without the greatest rashness can that be condemned which is not known? And how can that be known which is not examined? Besides, since the truth conciliates a hearing for itself by whomsoever it is brought to us, if our doctrine is true, we are to be heard although we might not have an external mission; but if it is false, although we might have a mission, we should be detested and not heard and on this account the more that the mission is to be proved from the doctrine and not the doctrine from the mission.

4. Disagreements.

XI. (4) Disagreements are a prejudice under which the evangelical churches labor. But they cannot hinder them from retaining the name of true church, because they agree as to the foundation. And if any differences exist (which God wished to permit in order to prove our faith), they are about articles less necessary, in which there can be a disagreement without touching the essence of saving religion: as the apostolic churches formerly had their differences and stains, as is evident from the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline epistles; nor were the eastern and western churches, the Latin and the Greek, the African and Italian churches free from them, which did not on that account cease to be true churches. Again, the contentions and differences of the evangelicals are far less than those which are agitated among the Romanists, who, as was seen before, frequently charge each other with heresy. Nor do we notice here the more rigid judgments of some of those who take their name from the great Luther, who, carried away by sinister prejudices, are accustomed to attack us. For however harshly they may have treated us, we do not cease to honor them with brotherly affection. And if, their prejudices and private affections being laid aside, they would seriously examine the thing itself by the law of love, truth and Christian prudence, they would not be so much averse to a pious syncretism

and reconciliation with us, or at least a mutual toleration, to which not a few of the more moderate among them are not indisposed.

5. The life of the Reformers.

XII. (5) The fifth prejudice is the life of the Reformers which, since it was defiled with so many vices, no one could readily believe that God willed to use such instruments for the accomplishment of so great a work. But many things demonstrate the falsehood of this prejudice. (a) It is supposed that the truth of religion depends upon the life and practice of pastors; while it is to be measured not from the life of sinful men (who are nothing else than instruments which God uses), but from the revelation and truth of God alone, its author. (b) By the same prejudice the Pharisees and Sadducees of old endeavored to overthrow Christ and his doctrine, accusing him of blasphemy, sedition, imposture, gluttony and diabolical arts. Nor was there any other way of dealing with the apostles and most pious servants of God, to whom for us to be similar in this respect, ought to be not only not disgraceful, but glorious. (c) Although we believe our Reformers were neither infallible nor incapable of sinning, but men of like passions (*homoiopatheis*) with others (to whom nothing human was foreign) and not without their stains and faults, still that they were the furthest removed from the crimes charged against them, their remarkable piety and the noted integrity of their lives and morals and the rare virtues by which they recommended themselves and obtained a testimony from their very opponents sufficiently declares. And these most offensive calumnies have been so often refuted and convicted of falsehood that they must have lost all shame who do not blush to bring them forward still. See the defenses of our divines for Zwingli, Luther, (Peter) Martyr, Calvin and Beza; by Rivet, Dumoulin, Drelincourt and others; and above the rest, the reply recently published, in which the author accurately pursues this argument (Jurieu, *Histoire du Calvinisme* 1.3, 4, 8, 15ff. [1683], pp. 74–95, 133–47, 199ff.). (d) If we were disposed to recriminate, with how much better right and more truly might vices and crimes be charged against them, with which the Roman court abounded at the time of the Reformation, whose most corrupt state many of the Romanists graphically describe (as has been seen

already), on account of which reformation was sought with so great zeal so often in the head as well as in the members by emperors and kings?

6. Violence.

XIII. (6) It is a calumny concerning the violence and cruelty which is charged upon our religion, as if it was established with the sword and blood and by force of arms, holy wars on that account being stirred up. Hence the most evil-speaking Maimbourg, struck with an insane fury, in the very beginning of his *Histoire du Calvinisme* (1682), written not so much with ink as with blood, most impotently rages against it and labors insatiably upon this one thing—to hold up to the ridicule of the world by the most unblushing falsehoods and base calumnies, not only the pious souls of the saints and those well deserving of the church of God, but especially exposes for the hatred and execration of all, the doctrine itself built upon the one only foundation both of the prophets and apostles, as the pregnant mother of impiety, disturbances and controversy, when he says that Calvinism renewed "whatever of fury and madness, rebellion, perfidy, avarice, ambition, cruelty and the most savage passions had inspired the most wicked persons formerly, in order to establish itself with the sword and fire." But that nothing is more false than this most atrocious falsehood, the thing itself exclaims, nor can they be ignorant who know the history of the period in which the Reformation took place. The religion of Christ is always like itself; its weapons are not carnal, but powerful through God to the destruction of strongholds and reasonings (which are raised against the knowledge of God) and to bring every thought captive into obedience to Christ (2 Cor. 10:4). As from the beginning, it was founded not with arms, but by the preaching of the word alone and by the blood of the apostles and the sufferings of the martyrs, so in no other way was it restored to its pristine splendor; not by an arm of flesh but by the arm of the Lord and the invincible scepter of the gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believes. As the church was founded with blood, so it has increased with blood by bearing, not inflicting, injuries. "The armor of the church is faith; the armor of the church is prayer, which overcomes the adversary," says Ambrose (*Concerning Widows* 8.49 [NPNF2, 10:399; PL 16.263]). If any movements were made or wars excited by this occasion,

they are to be ascribed not to religion (which persuades quite the opposite), but to the fury and cruelty of our adversaries, who endeavored to destroy by fire and the sword. Nor ought the civil wars often waged by princes for their own sakes (although under the pretext of religion) to be forthwith imputed to religion. See Jurieu, *Histoire du Calvinisme*, Pt. 2 (1683), pp. 271–557, where the author, tracing the history of the Reformation in Switzerland as well as in England, Scotland, France, Belgium and other places, most clearly demonstrates that it was furthest removed from the violence and cruelty ascribed to it; but that this might with the highest justice be retorted against the papacy, whose dreadful savageness and cruelty he proves by the most convincing arguments ("Histoire du Papisme," in *Histoire du Calvinisme*, Pt. 3 [1683]).

7. Confusion.

XIV. (7) It is a calumny concerning the confusion and manifold disorders (*ataxia*) which are said to have sprung up in the world out of the Reformation. But neither ought this most false accusation to move us. Thus Elijah of old was accused of being a disturber of Israel (1 K. 18:17). And to the first Christians were imputed all the evils and calamities which happened to the Roman Empire. But as Elijah did not disturb Israel, nor was Christianity the cause of the miseries of the Empire, so neither can our religion (which agrees with that purer Christianity) be called the cause of the confusion which reigns in the world. It breathes nothing but peace and concord; believes that nothing is more dangerous and more to be avoided than confusion and anarchy; commends nothing more efficaciously than good order (*eutaxian*) and good laws. And if any confusion has arisen by its cause, it does not follow per se from its doctrine, but accidentally only on account of the contumacy and rebellion of men who, not able to bear that light, have endeavored to extinguish it in every way. Just as Christ professes, "I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword and fire" (Mt. 10:34).

8. Independency.

XV. (8) Next is the calumny concerning independency, in the church as well as in the state, which causes us to recognize no authority in the church and to be hostile to superior powers. But nothing could be said more unjustly and be more foreign to our religion. For who, that has saluted it even from the threshold, can be ignorant of how little it favors independency; with how great zeal it strives against it that all things may be done decently and in order (*kata taxin*) in the church by the institution of legitimate authority and government? Nor is it unknown that among the principal heads of our faith is numbered the obedience due to the superior powers, whom we are bound to obey not only on account of wrath, but also on account of conscience. Thus it wishes these two things to be always connected by an indissoluble bond: "To fear God and to honor the king; to render to Caesar the things which are Caesar's and to God the things which are God's." We leave independency to those who withdraw themselves from the jurisdiction of the magistrate and think they are raised so far above kings that their crowns depend upon them, which they can confer or take away at pleasure.

9. Fanaticism and libertinism.

XVI. (9) To the calumny concerning fanaticism and libertinism which the opponents wish to be the offspring of our Reformation because we have shaken off the yoke of the pope and bring in a private spirit. But that our Reformation has nothing in common with sectaries of this kind, the thing itself (even if we were still) would clearly prove. So that in truth nothing is more opposed to fanaticism and libertinism than the spirit of the Reformation, which does not urge anything more strongly than the desire of holiness and the well-settled method of living according to the word of God. And it opposes nothing more than that furious and fanatical sect of impure men and projectors of all lust. Who fought against them more powerfully than our Calvin? Who disclosed more clearly the impiety and impurity of its doctrines? And since it is the primary foundation of our faith to adhere to Scripture alone, all secret and immediate inspirations and revelations being disregarded, who does not see how alien it is to fanaticism, which continually boasts of its new revelations and inspirations? Nor, if we wish each believer with the spirit of discretion to be able to judge of a proposed doctrine according to the rule of the word, do we on that

account introduce a private and fanatical spirit. Nor if we shook off the tyrannical yoke of the papacy did we wish to remove the believer from every yoke that he might rush headlong into all crimes; but our intention was thus the more rightly to place him under the law of Christ and his easy yoke. But what they rashly and falsely charge upon our Reformation, that we most truly and justly retort against the church of Rome, who as if it were the throne and empire of fanaticism, all fanatics have come out of her bosom (where every day they recur to new inspirations and visions, if any new doctrine or worship is to be instituted or miracle to be confirmed or a religious order to be established). This is evident even from the founders of orders ([St.] Dominic, [St.] Francis, Ignatius and others, who continually boast of revelations and visions to conciliate belief in themselves), as has been demonstrated fully by Stillingfleet (*A Discourse Concerning the Idolatry Practiced in the Church of Rome* [1676], Question 1, *passim*) and by Jurieu (*Histoire du Calvinisme*, Pt. 1.6 [1683], pp. 106–20).

Sixteenth Question: The Government of the Church

Should the government of the church be monarchical? We deny against the Romanists

I. Thus far we have disputed concerning the church considered as much with regard to internal state as with regard to external. Now the third part of the treatise follows concerning its government. The first question, on which almost all depend, concerns the nature of this government, and on this account it is deservedly placed among the principal questions. Thus Bellarmine says, "It treats of the sum of Christianity" (Praefatio, "De Summo Pontifice," *Opera* [1856], 1:305). We, condensing into a small space what others have discussed more at length, will elucidate the whole matter as briefly as we can.

Statement of the question.

II. On the statement of the question, it must be observed: (1) it is not controverted whether any government should be established in the church; for God is a God of order, not of confusion, nor can order be preserved

without government; hence the names of family, city, body and fold are ascribed to it, which cannot be well ordered without some government. Rather the question is what that is and what is its nature: monarchical or aristocratic.

III. (2) The question is not whether in the church any monarchy may have a place to which all men should submit from the necessity of salvation. For this no one denies to be proper to Christ, who was constituted by God the head and supreme King of his church, who governs it monarchically (*monarchikōs*), who therefore is everywhere distinguished by the titles of head, spouse and King, wearing written upon his thigh, "King of kings and Lord of lords" (Rev. 19:16). Rather the question is whether besides Christ another head and another monarch is to be acknowledged among the rulers of the church, to whom all are to be in subjection. This our opponents hold; we deny.

Proof that the government of the church is not monarchical: (1) from Lk. 22:25, 26.

IV. The reasons are: (1) Christ absolutely prohibited all sovereignty in the church (Lk. 22:25, 26). For since the disciples had contended among themselves concerning the primacy, he checked their ambition by these words: "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve." And Peter: "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly … Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock" (1 Pet. 5:2, 3*). In both passages, domination in the church is prohibited and only ministry and service (*diakonia*) are left.

V. (2) Nor can it be said (a) that in Luke "absolute monarchy and domination is not interdicted, but only its mode, which is not similar to political domination, or the tyranny of the kings of the Gentiles." (i) The apostles were not contending with each other about the mode of superiority, but about superiority itself. Hence the answer of Christ ought absolutely to proscribe all domination in order to be an answer to their question. (ii) If he

had wished to prohibit only a certain mode of domination, he would not have taken away ambition, which he wishes to remove far from them, since indeed other primacies also feed ambition. (iii) The phrase "not so" implies a simple and absolute negation according to the usage of Scripture (Pss. 1:4; 147:20; Mt. 19:8), which is expressed in Mt. 20:26 and Mk. 10:43 by "it shall not be so among you" (*ouk outōs estai en hymin*). (iv) If Christ had already given or was about to give domination and the primacy to Peter, why did he not inform the apostles of it? Why does he not say that it was their duty to subject themselves to him? This ought to have been said in this place in order to settle that contention easily. (v) The service (*diakonia*) which he ascribes to them is incompatible (*asystatos*) with monarchy.

VI. (b) No better is it added that he here treats "of a violent domination, which is designated by the word *katakyrieuein* and *katexousiazein*." (i) Although sometimes the word is put for a violent domination, this is done by reason of the subject treated, not from the force of the word, which elsewhere expresses simple domination (Gen. 1:28; Pss. 72:8; 110:2). (ii) Again Luke uses the simple verbs *kurieuein* and *exousiazein*. (iii) The apostles were not disputing about violent domination; therefore there was no necessity for Christ to speak about it. (c) Nor does what is added amount to anything: "that Christ does not interdict all primacy, because he adds, he that is greatest among you." He speaks not of true greatness as to the thing, but of an imaginary greatness as to striving and desire. Matthew and Mark explain this by these words: "he who wishes to be first among you." Or it is to be understood of the primacy of order, not of jurisdiction and domination. (d) Nor does the example of Christ afford them any help here when he says, "I am among you as he that serveth" (Lk. 22:27), who nevertheless had a true dominion. It is not argued from equality, but from the greater to the lesser. If I, who am Lord, still am among you as a servant, how much more just is it that you who are servants and have no jurisdiction over one another should be humble and remove from yourselves all thought of primacy and domination? It is gathered from Jn. 13:14 that Christ is to be understood in no other way where he prescribes humility in like manner to them: "If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet."

2. From Mt. 23:8–11.

VII. Second, Christ proscribes the same absolute and autocratic (*autokritikēn*) authority: "Be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren. And call no man your father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters: for one is your Master, even Christ. But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant" (Mt. 23:8–11). Here it is clear that Christ interdicts to his disciples all names of superiority and authority which the Pharisees arrogated to themselves. Not that he absolutely and simply condemns the names of teacher, father and master, which in a sound sense can be given to true pastors (as by the apostle teachers are enumerated among the ecclesiastical officers [Eph. 4:11] and he calls himself the father of the Corinthians because he had begotten them in Christ through the gospel [1 Cor. 4:15]); but relatively, as to the matter of title (to wit, mastership and authority from which it is permitted no one to appeal, but in which all ought to acquiesce, Gal. 1:8), as the rabbis and teachers among the Jews ascribed those names to themselves and wished them to be ascribed to them that they might be as it were teachers in a school, fathers in a family and masters in the house, who at pleasure might prescribe to believers laws and mandates in the church to be obeyed absolutely and without examination. That the words of Christ are to be so understood is evident from the two reasons added by him. The first is drawn from the condition of believers, who, since they are brethren, are equal among themselves, so that no one should assume authority and jurisdiction over another—"for ye are brethren." The other from Christ. Since such authority belongs to him alone, it can or ought to be communicated to no one on earth. Hence it is invincibly gathered that the unity of the church on earth is falsely made to consist in adhesion to a certain visible head, uniting the whole body in itself. For Christ wished it to be joined together in himself alone, who is the one only teacher, father and master, under whose authority the whole church is united as his school, family and kingdom. And this is to invade the rights of Christ, to wish to constitute the mode of union of the church in the authority of a mortal man (who is the teacher, father and master of the church) and to set up his seat as the infallible rule and arbiter of decisions (as our opponents maintain).

3. From 2 Cor. 1:24 and 1 Pet. 5:3.

VIII. Third, the apostles remove all domination from ministers (a) expressly, when they deny that they have dominion over the faith of Christians: "Not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy" (2 Cor. 1:24). They prohibit this dominion to pastors: "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock" (1 Pet. 5:3), i.e., over the Christian people, which is the patrimony or inheritance of God (as was said of the people of Israel, Dt. 4:20; 9:29), because this is proper to Christ, the Chief Shepherd (*archipoimenos*), the sole prince of pastors. (b) Implicitly and equivalently when they designate pastors by those names which denote care and ministry, but not dominion or empire; while they call them ministers, servants of God, ambassadors, messengers, dispensers and overseers of the mysteries of God, to teach that they ought not to claim for themselves dominion over the conscience, but only that they should cause Christ to reign, the sole Prince and monarch of the church. "We preach not ourselves," says Paul (2 Cor. 4:5), "but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake." Now from all these passages taken together an invincible argument is drawn. For if God had wished to erect a visible monarchy in the church, is it credible that he would so often and so expressly have interdicted all domination to pastors? Would he not somewhere have clearly and expressly proclaimed that monarchy that there might be no room for doubt or error in so momentous a matter? Nevertheless that he has not done so in those passages where this was most especially to have been done will appear from the following argument.

4. From the silence of Paul concerning the monarchy of the church.

IX. Fourth, if Christ had constituted in the church any monarchy or ecumenical pontiff, Paul ought to have made some mention of it in those passages where he enumerates the orders and ecclesiastical offices instituted by Christ because this was of the most importance. Otherwise if he had passed over this in silence, it arose either from ignorance because he did not know it (and who would say this of the divinely inspired [*theopneustois*]

apostles?) or from negligence or malice because he was unwilling. But this would be to convict him of bad faith and dishonest embassage (*parapresbeias*) on account of his office not fulfilled. But that Paul is entirely silent with respect to it is evident from the noted passage Eph. 4:11, where recounting the various orders of ecclesiastical offices both ordinary and extraordinary, as to the latter he indeed mentions apostles, evangelists and prophets; as to the former, pastors and teachers; but concerning a monarch and ecumenical pontiff of the church, he maintains a deep silence (cf. also 1 Cor. 12:28, 29, where the same enumeration is made). Nor does he escape who says with Bellarmine that Paul does mention this when he says, "Christ gave some apostles, since the highest power was given not only to Peter, but also to the other apostles; to Peter as an ordinary pastor, who would have successors, to the others however as delegates, who would not be succeeded" ("De Romano Pontifice," 1.9 *Opera* [1856], 1:328). For when it is disputed concerning the ecumenical pontiff, it is not treated simply concerning infallible authority in the church (which no one can deny was in each and every one of the apostles), but concerning one only, who so obtains that authority as to admit no colleague, and who is (as they say) the center, principle and root of unity. And yet the apostle speaks of all in the plural when he says, "he gave apostles"; not concerning any one individual in whom the plurality is reduced to a visible unity. Besides, the apostolic office was temporary and extraordinary (which ought to cease), not ordinary and perpetual.

5. From this: that Christ is the head and King of the church.

X. Fifth, Christ is the sole monarch, head and spouse of the church, with whom he promises to be always even unto the end of the world (Mt. 28:20). But this is incompatible (*asystaton*) with a vicar, who supplies the place only of an absent or impotent person. Otherwise a monarch would not be alone (*monos*) and the body would have two heads and the spouse would admit one who shares his bed (which is not to be endured). It is confirmed from this—that Paul founds the quality of head (which Christ obtains with respect to the church) in the relation of Savior when he says, "Christ is the

head of the church: and he is the savior of the body" (Eph. 5:23). Thus no one can be the head who is not also the Savior. Hence he adds, "Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it." Thus he condemns all those who, divided into parties among themselves, claimed either Peter or Paul or Apollos as their head saying, "I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; … Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?" (1 Cor. 1:12, 13*), i.e., as Christ is one, not divided into many, so the members of the church ought not to be split up under this or that minister, but to coalesce in one under Christ, who alone was crucified for believers and in whose name we were baptized. And indeed as the body is one and the Spirit one, so there ought to be only one head; especially since Christ is the head of the church in the manner in which the husband is the head of his wife, who does not allow of a vicar in the marital office. "Truly one and the only head," says Basil (*hē mia kai monē halēthōs kephalē, Ascetical Works* [FC 9:41; PG 31.660]). And Gregory I: "One King, one Monarch, one sole Head" (*Epist*. 36. lib. 4+). And since it belongs to the head to pour life into the whole mystical body, everyone sees that this belongs to Christ alone. In vain is the head distinguished as to internal power which is proper to Christ alone, and as to external direction which is proper to the pope. For the pope claims also for himself internal power, prescribing laws binding the conscience, and Christ rightly holds both.

XI. Nor can we allow here the distinction of the head into first and principal, and secondary and ministerial. It involves a contradiction to speak of a secondary head, since a head of itself denotes that which is first and supreme. Again it is monstrous to ascribe a double head to one body. Nor do the examples of regents, who are constituted by a king as rulers of provinces, prove this. However great authority may be given to them, still no one can without criminality use either the name of king or head of the kingdom under the king. Nor if the names of pastor, bishop, apostle, prophet are rightly assigned both to Christ and to ministers does it follow that the name of head also can belong to both, because the former denote only service (which belongs to servants), but the latter supreme dignity and authority (which is proper and peculiar to the Lord alone). They are ambassadors, not vicars; ministers, not lords; instruments, not heads. Ministers can perform the functions of pastor in preaching and remitting

sins; but of supreme king, never. As the best man never attempts the office of the husband as he is a husband—otherwise he would involve himself in adultery should he attempt it; so believers are friendly ministers and servants of the husband who ought to prepare the church as a bride for Christ, the only husband, and moreover are inflamed with a sacred zeal for God (2 Cor. 11:2). But they cannot without guilt and sacrilege claim that bride for themselves and proclaim themselves her husbands and heads. Hence it is evident how blasphemously Bellarmine says, "And indeed if the church which is on earth, even Christ being removed from it, is not unfitly compared to a bride, Christ also being shut out, she ought to have one head" ("De Romano Pontifice," 1.9 *Opera* [1856], 1:328).

6. From absurdities.

XII. Sixth, if besides Christ any other head of the church should be granted, therefore the church would be called the body of another than Christ from the perpetual relation between the head and body. But this is unheard of in the Scripture, which everywhere says that the church is the body of Christ, as it calls Christ its head (Eph. 1:22; 4:11, 12; 5:23; Col. 1:18). But it nowhere calls the church the body of the pope. Nor can the distinction into principal and ministerial heads remove this difficulty. Besides being false and inconsistent (*asystatos*) (as we have already said) and repugnant, namely, to the analogy of the human body from which the metaphor is taken; it is also useless. For the difference between principal and not principal does not prevent the reciprocation in its own genus of each thing from being acknowledged. Now how could he be called the head of the church who can be a reprobate and heretic and so not even a member of the church?

7. From an impossibility.

XIII. Seventh, it is impossible for a church dispersed through the whole world to be governed by one mortal man who can neither be in all places, nor see and know for himself all things which are done everywhere; but must depend upon the report of others who can deceive him. If twelve apostles were necessary in planting the church, how will one (not an

apostle) be capable of governing and ruling the church already planted? And if a universal monarch was never and can never be granted (as the sounder politicians acknowledge), how much less an ecumenical episcopate who can autocratically (*autokratorikōs*) preside over all particular churches? For ecclesiastical government is not compulsory, nor can it as political be delegated to vicars, because the service is a personal work which each one is bound to perform by himself and cannot delegate to others in his place. Whoever dispenses to others the word and sacraments ought to do it as a minister of Christ and in his name alone, not as the substitute for another man. And even more on account of this—that according to the canonists a vicar cannot appoint a vicar.

XIV. Neither the promise of Christ (not to desert the church) is to be obtruded here, nor his prayer for Peter that his faith might not fail. Because it cannot thence be proved that any promise of this kind was ever made by God to any seat which asserts it to be sufficient to govern all the churches of the whole world. Thus if he promises to build the church upon Peter, etc., neither does that church signify any one seat, nor does the being built upon Peter mean the same thing as to be sufficient to govern all churches. Now although we confess that the government of the church does not rest upon human prudence and strength, but that suitable power is given by God to those who are called to it, still it is certain that this power is limited, not immense; not peculiar to one alone, but common to many. For Christ is the only one to whom God gives the Spirit without measure (*hametrōs*), so that individuals may draw from his fulness grace for grace. Hence it happens that individuals are scarcely able to feed their own flocks; nay, neither are they sufficient for this ("for who is sufficient for these things?"), so far are they from being able to govern the whole world.

8. From the fathers.

XV. Eighth, the fathers always oppose this monarchical primacy. Cyprian: "The other apostles were what Peter was, furnished with an equal share of honor and power" (*On the Unity of the Church* 4 [ANF 5:422; PL 4.515]). Jerome: "Wherever a bishop was, whether at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople … he was of the same merit, and of the same priesthood" (Letter 146, "To Evangelus*" [NPNF2, 6:289; PL 22.1194]). Gregory the

Great: “I speak confidently because whoever calls himself universal bishop or priest, or in his pride desires to be so called, runs before Antichrist” (Book 7*, Letter 30, “Gregorius Mauricio Augusto” [CCSL 140.491]). And against John III, the Bishop of Constantinople, who had assumed the title of ecumenical bishop, he had said, “Surely Paul, the apostle, when he heard certain ones saying, I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, but I of Cephas, filled with the most dreadful fear at this tearing asunder of the Lord’s body by which his members associated themselves in a measure under different heads, exclaimed, was Paul crucified for you or were ye baptized in the name of Paul? If, therefore, he particularly opposed the subjection of the members of the Lord’s body to certain heads as it were beyond Christ and even to the apostles themselves, what will you say in the examination of the last day to Christ, the Head of the universal church, who endeavors under the appellation of universal to subject all his members to yourself” (Letter 44, “To John of Constantinople” [NPNF2, 12:166; PL 77.739]).

Sources of explanation.

XVI. The government of the Old Testament church cannot be adduced here. (1) The church is now dispersed over the whole world and cannot be governed by one; while formerly it was restricted within the limits of Judea and the worship of God was confined to Jerusalem alone. (2) The high priest was indeed the first in order among the other priests, but he is never called a monarch and their head (having supreme and irresponsible [*anypeuthynon*, “not liable to human criticism”] power over all), since he was subject to the censure and jurisdiction of the great Sanhedrin and was bound by the law of God (Dt. 17:11). (3) Whatever authority he had, he was in that a type of Christ, the High Priest of the New Testament, and not of the pope. Hence by way of retort we say, in the New Testament the high priest was without any vicar, who signified Christ; therefore in the Christian church, Christ alone is supreme and without a vicar. Consequently no supreme pontiff of all believers is to be recognized except Christ.

XVII. The names of the apostles are said to be inscribed upon the foundations of the new Jerusalem (Rev. 21:14), not because they (as to person) are themselves its foundations (since the church is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, i.e., upon their doctrine [Eph. 2:20]

and “other foundation can no man lay than that is laid” [1 Cor. 3:11]); but because they were its architects and founders (1 Cor. 3:10), just as the names of architects are usually inscribed upon their works that their labor may be held in happy remembrance. Thus the recollection of the apostles will be eternally blessed.

XVIII. The similitude of the body and head (used by the apostle, 1 Cor. 12:14, 15, 20, 21) does not imply that as among a multitude of members there is one head which rules all the members, so also in the visible church of Christ. The comparison with the body is accommodated in a twofold manner to the church; first, that the most strict conjunction of the whole church with Christ may be denoted (as in Eph. 1, 4, 5; Col. 1), and thus it is conceded that there ought to be one head of the church (to wit, Christ). Second, that the conjunction of believers with each other may be illustrated by a comparison of the members in one and the same body (concerning which Rom. 12 and 1 Cor. 12 speak); in this sense we deny the consequence. For (a) by this comparison with the human body, the apostle wishes to teach that this coherence of the members is assisted by the varied distribution of God’s gifts. Thus he distinguishes the members into more excellent and inferior; those which received more gifts, these which received fewer. The former are compared with the more important members in the body, among which also is the head; the latter with the remaining members. Hence he concludes that as the more excellent members in the body cannot be without the office of the rest, so in the church those to whom more gifts are granted cannot do without those to whom fewer are given. (b) A universal head of the church cannot be concluded from this, but only a head in the church (i.e., that he, who since he is a believer and a Christian in the body of the church, holds the place of head, not in relation to the church, but to other individual believers who are in the same church). (c) This difference of members is not only to be constituted by God for governing and restraining the church, but in all the gifts with which even the people can be adorned by the Lord. (d) Paul here calls it the body of Christ; not, however, the body of the pope.

XIX. The arguments adduced by our opponents concerning the excellence of monarchical government do not help their cause. (1) We acknowledge a supreme monarch of the church—Christ, not the pope—and there can be no other besides him. More easily would the world suffer two

suns than the same government two monarchs. (2) They who hold a monarchical government to be the best in particular states do not on that account prove that there can be any supreme monarch for all the states in the world. And thus it being established that particular churches ought to be ruled by one president for the sake of avoiding confusion, it does not follow that the churches of the whole world ought to be subject to the power of one man. (3) A government which simply and in itself is more noble is not always better or more useful to this or that subject. There are people who cannot be governed in any other way than monarchically; there are others who cannot endure the sway of one. We do not treat here of monarchy in general, but in particular—whether Christ instituted such a form of government in the church. This is denied. (4) The consequence does not hold good from political to ecclesiastical government because Christ committed to his officers not rule (*archēn*) or domination and magistracy properly so called, but a mere service (*diakonian*), economy (*oikonomian*) and ministry.

XX. While on earth, if Christ visibly governed the college of the apostles, it does not follow that after his ascension there ought to remain a visible head of the church since that college was not the whole church and Christ being always present performs his office (Mt. 28:20).

XXI. There is no need that one supreme ruler of the church should be granted, upon whom the care of conserving and propagating the whole body may rest. The church can be propagated well enough without such a head and in fact it has been so propagated that that province has never been assigned to anyone, but all Christians; especially they who were promoted to degrees of ecclesiastical authority, have watched over this thing and diligently seized hold of or even voluntarily sought opportunities presented.

XXII. Not always, many rulers being constituted, are more states constituted; but only when many are constituted who govern by their own supreme right. Now this is not the case in the church. All rulers are the servants of one and the same Christ, whose flock they individually care for as far as they are able. Nor does that multiplicity of rulers any more divide the catholic church into many, than one kingdom is divided into many when individual governors are set over particular provinces, no one of whom has power over the others. Hence Cyprian, speaking of the multitude of bishops,

says, “The episcopate is one, a part of which is held by individuals wholly” (*Unity of the Church* 5 [ANF 5:423; PL 4.516]).

XXIII. For unity of the church and of the faith is certainly required a unity of head and supreme judge with whom all are bound to acquiesce. But this judge and head is not to be sought outside of Christ, who alone can and wishes to perform this function. Nor is there need of a visible head besides him, since he is perpetually present with his church by his word as well as by his spirit.

XXIV. When Christ speaks of “one fold” and “one shepherd” (Jn. 10:16), he means no other shepherd than himself, who under this symbol described himself by the whole head as the Good Shepherd who laid down his life for the sheep, who knows and calls them. “Other sheep I have,” says he, “which are not of this fold” (viz., the Gentiles, who do not belong to the Jewish church), “them also I must bring” (to wit, by calling them to the church) and “they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd” (viz., I myself, whose sheep they are). Nor if it is treated of the church militant is it necessary that a shepherd militant should be understood, because it is evident that Christ is the shepherd of the church militant also (Heb. 13:20). He is called “the great shepherd of the sheep” and believers are said to have returned unto the shepherd and bishop of their souls (1 Pet. 2:25).

XXV. The one king and one head (of whom Ezk. 37:24 and Hos. 1:11 speak) is no other than Christ, who is called David (who was his type). The interlinear Gloss has: “And there shall be one king over all, Christ, about whom and of whose kingdom there shall be no end” (cf. *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria* [1617], 4/2:1355 on Ezk. 37:22). Nor can Sanders deny this. “I grant indeed,” says he, “that this one king and shepherd whom Ezekiel predicted, is Christ, who is the Son of David according to the flesh, and David’s Lord according to his divinity.” Kimchi, on the passage of Hosea, understands King Messiah (*Commentary of ... Kimhi on Hosea* [ed. H. Cohen, 1966], p. 17 on Hos. 1:11 [2:2]).

Seventeenth Question: The Primacy of Peter

Was Peter an ecumenical pontiff and the head of the church and the vicar of Christ? We deny against the Romanists

I. Although the preceding question has demonstrated the falsehood of an ecumenical pontificate *in thesi*, still because our opponents endeavor to establish it by various arguments in *hypothesi* (with respect to Peter and the Roman popes, who are said to be his successors), we must in a special controversy dispute concerning this argument that the truth may be fully confirmed against a lie.

Statement of the question.

II. On the statement of the question we observe: (1) the question does not concern any primacy, either of order and calling or of age, or of dignity and gifts. For we do not deny that this primacy can belong to Peter, whether because he was first called by Christ (as appears from Mt. 4:18) and was thus first in order; as is usually the case among those who are equal in authority in order to avoid confusion (in which sense he is said to be "first," Mt. 10:2); or with respect to gifts and dignity, as Nicodemus is called "a ruler of the Jews" (*archōn tōn Ioudaiōn*, Jn. 3:1), not that he ruled over the Jews, but because he had great authority with them. Thus Gamaliel is said to have been "had in reputation among all the people" (*timios panti tō laō*, Acts 5:34). Therefore, since Peter excelled the others in gifts and especially in that warmth of soul by which he was impelled to answer first for the others, he occupied (not without reason) the first place. Hence he is frequently called by the fathers "the prince of apostles" (i.e., the first and principal); as Cicero the prince of orators, Virgil the prince of poets (who nevertheless had no sway over orators or poets, but by reason of their worth). But we treat of the primacy of authority and jurisdiction—whether there was any degree of authority and jurisdiction in Peter above the other apostles by which he was constituted an ecumenical pontiff, the vicar of Christ and head of the church, with the most absolute power, so that individual believers and the apostles themselves with the others (as subjects) were bound to submit their heads subject to him. This the Romanists contend for. Bellarmine: "The Catholics affirm that the Apostle Peter was the head and prince of the whole church, instituted by Christ himself in his place; and it is not a simple error but heresy to deny the primacy of Peter instituted by Christ" ("De Romano Pontifice," 1.10 *Opera* [1856], 1:330). The orthodox uniformly deny it.

That no primacy was given to Peter is proved: (1) from the nature of the office.

III. The reasons are various: (1) the first is drawn from the nature of the apostolic office, which being the highest in the ecclesiastical order, acknowledges none superior and greater. Thus the individual apostles had the highest, most extensive and immediate power and jurisdiction, by which they were able to give laws to the whole church, so that there was no appeal from them. They received that power immediately from Christ, which contains all other ecclesiastical power. And accordingly they did not acknowledge on earth a superior by whom they could be instituted, for above the highest there is not granted a greater and what are the highest must necessarily be equals. Bellarmine does not deny that the highest power was given not only to Peter, but to the other apostles also and that they received their mission and jurisdiction immediately from Christ and that the apostles had supreme and most ample power and a plenitude of power and with respect to government were the heads, rulers and pastors of the universal church ("De Romano Pontifice," 1.9 *Opera* [1856], 1:323–30). Hence the writings of each are canonical and their doctrine infallible, without any confirmation from Peter (ibid., 1.11, pp. 334–35).

IV. But he replies, "Peter had the pontificate, as an ordinary pastor, in which he would be succeeded; the others were as delegates, who were not to be succeeded." But he takes for granted the very thing to be proved—that Peter was called and sent in another manner than the others and was an ordinary pastor who could be succeeded, while the rest were extraordinary; especially since Bellarmine says that what was promised by this ("I give thee the keys") and was explained by this ("Feed my sheep") was given to the apostles also. Besides since they maintain that the pontificate was expressly placed by Paul in the word "apostles" (Eph. 4:11), which is common to all, how can that office be ascribed to Peter alone and not to all the others? Again, if Peter had any successor, he was either such as an apostle or as a teacher. If the former, he succeeds the apostles as such; if the latter, why does he not succeed the others also, who were equally teachers? Nor can it be said that Peter had the principality, because that principality is a power distinct from the apostolic or the same. If the same, therefore the

apostles ought to be succeeded equally; if different, then there will be granted a greater power than the apostolic, which our opponents maintain to be the highest. Finally, since the apostleship as such was an extraordinary and temporary office (which should cease in the church), it ought not to have successors.

2. From the equality of the apostles.

V. (2) From the equality of the apostles. If Peter was constituted an ecumenical pontiff, he was greater and superior to the others. But we read of no such superiority having been bestowed upon Peter above the others by Christ or usurped by Peter himself or acknowledged by the apostles. Christ sends them equally: "As the Father sent me, so send I you" (Jn. 20:21). He equally breathes his Spirit into them (v. 22) and gives them the power to remit and to retain sins: "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained" (v. 23). He equally gives to all the command to preach and to baptize: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations" (Mt. 28:19). Hence, he promises them an equality of thrones: "In the regeneration" (i.e., in the renovation of the church caused by the gospel) "ye shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Mt. 19:28). Now if Peter was to be the prince over the others, why is his throne not distinguished and raised above theirs? Why did Christ never utter a word about such a monarchy and preeminence? For it will be proved in what follows that the arguments brought forward by Romanists to prove this are worthless and mere inventions. After the ascension of Christ, the same equality appears from the apostolic practice. (a) If Matthias is elected in the place of Judas, it is not done by the will of Peter (as was consistent with a monarchy), but by lot from the common consent of the whole assembly. And if Peter speaks, it is for nothing else than to exhort the assembly to go into such an election (which was the effect of his zeal or of the rank which he held among them on account of the priority of his call). (b) The Holy Spirit descends upon all equally without any prerogative of anyone. (c) When the creation of deacons is discussed (Acts 6), the twelve apostles are said to have called together the multitude for that purpose, and they who were elected were presented to the apostles that they might lay their hands upon them (which proves that no one of them was then the head

of the church; otherwise he would have performed this office above the others). Hence Chrysostom says, “See him doing all things in common with the others” (*ouden authentikōs ouden archikōs*, “Homily 3,” *Acts of the Apostles* [NPNF1, 11:18; PG 60.34]). (d) Peter is sent by the other apostles to the Samaritans (Acts 8:14). Therefore he could not have been an ecumenical pontiff because it is repugnant to that one to be delegated by others. Nay, from this it is clearly gathered that authority belonged to the whole body, not to any private person—or to Peter in particular, who is subjected to the whole college. Would the pope readily suffer himself to be sent anywhere to preach the gospel by the cardinals or bishops? Nor can it be said with Perronius that that mission was made at the request of the apostles, but not by their authority. We find nothing of that in the text, but only that it was done by a common and concordant counsel, in the same way in which elsewhere Barnabas is said to have been sent (Acts 11:22) and Silas and Judas are sent with Paul and Barnabas (15:22). Now although an equal is sent by an equal, it does not follow that a superior is sent by an inferior (which is of authority) or that he who is sent can hold sway over those by whom he is sent.

3. From Acts 15.

VI. (3) From the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15), hence various arguments are drawn against the primacy of Peter. (a) Paul and Barnabas are sent to the apostles in general, not to Peter (v. 2), which ought by all means to have been done if he had been acknowledged as the head and the chief of the others. (b) They bear a dismission from the apostles and elders (vv. 23–25), by synodical letters which were written in the name of all the apostles and not of Peter alone: “the apostles and elders” (v. 23); “it seemed good unto us” (v. 25). (c) The authority of James here appears to be no less than that of Peter because he tempers the sentence of Peter and so concludes that the whole assembly passed over to his sentence and the letters were written. Nor if Peter spoke after the disputing to give his sentence does it follow that he gave a definitive sentence or that his decree passed. James spoke last and proposed a sentence which was adopted. Hence if to any of the apostles the decree is to be ascribed, it belongs rather to James than to Peter because after the speech of Peter he discoursed, which would not have been

necessary if the decree had been sanctioned. Nor was the decree made in the words of Peter, but in the sentence of James. Here belongs the manner in which James speaks: "Wherefore my sentence is …" (*dio egō krinō mē parenochlein*, v. 19). This is not only the manner of one advising, but decreeing and deciding. Hence Chrysostom infers that the preeminence was assigned to James: "for he was appointed the ruler" (*ekeinos gar ēn tēn archēn enchecheirismenos*); and afterwards, what is "my sentence except I say that this is so with authority" (*anti tou met' exousias legō touto einai*, "Homily 33," *Acts of the Apostles* [NPNF1, 11:207 and 208; PG 60.240 and 241). And Hesychius (according to Photius): "Peter preaches, but James decides (*Petros dēmēgorei, alla Iakōbos nomothetei*). How shall I preach that a servant of Christ and a brother of the new Jerusalem is the supreme leader, prince of priests, head of the apostles, raised above the heads, shining most brightly above the stones, and most illustrious among the stars?" ("Sur Jacques, le frere du Seigneur," in Photius, *Bibliotheque* 275.511b.9 [1977], 8:117). What more illustrious concerning Peter occurs in all antiquity? In vain does Lorinus "contend that these things do not interfere with the primacy of Peter, but only indicate that the prerogative of the episcopate of Jerusalem was granted to James" ("In Iacobi Epistolam Catholicam Praefatio," 3 *In Catholicas BB. Iacobi et Ivdae Apostolorum* [1622], p. 3). For if James according to the opinion of Hesychius was the head of the apostles and presided over the Council of Jerusalem (Peter being present), so that he was the legislator and judge in the Council, while Peter was the orator, how could they acknowledge the primacy of Peter? Would the pope of our day suffer a bishop in his diocese to be distinguished with such honors or that authority to be given any bishop if a council should be held (the pope himself being present)? Tostatus does not differ from these when he says, "All the apostles, while they dwelt in Judea, were in a certain manner subjected to James, the bishop of Jerusalem, and he stood forth greater than they, also than Peter, and in this Council, that which the apostles and the whole church did, was definitely pronounced not by Peter, but by him, as the organ of the whole church" (*Commentaria in Quartam Partem Matthaei*, Q. 13 [1615], p. 340 on Mt. 17).

4. From a comparison between Peter and Paul.

VII. (4) From a comparison between Peter and Paul. Paul testifies that he was in no respect inferior to the very chiefest apostles (*tois hyper lian Apostolois*, 2 Cor. 11:5; 12:11). Here it is to be observed that no one chief is determined, but many and that Paul equates himself to the chiefest. Thus Paul stops the mouths of his detractors who were defending themselves against him by the authority of Peter, James and John, intimating that they ought not to be made of so great account that therefore he should be despised, since in nothing was he inferior to them. Could any bishop speak thus today of the pope? Here also belongs what he says, "Of those who seem to be somewhat (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's person:) for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me" (Gal. 2:6). If they added nothing to Paul, therefore, neither as to knowledge, nor as to authority, he ought [not] to be considered inferior to them, but equal in all things. This is further confirmed by "the right hands of fellowship, which they gave unto him." "For James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars [*hoi dokountes styloi einai*], gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship" (Gal. 2:9); not of entering upon, but of testifying and confirming that they were associates in the apostolic office and in purity of doctrine. The meaning is, So far from these Jews adding anything to me of authority or knowledge, the very chief of them in the church (James, John and Peter) acknowledged me not as unequal, but as a colleague, and as such gave me their right hands. For "to give the right hand" with the Hebrews is a sign of fellowship (Jer. 50:15; Ezk. 17:18). If therefore Paul was an associate and a colleague of the others, what place remains for the primacy of Peter? Nor can it be said here "that they were indeed associates in the office of preaching, but this did not hinder Peter from being always superior in the office of governing." This is a manifest begging of the question, contrary to the scope of Paul, who defends not only the truth of doctrine, but also the dignity and authority of the apostleship by the parity of his right to the same. And this union (*koinōnia*) not only indicates fellowship, but implies a participation of the same thing that Paul among the Gentiles and Peter among the Jews might execute their apostolic functions; therefore, as Peter was governing the Jews, so also Paul ought to govern the Gentiles. Hence he says, "The gospel of the uncircumcision was unto Peter" (Gal. 2:7). Now this distribution of provinces could not have been made if Peter had been the primate, as

between the pope and bishops no such thing would be allowed in our day. And although we do not deny that it was so done that the one would abstain from the apostolate of the other; still it was so done that the authority of Paul in his apostolate was not less than that of Peter in his. To this ought also to be referred the fact that Paul professes that he had not his calling from men (Gal. 1:1), as the source, nor by men (i.e., by their help) and mediately through them, but immediately from Christ and God. For if from the ascension of Christ, he was the visible head in the church, no one without his intervention could have been admitted into the church as a minister. And he says that after his conversion "he conferred not with flesh and blood" (Gal. 1:16), nor returned to Jerusalem to the apostles to receive from them the authority of a minister or to confer with them about his calling (which he would by all means have been obliged to do, if Peter had been the visible head in the church, upon whom the others were to depend).

5. From the rebuke of Peter.

VIII. (5) From Paul's rebuke of Peter. For an ecumenical pontiff is *hanypeuthynos* ("not liable to human criticism"), bound to judge all and to be judged and rebuked by no one. But Peter (as we read) was judged and reproved by Paul: "But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed" (Gal. 2:11). This does not denote only a charge (*enklēma*), but also blame (*epiplēzin*) and a somewhat severe rebuke (*epitimēsin sphodroteran*). This passage greatly worries our opponents. Baronius calls it a stumbling stone, a rock of offense, a history difficult to understand. On this account, he uses every effort to remove this stumbling stone, but in vain. It cannot be said (after Chrysostom and Jerome) that this took place insincerely and by an agreement between Peter and Paul. For Augustine properly remarks that such insincerity (which would have been a real falsehood) is unworthy of the holiness of the Scriptures and especially of that in which Paul protests (in Gal. 1:20) that "he writes the truth and lies not" (Letter 28, "To Jerome" [FC 12:95–96]). What is said, that he "withstood him to the face" (*kata prosōpon*), cannot be understood as feigned and insincere because nowhere in the New Testament is it taken in that sense. Rather it implies what is done in the presence of and before one (as in Lk. 2:31; Acts 3:13; 25:16). Paul explains "to the

face" (*to kata prosōpon*) by "before all" (*emprothen pantōn*, Gal. 2:14), because the sin was public and known and hurtful to all. Hence Thomas Aquinas renders it "manifestly" (cf. *Commentary on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* [1966], p. 46) and Emanuel Sa "openly." Now although Peter was not ignorant that the church had been freed from the yoke of the Mosaic Law and had given his sentence concerning it in the Council of Jerusalem, it does not follow that he could not sin in practice. He could think rightly and act badly. Nor did Paul rebuke Peter because he taught falsely, but because he did not walk strictly according to the truth which he knew (to wit, because since before the coming of the Jews he freely lived with the Gentiles according to Christian liberty; after their coming, seized with timidity, he withdrew from them and drew others after him into the same hypocrisy). We do not deny that Paul still observed certain legalities; nor did he rebuke Peter on that account. Rather he rebuked him because he ate freely with the Gentiles during the absence of the Jews, but when they were present he departed from them (which Paul never did). Therefore, it is one thing for Paul living in the midst of the Jews to accommodate himself to the ceremonies of the Jews (which it was not lawful as yet to consider as deadly, but little by little to give them up as indifferent [*adiaphorous*]); another thing, however, for one living in the midst of Gentiles and using Christian liberty, suddenly on account of a fear of the Jews to depart from their tables as an unlawful thing.

IX. No better does Perronius wish it to have been "a rebuke of love, not of authority"; because although it was a rebuke of love, and not of the authority of a superior to an inferior, still it was one of just severity which could not have been allowed without the equality of Peter and Paul. For if Peter was the head and chief ruler of the church, how could Paul (without a violation of the obedience due to him) have rebuked him so freely before all? Nor can it be said with Bellarmine that a superior can be reprehended by an inferior provided it is done with caution and reverence, and with the respect due to a superior. Paul denies that he is inferior to Peter and there is no indication of that reverence (if by it is meant a manifestation of subjection), because it is not said simply that Paul rebuked him, but that he "withstood him to the face." But if by it is understood modesty and brotherly love, it is granted that it was employed here by Paul, but that is of an equal towards an equal, nay, even of a greater to a lesser. Then the

question is not whether Peter was greater, but whether he was an ecumenical pontiff. For if the Romanists grant that a greater can be rebuked by a lesser, still they deny in their canons that an ecumenical pontiff can be rebuked, not even if he draws people in crowds into hell (Gratian, "Decreti," Pt. 1, Dist. 40.6.3 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:146). Would the pope suffer anyone to withstand him to the face before all and charge him with hypocrisy, with not walking straightly, and this without any preface of honor? Or if Peter had suffered himself to be thus rebuked from humility, although he was the greater, would it have been lawful for him to be attacked by Paul? Nor do we argue from the fault or indulgence of Peter, but from the deed of Paul and the authority in blaming Peter, which he took upon himself. For he must necessarily have done this either by right or against duty. This no one will dare to say; therefore that is certain. If, however, Paul could rightly rebuke Peter, yet no one can rebuke an ecumenical pontiff, it follows that Peter was not such, as our opponents maintain.

6. From the declaration of Peter, 1 Pet. 5:1.

X. (6) From the declaration of Peter, who never claims this primacy for himself, but places himself on the same level with the others and prohibits all domination in the church. "The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder (*ho sympresbyteros*), and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed: feed the flock of God which is among you … not by constraint, but willingly … neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock" (1 Pet. 5:1–3*). And yet if he had obtained the primacy from Christ, how would he not remember it that he might add greater weight to his exhortations? Why does he place himself in the same order with the others? Why does he so anxiously prohibit lordship as a thing unworthy of the shepherds of Christ, if he had received this office from Christ? Far be it from us to say that Peter did what he so zealously forbids in others. Besides, Peter exercises no act of an ecumenical pontiff, whether in commanding the apostles or sending them or in making laws or judging controversies or reserving to himself certain cases, or usurping both swords, or proclaiming councils, or arrogating to himself the power of transferring kingdoms and

making that right which is not right and doing many other similar things, which the Roman pontiff of our day claims for himself. Let the dictates of Gregory be compared with the whole life and practice of Peter, and it will clearly appear how in all respects (*dis dia pasōn*) they differ from each other.

7. From the silence of the Scriptures.

XI. (7) From the silence of the Scriptures. If such a primacy had been instituted by Christ (in which was the principal foundation of the church), ought not Christ somewhere (or the apostles) to have made express mention of it that believers, being admonished, might render him due obedience; especially in those places which seemed necessarily to demand it, where it is treated of ecclesiastical offices or of the authority granted by Christ to pastors (as in Lk. 22:24–30; Mt. 28:18–20; Eph. 4:11; 1 Cor. 12)? But since nothing of this kind occurs (nay, the Scriptures always speak of the apostles as equal as much with respect to the office of preaching and ruling as with respect to authority), from this it is evident that this primacy is an invention and was unknown to Christ. This argument is confirmed from the dispensation of Christ after his ascension towards the seven churches of Asia, designated by the seven golden candlesticks, to which by the apostle John he writes letters to exhort, correct and console. For if the Roman church had been made by Christ the mistress of churches and its pontiff the visible head and the vicar of Christ, why did Christ write no epistle to her as the center in whom the others ought to be united? But he directs his words to the others and addresses them in the plural, not in the singular (which he ought to have done if all ought to be in subjection to one). Why does he not rather employ this his vicar in writing to these churches (to whom all ought to be subject according to his command) than John, who held no such office? This clearly evinces that such a primacy was not instituted by Christ.

8. From the testimonies of the fathers.

XII. (8) From the testimonies of the fathers, many of whom tear away that primacy. Cyprian: “Undoubtedly the other apostles also were just what

Peter was, endowed with an equal share both of honor and of power; but the beginning proceeded from unity. The first place is given to Peter that the one church of Christ and one seat may be shown, and they are all shepherds and one flock is shown, which is fed with unanimous consent by all the apostles" (*On the Unity of the Church* 4 [ANF 5:442; PL 4.515]). Not only does he say that the others were the same as Peter, but that they were associated together, and because there can also sometimes be certain species of consort among unequals, he adds an equal share of honor as well as of power that no one might suppose he placed the rest in some inferior grade. The same one remarks in the same place: "Christ gave equal power to all after his resurrection" (ibid., PL 4:514). That in the same place he mentions the "primacy of Peter" is not to be understood in any other way than concerning a primacy of time and origin, that Peter may be said to have obtained his dignity before the rest obtained theirs (viz., before the resurrection, while the rest obtained theirs after it); but not concerning a primacy of dignity, that he may be said to have had a greater dignity than the rest had. For in this respect Cyprian says they were equal in power and honor (ibid., PL 4.515). Thus Jerome: "Now you say, the church is founded on Peter, although that very thing in another place is said of all the apostles and the strength of the church is equally built up upon them." He adds indeed a little afterwards: "One is selected among the twelve, that being constituted head, the occasion for schism may be removed" (*Against Jovianus* 1.26 [NPNF2, 6:366; PL 23.258]). But this is said with respect to order only and not to authority and jurisdiction. Augustine*: "Therefore the blessed Peter and Paul shine out from among all the apostles, and excel by a certain peculiar prerogative, but it is uncertain who of them is set before the other" (Sermon 202*, "In Natali apostolorum" [PL 39.2121]). Ambrose: "Nor was Paul inferior to Peter. Nor was Paul ever unworthy of the college of the apostles, he could readily be compared with the very chief and was second to none" (*The Holy Spirit* 2.13 [158] [FC 44:152; PL 16.808]). Gregory Nyssa: "Not Peter and James and John are pillars of the church, but all who sustain the church" (*Life of Moses* [trans. A.J. Malherbe and E. Ferguson, 1978], p. 101; PG 44.386).

Sources of explanation.

XIII. Mt. 16:18 does not favor the primacy of Peter. First, the passage is allegorical and metaphorical, admitting of various interpretations. Assuredly, it cannot establish an ecumenical pontificate, which ought to be proved by some express passage. Second, these things are certainly said to Peter, but not about Peter. The reasons are various. (a) From the very words because *Petra* is expressly distinguished from *Petro*, both in person and in gender, as the denominating and the denominated. Yet if he had wished to indicate Peter, why did he use both? Why did he not say, "Thou art Peter and upon thee" (which would have removed all difficulty). Rather he says "and upon this rock." Now although Christ spoke in the Syriac, in which language *kh'ph*' signifies promiscuously *Petrum* and *Petram*, still the difference is not taken away; both because it differs in gender, for when it is taken for *petra*, it is feminine, when it is taken for a person, it is masculine; and because Matthew (who undoubtedly knew best the mind of Christ and whose text is authentic) wished to distinguish between *petron* and *petram* (since nevertheless according to the usage of the Greeks he might have said both with the same sound and gender). (b) From the nature of the thing because Peter cannot be called the foundation of the church, since no other foundation can be laid besides Christ (1 Cor. 3:11), and he himself is a member of the church, who ought to be built on Christ with the others as he himself teaches (1 Pet. 2:5, 6). Nor if the church is said to be built upon the foundation of the apostles, is this to be understood with respect to their persons, but with respect to their doctrine. (c) Peter could not at that time be said to be a *Petra* in the present, since he was afterwards to deny Christ, his fall sufficiently proving that he had not as yet been so strengthened as that he could be called the immovable rock (*petra asaleutos*) here treated of. Nay, Christ is compelled afterwards to call him Satan. (d) It treats of founding the church militant as well as triumphant, of which no one would say that Peter was the foundation. Nor ought the pronoun *tautē* to be objected here, which seems to refer to what immediately precedes. For it is known that relatives and demonstratives are not always to be referred to the nearest and immediately preceding words, but often to the more remote where the nature of the thing demands it (as in Acts 3:15, 16, the pronoun *autou* must be referred twice to the more remote, viz., to *archēgon zōēs* and not to God, which is nearer; so also often elsewhere). Besides, the Holy Spirit does not use a bare pronoun, but the noun itself being added, which

takes away all ambiguity—"upon this rock." Thus: "This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine" (Mt. 26:28, 29). If he had simply said *ek toutou* it could be referred to *haima*. On this account, he adds "from this fruit of the vine" to remove the ambiguity. Thus that no one might refer what Christ adds concerning the building of the church upon a rock to the person of Peter, he was not satisfied with the demonstrative alone, but distinctly separates the rock from Peter (which the Vulgate interpreter retained, "*Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram*"). I confess indeed that there is here a certain relation (*schesin*) to Peter, not to intimate that his person would be the rock upon which the church would be built (which we have already proved to be false), but with respect to the imposition of the name. For Christ, about to be pleased with Peter, gives a new name to him which is derived from that rock by a paronomasia; as if he would say, "Thou Peter shalt be called by me the rock, which thou hast confessed, upon which I will build my church." He is therefore denominatively called Cephas from cepha, a rock; as from Christ, the living stone, Peter himself names believers living stones (1 Pet. 2:5).

XIV. In vain is it added that Christ here promises something remarkable and peculiar to the person of Peter as a reward for the illustrious confession he had made. This would not be the case if he was not to be understood by the rock. For first, as Peter responded not only in his own name but in that of the other apostles in token of the unity of faith of all, as Christ had interrogated all, "But whom say ye that I am?" (Mt. 16:15), so the answer of Christ (which is added) ought to apply to all with respect to their common doctrine and apostleship. Still this does not prevent Christ from having a special reference here to Peter, who spoke in the name of all, that he might grant him some privilege above the rest; not a fictitious monarchy and ecumenical pontificate, which is incompatible (*asystatos*) with the priesthood and royal authority of Christ, but a glorious change of name as a symbol of the firmness of the faith he was about to give him (Lk. 22:32) and of the faithful work he was to perform in the exercise of his office. I know that some of the ancient and after them some of the modern writers hold that thus was designated a peculiar privilege and office given to Peter, as that he should first preach the gospel among the Jews as well as among the Gentiles and thus would found and gather the Christian church (Acts

2:14; 10:34). But although this is true, it does not belong here. For besides the fact that this would be a personal privilege to Peter, it could not belong to the pope. Thus he would indeed well be called an architect and founder by whom the church was to be built up; but not its foundation upon which it ought to be built up, as Christ says here.

XV. Third, the Scripture gives us the key to this mystery, since everywhere it exhibits Christ to us under the symbol of a rock; as under the Old Testament God has the name of a rock sustaining the church (Dt. 32:4; Is. 26:4). Christ himself thus explains, "The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner" (Mt. 21:42). Peter following Christ confirms this (Acts 4:11; 1 Pet. 2:7*). So Paul calls Christ the cornerstone (Rom. 9:33; 1 Cor. 3:11), and the one sole foundation, than which no other can be laid. Regarding which many of the fathers understand that rock of Christ, whom Peter had confessed. Augustine says, "Therefore, thou art Peter and upon this rock, which thou hast confessed, upon this rock, which thou hast acknowledged, saying, thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, I will build my church, upon myself, who am the Son of the living God, I will build my church, upon myself I will build, not myself upon thee" (Sermon 76, "De Verbis Domini [13]" [PL 38.479]). This he often elsewhere confirms: *Retractions* 20* (FC 60:90–91); Tractate 124, *On the Gospel of John* (NPNF1, 7:450). Hilary: "There is therefore one immovable foundation of faith, this one blessed rock, confessed by the mouth of Peter, thou art the Son of the living God" (*The Trinity* 2.23 [FC 25:54; PL 10.66]). Various of our opponents follow this here. Lyranus: "Upon this rock which thou hast confessed, i.e., upon Christ" (cf. *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria* [1617], 5:279 on Mt. 16:18). The interlinear Gloss explains the rock to be "Christ in whom thou believest" (ibid.). The Gloss of the decrees: "By this distinction and upon this rock, I do not believe the Lord meant any other thing than those words which Peter replied to the Lord when he said, thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, because upon that article the church was founded. Therefore God founded the church upon himself" (Gratian, *Decretum Gratiani emendatum*, Pt. 1, Dist. 19*.7 [1601], p. 103). Thus Tostatus, Bishop of Abulensis: "It is asked when Christ says upon this rock will I build my church, what is the rock. Some say that it is Peter, to wit, that upon him the church was built, that is, he is the foundation of the church. But it must be said that taking

properly the founding or the building of the church, it is not true that it was built upon Peter; for that upon which it is built is the foundation and thus Peter would be said to be the foundation of the church; but it is false because Christ alone is the foundation (1 Cor. 3:11). He also alone is the Head of the church; all we, however, are members (as is gathered from 1 Cor. 12; Eph. 4). Peter, therefore, is a member, and not the head nor foundation of the church" ("Quatrapars Abulensis super Mattheum," *Opera* [1507–31], p. 110 on Mt. 16, Q. 67). From this Peter Ailly (Cardinal Cameracensis/Cambrai) and others do not differ.

XVI. Nor do they who wish the rock to be referred to the confession of faith of Peter recede far from this. Chrysostom on this place: "Upon this rock, that is, upon the faith of your confession" (*epi tautē tē Petra, toutesti tē pistei tēs homologias*, Homily 54, *On Matthew* [NPNF1, 10:333; PG 58.534]). Theophylact: "This confession which thou hast made, will be the foundation of believers" (*autē ē homologia ēn ōmologēsas themelion mellei einai tōn pisteuontōn*, *Ennaratio in Evangelium Matthaei* [PG 123.320] on Mt. 16:18). Basil of Seleucia on this passage: "Since Christ had named this confession the rock, he calls him Peter, who first confessed it, giving to him this appellation as a mark and monument of his confession. For this is really the rock of piety, this the basis of salvation, the wall of faith, the foundation of the truth for no other foundation can any man lay than is laid, Jesus Christ" (Oratio 25 [PG 85.298]). Of our opponents, Torquemada embraces this opinion: "The church is founded upon a rock, i.e., the faith of Christ" (*Summa de Ecclesia* 2.19* [1561], p. 134). Thus Dionysius Carthusianus on this passage ("Ennaratio in Matthaei" [16:18], *Opera Omnia* [1900], 11:189), Gorranus and others. For since faith and confession are not to be understood properly and subjectively, but metonymically and objectively with regard to Christ, whom they embrace, the thing amounts to the same whether we understand by the rock Christ himself or faith in him. For this is to be viewed not so much subjectively with respect to itself, as objectively with respect to Christ, whom it embraces. Having an eye to this, Ferus most excellently explains this passage: "The rock is primarily Christ, upon whom the whole church is always built, no one can lay any other foundation than that is laid (to wit, Christ). Again, because by true faith we are united to Christ and thus are in a certain manner petrified (*petrascimus*), if we may so speak. And therefore the Christian faith itself and gospel truth are that firm

and unshaken rock upon which Christ built the church" (*In sacrosanctum Jesu Christi evangelium secundum Matthaeum* [1559], p. 221 on Mt. 16).

XVII. Some keys are of dominion and principality, such as the keys of cities which are given to a prince by his subjects in token of homage. In this sense, Christ is said to have "the key of David, who openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth" (Rev. 3:7), i.e., whose is the highest and *hanypeuthynos* ("not liable to human criticism") power. Other keys are of ministry and subjection, such as are given by the principal officer and steward of a house and by an economical and provident head of a family, implying no primacy, but only service (*diakonian*) and duty. Such are the keys which Christ promises to give to Peter, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Again these are twofold: both of knowledge and science, by which through the preaching of the word the treasures of the heavenly mysteries are opened, and the stewardship (*tameia*) of the Scripture, in which the bread of life is hidden for the sustentation of believers. Thus the office of teaching is well implied, as among the Jews the inauguration of teachers was usually accompanied by a delivery of keys. And Christ (referring to this in Lk. 11:52) rebukes the scribes and Pharisees because they took away from the people the key of knowledge, so that they would neither enter themselves, nor permit others to enter. From this power, he warns the scribes and Pharisees that they would be removed, that it might pass into the hands of the apostles, who would rightly use these keys: by their preaching, opening the door of faith and salvation unto men; and by government and discipline, by which heaven is opened to penitents and shut against the rebellious and unbelieving. Both are promised here by Christ and the exercise of them is designated in the words following: "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Here Christ passes from one metaphor to another, as it is not unusual with the Holy Spirit to join together diverse similitudes for a clearer explanation of one and the same mystery. It would appear to have been said more aptly "to open and shut" (which is the function of keys) than to "loose" and to "bind"; still he preferred to use the verbs of binding and loosing, both to signify the amplitude of the power (which he would give to Peter, by which he could not only open and shut, but also bind and loose) and to show how miserable is their condition to whom heaven is shut, who

remain bound by the chains of sin and the divine justice. This could be done more appropriately on this account—that the similitude of binding and loosing best designates the aforesaid office of the keys. For it is referred both to preaching and precepts and to discipline and government; as that may be said to be loosed which is allowed and permitted, but bound which is forbidden and interdicted. Hence, in the phraseology most usual with the rabbis, that is called *'svr* ("bound") which is "unlawful" and what they held to be wicked; but *sthr* ("loosed"), what is "lawful" from right. Having in view this mode of expression, Christ says the Pharisees "bind heavy burdens on men" (Mt. 23:4) not only by the exactions of the law (an insupportable yoke [*abastakton*]), but also by the rigid imposition of various human ceremonies and traditions, by which, as by the most oppressive burdens, they were weighed down. It belongs to government and discipline that pastors are said to bind sinners with ecclesiastical censures and penalties which they loose when they relax them, because heaven is shut to them by a denunciation of the wrath of God and their sins are retained, as if they were bound, that they may be cast into hell; as elsewhere it is said that hypocrites, bound hand and foot, will be cast into the lake. On the other hand they, to whom heaven is opened by the announcement of the grace of God and of the remission of sins, are freed from the chains of sin and of the judgment of God that they may enter into heaven unencumbered.

XVIII. Now this power cannot be considered absolute and unlimited. That belongs to God alone and he alone has the power to pardon sins (Mt. 9:3). Rather this is considered only ministerial and dependent, inasmuch as in the name and by the authority of God, they declare from his word what is to be hoped for by believers and penitents and what is to be feared by the contumacious and impenitent. Nor can Bellarmine deny this. He acknowledges that the Lord speaks of the power of the keys, by which the apostles and their successors bind or absolve sinners ("De Romano Pontifice," 1.12 *Opera* [1856], 1:335–41). Hence it is evident that the primacy of Peter is sought here in vain. For although something is promised here peculiarly to Peter, still nothing peculiar is here promised to him. The promise itself or the act of promising was peculiar to him (inasmuch as it addresses him by name), but the thing promised was common, pertaining to the others also, in whose name Peter spoke. This is evident from Mt. 18:18 and Jn. 20:23, where the same power (designated here by binding and

loosing) is described by a retention and remission of sins and is ascribed equally to all the apostles: “Whose soever sins ye remit …”

XIX. Although Peter is commanded to feed the sheep of Christ (Jn. 21:15, 16), he is not straightway constituted the monarch of the church or sovereign pontiff. (1) This is an exhortation, not the institution of a new office. (2) It is one thing to feed, another to govern. The pastoral act is sometimes extended to the sway of kings and indicates dominion, in which sense kings are called by Homer “shepherds of the people” (*poimenes laōn*, cf. Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, 1. 7 [1979], 3:165) and Christ is called the shepherd of his sheep. He not only feeds them with his word, but rules them with both his eye and his hand, after he laid down his life for them, giving them his flesh and blood to eat and drink, which belongs to no one of the other shepherds. Hence he is called by way of eminence (*kat’ exochēn*) “the chief shepherd” (*archipoimēn*, 1 Pet. 2:25; 5:4) and “the great shepherd” (Heb. 13:20). Still this signification cannot prevail here, when it is treated of apostles and ministers; both because this office of feeding is expressly opposed to dominion (“Feed the flock of Christ, not lording it over God’s heritage,” 1 Pet. 5:3) and because such dominion is expressly interdicted by Christ (Lk. 22:26). Finally, because Peter is commanded to feed the sheep of Christ, not his own, to intimate that he was to perform this duty not as the lord and prince of the sheep, but as a servant of Christ. (3) This office is not imposed upon Peter alone, but upon the remaining apostles also; yea, upon all ministers also: “Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over that which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God” (Acts 20:28). Therefore not everyone who is commanded to feed the sheep is a monarch; otherwise there would be as many monarchs as there are ministers. So this word is not to be taken here in all its extent, but according to the subject matter. And as he would be insane who, from the fact that kings are called shepherds of the people, would hold that the preaching of the gospel pertained to them, so they are little removed from insanity who contend that empire is given to him upon whom the office of feeding is imposed. Therefore, he is ordered to feed, not by lording it, but by teaching and ruling; feeding with knowledge and understanding (Jer. 3:15) and governing in a pastoral way.

XX. Nor ought it to be replied that something is here ascribed to Peter by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*) because he alone is addressed and that too three times. What is said to Peter particularly was not in order that he might be constituted the first and prince of the apostles, but that to his triple denial (by which he might seem to have fallen from his apostleship) its threefold restoration to him with a stipulation of love and of duty might be opposed, so that by the triple confession he might make up for the triple denial: as Augustine explains it after Cyril and others, whom many of the Romanists —Jansen, Toletus, Maldonatus and others—follow (Tractate 123, *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:445]). Thus Christ wished solemnly to restore him who alone had sinned; thus he was bound to satisfy Christ, whom he had thrice denied, and his fellow disciples, to whom he had preferred himself (Lk. 22:33). Nor if Peter appears now having been restored to his former state by the influence of Christ and of equal mission with the rest (Jn. 20:22), does it thence follow that he could not have been strengthened by Christ in a peculiar way. Because he had sinned more grievously, he stood in need of greater confirmation and consolation. Indeed the remaining apostles, deserting Christ, had fled, but Peter alone denied him and with an oath, involving himself. Moreover the mystery is not to be sought in the distinction of "sheep" and "lambs" (here made by Christ), which reading Toletus judges to be the more approved than that which Bellarmine wished to introduce against the great consent of the copies and the authority of the Vulgate (which makes only two degrees, not three, as the Cardinal maintains: to wit, of "lambs," i.e., of nations; of "little sheep," i.e., of bishops; and of "sheep," i.e., of apostles). The mystery, I say, is not to be sought in this. Jansen on this passage teaches (as does Maldonatus), "It is not to be subtly disputed why he called them lambs rather than sheep, and let him, who has done it, look to it again and again, lest he afford laughter to learned men." A comparison of passages shows that these words are used promiscuously (Mt. 10:6; Lk. 10:3; Is. 53:7; Acts 8:32). Thus the fathers explain it (cf. Chrysostom, Homily 88*, *Homilies on St. John* [NPNF1, 14:331] and Augustine, Tractate 123, *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:445]).

XXI. The prerogatives which are ascribed to Peter, of whatever kind they are, do not imply a primacy of authority (concerning which we speak), but only a primacy of order and dignity, which does not prevent Paul from

acknowledging no one as superior to him. Paul also and John had their prerogatives, from which however it would be ridiculous to infer a sovereign pontificate. These prerogatives are either uncertain and false or vain and useless; neither separately, nor conjointly do they prove a primacy. Not "the change of name" because the name was not so much changed as a new one added to him (Mt. 17:25; 2 Pet. 1:1); besides this new imposition of name was common to the sons of Zebedee, who were called Boanerges. Not that "he is put first" (Mt. 10:2; Mk. 3:16; Lk. 6:14). For besides the fact that this is not uniform (for others are elsewhere put before him, Andrew [Jn. 1:40]; Paul and Apollos [1 Cor. 3:22]; James [Gal. 2:9]), he could have been so called with respect to order or age or gifts; not with respect to power and jurisdiction, as the first consul in a city is not the head of the senate. Not "his walking upon the water," which shows only his fervor and rashness (*propeteian*). "Peter," says Chrysostom, "the one everywhere hasty and always springing before the others" (*ho pantachou thermos, kai aei tōn allōn propēdōn*, "Homily 51," *The Gospel of Matthew* [NPNF1, 10:317; PG 58.514]). Not "the revelation of greater mysteries of faith" because this was made to him neither alone, nor first. Not "the payment of tribute for Christ and Peter" and not for the others because there was a special cause why both of them should be paid for—they lived in the same city, namely, Capernaum, which is called the city of Christ and in which Peter had his house. Not "the catching of a multitude of fishes" (Jn. 21:6, 7) because this denotes his ministry (not his sway) as a sign of gospel fishing (Lk. 5:10), by which he should call innumerable men out from the world. Not "the prayer of Christ for him," which is rather a testimony to his weakness and has no other reference than to perseverance of faith. The confirmation of the brethren, which is imposed upon him, does not indicate primacy, but service and office (which is elsewhere claimed for Paul and Barnabas, Acts 14:22; 18:23). Not that "he appeared first to Peter after his resurrection" (Lk. 24:1–12; 1 Cor. 15:5) because he appeared first to the women. Not that "he washed his feet first" or "predicted his death" or that "he first addressed the gathered apostles" (Acts 1:15) or "first preached the gospel" or "spoke first in the Council" (Acts 15:7). For these and similar things which are brought forward are either uncertain or prove no prerogative or imply a primacy only of order.

XXII. If at any time the fathers call Peter the head and prince of apostles, they do not mean this with respect to an ecumenical pontificate or monarchy, but with respect to a "primacy of order and dignity" or on account of the gifts in which he excelled the rest (in which sense cf. 2 Cor. 2). The apostle calls some apostles (*tous pyer lian apostolous*) and elsewhere pillars (*stylous*, Gal. 2:9). Thus Cyril of Jerusalem says, "the most excellent prince of the apostles"; Cyril of Alexandria, "the prince and head of the rest"; Theophylact, "the prince of the disciples"; others, "the coryphaeus of the apostles." But in what sense these eulogiums are to be understood, Eusebius informs us when he says that "he was easily chief of all the rest" (to wit, of the apostles) "on account of the greatness of his courage" (*tēs aretēs heneka tōn loipōn hapantōn proēgoron*), as often among writers the words *archēgoe* and *koryphaios* have this meaning (*Ecclesiastical History* 2.14 [FC 19:109; PG 20.172]). But this is not infrequently attributed by them to the others also. Hence Peter and Paul are often called by the fathers "princes of the apostles."

Eighteenth Question

Was Peter at Rome, and did he hold the episcopate there for many years? We deny against the Romanists

I. Although the question concerning the residence of Peter in Rome seems to be historical rather than theological, still because the Romanists (in order to establish the primacy and monarchy of the pope) rest upon this hypothesis most especially—that Peter was in Rome and occupied the episcopate there for many years—it is important to examine more carefully its truth or falsehood that in this way we may the more easily expose the wickedness of the papal tyranny. Nor is it any wonder that our opponents are so jealous on this subject. They know that on this foundation rests the whole mass of the papal hierarchy and this being disproved, it necessarily destroys the latter. For if Peter was not in Rome and did not exercise an episcopate there, such authority could not flow down into the Roman pope so that he should be considered his successor. Hence on this account, we ought the more diligently to inquire into this matter that it may be evident

upon how weak, nay false, a foundation the whole of this mystery of iniquity rests.

Opinions of the parties.

II. Our opponents agree among themselves about two things: (1) that Peter was at Rome and died there; (2) that he held the episcopate there for many years; nor did he change or transfer the see to any other place, but occupied it perpetually even to the end of his life. But as to when he came to Rome and how long he sat there, they disagree. For some (following Jerome and Eusebius) think he came in the second year of Claudius. Others in the fourth year (as Thomas Aquinas, Bede, *Fasciculus Temporum* [1480], p. 26); others in the thirteenth year (as *Passionale de vitis sanctorum*). Some think he held the see only twenty-three years, others twenty-five. The more common opinion (which Baronius and Bellarmine follow) is that after the passion of the Lord, Peter remained in Judea for five years; from there, in A.D. 39, he went to Antioch, entered upon its episcopate and exercised it for seven years; thence came to Rome, instituted a see and sat there first of all. In the meantime, it happened that Peter was expelled from Rome in the year 51 with the other Jews by an edict of Claudius. On this occasion, he came to the Council held at Jerusalem in that year. At length, Claudius being dead, he returned to Rome and after occupying that see for twenty-five years ended his life by martyrdom. We say two things. First, that it is doubtful and highly uncertain that Peter was at Rome and far more certain that he never saw Rome. Second, that Peter was bishop at Rome is false and that he sat there for so many years is most false. We must confess that among our divines there are not wanting great men who, moved by the testimony of the ancients, suspend their judgment (*epechousi*) here; nay, are willing to concede that Peter was at Rome: such as Junius, Scaliger, Casaubon, Ussher, Selden and others, although even they do not assent to the Romanists concerning the Roman episcopate of Peter and the twenty-five years assigned to it. But not a few others (nor less distinguished) stand here openly for the negative: as Illyricus, Velenus [John Fisher], Whitaker, Salmasius, Hospinian, Sutlivius (Sutcliffe), Pareus, Sibrandus and others. Prior to them went (of the Romanists) John Baptist Mantuanus, Michael Caesenas, Marsilius of Padua, who, before the Emperor Louis IV (the

Bavarian), agitated this question two hundred years previously (whose book is inscribed *Defensor Pacis*), John Aventinus, Charles Molinaeus (Dumoulin) and others, influenced by a doubt of the faithfulness of the tradition (to whom we approach).

Proof that Peter was not in Rome. (1) From the silence of Luke.

III. The first reason is drawn from the silence of Luke in the Acts of the Apostles; for if Peter, leaving the region of Syria, had gone to Rome and enriched the church founded there by his preaching and martyrdom; if in this place he established the seat of the pope, the head of all Christendom (as they commonly boast), why is Luke silent and why does he neglect a thing so great and necessary for Christians to know? Why, when he speaks of the first meeting of Peter with Simon Magus, does he say nothing of the last contest in which this Magus is said to have suffered the punishment of his impiety, in the presence of the Romans and of Nero himself? Why does he so accurately speak of the various journeys of Peter to Samaria, Lydda, Joppa, Caesarea, Jerusalem and not even mention the most important journey to Rome? Why (when in Acts 15 he makes him present in the Council) does he not commemorate his return from the city and the see which he had left? Finally, speaking of the entrance of Paul into the city, why does he speak of various others and yet say not a word about Peter? Nor can it be replied here that the argument is negative (which does not press). It is not unusual to employ a negative argument when no affirmative of the same age worthy of faith can be opposed; nor is the reason founded only on the fact of the silence of Luke, but also upon the right, because he neither could nor ought to be silent in a matter so momentous. Or that Luke intended above other things to set forth the acts of Paul as his preceptor, for he himself confesses that he wished to embrace in general the apostolic history, and if he was anxious to commemorate things far less important about Peter, why did he wrap in silence this far weightier matter?

2. From the silence of Paul.

IV. The second reason is drawn from the silence of Paul in his epistles. For if Peter had been at Rome, is it at all likely that Paul writing to the Romans (and especially saluting all who were present, especially his fellow workers [*synergous*]) would have omitted the salutation of Peter, the most worthy of all, and not even have mentioned him? In vain is it objected by Baronius that there was no need for Peter to be saluted through others since he might have sent other familiar letters to Peter in the same package. This is an invention which is rejected as easily as it is proposed. No better is the reply of the same that Peter was then absent, expelled from Rome by the edict of Claudius. For besides the fact that that flight of Peter, supposed to have been through fear of the Claudian persecution, is not proved, it is certain according to the calculation of Baronius that Claudius had died before Paul wrote his epistle to the Romans. And if then there were many Jews at Rome whom the apostles salute, why not Peter also? If Aquila and Priscilla, who had been driven out before by the edict of Claudius, were permitted to return to Rome, why not Peter also? Was it becoming in a pastor to be away so long from his church? Again, if Peter had at any time gone to Rome to found a church, how does it happen that Paul, who (in this epistle) praises the faith of the Romans and those by whom the interests of Christ had been strenuously promoted among them, yet forgets so great a founder? Again how could he profess that he was unwilling to build upon (*epoikodomein*) a foundation laid by another? Moreover, how is it that in all the epistles which Paul gave at Rome, he makes mention of Clement, Luke, Timothy, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Epaphras (who labored with him), but preserves a deep silence in them all concerning Peter. Nor can it be replied that in like manner no mention is made either of Timothy or of John or of James in the epistles to the Ephesians and to the Hebrews, while nevertheless they were the chief men in the churches and the bishops of them. For the force of our argument is not simply in this—that Paul does not mention Peter, but that he mentions all the rest who were at Rome and especially his co-workers (*synergōn*); rather he does not mention Peter at all, the most worthy of all among them and to be saluted in the first place. Besides, in the epistles to the Ephesians and to the Hebrews, Paul salutes no one by name, having discharged the general vow of salutation. Nor is it evident that Timothy or John was then in Ephesus. At length, how could he speak in the epistle to the Colossians of Aristarchus, Mark and Jesus, who were in Rome, that

only they of the circumcision were his fellow workers unto the kingdom of God (*ek peritomēs toutous monous synergous … eis tēn basileian tou theou*) and alone assisted him? And in the second to Timothy that no one stood by (*parastatēn*) him in the defense of his cause, but all forsook him, the Lord alone giving him strength and comfort? Hence either Peter was not then in Rome or Paul must be considered to be guilty of great weakness or perfidy.

3. From the silence of Peter.

V. The silence of Peter himself supplies the third reason. For if Peter founded the Roman church, why does he not mention it anywhere? Why does he not record this work in the beginning of his epistles to the dispersed Jews that he may conciliate greater authority to himself? Why in exhorting the elders to their duty, does he call himself a fellow elder (*sympresbyteron*) with them (1 Pet. 5:1)? Since he was compelled to be absent for a long time from Rome (as our opponents acknowledge), why did his pastoral solicitude not impel him to write to the Romans, his flock, as Paul did, to strengthen and increase their faith? These are really such things as (unless we are willing to be blind) clearly prove that the sovereign pontificate of Peter at Rome is a mere figment.

4. From a regard to the time.

VI. Fourth, if Peter was at Rome, he ought to have been there either under Gaius (Caligula), or under Claudius, or under Nero, at the time when Paul either tarried or was bound at Rome or was taken away. But under neither can he be said to have been in Rome. Not under Gaius (Caligula) because Luke's history exhibits him at that time in Judea and Samaria. Not under Claudius, either in the second year or in any other time of his sway, because from the Acts it appears that Peter was seized by Herod and thrown into prison in Jerusalem in the fourth year of Claudius (which was the last of Herod Agrippa). Hence before this year, he could not have gone to Rome (as Valesius acknowledges). Again, Peter was still in Jerusalem at the time of the Council of the Apostles, which was assembled six years after (i.e., in the eighteenth after the passion of Christ, in the ninth of Claudius and the fourteenth from the conversion of Paul, who departed thither with Barnabas,

as is testified in Gal. 2:1). After that Peter betook himself to Antioch and tarried there some time. He could not, therefore, have been at Rome under Claudius. For what is adduced by Bellarmine—that he returned from Rome to Jerusalem on account of the edict of Claudius, by which the Jews were expelled from Rome—is frivolous. For if he returned from Rome, why does Luke (who mentions the advent of Priscilla and of Aquila for that reason) make no mention of Peter? Again, if Peter had already been constituted bishop of the Roman church (which consisted not only of Jews, but of many more Gentiles), why did he desert that assembly? Would he not rather have obeyed God here than men? And ought he not to have confirmed the faith of believers by his blood, rather than to have shamefully deserted them? So that the fact is supposed without any document for the thing, contrary to the bravery of Peter and the duty of a good pastor. Again if he had been compelled to leave them, he would not have been deprived of his epistolary office at least (after the example of Paul) and some epistle with better right would have encouraged the Romans, his church and bishopric (*episkōpēn*), separated from him by the iniquitous times and disjoined by a local interval. Finally, if he had been constituted in his see as a sovereign pontiff, why is there no mention in the Council of Jerusalem of so distinguished a privilege; nay, why does he not alone in his own right decide this question, but leave this province to James?

VII. Peter cannot be said to have visited Rome or to have remained there under Nero, the successor of Claudius. Thus the very fewest years remain of the Petrine episcopate, unless we suppose him to have been removed under Vespasian or Titus. Besides, since Paul in the year two or three of Nero wrote to the Romans and says not a word about Peter, it is evident that he was not then in Rome; nor when in the sixth of Nero he went to the city; nor when he wrote at Rome his six later epistles. For who could believe that if Peter had been there then, Paul would say nothing at all about him? When Paul reached Rome, the brethren met him at Appian Forum. Certainly if Peter had been there he would have met him and yet no mention is made of Peter. Again, after the third day, Paul calls the chiefs of the Jews. At that time they (not as yet Christians) desire to hear from Paul what he thinks. And yet if Peter was then in Rome and a bishop there, would they not already have heard the Christian faith from him, especially since he was their apostle? In vain does Bellarmine reply that Peter was then absent. For

who can believe that Peter left his church at such a time when he could be safe? If he was the bishop of that church, where rather than at Rome ought he to have passed his time? Would he not otherwise expose himself to the charge of supine negligence?

5. From the distribution of work between Peter and Paul.

VIII. Fifth, this very thing is clearly gathered from the distribution of work which was made between Peter and Paul (concerning which Gal. 2:7–9 treats), by which the care most especially of the Jews was particularly entrusted to Peter ("the apostleship of the circumcision," as Paul terms it), but to Paul the "care of the Gentiles" and the preaching of uncircumcision; not for the purpose of limiting absolutely the extent of their apostolic office (which is ecumenical), but by a special dispensation for the more convenient and prompt diffusion of the gospel. Nor can there be a doubt that Peter diligently performed his duty among the Jews, whether in person in Palestine, Syria, etc., or by letters (*di' epistolēs*), as is evident from both epistles written to the dispersed (*tēs diasporas*) Jews. Now this being established, who can readily persuade himself that the apostle Peter, at that very time when Paul and Barnabas were absent among the Gentiles, in so great a harvest of Jews through Greece, Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, Babylonia and the whole East (his own part being neglected) made the long journey to Rome and was about to establish there a see and pontifical seat, where in comparison with the Gentiles the Jews were very few? And that he would not have thought again of the East except by a certain chance (to wit, on account of the edict of Claudius), and that he would retrace his steps to that city and remain there through many years even until his death? Who does not rather believe that Peter, after the distribution of labor, exercised his ministry among the Jews and not that (the Jews being passed by) he administered his episcopate among the Gentiles through the whole of twenty-five years? Nor does Bellarmine's observation solve the difficulty: "This agreement had this force only, that Peter should preach principally to the Jews, and Paul to the Gentiles, although it was lawful for Paul also to preach to the Jews and Peter to the Gentiles." For although we do not deny

this, still it must be confessed that this was as it were extraordinary and only in passing (*en parodō*) and that his ordinary seat ought to have been where there was the greatest multitude of the Jews—for instance in the East, not in the West and at Rome, which was the head of the Gentiles and the seat of empire, where there were few Jews and many more Gentiles.

6. From chronology.

IX. Sixth, even if it could be proved that Peter was at Rome, it is impossible that he could have remained there for twenty-five years as our opponents maintain. From year eighteen of Tiberius (in which Christ was crucified) to the thirteenth of Nero (in which he is maintained to have been destroyed by him) are interposed thirty-six years (to wit, five of Tiberius, four of Caligula, fourteen of Claudius and thirteen of Nero). Now Peter did not stir a step from Judea before the twelfth year after the death of Christ, in which he was seized by Herod and thrown into prison. This abundantly appears from the Acts of the Apostles, where his presence and deeds in Jerusalem and Judea are recounted in a continuous series (chaps. 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12). In the sixth year afterwards (i.e., the eighteenth after the death of Christ), the Council of Jerusalem is gathered together, to which Paul went (Acts 15:2, 3; Gal. 2:1) and in which Peter was with the other apostles. Again, on the hypothesis of our opponents he ought to have remained at Antioch for seven years. Thus only eleven years are left in which he could have resided in Rome, not twenty-five as they wish (which it is far more likely he passed elsewhere in the East, where he could better exercise his ministry of the Jews, which had been committed to him).

7. From Clement.

X. Seventh, the testimony of Clement in his former epistle to the Corinthians assists us not a little here. In it he speaks of both apostles, Peter and Paul, of the labors and martyrdom of both. But of Peter he speaks briefly, neither designating the place of his martyrdom, nor his journeys to the West, nor his episcopate at Rome. Yet he gives a far more extended account of Paul, as after the removal of Peter, the greatest of all in labors, as carried to Rome to the Western territories, as a teacher of the whole world,

as persecuted under the emperors—for example under Nero. "On account of unjust emulation," says he, "Peter went through not one or another, but many labors and thus having suffered martyrdom departed to the due place of glory. Paul on account of emulation, having been cast into chains seven times, beaten with stripes, stoned, received the reward of patience, and having been made a herald of the word in the east and west, acquired an illustrious reputation for faith, instructing the world in righteousness, and coming to the boundaries of the west, and undergoing martyrdom under the emperors, thus emigrated from the world, and departed to the holy place, having been made the highest example of patience" (*First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* 5 [ANF 1:6; PG 1.218–19]). Now who could believe that Clement would have omitted the journey of Peter to the West and his abode in Rome and his martyrdom there under the emperors (which he records concerning Paul) if these things had been so? How could he have involved in silence the far more illustrious Roman contests of Peter and the punishment nearly equal to Christ's; nay more, tormenting with inverted body (Rome looking on) even with the previous consecration of the see and the designation of his successor (and as they hold, of Clement himself)? Nor are the various authors to be opposed to us who relate the advent of Peter to Rome and his martyrdom there (as Ignatius and Papias) because, as will be shown hereafter, they are either posterior to Clement or certainly of doubtful authority or opinion. Under this head also can be placed the silence of the writers of Roman history (as Tacitus and Suetonius) who give an account of matters under Claudius and Nero, to whom neither an occasion nor a cause was wanting of introducing a notice of the prince of the apostles then living in Rome—especially in the affair of Simon Magus, most dear (as they say) to Nero; or as to the conflict of Peter with and his victory over him and at length the wrath of Nero kindled against the author of the Simonian calamity and the cruel punishment taken on the chief of the Christians.

Sources of explanation.

XI. Although the Babylon of which John speaks in Revelation is no other than Rome because it is described with such marks as can belong to no other city (to wit, that it was seven-hilled and at that time held dominion

over the kings of the earth), it does not follow that the same is understood by Babylon in 1 Peter: "the church that is at Babylon saluteth you" (5:13). John writes prophetically and therefore speaks mystically and enigmatically; but Peter speaks historically and simply because he writes an epistle, where the narration is bare and plain. Nor had he any other reason for concealing the name of the city than Paul, who nevertheless gives it plainly when he writes at Rome. And it is strange that many of the Romanists wish to take Babylon in Revelation (a mystical and prophetic writing) properly and wish to take this name mystically in a merely historical writing, which the place from which the epistle was written indicates. Besides, there is no reason why he should designate Rome by Babylon. Was it because idols were worshipped there? But this was done everywhere. Was it from fear lest it should be known where he was living? But whence so great timidity in him? Did Paul not write boldly to the Romans and write many epistles at Rome, its name not being suppressed or changed, but freely expressed? Rome is called Babylon in Revelation chiefly on account of the spiritual bondage which the church of God was to suffer in it; but then the church had not as yet suffered any persecution. It cannot be said that Rome was thus commonly called, because John proposes this name as mysterious (*mystēriōdes*) and so as a secret. Nor does the testimony of Papias and of those who followed him (as of slight credibility, as will be shown hereafter) persuade us of this. Therefore no other could be more fitly and properly designated by Babylon than the capitol of the Chaldeans and Assyrians. This was the citadel and seat of empire, the metropolis of this dispersion to whom Peter writes (to wit, of Pontus, Galatia, etc.), which had its captive prince (*aichmalōtarchēn*) and many of the circumcision, the care of whom was common to Peter and John. How great a gathering of Jews was there appears even from this—that at length the Jewish schools were translated from Palestine to Babylon, hence the name of the Babylonian Talmud. Finally, since no necessity compels us to recede from literal propriety, there is no need to seek a mystical sense (the literal being left). Bellarmine acknowledges this ("De Sacramento Eucharistiae," 1.12 *Opera* [1858], 3:278–79).

XII. Although before the arrival of Paul, there were already many Christians in Rome (yea, the church there had begun to be founded), it does not follow that Peter founded it. It could have been gathered together by

others. For as in the dispersion of Jerusalem, the disciples, scattered in every direction, preached the gospel (as Philip in Samaria and others elsewhere), why might not some have gone to Rome also? Even in the time of Tiberius, it appears that the name of Christ and of Christians was not unknown from this—that he proposed to the Senate to enroll Christ in the number of the gods and that the Senate (refusing this) decreed that the Christians should be exterminated. If, therefore, there were Christians, then why not disciples also?

XIII. The agreement of many of the ancients, who constantly relate that Peter was in Rome and died there, cannot inspire confidence absolutely because the beginning of this tradition is derived from Papias, bishop of the church of Hieropolis in Phrygia, who from the testimony of Eusebius was not only of "a very mediocre genius (*sphodra smikros ton noun*), and wholly uneducated and simple," but both vain and a fabler, "who delivered many incredible (*paradoxa*) and unwritten (*agrapha*) things more like to fables (*kai tina mythikōtera*) than true histories" (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.39 [FC 19:205; PG 20.300]), who was also the author of the opinion of the Chiliasts. He first wrote that Peter was at Rome. Afterwards Hegesippus, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria and others followed him on account of his antiquity and thus the opinion prevailed (according to the same Eusebius, who confesses that "he offered the occasion of the same error with him" (*tēs homoias hautō doxēs paraition gegonenai*) to most ecclesiastical writers after him and especially to Irenaeus himself (ibid., 205–6; PG 20.300). Therefore, since the parent of this tradition is of such doubtful authority in various matters of faith, how could he obtain assent from us, so many arguments drawn as well from Scripture as from reason evincing the contrary? That this Papias was not a hearer of John, the apostle, but of a certain presbyter of the same name different from the apostle, Jerome (following Eusebius) informs us. Baronius also proves this by many circumstances, who not obscurely refers to his unworthiness of credence, after quoting the words of Eusebius (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, Annus 118, 3, 4 [1864], 2:176). "From this you can readily understand," says he, "that in traditions a choice is to be made, so that all should not at once have confidence in it, as one says that he received something from the tradition of ancestors, as happened concerning Papias" (ibid., Annus 118, 5).

XIV. As to the testimony of Irenaeus, who makes Peter and Paul to have been evangelists at Rome and to have founded the church there (*Against Heresies* 3.1, 3 [ANF 1:414, 415]), we say: (1) that he followed with too great credulity the authority of Papias or the tradition of the Roman church elevating herself on account of the dominion of the city, and boasting of both apostles as her founders. (2) Our opponents do not always trust Irenaeus, but often contradict him. (3) The words and mind of Irenaeus do not agree with the pontifical hypothesis, while he attributes the founding of the Roman church equally to Paul and Peter, who administered it together and with equal authority at length transmitted the episcopate to Linus (*Against Heresies* 3.3* [ANF 1:416]).

XV. Since the story of Simon Magus (withstood by Peter at Rome) rests only upon human authority, of which no eyewitnesses can be furnished, it cannot command our assent. From another source, it appears that his wickedness had been exposed at Samaria by Peter (Acts 8:23) before he went to Rome and that he (conquered and fleeing the sight of the apostle) only came to Rome, as Clement relates (*Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* 6.8, 9* [ANF 7:453]) and Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* 2.14 [FC 19:109]). Hence it is not at all likely that Peter should betake himself to Rome to destroy him again. However the statue which is said by Justin Martyr to have been erected to him with this inscription, "To Simon, the holy God," is falsely referred to him (*First Apology* 26 [FC 6:62; PG 6.367]). It was observed long ago by learned men that the ignorance of the Latin language misled the ancient writer, so that he understood of Saint Simon what ought to be read *Semone Sanco*. This the most illustrious Vossius shows—that among the hero gods of the Romans was holy Semo, who also is *fidius* because by him oaths were made (*De Theologia Gentili ... de origine ac progressu idolatrie* 1.12 [1641/1976], 1:88). The Roman inscription according to Gruter is: *Semoni Sanco Deo fidio sacrum*; and another *Sancto Sanco Semoni Deo fidio sacrum* (*Inscriptionum Antiquarum Sylloge* [1691], p. 42). Here belong the lines of Ovid: "I inquired whether I should refer the Nones to Sancus, or to Fidius, or to thee, Father Semo; then Sancus said to me: 'To whomsoever of them thou mayest give it, the honor will still be mine: I bear the three names: so willed the people of Cures' " (*Fasti* 6.213–16 [Loeb, 5:334–35]). Semo, Sanctius and Fidius were the same. Hence the error of Justin Martyr arose that because the Samaritans

held as a holy god their Simon Magus mentioned in the Acts, on this account he supposed that the statue at Rome dedicated to Semo (a sacred god) was erected to Simon Magus.

XVI. All who hold that Peter was in Rome do not forthwith assert that he was the bishop of the church there, much less that he resided there for twenty-five years. It is one thing for Peter to have been in Rome; another to have erected a monarchical government there. Hence these testimonies prove nothing as to the primacy of the pope, whom they hold has succeeded Peter in the universal episcopate. Peter might have died in Rome, although he was not a bishop there, not otherwise than Paul. And since all these statements rest merely upon human testimony and the Scripture is silent about them, the primacy of Peter cannot be established as an article to be believed with divine faith.

XVII. Even though it should be granted that Peter both lived and died at Rome, no more is his primacy thence proved than at Joppa or Antioch, where he also lived. But with a far better right, it would be claimed for the church at Jerusalem, where the Savior died (and the apostle James) and whence the light of the gospel was diffused to all the corners of the earth. Nor can this be proved from what is said by the ancients concerning the seat of Peter, as if that was the throne and, as it were, chair of state. For by it is designated nothing else than the doctrine which was preached everywhere by Peter (from Mt. 23:2 and Acts 18:11).

XVIII. The true reason and origin of the primate of the Roman church is to be sought not from the succession of Peter, but from the dignity of the city itself. In the ancient Roman Empire, the dignity of the bishops was estimated according to the political and civil dignity of the cities in which they sat (as will be shown hereafter).

XIX. Although Peter was not the bishop of Rome, it is not necessary for us to show from the time of his leaving Antioch, where he sat till his death (i.e., bore the episcopate), because it was no more necessary for Peter to have a see than Paul. For it was the duty of the apostles to journey into various parts of the world, and concerning Peter himself, it appears from the testimony of the ancients, if to sit is taken truly for to teach, Peter could have sat in various places—in Jerusalem, Babylon and in the other churches which he visited, of which nevertheless he was not and could not be called the bishop.

Nineteenth Question: The Primacy of the Pope

Is the Roman pope the successor of Peter in a monarchy or ecumenical pontificate? We deny

Is the pope the successor of peter?

I. It is known that the primacy of the pope rests upon this foundation—that Peter obtained it from Christ and transmitted it to his successors, who are no other than the Roman pontiffs. Now as we have already proved that no such monarchical primacy was given to Peter, so now we are to prove that the pope cannot be the successor of Peter, whatever privilege he may have obtained, because it was extraordinary and special (which could not pass over to others).

Opinion of our opponents.

II. Bellarmine makes many observations on this question. First, he distinguishes "between the succession itself and the reason of the succession, that the succession of the Roman pontiff to the pontificate of Peter was according to the institution of Christ, and so rests upon divine right; while the reason of the succession, that the Roman pontiff, rather than any other, for example the Antiochian, should succeed, had its beginning from the fact of Peter, because he fixed his seat at Rome, and held it until his death, which he could have placed elsewhere. (2) Although perhaps it is not of divine right that the Roman pontiff, because he is the Roman pontiff, succeeds Peter in the government of the whole church, still if anyone seeks absolutely, whether by divine right the Roman pontiff is the shepherd and head of the whole church, this is to be asserted altogether. (3) Although it is not of divine right that the Roman pontiff as the Roman succeeds Peter, still that belongs to the catholic faith. Because it is not the same for a thing to be of faith, and to be of divine right" ("De Romano Pontifice," 2.12 *Opera* [1856], 1:383). But the same author, with great inconsistency, asserts the contrary (near the end): "Since therefore it is not evident, how Christ ordered Peter to place his seat at Rome, on that account it is not of faith, that the see was constituted at Rome by a divine and immutable command,

but still, as we have said, it is most probable and should be piously believed" (ibid., 4.4, p. 483).

Proof that the pope is not the successor of Peter.

III. We deny that the pope was or can be said to be the successor of Peter, as they pretend. The reasons are: first, if he is his successor, this will be either with respect to the common and ordinary ministry of preaching the word, administering the sacraments and exercising discipline; or with respect to the special and extraordinary work of the apostleship. And yet in the former sense, succession does not belong to anyone in particular, but to all true ministers of Christ and pastors of the church in general, who on this account are everywhere called by the fathers "successors of the divine apostles" (*diadochoi tōn theiōn apostolōn*). While in the latter sense, no one could succeed the apostles because their office was temporary and extraordinary (to lay the foundations of the Christian church) and therefore did not admit of successors in the same office. This is gathered even from their marks. For these things were peculiar to the apostles: (a) the appearance of Christ, that they might be witnesses of his resurrection (Acts 1:22; 1 Cor. 9:1); (b) immediate calling (Gal. 1:1); (c) infallibility in doctrine; (d) universal ministry; (e) the gift of miracles. Since these were granted to them alone as apostles, in vain would they be sought in their successors.

IV. Second, no one succeeded the apostles in personal apostolic preeminence (*hyperochē*). Therefore neither did anyone succeed Peter. For the same principle ought to apply to all. Nor ought the privilege of Peter as to ecclesiastical monarchy to be opposed, because this is the capital falsehood (*prōton pseudos*), which has been refuted before.

V. Third, the pope glories no less in the authority and succession of Paul than of Peter, of whose primacy, however, no one ever dreamed. Hence he exhibits the pontifical seat and image of both and formerly they who came to Rome for religious purposes were said to come to "the thresholds of the apostles," since each is esteemed the founder of the Roman church, as Irenaeus has it (*Against Heresies* 3.3 [ANF 1:415]). And Epiphanius calls Peter and Paul bishops of the Roman church (*Panarion* 27.6 [PG 41.371]). Here belongs the French book of Arnaldi, *de Magnitudine Ecclesiae Romanae*+, where the author strives to prove that "the authority of the

Roman church is founded on Peter and Paul, who were equals." This book was badly received at Rome, as making out of a monarchy a diarchy (if we may so speak) and assigning a double head to one body.

VI. Though Peter had been the bishop of Rome, still the Roman bishops would have succeeded him only in the episcopate of that city, not however in the apostleship or primacy, which were peculiar to the person of Peter; by nothing more than the bishops of Antioch, who are no less successors of Peter than they. Nor is it to be said here with Bellarmine: "The bishop of Antioch succeeded Peter living, but the Roman, Peter dead" ("De Romano Pontifice," 2*.12 *Opera* [1856], 1:382–83). For (a) why does the right of primogeniture not refer rather to the Antiochian than to the Roman? (b) They are not as yet agreed concerning the first successor of Peter—Linus or Clement. If he was Linus (as most determine), he succeeded Peter living, not otherwise at Rome, than Evodius at Antioch. If, however, Clement is said to have been the first and immediate successor of Peter (so that they may make the primacy to flow from Peter dying to the Roman pontiff), what then will become of Linus and Anacletus, whom the common consent of the best authors testifies to have been Roman bishops before Clement? Will they say that "Linus and Anacletus were only suffragan bishops (*chorepiscopi*)" and (they not standing in the way) that Clement was the immediate successor of Peter in the episcopate? But the absurdity of the comment is patent from the fact that suffragan bishops were placed not in cities, but in the country (*chōrais*) (i.e., in the country around cities or in regions of the same diocese remote from the city); *chōrepiskopos* is a country bishop (*episkopos epichōrios* or *tēs chōras*) who could do nothing of greater importance and without the bishop of the city, to whom both himself and his region are in subjection, as is declared in *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles: Ecclesiastical Canons* 36* (ANF 7:502). Will they say that Peter, anticipating his passion, left the episcopal see to Clement; that Clement however did not immediately succeed Peter, but that Linus and Anacletus were chief pontiffs before Clement (namely, that Clement on account of his modesty and humility refused the episcopate as long as Linus and Anacletus lived because they had been assistants of Peter in his episcopal office, as Bellarmine says ("De Romano Pontifice," 2.5 *Opera* [1856], 1:373)? Or that the example of this nomination might not pass down to posterity (as Genebrard says, *Chronographiae* 3 [1580], pp. 182–292).

But is this a mark of humility to use subterfuges concerning an imposed office? Did Clement fear that he would be suspected of pride, since the episcopal office at that time was not of authority but of ministry? Why did he not refuse while Peter was alive so that Peter himself might designate another? Or if there was any reason he should wish Linus and Anacletus to be preferred to himself, why did Peter not see it and entrust the episcopate rather to Linus? Again, if Linus was not bishop of Rome before the death of Peter, and Clement was ordained bishop by Peter (his death being imminent) and left as a lawful successor by him; thus Linus and Anacletus obtained that episcopate by no right, but were usurpers. Finally, shall it be added that the elders of the Roman church did not receive Clement, but elected Linus knowing that the form of a denomination of this kind could in the future grievously injure the church (as *Liber Caerem*., 1. 1, sect. 11+ has it)? But thus is charged upon Peter either impiety or ignorance, who in a matter of so great moment would do that which would furnish an evil and pernicious example.

Proof that the pope was not a universal bishop: (1) from the equality of the patriarchs.

VII. Besides these arguments, by which it is evident that the Roman bishop did not succeed Peter, many others are at hand by which it is proved that he was anything but a universal pontiff. First, from the equality of the patriarchs—he was one of the number of patriarchs who were mutually equal in authority, although some were prior or posterior to others in order. This is evident (a) from the Sixth Canon of the Nicene Council: “The ancient custom should prevail in Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria should have authority over all these, since the same is the custom with the Roman bishop himself” (Hefele 1:389). From this it is clear that equal authority is ascribed to both, to the Alexandrian as well as the Roman, whatever the Romanists may say (as will be shown in the following question). (b) From the Council of Constantinople, in which (because Constantine had taken away the seat of the empire from Rome and transferred it to Constantinople) the second place after the Roman is given to the Constantinopolitan bishop: “that the Bishop of Constantinople may

obtain the prerogatives of honor after the Roman bishop, because it is new Rome" (Canon 3, *Hefele* 2:357). (c) From the Fourth General Council of Chalcedon (Canon 28, *Hefele* 3:410–12) and of Trulla, reported by Gratian, in which it was enacted that the see of Constantinople should enjoy equal prerogatives of honor with the Roman and in business be exalted like it; yet however as to be second after it (cf. "Decreti," Pt. 1, Dist. 22.6 [Canon 36, Council of Trulla/Constantinople, AD 692], *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:76).

2. From the convocation of councils.

VIII. (2) From the convocation of councils because if the bishop of Rome was an ecumenical bishop and monarch of the church, councils ought to have been summoned by his authority and mandate; for a monarch suffers no assembly to be held in his empire without public authority. And yet no such thing can be said, either as to particular or general councils. For we read of no particular councils convoked by the Roman bishop (except in his own province) and Bellarmine confesses that the diocesan council ought to be convoked by a bishop, provincial council by an archbishop, national council by a patriarch or primate. As to an ecumenical council, it is certain that none have been convoked by the Roman pontiff, except after the decay of the empire and the confirmation of his tyranny. It is evident that no bulls or epistles were heard or seen (such as in these later times are with great ceremony affixed to the beginning of councils) by which it appears that the convocation takes place by the authority and command of the Roman bishop. It is evident on the contrary that emperors convoked synods by their letters and synods testified that they were called together by the authority of the emperor, but never by that of the Roman pontiff. Nay, even Roman pontiffs often sought with earnest prayers from an emperor the convocation of a synod and sometimes it was denied to them, as we learn from ecclesiastical history. That the First Nicene Council was convoked by the Emperor Constantine is so well known as to need no proof. Eusebius, an eyewitness, declares it (cf. *Life of Constantine* 3.6 [NPNF2, 1:521]); cf. Socrates (*Ecclesiastical History* 1.8* [NPNF2, 2:8]) and Theodoret (*Ecclesiastical History* 1.9 [NPNF2, 3:47–48]). The second was that of Constantinople I in the year 383, which Sozomen (*Ecclesiastical History*

7.7 [NPNF2, 2:380]) and Socrates (*Ecclesiastical History* 5.8 [NPNF2, 2:121]) tell us was convoked by Theodosius. The bishops themselves write to the emperor that they were convoked according to his rescript. The third, the Ephesian in the year 434, which as often as it says in its Acts that it was congregated, so often acknowledges the authority of the emperor, but nowhere that of the bishop of Rome (cf. Evagrius, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 1.3, 4 [PG 86.2426–30]). The Chalcedonian in the year 454, by the Emperors Valentinian and Marcianus, as the very day and place appointed by the Emperor proves (although Pope Leo, *Epistola* 90 [43], "Ad Marcianum" [PL 54.932–34] deprecated it) and the Acts, which teach that the Synod was assembled by the decree of the most pious Emperors, Valentinian and Marcianus. The fifth is Constantinople II, in the year 532, proclaimed by Justinian, as Evagrius testifies: "Justinian convoked the Fifth Council" (*Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 4.38* [PG 86.2774]; cf. Nicephorus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae* 17.27 [PG 147.283]). The Synod confirms the same thing in a letter to the Emperor and the very letters of Justinian laid before the Synod at its opening, in which not only is the convocation decreed, but the Emperor also defends his right by preceding examples, that all might know he had not usurped authority. The sixth is the Trullan (Council of Constantinople), which in Act 1 is said "to have been assembled according to the Imperial sanction" (Jean Hardouin, *Acta conciliorum et epistolae decretales* [1714–15], 3:1055). The same is read concerning Nicea II in the year 781, assembled by the Emperors Constantine VI and Irene (cf. Tanner, 1:133); also concerning Constantinople IV, the eighth General Council, which, *in prooemio*, is said to have been brought together by the Emperor Basil I (cf. Mansi 16:14, 17). From this it is perfectly plain that the right to convoke councils belonged not to the Roman bishops, but to the emperors. Hence Socrates properly says that he had made mention of the emperors for this reason—"that from the time in which Christians began to be, the affairs of the church seemed to depend upon their nod and so the greatest councils were both convoked and still are convoked according to their opinion" ("Introduction," *Ecclesiastical History*, 5 [NPNF2, 2:118; PG 67.566]). And Cardinal Cusa confesses that "all the eight general Councils were convoked by Emperors and the Roman pontiff just like the other patriarchs received sacred orders to come, or to send to the Council" ("De Concordantia Catholica," 2.25 *Opera Omnia*

[1939], 14:246–47). Hence we gather how futile is the refuge of Bellarmine that "custom can here be opposed to custom, if emperors convoked four or five councils, the Romans convoked more than twelve." The most ancient custom (such as we present) even to the eighth century and beyond is to be preferred by far to the custom of more modern times, in which all things began to rush headlong by the ambition of the bishops of Rome. Besides, the councils said to be convoked by the pontiffs were not so much universal as national, composed only of Latins (the Florentine excepted, in which there were a few Greeks).

3. From the interdiction of appeals to the bishop of Rome.

IX. (3) From the interdiction of appeals to the bishop of Rome. For if he was always acknowledged as a universal bishop and monarch of the church, it would have been lawful to appeal to him as a supreme judge from whom no appeal could be made, which (it is gathered from various sources) could not be done. (a) From the authority of those councils which wished ecclesiastical causes to be judged and terminated within their own province: "He is said to be considered as excommunicated, who has been condemned in a provincial council" (Council of Nicea, Canon 5; cf. Hefele 1:386). This could not have been said if he had the right of appealing to another. This is confirmed by Canons 6 and 15 of the Council of Antioch+ and in Novella 123+ of Justinian. (b) Appeals to the bishop of Rome are often condemned. With respect to Fortunatus and Felicissimus, who, condemned in Africa, had fled to Rome, Cyprian rebukes Cornelius severely for this deed because the case of each ought to be heard in the place where the crime had been committed (Letter 59, "To Cornelius," 9.4 [ACW 46:76–77]). Again, to individual pastors a portion of the flock is assigned which they may rule, who are to give a reason for their acts to God; thus the Roman can no more rescind the judgment of the Carthaginian than the latter that of the former. Finally, the authority of the Africans is no less than that of those to whom they had fled. (c) The Oriental bishops testify the same thing. According to Socrates they answer Julius I who had written to them about the restitution of Athanasius: "If any have perchance been ejected from the church by their

decision, the matter ought not to be decided by him; for when he would drive Novatus out of the church, they had not made the least opposition" (*Ecclesiastical History* 2.15* [NPNF2, 2:42; PG 67.214]). Now although they are not to be excused in the condemnation of Athanasius, it is not credible that if it had been lawful to appeal to Rome, they would have dared so openly to contradict that right or to accuse Julius. This they would have done against the canons of the church, as Sozomen remarks (*Ecclesiastical History* 3.7 [NPNF2, 2:286–87]). And that Julius in a matter so certain and just would not have thrown himself upon that right of appeals. (d) Damasus, Bishop of Rome, writing to Theophilus (of Alexandria) and Anisius, acknowledges that he could not judge concerning Bonosus after the decree of a particular synod which had commissioned other judges (cf. Ambrose, "Epistola De Causa Bonosi" [79] [PL 16.1222–24]). (e) The Council of Milvia (Mileum) condemns all transmarine appeals. "They who think that appeals can be made to those over the sea, should be received into fellowship by no one in Africa" (Council of Milvia, 22 *Collectio Canonum S. Isidoro* [PL 84.234]). Now Rome was over the sea to the Africans. Nor ought it to be said that there was added to the same canon, "unless perchance he should appeal to the Apostolic See" (as it reads in Gratian, "Decreti," Pt. II, Causa II, Q. 6.35 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:479), because Bellarmine confesses that it was especially determined on account of Rome that it would not be lawful to appeal beyond the sea. Nor also (as Bellarmine holds) does it treat of the appeals of presbyters and of the minor clergy, but not of bishops, which were permitted. Even the Romans approve and admit the appeals of presbyters, as appeared in the cause of Apiarius, an African presbyter, whom (condemned in Africa) the Roman pontiff wished to be restored. Finally, the canon copied from the Latin manuscript was mutilated by Bellarmine. For in the Greek it reads thus: "they do not appeal except to African councils, or to the primates of their own provinces [*hōs kai peri tōn episkopōn pollakis ōristai*], as also concerning bishops it has often been decreed" (cf. Hardouin 1:934–35).

4. From appeals from the bishop of Rome.

X. (4) From appeals from the bishop of Rome. For if an appeal could be had from the judgment of the Roman bishop, by that very circumstance he was

not acknowledged as universal pontiff. For it is lawful to appeal from an inferior to a superior, but by no means from a supreme. Now it is clear that this happened in the cause of Donatus, who appealed from Miltiades, the Roman bishop, and was tried a second time by the Bishop of Arles: from whom (again appealing) he was tried by the emperor (cf. Augustine, Letter 43, "To Glorius" [FC 12:182–207], who gives the whole history in full). Here belongs the fact that the Roman bishops themselves, when they were resisted, carried the matter to a synod. This they would not have done if they recognized themselves as supreme judges; as was seen in Liberius, who, since Constantius the Emperor opposed him in the cause of Athanasius, nowhere boasted of ecumenical authority, but demanded that a council should be called (according to Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.13* [NPNF2, 3:77–79]). Innocent, in the cause of Chrysostom (according to Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* 8.26 [NPNF2, 2:415–17]), says the synod alone could provide. Leo (the Great), in the cause of Anatolius, writes to Theodosius (II) Augustus that he should convoke a council to decide it (Letter 69 [33], "To Theodosius Augustus" [NPNF2, 12:63–64]).

5. From dissent from the Roman bishop.

XI. (5) From the dissent of various persons from the Roman bishop. If he had been looked up to as a universal pontiff, no one would have dared to dissent from him. Still this was done by the Asiatic churches, which in the controversy about Easter freely dissented from Victor and were in consequence excommunicated by him. But this was not at all agreeable to the bishops, who not only thought it lawful to dissent from him, but also boldly dared to rebuke him (which Irenaeus of Lyons did). If anyone would do this in our day, he would not escape with impunity (cf. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.24 [FC 19:334–39]). The same thing is evident from the example of Cyprian, who wrote concerning Anabaptism against Stephen, the Bishop of Rome, where he refutes the letter of Stephen on this subject in a caustic and chiding style. Concerning this Augustine treats, where he remarks that Cyprian dealt with Stephen as with a brother, not with a prince or universal lord, and thought that no absurdity would be perpetrated by him, if he would not only dissent from, but rebuke him (*On Baptism, Against the Donatists* 5.25 [NPNF1, 4:476]).

6. From the subjection of the bishops to the Roman emperors.

XII. (6) The same thing could be shown from the subjection of the Roman bishops to the emperors, who often deposed them: as Constantius sent Liberius into exile; Justinian sent Silverius into exile; King Theodoric cast John I (the Cappadocian) into prison; Otto I deposed John XII; Henry III (of Germany) deposed Gregory VI. The Roman pontiffs acknowledged them as their lords. Gregory I calls "the emperor his most serene lord but himself his unworthy servant, who owed obedience to him" (Book 3, Letter 61, "Gregorius Mauricio Augusto" [CCSL 140.209, 211]; cf. also lib 4. epist. 31+ and 34+). Nor is it to be supposed that Gregory said this with a feigned humility, as the pontiff calls himself a servant of servants, while he really bears himself as a lord of lords. For the very words testify to the contrary and this is gathered from Book 3*, Letter 61, "Gregorius Mauricio Augusto" (CCSL 140.210), in which he calls himself the servant of the emperor by the right of the state. A little after, he introduces God speaking thus to the emperor: "I have committed my priests into thy hand." And in the same place Gregory confesses that he is subject to his orders. The same delegated pontiffs for the empire in ecclesiastical causes, as was done by Constantine with respect to Miltiades, the Roman pontiff, in the cause of Caecilian against Donatus of Casae Nigrae. When they convoked universal councils, they were accustomed to summon the Roman bishop himself equally with other bishops; and indeed by authority, not only by request. This appears from the words of Theodosius and Valentinian to Cyril concerning the convocation of the Synod of Ephesus. On this account, Leo humbly excuses himself for not being able to be present at the Synod according to the letter of the emperor (Letter 31 [13], "To Pulcheria Augusta" [NPNF2, 12:45–46]). So when the Roman bishops were employed in ecclesiastical matters, they humbly supplicated (cf. Letter 43 [24], "To Theodosius Augustus" [NPNF2, 12:52–53] and Letter 45 [26], "To Pulcheria Augusta" [NPNF2, 12:54–55]). Finally, the emperors by their authority confirmed or declared void the election of the Roman bishop, as appears from Platina: "Nothing was accomplished by the clergy in electing a pontiff, unless the emperor approved his election" (*Historia B. Platinae de*

Vitis Pontificum Romanorum [1611], p. 80 on Pelagius II). The same thing is confirmed by Sabellicus (*Enneades*, Pt. II, 8.5 [1498], 2:xxvii). Now, however, it is far otherwise. The pontiff pretends the election of an emperor is void which he has not confirmed.

7. From the parity of titles given to the bishop.

XIII. (7) From the parity of titles by which the other bishops with the Roman bishop made themselves known. Not only did the Roman bishop himself call the rest colleagues, brethren, cobishops (for thus they who preside over others are accustomed sometimes to let themselves down, as when generals call their own soldiers fellow soldiers), but the remaining bishops also thus saluted the Roman bishop from the beginning as a sign of equality—Cyprian to Cornelius, the Roman bishop; Lucius I to Stephen I; "Cyprian, health to brother Cornelius" and everywhere; cf. Letter 40 (41), "To Cornelius" (ANF 5:319; PL 3.721); Letter 47 (48), "To Cornelius" (ANF 5:324; PL 3.736); Letter 57 (58), "To Lucius" (ANF 5:352; PL 3.1003); and Letter 66 (67), "To Stephanus" (ANF 5:367; PL 3.1023). Nor do we ever read of their using those magnificent titles which afterwards prevailed. Would the pope in our day suffer the bishops or cardinals to address him in this way? To say here with Pamelius, "The ancient bishops used that manner of speaking because it was more of gentleness and benevolence than of profane domination," is to confess that the proud and ambitious names of most blessed and most holy father and lord (which were afterwards introduced and are used in our day) are of profane domination, not of mildness and benevolence; and are redolent of Antichrist, not of Christ and his servants.

XIV. Finally, that the pope is not the successor of Peter, neither of right (*de jure*), nor in fact (*de facto*), can be made evident from various considerations. First, concerning the right. (a) If such a successor had been given by Christ, he would have told his apostles about him (as in the Old Testament such express mention is made of the Jewish pontiff). Nevertheless it has already been proved that this was not done. (b) If a worthy successor to Peter was to be sought, undoubtedly this by a much better right was due to the apostle John, who survived Peter almost thirty years. (c) He cannot rightly claim for himself the succession of Peter who

does not perform the duties of Peter, such as to feed the sheep of Christ, to teach by the word and other similar duties. Nor can it be said either that he "is prevented by lawful impediments." For there can be none which ought to call him away from the exercise of his office. Nor can it be said that "the pope acts by others." For Peter and the other apostles did this themselves, other matters being laid aside. Nor can a mandatory transfer his work to another. Nor can he be called a vicar of Christ who either denies or does not perform the functions of Christ in preaching the gospel committed to him.

XV. Second, in fact. (a) Nothing is more certain than that the Roman bishops were formerly chosen by the votes of the people and the Roman clergy. But who gave this power and right to the Roman people that they should provide a head for the universal church? (b) Romanists are not agreed as to the truth of the succession, since some subjoin Linus to Peter, then Clement; others on the contrary propose Clement before him. Others make Cletus (Anacletus) next to Linus; others again substitute Anacletus for Cletus. Others affirm that Linus sat while Paul was alive. This variety readily proves that whatever is handed down about this matter is of doubtful authority. Again they fiercely contend with each other, to what it belonged —to the see or the incumbent? Does the universal pontificate belong to the Roman see that it may thence pass to the bishop; or on the contrary to the bishop rather in the place of Peter, and from him that see receives a prerogative above all? Then they contend about whether this succession is of divine or of ecclesiastical right. Some hold that this privilege was made proper to the Roman bishop by divine right; others by ecclesiastical right only (as Bellarmine observed above). In this way, nothing would prevent the succession from the Roman bishop from being transferred to others. Finally, from the arguments adduced before, it is certain that through many ages no trace appears of this universal pontificate.

Sources of explanation.

XVI. Succession is necessary in the church, but of doctrine and of the common and pastoral office; but not of place, or of persons and of the extraordinary apostolic office. Pastors in the first way succeed the apostles, but no one could have succeeded them in the latter way. Nor if the bishop or pope is on account of the church, does it follow that the same form of

government always remains and that the same office is transmitted with the same authority from one to another. The unity of the church does not depend upon its external form of polity, for it was one from the beginning, but not governed in one way. Beginnings are undoubtedly to be distinguished from progress. There are officers who must perpetually accompany the church, as pastors and teachers. Others, who were appointed to found it (such as apostles and evangelists), ought to remain only for a time.

XVII. The succession of the Old Testament is not pertinent here because it is clearly handed down in the Scripture that the succession to Aaron was provided for by a divine law. But concerning the successor of Peter we have nothing in the New Testament. The apostles, it is true, ought to be succeeded and have really been succeeded in teaching with respect to the ministry. In this, there should be a perpetual succession of pastors. But this succession is not tied down to one see or to any particular person. Again, there was the greatest difference between the priesthood of the Old Testament and the ministry of the New; most especially in this—that the high priest was a figure of Christ, not of Peter or the pope. He ought to have successors because he was mortal; but not Christ, who is eternal.

XVIII. The primacy which is sometimes ascribed to the Roman church is not founded on the succession of Peter. But it is given on account of the city because he was the bishop of that city, which had the dominion of the world (*dia to basileu ein tēn polin ekeinēn*, as it is expressly declared by the Council of Chalcedon). And for the same reason the second place among the patriarchs was assigned to the bishop of Constantinople; not because he was the successor of Andrew, the apostle, but because Constantinople was a new Rome (i.e., because the seat of the empire had been transferred to it). As the fathers of that Council (Constantinople 1, A.D. 381) say: "The fathers gave to the see of the older Rome the prerogative of honor, as was reasonable, since that city is the queen of the world, and one hundred fifty bishops most dear to God ascribed equal prerogatives of honor to the most sacred throne of new Rome" (cf. Canon 3 [NPNF2, 14:178]).

XIX. (1) The right of appeals to the Roman see cannot be proved from the canon which is thrust forward as a canon of the Nicene Council (to wit, "That all bishops who are accused with somewhat weighty crimes, or are cast in their cause, as often as is necessary, may appeal freely to the

Apostolic see, and fly to her as to a mother"). It is proved that this canon is supposititious and forged. (a) The Nicene Synod published only twenty canons, not more, among which we do not find this one concerning appeals. Theodoret, speaking of the fathers of the council, says: "They passed twenty laws concerning ecclesiastical government" (*Ecclesiastical History* 1.7* [NPNF2, 3:46; PG 82.926]). Nicephorus confirms this (*Ecclesiasticae Historicae* 8.19 [PG 146.75–78]). And Pope Stephen, according to Gratian: "We have only twenty heads of the Nicene Synod on the holy Roman church" ("Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. 16.13 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:50). The sixth Council of Carthage enumerates only twenty canons (cf. Hefele 1:356–57). (b) If it was not supposititious, the Roman bishop Zosimus would not have been forced to cite other canons, from the Synod of Sardis, under the name of the Nicene (cf. Hefele 1:356–57, 2:464). Hence he was convicted and condemned for falsehood. Absurdly and gratuitously does Bellarmine, in order to remove this fault, pretend that the canon of Sardis was quoted for the Nicene because these two councils are considered as one and the same ("De Romano Pontifice," 2.25 *Opera* [1856], 1:407–411). (c) This canon is at variance with the fifth and sixth Nicene, which are acknowledged as genuine. For the fifth allows appeals from a bishop (not to a bishop), but to a council, which for this reason it orders to be held twice every year (cf. Hefele 1:386–87). The sixth permits ecclesiastical jurisdiction between the patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch and makes these last equal to the Roman (ibid., pp. 388–89). (2) No better is it proved from the canon of the Council of Chalcedon which is proposed by the Romanists, by which is given to the bishop the liberty of appealing to the most blessed bishop of ancient Rome, who is called the "vicar of the apostolical throne." There are various proofs of its falsehood. For who can believe that those fathers who equated the bishop of Constantinople to the Roman bishop (the legates of Leo even being unwilling) and wished him to be only second in order, but in ecclesiastical matters to be of equal authority (*megalynesthai*), would have sanctioned such appeals? Nay, Canon 9 proves the contrary: "If a bishop or a clergyman has a controversy with the metropolitan of that province, let him go to the exarch of the diocese, or to the throne of the Imperial City, Constantinople, and there plead his cause" (Hefele 3:394). (3) Not from the Council of Sardis, which was particular, not universal, and whose authority therefore cannot be opposed to the

Council of Nicea, determining the contrary. These canons were rejected in the Council of Chalcedon when the bishop of Constantinople was made equal to the bishop of Rome (cf. ibid., 1:356–57).

XX. Appeals (if any were made) were made by wicked and evilly disposed men striving to engage churches in contest with one another and laboring to be absolved from certain censures which they had incurred among others; nor so much seeking a lawful change of judgment as a testimony of repentance and fellowship, so that after their repentance had been accepted they might betake themselves to this or that bishop, be received by him into fellowship and from him carry letters to others. Thus they hoped they could find some favorable to them or at least thought they could impose upon those by whom they were not well known; as was done by Marcion, Fortunatus, Basilides and others. If they were made by pious men, they were not so much appeals to a supreme judge, who ruled authoritatively over the rest, as to an honorary arbiter, who could by his counsel and assistance help them more than others, not on account of any authority of declaring the law, but to a friendly fellowship of the same communion, since the Roman bishops admitted them into their communion as confessors of the same faith and thence undertook their defense. This was done by Athanasius, Chrysostom and Flavian.

XXI. All things adduced from councils to support the primacy of the pope are either fictitious and wrested in their meaning, or have reference only to good order (*eutaxian*), or are said on account of the eminence of the seat (as the Council of Chalcedon held), or on account of the piety and patience of the early pontiffs; and that was given to them not by right, but arbitrarily. For it is certain that authoritative primacy was first obtained through evil arts by Boniface III from Phocas, the emperor-killer. For before, little respect was shown to the Roman church, Aeneas Sylvius (afterwards Pius II) confessing it (Letter 288, "To Martino Mayer," *Aeneae Sylvii ... Opera* [1551/1967], pp. 801–3). Nor if they convoked or confirmed or presided over certain councils, either themselves or by legates, were they on that account furnished with lawful authority. For the question concerns right and not the fact; nor did this please the other churches. Yet for the sake of the public peace, they yielded to the ambition and tyranny of the Roman church because they could not safely resist her. Again, councils can be confirmed in two ways: either by an edict or by assent. By edict

when (a law being made) the churches are ordered to receive and observe the acts of councils, even a punishment being threatened against the rebellious. By assent, when anyone testifies that he assents to what has been decreed and adds his vote. Popes cannot be said to have confirmed councils in the former way, nor can any edicts of popes be produced by which they confirmed any acts of councils (as was afterwards done when their tyranny was strengthened), for this belonged to emperors. But they could confirm by their assent, which indicates no power of him who consents over those who have decreed; for thus all bishops by their assent confirmed councils. Dissent was also common to all bishops; still that was left for the patriarchs because the bishops, over whom they presided, followed for the most part their opinion whom they had the greatest weight in confirming and weakening. But this also must be remarked—that the dissent of the Roman bishop did not prevent the decrees from being ratified, as was seen in the decree of the Council of Chalcedon by which the bishop of Constantinople was preferred to him of Alexandria. This was not set aside, but confirmed in the Trullan Council against the dissent of Leo (cf. Hefele, 5:228).

XXII. In building up their primacy Romanists have no help either in the First Council of Constantinople, which in a letter to Damasus, Bishop of Rome, says that it had assembled according to the command of the pontiff sent to it by the emperor, and which acknowledges the Roman church to be the head of the others. For no mention is made of a mandate in that letter (as found in Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.9 [NPNF2, 3:137]), but only of the letter of Damasus, which he wrote to Theodosius, to convoke the council. Nor is the Roman church in it said to be the head of the others; nay, on the contrary, the church of Jerusalem is called "the mother of all" (*mētēr pasōn*, ibid. [NPNF2, 3:138; PG 82.1216]), but the bishops acknowledge themselves to be the *oikeia melē* (ibid. [NPNF2, 3:137; PG 82.1213]); not of the Roman church, but of the whole church or of the council. Or in the First Council of Ephesus, in which Nestorius is said to have been condemned by the command of Celestine I; for mention is made of a letter from Celestine to the council in which he gave his assent, but not of a command. When they call Celestine a fellow worker (*sylleitourgon*), the fathers sufficiently teach that they did not recognize him as their head and lord. Or from the Council of Chalcedon, which everywhere calls Leo I bishop of the universal church. It is one thing to be a "bishop of the universal church," which suits

all bishops, upon whom the care of the whole church rests (as Chrysostom says of himself). It is another thing to be "the universal bishop of the church." The former is said of Leo I and not the latter. Again, it is known that the name Catholic is ascribed on account of orthodoxy, to distinguish from schismatics and heretics who were in particular assemblies. Finally, the name "ecumenical" we often find ascribed not only to the Roman, but also to the Constantinopolitan patriarch and to all the others. Or from Constantinople V, gathered in the cause of Anthimus, which calls the Roman church apostolic and says that it follows and obeys it. We also obey one giving good advice, although he has no supreme authority over us. Besides, it is evident from the history of the popes that he was not regarded as the supreme judge because when Agapetus had deposed Anthimus and he complained, the emperor convoked this council. Finally, this was formerly the usage—that all those churches should be called apostolic which someone of the apostles had founded with his living voice, as the ones at Jerusalem, at Antioch and at Rome; also because among the Latin churches there was none such besides the Roman—on this account it was said to be, by antonomasia, "the apostolic see." What is brought forward by Bellarmine from the three councils—Lateran, Lyons and Florence—is of no greater weight because it is evident that they were very recent and held after the tyranny of Rome was confirmed.

XXIII. The various names given to the Roman bishop cannot prove his universal pontificate. (1) They are common to others and not peculiar to him: as the name *papa*, which was for many centuries promiscuously applied to all bishops, then given to the patriarchs, and lastly by a degenerate innovation taken away from all and reserved abusively for the Roman bishop alone (as Onuphrius observes; cf. Anastasius, *Historiae de Vitis Romanorum Pontificum: Bonifacius III* [PL 128.675]). The name "Father of Fathers," which we find ascribed in the Fifth General Synod to John of Constantinople, is nothing else than a circumlocution for archbishop and patriarch, who presides over the bishops, who are called fathers. Thus Sidonius Apollinaris calls Lupus, Bishop of Tricassinum (*Epistolarum* 6.1 [PL 58.551]). The name "Supreme Pontiff" or "high priest" (*archiereōs*) was at first common to the bishops, who regarded the presbyters as inferiors or priests (*hiereis*). But gradually (as the simplicity of the early church passed away), it was abused and ascribed to the

patriarchs and at length assigned to the Roman bishop alone. Misled undoubtedly by this abuse, Anselm and Bernard, who lived after the tenth century, gave this name to him. The name "prince of priests," which can be used in three ways, either for the episcopate (because a bishop is a high priest [*archiereus*]), or for order of dignity (as the Latins say "prince" for first), or for authority and power over the other bishops. The first sense is common to all bishops, who are individually princes in their own churches. Hence (Gregory) Nazianzus calls Athanasius *archierea tōn hiereōn* ("prince of priests"), who nevertheless never was an ecumenical bishop (Oratio 25.11, "In laudem Heronis philosophi" [PG 35.1213]). The second is common indeed to the Roman, but not particularly. For the councils ordered the bishop of Constantinople to be made equal to him in ecclesiastical affairs. The third was never employed except after the introduction of tyranny. Or they are abusive and received only in the more subsequent ages. From flattery, not from the truth of the thing, such as the names "Vicar of Christ, Head of the Church, Father and Teacher of all Christians, Spouse of the Church, Universal Bishop, our most holy Lord, and most blessed Father" and others of like kind. These argue his intolerable pride, and tyrannical and sacrilegious assumptions.

Twentieth Question

Was the primacy which obtains in the Roman church established from the beginning, or was it introduced little by little and by degrees in the progress of the ages? The former we deny; the latter we affirm

I. Since it appears from what we have already said that neither Christ instituted any monarchical government in the church, but a ministry alone; nor did Peter ever usurp it—it is inquired when and how this primacy was introduced into the church and by what degrees it raised itself to the height which we now behold.

Various degrees of the papacy.

II. And here before all things, it must be observed that this supreme power of the Romish hierarchy (or rather the tyranny and primacy of the pope)

was established not at once, but gradually and successively through the course of centuries, Satan working this mystery of iniquity slowly and imperceptibly. Now although it is difficult to assign precisely the moments of time in which this primacy was either founded or confirmed, still we can distribute it as to its various increases into four degrees: (1) the beginning (*archēn*); (2) its increase (*auxēsin*); (3) its flower (*akmēn*) and standing age; (4) its decline (*parakmēn*) and decrease. The beginning or birth is referred to the fourth century or the time of the Council of Nicea, when it began to affect domination in government. The increase, from the fourth to the end of the sixth, when he first arrogated to himself the title of Universal Bishop and obtained domination in spiritual matters through the favor of Phocas and degenerated in many ways in doctrine and rites from the pristine simplicity. Also from the sixth to the tenth, from Boniface III even to Benedict IX and Gregory VII, who usurped both spiritual and temporal monarchy. The height (*akmē*), from the tenth up to the beginning of the sixteenth, during which interval he exercised both dominations flagitiously, the purer doctrine having been destroyed from Gregory VII; or the year 1073 to Leo X, or the year 1517, when it fell into a decay (*parakmēn*) and began to decrease and to lose its strength little by little on account of the Reformation, until it is smitten by the breath of Christ's mouth and destroyed at his second glorious appearance.

III. Now although there is no doubt that in the time of the apostles the foundations of this mystery of iniquity had begun to be laid by the arts of the Devil, that he began his web secretly and stealthily, both by contentions of various kinds among the apostles themselves concerning preeminence springing up, and divisions produced in the churches, in which Christians divided into parties, used the names of apostles that they might mutually support the parts of the faction; as if they themselves would rejoice in heading a party and not in seeking the glory of Christ, the Lord alone, of which Paul speaks: "For while one saith, I am of Paul; and another, I am of Apollos; another, I am of Cephas; are ye not carnal?" (1 Cor. 1:12 and 3:4); also by the ambition of Diotrephes, who is said "to have loved" or affected "the preeminence" (*philoprōteuein*, 3 Jn. 9). Still it is certain that in those first ages the primacy of which we speak was not known even by name and had no place in the churches. These were so piously ruled by the bishops or pastors constituted by the apostles or apostolic men, that no church usurped

control or dominion over another, but each pastor took care of his own flock. The church of Jerusalem indeed before the destruction of the city obtained the first place among the Christian churches on account of the see of Christ and the apostles in her and because in her the gospel was to go forth to the whole world (Isa. 2:2). But after the death of the apostles and the destruction of the city, the dignity of cities gave preeminence to churches and the political order which obtained there gave origin to ecclesiastical order and authority. Hence Jerusalem no longer held the first place as the mother of all churches. But because the Romans constituted Caesarea the Metropolis of Judea, the bishop of Caesarea became the metropolitan of Judea. And as there were then in the Roman Empire three principal cities, on whom the others depended as to temporal jurisdiction (to wit, Antioch, Alexandria and Rome), the bishops of these three churches obtained authority over the others subjected to their sway; but so that we find as yet no assumption of ecumenical power.

IV. It is not indeed to be denied that all the best and most healthful institutions of men are wont to degenerate in the course of time. This also happened here and the honor bestowed upon the bishops of these cities presently so changed their minds that they began to arrogate to themselves a little more and to raise themselves above the others. It is evident that this happened at Rome among the first, the imperial city and the mistress of the world. Hence Socrates says the Roman bishops gradually so degenerated "as to proceed beyond the limits of the priesthood to domination" (*pera tēs hierōsynēs epi dynasteian*, *Ecclesiastical History* 7.11 [NPNF2, 2:158; PG 67.757]). And Basil openly attacks that Western pride (*tēn dytikēn ophryn*, Letter 239, "To Eusebius, bishop of Samosata" [NPNF2, 8:281; PG 32.893]). Baronius confesses: "I hate the pride of that church" (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, Annus 372.32 [1866], 5:335). Victor and Stephen supply examples of this ambition. The former, when he rashly condemns and in the year 195 excommunicates Polycrates and the Asiatic churches on account of the slight dissent concerning the time of celebrating the Easter. The latter, when receiving Basil, Bishop of Asturia (Astorga), and Martial of Melita (Merida) (both of Spain and disobedient), rebukes the Spanish churches and seeks to gain the right of appeal to the Roman church in the year 250, although Cyprian exclaims greatly against it (Letter 67*, "To the Clergy and People of Spain" [ANF 5:369–72]). But whatever may have been the

attempts of the Roman bishops to obtain the primacy over the remaining churches, still it is certain that up to this time they had no right or power above the others. Aeneas Sylvius (afterwards Pius II) could not conceal this when he says, "Before the Nicene Council each lived for himself, and little respect was shown to the Roman church" (Letter 288*, "To Martino Mayer," *Aeneae Sylvii ... Opera* [1551/1967], p. 802). I know that the Romanists prop up their primate on the sixth canon of the Nicene Council, in which they pretend that the first place among the patriarchs is assigned to the Roman bishop; but the canon itself shows that nothing like this can be gathered from it.

V. The words of the canon are: "Let the ancient customs be retained, which are observed in Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis: namely, as the Bishop of Alexandria has power over all these; since also there is a like custom with the Bishop of Rome, it should be similarly determined concerning Antioch also, and in other provinces the prerogatives of the churches should be preserved" (Hefele, 1:389). This canon was occasioned by Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, in the Thebaid of Egypt, who wished to withdraw himself from the bishop of Alexandria that he might confer orders without his consent. By it the custom received before in the churches is confirmed —that the dignity of the bishops should follow the dignity of the city of which they were bishops. Thus there were diocesan bishops, having the care of that city and of the region peculiarly subject to that city. Hence after many provinces in the same prefectureship were converted to the faith, the churches thought the plan of the civil polity (*politeias*) in many places should be so far imitated by them that the provinces in the same prefectureship should be in some measure subjected to the bishop of the city, which was the seat of the Praetorian prefect. Hence the provinces which obeyed the prefect of Egypt, who had his seat in Alexandria, were subjected to the bishop of Alexandria; those under the prefect of the East, having his seat in Antioch, to the bishop of Antioch were subjected and those under the Praetorian prefect of the city of Rome, to the Roman bishop. Therefore the Nicene fathers thought that those ancient customs should be retained and thus Meletius ought to submit to the bishop of Alexandria.

VI. Now it appears from this first, that no prerogative was ascribed to the Roman bishop above the other patriarchs. Thus this patriarchal power was

only in the provinces subjected to the prefecture of the city. It extended to the one hundredth milestone from the city, namely to "the suburban churches" (as Ruffinus explains it). These were not the churches of the whole Roman empire (as Perronius pretends) because they could not have been distinguished from the churches of Egypt; nor could they be called "suburban" (except most absurdly), but those only which were under the sway of the Pretorian prefect, to whom (as it is observed in *Commen. Notitiae Imper*. cap. 4+) "Augustus had granted all the power of the empire, not only in the city, but also outside, within the hundredth milestone." Hence "Tuscany and Picenum are called suburban regions" (*Theodosian Code* 11.28.12 [ed. C. Pharr, 1952], p. 320); mention of them is often made under the name of "suburban provinces" (*lib. Notit. Imper*.+) because the suburbs of Rome reached there. Thus Perronius had no reason for so sharply rebuking Ruffinus because in setting forth paraphrastically the Nicene canon he mentioned suburban churches; for in an ancient copy in the Vatican Library this expression is found in the aforesaid canon, as Sirmondus informs us. Second, that this prerogative (whatever it was) is not said to be founded on divine right, but on a mere custom. Now if it is founded on a divine right (as Romanists of our day maintain), why did the Nicene fathers make mention of custom only and not of divine right? Why was the Alexandrian and the Antiochian see made equal to the Roman, so that one had no right over the others, if indeed a universal episcopate was given by Christ to that see? These things teach more clearly than the midday light that the mind of the Nicene Council was far different and that no primacy was acknowledged in the Roman bishop above the Alexandrian and Antiochian. Having this in view, Cusanus says, "We see how much the Roman pontiff has acquired of submissive obedience beyond the ancient observations from use and custom" ("De Concordantia Catholica," 2*.12 *Opera omnia* [1939], 14:145–46).

VII. In vain do the Romanists (in order to make this canon theirs and use it to aid their cause) endeavor to corrupt it. (1) In the beginning, when they wish the canon to have commenced thus: "The Roman church always had the primacy"; and that this is gathered from the Council of Chalcedon, where it is so referred by Paschasinus to the vicar of the apostolic see, "Because the Roman church always had a primate, let Egypt also retain …" (cf. Actione 16, Mansi, 7:443). We answer: (a) but Constantine, the

secretary, reads it differently in the same Council from the Codex of Canons given by Aetius, Archdeacon of the church of Constantinople. (b) No manuscripts recognize this beginning, neither Ruffinus, nor Balsamo, nor the decrees of Gratian, nor Gelasius Cyzicenus, nor the Canons published in Paris in the year 1544; not the Arabic edition at Turias, not the copies sent to the Africans formerly at Constantinople and Alexandria. Therefore, this quotation made by Paschasinus*, the Roman legate, is not from any authentic copy, but from his own little paper or letter of instructions. (c) That this beginning is not the text of the canon, but an annotation of copyists or an added title (*paratitlon*), is evident from the words in which it is conceived: "because the Roman church always had the primacy." Hence Dionysius Exiguus, in order to make better sense, took away the particle *quod*, the index of the added title, and inserted in the text the word *autem: Romana Ecclesia semper habuit primatum, mos autem perduret*. (d) Even if that sentence should be retained, still no help could come from it to the Romanists, because it is one thing to have primacy, another to have a monarchy and universal pontificate. It is one thing for the Roman church and its metropolitan bishop to have the primacy in his own province (i.e., to be the first of the bishops of his province), which is properly the meaning of the canon because it treats of the power which belonged to the metropolitan in his own province; or concerning the primacy of honor and order among the metropolitans themselves, in which respect also it is evident that the Roman bishop had the primacy (as has been said) on account of the dignity of the city. But it is another thing to have the primacy of authority and jurisdiction over the metropolitans, so that they ought to be under him and obey his mandates (which the Romanists pretend and we deny). Nay, that the bishops of Alexandria and of Antioch were by this canon made equal to the Roman bishop and just as much was ascribed to them in their dioceses as the Roman possessed over the suburban churches, many of the Romanists acknowledge, and especially the most learned Peter a Marca, where he passes over to the opinion of Zonaras and Balsamo concerning this canon (*Dissertationum de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii* 1.3 [1763], pp. 5–6).

VIII. (2) As to the end of the canon, they falsely interpret its words: "since it is a similar custom with the Roman bishop" (*epeidē kai tō en Rōmē Episkopō touto synēthes estin*, Council of Chalcedon, Actione 16, Mansi,

7:444). Of these words Bellarmine holds the meaning to be: “Because the Roman bishop had thus been accustomed,” i.e., “because the Roman bishop before any action of councils had been accustomed to permit to the Bishop of Alexandria the government of Egypt, Libya, Pentapolis, or he was accustomed to rule those provinces by the Bishop of Alexandria” (“De Romano Pontifice,” 2.13 *Opera* [1856], 1:386). (a) But who can endure this gloss (thus far unheard-of), which is openly repugnant to the very words of the canon? They give no authority to the bishop of Rome above the Alexandrian, but only seek an example from him, so that which belonged to the Alexandrian, that just as the Roman bishop had been accustomed to rule the churches subjected to his sway, so also the Alexandrian ought in like manner to follow his example; not that he should be subject to him, but that after his example he should rule the churches subjected to his sway. (b) It is confirmed by ecclesiastical history, in which we nowhere find the Alexandrian bishop acting as a vicar to the Roman; yea, that he governed by his own right his churches or districts, as also the Roman governed his by his right. Thus both were colleagues and used the same title of patriarch; nay, it was decreed that “the Constantinopolitan should be equally as great as the Roman bishop in ecclesiastical affairs” (*en tois Ekklēsiastikois hōs ekeinon megalynethai pragmasi*). (c) This primacy of the Alexandrian over his provinces the synod does not ascribe to the authority of the Roman bishop, but to ancient custom (*ta archaia ethē krateitō*). Thus the meaning is—these provinces had for a long time been administered by the Alexandrian as the others by the Roman, which custom they thought should still be retained and they sanctioned it. From this appears the absurdity of Bellarmine’s gloss, no less than that of Perronius, who wishes these words to be added at the end of the canon: “Since the Roman Bishop in like manner governs all the churches of the world.” This is contrary to the testimony of all the manuscripts and the meaning of the words themselves, which, as we have already said, do not indicate that the authority of the bishop of Alexandria should be founded on the power of the Roman bishop, but that custom should be compared with custom and he should follow the example of the latter.

IX. If you ask further why the Roman bishop held the first place among the partriarchs, various reasons can be given. (1) The dignity of the city, for since Rome was the head of the empire and the ruling city (*polis*

basileuousa), it seemed suitable that there also ought to be a primacy of order, not only among the bishops of that province, but also among the patriarchs. Hence the first place (*ta prōteia*) and the first rank (*ta presbeia*) were assigned to him, of which mention is made by the ancient writers. But it is evident from various circumstances that this prerogative of honor was derived from the dignity of the cities themselves. First, the bishop of the church of Jerusalem, which was the mother of all the other churches, and which for this reason it seemed should occupy the first rank, is nevertheless placed after the bishop of Caesarea, because Caesarea was at that time Metropolis of Palestine (Canon 7, *Council of Nicea* [NPNF2, 14:17]). Second, in the Council of Chalcedon this is decreed: "Let the order of ecclesiastical provinces follow the civil and political arrangements" (*tois politikois kai dēmosiois topois, kai tōn Ekklēsiastikōn paroikiōn hē taxis akoloutheitō*, Canon 17, Tanner, 1:95). Thus the Roman bishop obtained the first place (*ta presbeia*) or the primacy of order, not because he was the successor of Peter, but because he was the bishop of that city which held dominion over the world; as it is expressly stated in the Council of Chalcedon (*dia to basileuein polin ekeinēn*, Canon 28, Tanner, 1:100), which might easily be shown of the others. But that dignity of bishops which they derived from the dignity of cities gave no power or dominion to them, either over other patriarchs or over the bishops of that province; nor did it extend beyond a primacy of order and honor. What Perronius holds—that Peter even in his time had so instituted this (*Reply of the ... Cardinall of Perron to the Answeare of the ... King of Great Britaine* 2.3* [1630/1975], p. 132); thence he gathers that this authority rests upon divine right and not solely upon human custom—is a sheer figment, not a trace or vestige of which can be found in the Scripture or in any monuments of the fathers and is rejected just as easily as it is proposed. Nay, if this was his intention, why should he have paid no attention either to the church of Jerusalem (which had been the mother of all) or to that of Caesarea (which he had so solemnly founded) that they might hold their place also among the patriarchal churches? (2) The opinion which prevailed among many—that the Roman church had been founded by the ministry of Peter—had very much to do with conciliating authority for it. Hence in the west it was called the apostolic see for the sake of honor. (3) The division of the Oriental churches. They were disturbed by the many dissensions of opinions, while

the Roman church was more tranquil. Hence it happened that the pious and holy bishops, being driven from their seats, betook themselves to her as to a certain asylum and haven. Athanasius, driven from his seat by the violence of the Arians, did this so that by the authority of the Roman see he might in some way both repress the rage of his enemies and confirm the suffering pious, who, having been received respectfully by Julius (then bishop), obtained that the Western might undertake the defense of his cause. Afterwards evil and wicked men also contributed greatly to this, for as they had fled from lawful judgments, they betook themselves to this asylum. If any presbyter by his bishop, if any bishop by the synod of his province, was condemned, he immediately appealed to Rome. The Roman bishops entertained these appeals more eagerly than they ought, catching at every occasion of extending their power; as was seen in Eutyches against Flavian. It is evident that this often occurred towards Africa, which occasioned the African bishops to condemn so severely ultramarine appeals under the penalty of excommunication.

X. In the course of time, besides these three primary sees, two others were erected: Constantinople and Jerusalem. To the former, the fathers of the First Council of Constantinople ascribe the second place because Constantinople had become the seat of the empire and was as it were a new Rome. Thus they speak: “The bishop of Constantinople holds the first rank of honor after the bishop of Rome because it is new Rome” (*Ton men tēs Kōnstantinopoleōs Episkopon echein ta presbeia tēs timēs meta ton tēs Rōmēs Episkopon, dia to einai autēn nean Rōmēn*, Canon 3, Tanner, 1:32). This the Council of Chalcedon confirms when it ascribes the same rank of honor (*ta isa presbeia tēs timēs*) to the Constantinopolitan with the Roman (Actione 16, *Council of Chalcedon* [Mansi, 7:445]). “The fathers gave the prerogative of honor to the see of older Rome, as was reasonable, because she was the queen city of the world; and following out the same design one hundred fifty bishops, most dear to God, in the First Council of Constantinople, ascribed equal prerogatives of honor to the most sacred throne of new Rome.”

XI. But this equality, which obtained between all the patriarchs and especially the Roman and Constantinopolitan, suffered various changes on account of the dignity of both cities. First, on the part of John, Bishop of Constantinople, who, elated by ambition, affected the title of ecumenical or

universal bishop and obtained it from the Emperor Mauricius, to whom Gregory the Great, the Roman bishop, warmly opposed himself, condemning this title as horribly wicked and Antichristian. "I confidently say, that whoever calls himself, or desires to be called, universal bishop, runs before Antichrist in his pride; because by his haughtiness he places himself before others" (Letter 33, "Ad Mauricium Augustum" [PL 77.891]). He confirms this in many letters from which it is invincibly evident that at that time the Roman bishop had not as yet obtained a spiritual monarchy or a universal episcopate (cf. Book 5*, Letter 39, "Gregorius Constantinae Augustae" [CCSL 140.315]; epist. 36+, 38+). Nor does the retreat of Perronius avail: "The title of universal bishop was condemned by Gregory, only according to its literal and grammatical sense, inasmuch as it denotes a sole bishop; not however in its metaphorical sense in which it implies one set before others" (*Reply of the ... Cardinall of Perron to the Answeare of the ... King of Great Britaine* 1.25* [1630/1975), p. 113). He condemns this title in no other sense than that in which it was used by John. Now John did not take it in the first sense, in which he would have abrogated the authority of all the Oriental bishops, concerning which nevertheless they did not complain and the thing itself showed this; but only in the second, which is the proper signification of this title. For neither does the dignity of a universal bishop tend to abrogate the power of other bishops, but only makes them depend upon the universal and subjects them to him.

XII. This ambitious title (which Gregory so greatly detested) Boniface III, his successor, not only did not reject, but earnestly sought and at length (although with difficulty after many contentions) obtained from Phocas, the murderer of Mauricius, who needed his assistance in Italy to strengthen the empire (namely, that Rome, his see, should be considered the head of the churches and himself universal pontiff, which took place in the beginning of the seventh century). After this a remarkable change was made in the government of the church. For although five patriarchs with equal right and equal power ruled the churches before, the Roman pontiff was now placed over the others. Before, all the most distinguished bishops were called *papae;* but from this time the name "pope" (as a word of supreme and universal power) was taken away from the other bishops and patriarchs and reserved as proper and peculiar to the Roman pontiff. Before, there was one Catholic church under one and a sole head, Christ. But then it began to be

one under one head, the pope, and they who were not subject to him and did not acknowledge him as the supreme head were considered schismatics. Before, there was a great difference between the church of the city and the church of the world, between the bishops of the city and of the world. Hence Jerome, when the custom of the Roman church was objected to him, said, "Why do you bring forward the custom of one city? If authority is sought, the world is greater than a city" (Letter 146, "To Evangelus*" [NPNF2, 6:289; PL 22.1194]). From that time, the church, the authority, the bishop of the city and of the world began to be the same, for the pope ascribed both to himself. Before, the election of any bishop made by the people and clergy (confirmed by the metropolitan) was considered ratified without consulting the Roman pontiff. But Boniface, in the synod held at Rome, determined that the election of a bishop made by the people and clergy and approved by the chief of the city was only valid if the Roman pontiff had interposed with these words: "We wish and command" (as Platina relates in *Historia B. Platinae De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum* [1611], p. 85).

XIII. In vain do Romanists reply here. (1) "Phocas did not give the title universal to the pope, but called him the head of the churches. Nor did Boniface ask that the title of ecumenical or universal patriarch should be ascribed to him, but that it should not be ascribed to the Constantinopolitan." This is to falsely contend about words, while the thing itself is plain. It is evident that the contention was about the primacy. This the Constantinopolitan had usurped and Mauricius had granted it to him and commanded the Roman to yield to him. Boniface aspired to the same and Phocas granted it. Nor did he wish that Rome should be called the head of the churches for any other reason except that "all the churches of the world might obey the Roman church and the Roman pontiff" (as Blondus remarks, *Historiam ab inclinato Romanorum imperii decades* 1.9 [1531], p. 118), which is to be really the universal bishop. Again, it is not treated concerning the simple title ecumenical, which the patriarch of Constantinople retained, but concerning the primacy of power, which the Roman pontiff arrogated as peculiar to himself. (2) "The apostolic see obtained from Phocas no new right which before all his predecessors had not had. But only that the honor of that primacy, which the Constantinopolitan had usurped, should be reserved for the Roman bishop alone." But the thing itself cries out that

something new was obtained from Phocas, who is not said to have restored or conserved the primacy, but to have given it. And the complaint of Gregory concerning the pride of John clearly proves that before, no such thing had a place in the Roman church.

XIV. Thus in Boniface III, the pope obtained ecclesiastical primacy or a spiritual monarchy, which the pontiffs after that time have endeavored even by all methods to confirm and increase. But the last step was still wanting, which ought to constitute its acme (*akmēn*) (namely, a temporal monarchy). After awhile this was added in the eleventh century by Gregory VII (called Hildebrand), a Tuscan by birth, a monk of Cluny by profession, who in the year 1073 (the authority of the emperor being despised and the votes of the clergy and people disregarded—those being removed by force who appeared to stand in the way of his designs, as he was most perfectly acquainted with popish arts, having already become familiarized with them under four popes) seized the papacy and held it with the highest pride and tyranny. Imbued with diabolical arts by his predecessors Benedict IX and Gregory VI (as Cardinal Benno and many Romish writers testify), he was "a worse disciple than his most wicked master." He (with baser arts) retained the papacy gained by base arts and raised it to a climax of tyranny, even the majesty of emperors being trampled underfoot. For although the Emperor Henry (IV), a council being called at Worms, had him stripped and divested of the papacy, a decree was passed there which graphically describes his heinous crimes (as we read in Aventinus, *Annalium Boiorum* 5 [1627], p. 350), to which decree the same Aventinus in the same place testifies that the bishops not only of Germany and France, but also of Italy, in a Council held at Ticino, subscribed and swore that "they never would receive the Pontifex Maximus with this name." To such a height of audacity did he proceed that in a Roman council convoked in the year 1076, he did not blush to excommunicate the emperor himself, to lay waste the kingdoms of Germany and Italy and to free the chiefs and people from the oath of allegiance to him. And thus at length he obtained both powers, spiritual as well as temporal monarchy, which the popes had for a long time desired.

XV. Here belong the *Dictatus Papae* sanctioned by him, in which he ascribes unlimited and almost infinite power over all things to the pope. These are some of them: "That the Roman pontiff alone can use the imperial insignia; that all princes should kiss his feet only; that his name

alone should be recited in councils. It is lawful for him to depose emperors. His sentence is not to be reviewed by anyone, while he alone can review the sentences of all others. The pope can absolve subjects from their allegiance to unrighteous sovereigns. The Roman pontiff alone is justly styled universal" (PL 148.408). After this the successors of Hildebrand, pressing in his footsteps, brought emperors under their yoke and held them as their vassals. And most truly Aventinus says in the same place: "Hildebrand, who was also Gregory the Seventh, first established the empire of the popes, which his successors for four hundred and fifty successive years, the world being unwilling, emperors being unwilling, so carried out, as to reduce to slavery inferiors and superiors and place them under the yoke. And they terrify all with their strokes … Now the Roman emperor is nothing any more, it is an appellation only with a body, without a form" (*Annalium Boiorum* 5 [1627], p. 350). And Onuphrius: "To him the Roman church ought to feel indebted, that he is placed in authority over kings, emperors and all Christian princes, by whom is that greatest and illustrious state, in which the Roman church is the mistress of all Christians; since before like a vile maidservant she was pressed not only by emperors but by every prince sustained by the help of the Roman empire" (*in vita Gregorii VII*+). From this, adds Onuphrius, flowed the right of that greatest, and in every age tremendous and venerated, and almost infinite power of the Roman pontiff. Before, they were under the emperors; he first of all dared, I do not say to excommunicate, but even to deprive of his kingdom and empire, Caesar himself.

XVI. As the papacy reached its height (*akmēn*) in Gregory VII by a spiritual and temporal monarchy, so it was confirmed in the same more and more by the impious efforts of the succeeding popes up to Boniface VIII in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Having fraudulently imposed upon the simplicity of Pope Celestine V, he thrust himself into the see and conducted himself in it violently and tyrannically. On this account, it was commonly said after his death: "He entered as a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog." He exercised supreme power, not only against the Emperor Albert I, whom he pretended could not be elected without his consent, but also against Philip (IV) the Fair, King of France, whom, for refusing to obey his commands, he placed under an interdict and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance. To those who refused obedience, he denied

indulgences, concessions, all pontifical favors and betrayed various signs of an ungovernable spirit. King Philip manfully resisted him; so far that being taken and in sport held in prison, he died of desperation and rage. This the historians Paulus Aemilius ("Philippo Bello," in *Historia della cose di Francia* [1549], pp. 227–51), Blondus (*Historiam ab inclinato Romanorum inperii decades* 2.9 [1531], pp. 333–58); Nauclerus (*Chronicarum historiarum* II, Gen. 44 [1579], pp. 975–95); Bochellus (Tit. 16.2, "Reges Franciae," *Decretorum Ecclesiae Gallicanae* 2 [1621], pp. 321–27) and others relate in full.

XVII. It cannot be said how much the most cunning comments, set before the miserable credulity of men, promoted and strengthened the pontifical power, both temporal and spiritual. And to confirm the temporal empire, the "Grants" of Constantine the Great, Louis the Pious and Otto the Great, drawn from the prolific workshop of false handwritings (whose falsehood was long ago detected by the learned men Goldastus, Freherus, Morneus [?Mornac], Ussher, Voetius, Conringius and others), not a little contributed. To strengthen the spiritual principality, "Decretal Letters," forged by the mouth and pen more than by the sword, came forth in the name of the ancient Roman bishops—Isidore surnamed Mercator, who, under the mask of Isidore of Spain, did not blush to offer for sale the most worthless trash, the most valuable titles of the more ancient Roman bishops being attached to them. In which class, Ussher deservedly confesses that he does not know whether anything similar ever was produced which contributed more to strengthen the pontifical cause. The worthlessness of this figment has been indubitably exposed both by our men (as the Magdeburgians, Blondel and others) and by many Romanists (Sirmondus, Petavius and others) rejecting them as supposititious.

XVIII. Nevertheless the Roman pontiffs, pressing upon their footsteps, did not cease to establish and promote their monarchy whenever the opportunity was afforded; in spiritual as well as in temporal matters, notwithstanding the various noble oppositions of emperors and princes and the clamors of the faithful witnesses of the truth. At length, God accomplishing the great work of the Reformation, the acme was passed and a decrease (*parakmē*) succeeded in the beginning of the sixteenth century under Leo X, in whose time that tyrannical and Antichristian power suffered a most serious defeat by the secession of many kings, principalities

and republics from the Roman church. The Council of Trent resisted it in vain. As a "mere gathering of profane men, and the laughing stock of Christianity," the Council rather strengthened and increased than corrected and reformed the errors and papal tyranny. Influenced by the most weighty reasons, the Protestants deservedly rejected and by it (as a hedge and partition wall) separated themselves from the papacy and remained separated and will remain for ever, until Rome shall have reformed her impious errors and idolatries and her Antichristian tyranny. Moreover let him who wishes to know more fully the various stages of the growing and declining papacy consult Plesseus, *Mysterium iniquitatis* (1611), Flacius Illyricus (*Catalogus testium veritatis* [1562]), Molinaeus (*The Novelty of Popery* [1662]), Salmasius in his most profound work *Cl. Saumasii librorum de Primatu Papae* (1645) and the *Historia Papatus* (1684), recently published, of the very celebrated Heidegger, a most worthy theologian of Zurich, our particular friend. In it that illustrious man in intervals of seven periods most accurately and solidly pursues this whole argument, as he does all others.

XIX. Before we close, it pleases us to append the judgment of F. Guicciardini (a Florentine by birth) to Leo X by secret counsels, concerning the primacy of the pope. Omitted with evil intention in various copies, this the very celebrated Heidegger restored and very lately published from the Florentine original as it existed in the Italian edition of the year 1636. Here the author, after describing the various stages and arts by which the Roman pontiffs were raised from the deepest humility to the highest apex of majesty and power (which they then tyrannically possessed), adds at the end of Book IV: "Elevated by these foundations and methods to earthly power, and gradually forgetting the salvation of souls and the divine precepts, and turned with all their thought to mundane empires, nor abusing divine authority otherwise than as if a weapon and instrument of weak things, began to seem rather princes of nations, than pontiffs of sacred things. Their care and business, not now the sanctimony of life, not the increase of religion, not love towards God and men, but armies and wars against Christians, handling sacred things with thoughts and hands sprinkled with blood, but an insatiable desire for money, new laws, new artifices for gathering up wealth from all sides; for this purpose they brandished most boldly celestial arms, and most impudently trafficked in profane and sacred

things. Hence their resources were immensely increased and poured over their whole court, from which arose pride, luxury, the basest morals, lusts and despicable pleasures; no anxiety for a successor, none for the perpetual majesty of the pontificate, but in place of these an anxious and pestiferous desire of advancing sons and nephews, likewise other relatives and friends, not only to immoderate wealth, but also to kingdoms and empires; not now bestowing honors and emoluments on the deserving and good, but frequently putting them up at auction, or lavishing them upon persons lost in ambition, avarice and shameful pleasures" (*Historia Papatus* 4 [1684], pp. 597–98). If the author could say these things of the primacy in his time, what might he not say of it now, striving daily to strengthen and increase the same tyranny by the same arts and even worse? They who are more thoroughly acquainted with this mystery of iniquity cannot cover up and (driven by the force of the truth) are often compelled to acknowledge it.

Twenty-First Question: The Distinction Between Bishop and Presbyter

Is the episcopate an order or grade of ecclesiastical hierarchy distinct from the presbyterate; and is it superior by divine right? We deny

I. After speaking of the primacy of Peter and the pope, we must discuss further the distinction between bishop and presbyter, a question which engages us not only with the Romanists (who earnestly contend for the affirmative as the foundation of their hierarchy); but also with various Protestants who (the episcopal order having been retained after the Reformation) warmly battle for its superiority. Now although there is a great difference between them and the Romanists (as to the Antichristian tyranny which they erect over the conscience, from which they are the furthest removed), still in this they both agree—they maintain bishops by divine right (*jure divino*) to be superior to presbyters as to the power of order and jurisdiction. For although in the Council of Trent it was for a long time fiercely disputed by what immediate right bishops are superior to presbyters (by a divine or pontifical), it is certain (with the exception of a few Italian bishops who, having a price set upon their opinions, fought for the pontifical right, lest if they should be said to have been instituted

immediately by Christ, they would be made equal to the Roman bishop; nor would any power and jurisdiction over them belong to him) that the voice of almost all the bishops was, "The episcopate is of divine right" (which is the commonly received opinion among them at this day). Bellarmine maintained that "the bishop is greater than the presbyter by divine right, both as to power of order and as to jurisdiction" ("De Clericis," 14 *Opera* [1857], 2:168).

Statement of the question.

II. On the statement of the question we observe: (1) the question does not concern presbyters such as they are now called among Romanists, who understand by this name Missatic (*Missaticos*) priests, who boast that upon them was bestowed the right and power of sacrificing and offering to God the body of Christ as a propitiatory (*hilastikon*) sacrifice (which office we maintain is fictitious; nay, sacrilegious). Rather the question concerns those who, constituted by the apostles in particular churches, were furnished with the power of preaching the word and administering the sacraments and governing the churches over which they had been placed. The denomination of them might have been made by the apostles in allusion to the custom of the Old Testament, where the judges who were constituted in single cities were called "elders" (*zqnym*) because they were usually men of advanced age; or ought to be serious and prudent, such as it becomes judges to be. Now the men of the great Sanhedrin were called the "elders of the people" (*zqny h'm*), *presbyteroi tou laou* in the New Testament. Thus they who were appointed by the apostles to the care of a church were called elders (*presbyteroi*), not only on account of their age (because they were commonly selected from the number of the older men), but also principally on account of the honor and office which they held in the church as its rulers and judges.

III. (2) The question does not concern the distinction of order or of polity between many ministers of the same church—that one should preside over the rest and be president in sacred meetings, whether under the title of bishop or of superintendent. For we do not deny that this might have been done fitly that all things might be conducted decently and in good order (*eutaktōs*) in the house of God. This obtains in many Protestant and

Reformed churches which for the preservation of good order (*eutaxian*) wished that there should be among pastors a certain first place (*prostasian*) and preeminency (*hyperochēn*). These have their superintendent bishops, overseers, deans, inspectors, to whom there is a certain greater dignity and authority than belongs to the other pastors by ecclesiastical right. Rather the question concerns the distinction of power with respect to degrees as well as order, from which the bishop is superior in office and dignity, the presbyter inferior with respect to jurisdiction. From this the latter is subjected to the dominion of the former, which they, who differ from us, maintain; we deny.

IV. (3) The question does not concern ecclesiastical right, which is derived from ancient custom, and which began to prevail not long after the times of the apostles (which we readily grant, as will be seen hereafter). Rather the question concerns the divine right (*jure divino*), founded on the institution of Christ and the practice of the apostles (which we deny).

The identity of the presbyter with the bishop is proved: (1) from the negation of a hierarchy.

V. The reasons are: first, the papal hierarchy has no foundation in the word of God, neither as to the word, being not only unwritten (*agraphos*), but also contrary to what is written (*antigraphos*), opposed to the words "ministry" (*diakonias*), "service" (*douleias*) and the like, by which the ministry is described; nor as to the thing signified by the word, being most foreign to the nature of the ministry and severely interdicted (Lk. 22:25, 26; 1 Pet. 5:3). Nor is it anywhere mentioned by Paul when he discusses the orders of the church (1 Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11). He ought by all means to have done this if such an institution had been made by Christ and had been founded upon divine right. Hence it has been well remarked, if the fathers had wished to follow the style of speaking and mode of action of our Savior, the apostles and the ancient church, they would not have erected a "hierarchy," but a "hierodiacony" (*hierodiaconiam*) or "hierodulia" (*hieroduliam*). For long ago, Peter the Papal Messiah, in *Sylva variae lectionis*+ (not without reason), wrote that not the genius of Christ, but the genius of Romulus gave birth to a hierarchy such as is this day connected with the empire.

2. From passages of Scripture.

VI. Second, because bishop and presbyter are everywhere in Scripture taken for one and the same (so that the difference is only in the name, not in the thing—bishop, with regard to his office and function; presbyter, with regard to his age and dignity), the same characters and the same functions are ascribed to both. The passages which prove this are various, but above the rest are these: Paul, the Ephesian presbyters having been called out to him that he might bid them farewell, addresses them all under the name "bishops" (Acts 20:28). There were therefore in that church only presbyters and the same were bishops. "Take heed," says he, "unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over that which the Lord hath made you bishop." The apostle salutes all the saints living in Philippi, together with "the bishops and deacons" (Phil. 1:1), no mention being made of presbyters (whom he undoubtedly included in the name bishop), since indeed there never were many bishops in one church from the time that they had singular and special power over presbyters. Nor can it be doubted that there were various presbyters or pastors in it who presided over it. Thus he speaks of the various virtues of a bishop (1 Tim. 3:2), no mention being made of a presbyter. He would not by any means have omitted this if he had thought that they were distinct offices by divine right, since it is no less necessary that the qualities of a presbyter should be known than those of a bishop, so that it might be evident who should be called to that office. It is confirmed from Tit. 1:5, 7, where after saying that he had left Titus in Crete that he might ordain elders there in every city (*presbyterous kata polin*), he teaches what those presbyters ought to be, adding, "For a bishop must be blameless." He would have said this without reason, unless in his opinion the same (whom he had before called presbyters) were also bishops. Here the Greek scholia remark that the presbyters are the same as bishops (*presbyterous tous Episkopous kalei;* cf. *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria* [1617], 6:759–60 on Tit. 1:5). On this passage, Jerome excellently says, "A bishop must be blameless, as a steward of God. A presbyter therefore is the same with a bishop. Before, by the instigation of the Devil, there were parties in religion and it was said I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, the churches were governed by the common consent of presbyters. But afterwards it was decreed throughout the whole world that one chosen

from the presbyters should be set over the rest, to whom the whole care of the church should pertain that the seeds of schism might be plucked up" (*Commentariorum in epistolam ad Titam* [PL 26.597] on Tit. 1:5). We will consider this passage more fully later. Here also belong the passages in which presbyters are enumerated with apostles, no mention being made of bishops. No other reason can be given for this except that presbyters were also bishops, who were included under the name of presbyters. Otherwise, if the bishops had already been constituted as a distinct order from the presbyters, why is no mention made of them? Why would Luke not have spoken rather of bishops, who held the superior grade, than of presbyters? Consult the passages: Acts 11:30; 14:23; 15:2, 6, 22, 23.

VII. To no purpose against these various passages is it excepted: (1) "The name presbyter can belong to a bishop because every bishop ought to have been first a presbyter. Since the presbyterate is a step to the episcopate, but not equally is every presbyter a bishop." The passages adduced show that all those presbyters spoken of were also bishops, as all the Ephesian pastors who are said to be presbyters are also called bishops (Acts 20:28). When the apostle lays down the marks of a presbyter in his epistle to Titus, he designates him by the name of bishop. (2) "The bishop of the clergy or a diocesan bishop differs from the bishop of the flock or a parochial bishop; the latter is appointed by the diocese and could rightly be called the bishop of the peculiar flock, over which he was appointed an overseer, although with respect to the ordering of the diocese, he holds only the inferior station of a presbyter." But this distinction between the bishop of the clergy and the bishop of the flock is unheard-of in Scripture, in which we nowhere meet the distinction between the clergy and the flock; nay, they are taken for the same thing (1 Pet. 5:3). Nor can there be a bishop who is not the bishop of some flock. (3) "The presbyters of the Ephesians and Philippians were honored with the title of bishops with respect to their flocks, over which they had been placed, who in the meantime had an apostle for their bishop who forewarned them by his right." But it is gratuitously assumed that an apostle was the bishop of these churches, that he was an ecumenical apostle and that the Ephesians and Philippians were under him as an apostle, not as a bishop.

3. From their common ordination.

VIII. Third, we read in Scripture of no ordination of a bishop apart from that of a presbyter. The apostles undoubtedly would not have omitted this if they had believed the office was distinct and more worthy than the presbyterate; as in various passages they have recorded the ordination of presbyters (Acts 14:23; Tit. 1:5). Nor ought it to be replied that such presbyters were ordained by Paul, Barnabas and Titus, who it is evident were the most distinguished bishops. It is gratuitously assumed that Paul and Titus were bishops and as bishops ordained presbyters, since they were furnished with far greater authority, namely, either of apostle or of evangelist. If they had instituted a hierarchical order, ought they not to have created someone as a bishop among many presbyters who might ordain presbyters; and since we nowhere read of this having been done, hence it is clear that constituting presbyters in every city, they gave to them also the authority and right of ordaining others as colleagues for the preservation of the ministry and the edification of the church. As it is said even before to Timothy, "the gift which was given thee with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery" (*tou presbyteriou*, 1 Tim. 4:14), which clearly proves that the presbytery had the right to ordain. If Chrysostom and Jerome hold that bishops are superior by ordination alone to presbyters, they speak of their own times, in which the distinction had already been made, not of apostolic times.

4. From the silence of Scripture.

IX. Fourth, Paul in enumerating the various orders of ministers in the church makes no mention of the episcopate. This office surely ought not to have been omitted, if it was to constitute the principal degree of ecclesiastical ministry distinct from the presbyterate. Otherwise Paul had failed his office and had given occasion to believers of erring, by neglecting an institution which rested upon a divine right, in which the authority of the whole gospel ministry ought to have been founded. Nor should it be said that this rank is contained either under apostles and evangelists (because these were extraordinary and temporary offices) or under pastors (because

the pastorate belongs also to presbyters); while common things do not make a distinction.

5. From the common right of the keys.

X. Fifth, presbyters as well as bishops received from Christ the same right to the keys of binding and loosing, of retaining and remitting sins by the use of the keys (Mt. 18:18; Jn. 20:21–23*). They bear the honor of the same commission and the same ministry of reconciliation (2 Cor. 5:18–20), which could not be said if these two offices were essentially and by divine right diverse. Nor can it be replied that this power was so granted to all the apostles that by them and the bishops (their successors) it might be communicated to presbyters also, so that they might have it, not from Christ immediately, but mediately by the hand of superiors. It is gratuitously assumed that bishops are successors of the apostles rather than presbyters. For the apostolic preeminence (*hyperochē*) and power, which depend upon their immediate and extraordinary call, no more admit successors than their infallibility and right of founding the church. In those things which belong to an ordinary ministry, all presbyters are equally successors of the apostles inasmuch as by their calling there belongs equally to them the power of the keys, the preaching of the gospel and administration of the sacraments, to which no superiority (*hyperochē*) of one above the others is required. Nor can there be given any part of the ministry which does not equally pertain to all.

6. From the vote of the ancients.

XI. Sixth, the ancients do not attribute this distinction to divine right, but to human custom. Cyprian: “There is one episcopate, a part of which is held by individuals wholly” (*Unity of the Church* 5 [ANF 5:422–23; PL 4.516]). Jerome, in the passage cited before on Tit. 1, to which must be added another from the epistle to Evangelus*, where he confirms by many arguments that “a bishop and presbyter are the same, and that one was elected afterwards, who should be set over the others, became a remedy in schisms, lest each one drawing to himself might rend the church of Christ” (Letter 146, “To Evangelus*” [NPNF2, 6:288; PL 22.1194]). And a little

after: “Presbyter and bishop, one is a title of age, the other of dignity, whence both to Titus and to Timothy he speaks of the ordination of a bishop and deacon, but is silent concerning presbyters because in the bishop the presbyter also is contained” (ibid. [NPNF2, 6:289; PL 22.1195]). Thus Ambrose (or whoever is the author of the *Commentary on the Epistles*, who was either more ancient than or contemporaneous with Ambrose, since it is cited by Augustine, lib. 2. ab Boni. cap. 4†, a disciple of Ambrose under the name of Sanctus) speaking on Eph. 4 concerning the succession of presbyters: “Therefore the writings of the apostle do not agree in all things with the ordination which is now in the church because these were written at the very commencement. For he calls Timothy, a presbyter made by him, a bishop also because at first presbyters were called bishops, so that, one receding, the following might succeed him” (Pseudo-Ambrose, *In epistolam ... ad Ephesios* [PL 17.410] on Eph. 4:11, 12). The same thing is evident from the epistles of Ignatius, falsely ascribed to (Justin) Martyr. For whoever the author is (who wrote about the year 150), in the epistle to the Magnesians, he calls the presbytery (*presbyterion*, cf. “Ad Magnesios,” 2 in *Patres Apostolici* [ed. F.X. Funk, 1901], 1:232) and the administration of the church by it, “the law of Christ” (*Christou nomon*) because it was constituted by the apostles according to the institution and will of Christ; but it was a “novel institution” (*neōterikēn taxin*, ibid., 3.1, p. 232), which in his time placed the bishop before the presbyter. More testimonies of this kind might be adduced from the ancients, in which it is evident that the order of bishops and presbyters was the same from the beginning. The most learned Blondel has collected these in *Apologia pro sententia Hieronymi* (1646), where he invincibly proves the opinion of Jerome by many arguments drawn from early, middle and late antiquity.

XII. To escape the force of these testimonies, it is objected that for the government of the church a college of presbyters might indeed have been constituted by the apostles in the first beginning of the church; but that this continued for a short time only until it was found by experience to be an inconvenient way of governing it, on account of the dissensions and contentions of presbyters by whom the church was rent into factions, since some would say, “I am of Paul, I of Apollos, etc.” (1 Cor 1:12). Thus to remove these dissensions, raised during the lifetime of the apostles, they appointed a certain one above the rest with whom should reside the whole

care and power of administering the church. Thus Jerome meant nothing when he said that "it was decreed throughout the whole world" that one should be set over the rest (to wit, by the apostles themselves and with the consent of the whole church). But this objection is vain. For besides the fact that it is badly asserted that the kind of government which it is conceded the apostles at first established by a college and aristocracy of presbyters was not good because contentions and schisms would spring from it, since they would not spring up by themselves, but accidentally from the wickedness of men, although those discords began to manifest themselves even in the time of the apostles; it does not follow that it was then decreed throughout the whole world that one should be set over the rest, but only after a lapse of years, after others everywhere, demented by the example of the Corinthians, were sundered into parts, which cannot be proved to have happened before A.D. 150. Hence he does not say that as soon as this was said among the Corinthians it was decreed throughout the whole world; but "when it was said among the people," which no one would refer to the times of the apostles. On this account, Jerome refers it to "the custom of the church, which gradually prevailed;" not "to dominical arrangement," which nevertheless he ought to have said if such a sanction had been made by the apostles.

XIII. Now if it is asked, when did that distinction begin and how was it introduced into the church, it is not difficult to answer. The apostolic practice was such that in those places where they converted a remarkable multitude of men, they soon appointed a presbytery or ecclesiastical synod and assembly of presbyters from the votes of believers and the consent of the church to govern the churches constituted. Hence Paul, after he had established many churches in Asia, is said "to have ordained elders in every church" (*cheirotonēsai presbyterous kat' ekklēsian*, Acts 14:23), i.e., to have ordained many elders in each of the churches (in which a presbytery consisted). These were the ordinary pastors of those churches, who had the care of feeding them both by the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments and by the exercise of sacred discipline. This was so done by the common counsel of all that no one of them had power and authority over his colleagues, but there was an equal care of all over the whole flock. But because in every assembly (in order to avoid confusion), there must necessarily be some rank among its members, on this

account among the presbyters some first one was granted (whether this was granted to age or gifts or calling) to preside over the assembly. Yet this was a primacy only of order and honor, such as is wont to be in synods and classes, not of authority and jurisdiction; for so they would not have been colleagues and co-presbyters, as they are everywhere called in the writings of the fathers. Things being thus constituted by the apostles, the churches were governed by the equal authority and the common counsel of the presbyters. The first presbyter of a college departing, a second succeeded and a third to the second by reason of cooperation. This method of succeeding remained for some time, until it was changed at the end of the second century; for then he was made the first of the council by the election of the remaining presbyters and there was granted to him some power over his co-presbyters. This imperceptibly increased by degrees, partly by the ambition of teachers, which was even then creeping in under the veil of merit and dignity, because those superior to others in doctrine and gifts took it ill that others less fit should be placed over them. On that account, they might have been the authors that not by succession, but by an election they should be raised to the primacy of the presbytery. It also increased partly by the consent of the churches themselves and by the authority of councils, to whom this method of governing the church seemed to be better adapted to repressing dissensions and the schisms which thence arose, which the passages from Ambrose and Jerome teach. But the event showed that the remedy was worse than the disease, since in this way they did not throw obstacles in the way of schisms, but the foundations of Antichristian domination were laid. Finally, it was increased partly by the unworthiness and sloth of presbyters. “Because the presbyters,” says the commentary ascribed to Ambrose, “began to be found unworthy to hold the primacy, the plan was changed, the council determining that not order, but merit should make a bishop” (Pseudo-Ambrose, *In Epistolam … ad Ephesios* [PL 17.410] on Eph. 4:11, 12). As long as the apostles lived, nothing like this could be feared because they who were constituted by them who had the power of discerning spirits, could not fail to be fit. But after their death, grace and favor in electing presbyters prevailed among men, not the merit of doctrine and piety; then many were allured to that order less worthy and fit who could obtain not only the primacy but also the presbyterate. On this account, the ancient custom was changed and equality overthrown.

XIV. Whatever may have been the cause of this change, it is certain that the primacy which was conferred by election was nothing else in the beginning than the preceding (to wit, only of order and honor); except that the name of bishop was attributed singularly to the elected president (who thus moderated the assembly and could do nothing without the consent of the presbytery), while the name presbyter remained with the rest. And if a presbyter was to be ordained, he could not do it alone, but the presbyters must be present with him, who would hold their hands near the hands of the bishop in consecrating him. Again, the bishop so ordained presbyters that it was lawful for presbyters also to ordain presbyters and deacons. But afterwards (in the course of time), the authority of the bishop increasing, it happened that to him alone was conveyed the power of ordaining. And thus a superior order was made, but so that all the bishops were equal to each other. Afterwards they held the primacy who had the see of the first city in each province, who on that account were called metropolitans or archbishops, whose office it was to convoke provincial synods and to preside over them and to confirm recently elected bishops. To them in the beginning the name of patriarchs was also common, as if they were "the chiefs of a nation" (*patrias archontes*). For *patrē* or *patria* is the same as *ethnos*, as Salmasius properly remarks (*ho pany*) (*Librorum de primatu papae* 19* [1645], p. 340; Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.8 [NPNF2, 2:121; PG 67.577, 580]). Here he put *patriarchian* for a metropolitan province and *patriarchēn* for a metropolitan. But afterwards, since by Constantine many provinces were brought under one diocese, a distinction was made between patriarchal and metropolitan sees, while among many primates held in the same honor someone should be constituted the first. And thus patriarchs or primates called "exarchs of the dioceses" were made superior to the metropolitans. Thus a huge system was raised up from those very small beginnings and little by little it rose to that height and climax of honor. Thus by various steps it arrived from the lowest to the highest point of priestly power. From the first presbytery, a bishop was made; from the first bishop, a metropolitan; from the first metropolitan, a patriarch; and finally from the first patriarch, he who is now called pope. Thus from an aristocracy in the church was made an oligarchy of patriarchs, from which at length was born an Antichristian monarchy. So that not without reason have pious men wished that no departure from the apostolic institution had

ever been countenanced (that equality should be ascribed to equals [*anisa tois isois*]), when experience taught so well that thence various evils and dissensions arose; and thence imperceptibly by such a hierarchy the way was paved for the papacy and the Antichristian tyranny.

XV. Hence in the Roman episcopate of our day, three things occur which should be clearly distinguished. (1) Something divine, which it has from the institution of Christ by the calling to the ministry of the word and to the care of the church. (2) Something human, which came to it from human prerogatives, gradually usurped by the zeal of men from custom. (3) Something Antichristian, which was superadded to it from pride and papal tyranny. As to the first, it cannot but be approved as a lawful and divine office instituted by Christ himself. As to the second, it can be tolerated as lawful. But as to the last, it cannot but be condemned and rejected as unlawful and tyrannical.

Sources of explanation.

XVI. From the government of the Old Testament to that of the New, the consequence does not hold good. (1) The priesthood being changed, a change is made also of the law and order. Nor can the argument for episcopal preeminence (*hyperochē*) be urged more than for the primacy of the pope, which is solidly refuted by our divines. Different times demand different customs. (2) If the Old Testament is said to be the image and shadow of the New, this is not to be understood relatively to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but to the exhibition of the things promised, which were proposed somewhat obscurely and under shadows in the Old Testament, but more clearly and with uncovered face in the New. (3) The high priest of the Old Testament (who was one alone) was not a type of bishops (who are innumerable), but of Christ, according to the declaration of Paul to the Hebrews.

XVII. The angels of the churches whom Christ addresses (Rev. 2 and 3) ought not to be taken privately (*idiōtikōs*) and individually, but collectively (*syllēptikōs*); not for any particular bishop to the exclusion of other pastors, but for the whole presbytery or college of them, to whom the episcopate or care and oversight of the flock belonged. Thus the college of priests, whose duty it was to teach the people, is distinguished by the name of “messenger

(angel) of the Lord of hosts" (Mal. 2:7). Thus "the angel of the Lord" is said "to encamp around believers" (i.e., legions of angels, which constitute an army). Thus the name Son of God is taken collectively for the people of Israel (Ex. 4:23; Hos. 11:1). Now that the word "angel" is to be so taken here can be proved by various considerations. (1) Christ is said to write to the churches and John is ordered to send to the seven churches (Rev. 1:11). Also, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches" (2:7, 11, 17, 29; 3:6, 13, 22). In 2:10, he addresses the whole church collectively or at least the presbytery: "Behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison." Thus, "unto you I say, and unto the rest" (2:24), i.e., members of the church. (2) It is certain that the Ephesian church had many bishops or pastors at the same time (cf. Acts 20:28). Nor can it be said that they were not only Ephesian bishops, but congregated at Miletus from the whole of Asia, because Luke expressly says that Paul called to him the Ephesian pastors. (3) Aretas, Bishop of Caesarea, well remarks on Revelation (from Andrew, also Bishop of Caesarea) that by angels is denoted the church itself because whatever is said here either for or against it, has reference not to the pastor separately, but to the whole church. "Angel of Ephesus he calls the church, which was there; for the angel set over it had not sinned, who was to hear, Repent …" (*Angelon ton Ephesou, tēn en autē Ekklēsian legei, ou gar ho prostatōn angelos hēmartēkei, hō dei tou akousai metanoēson, Commentariis in Apocalypsin* 3 [PG 106.525]). (4) The Holy Spirit meaning the presbytery or the church collectively could also have designated her particularly under him who was the first in order and honor among the presbyters, since upon him the principal care and oversight (*episkopē*) was incumbent and to him therefore the blame or the praise was given, if anything good or bad was done in the church. (5) If any of our divines wish bishops to be understood, by them they do not understand bishops strictly so called as contradistinguished from presbyters; but broadly, who are identified with presbyters, under whom the whole church is embraced. Further, it is not obscure why pastors should be designated by the name of angels, on account of their close relationship with them by reason of calling and office, because they are sent from God; by reason of their ardor, zeal, vigilance and promptitude in performing their duty and other similar things.

XVIII. Titus and Timothy, who were over certain churches for a time, are not to be regarded as ordinary pastors but as evangelists (2 Tim. 4:5) (to wit, extraordinary ministers, who performed a vicarious work for the apostles and who for a time were sent to settle the remaining things which Paul could not arrange on account of the shortness of the time). But they were specially assigned to no church and diocese, as diocesan bishops. Paul never calls them bishops. Nor if they are so called in the subscriptions of the epistles (the former indeed as bishop of Ephesus, and the latter of Crete) does it therefore follow that they were really such, because learned men confess that these subscriptions are not canonical and the diversity found in them abundantly proves that they are more recent.

XIX. Arius was cited and condemned for heresy not principally for asserting the equality of ministers, but for Arianism (as Augustine says, *De Haeresibus* 53 [PL 42.39–40]). If in his condemnation, the former reason also had a place, the consequence does not hold good from a human deed to divine right. And as he was unjustly condemned because he opposed himself to the even then creeping and growing superstition about sacrifices for the dead and the invocation of saints; so without cause and unjustly in this case was he branded with the mark of heresy. Otherwise Jerome defending the same equality (*isotimian*) could have been condemned for heresy.

XX. One episcopal government is primitive and apostolic (which is the same as the presbyterial), instituted by the apostles according to the will and command of Christ; another secondary and ecclesiastical, distinct from the presbyterial, introduced by the custom of the church and by human counsel rather than by the truth of the Lord's arrangement. In the first sense, we confess that mention is often made of bishops by the ancient writers, immediately after the times of the apostles. But in the latter sense, we deny.

XXI. The testimonies of the fathers concerning the succession of bishops in particular churches, brought down from the very age of the apostles, do not overthrow the identity of the presbyterate and episcopate, which we assert. For it is not evinced by these testimonies that in those earliest times in the college of presbyters, others were set over than they who should first lay on hands (*prōtocheirotonēthentas*), who did not cease to be presbyters. They obtained a new weight of authority from the arbitrary election of their brethren. This is illustrated by the example of the Ephori among the

Lacedemonians and of the Archons (*Archontōn*) among the Athenians, who although they were many endowed with the same power, still the name of only one (namely the first) was placed before the calendars of the city. This does not prove that he was the only Ephorus or Archon, but that he was the first in that year.

XXII. Although the time of the ecclesiastical institution (according to which the bishop was superior to the presbyter) cannot be precisely designated, it does not follow that it was not done. It is sufficient that it was not so from the beginning. Who does not know that many things happen which are observed rather after they are done than when they are done, especially when changes are made little by little and imperceptibly. From what we have said, it is sufficiently clear that there were various degrees of this change, which increased in the progress of ages and at length reached the climax, at which it now stands.

XXIII. The canons which announce that a presbyter cannot consecrate and ordain a bishop, but that a bishop can ordain a presbyter because the lesser cannot bless the greater and no one imparts what he does not have, are posterior to the change of the old order and the novel institution by which it was provided that he who was elected as a bishop should be consecrated by bishops and not by presbyters. In the meantime, the right and power of electing and ordaining remained with the whole presbytery, since in it resides the whole power of governing the church. Hence the bishop was greater than the individual presbyters taken separately because he was the first of them; but not greater than the whole presbytery taken together, from which he received his power.

XXIV. It is gratuitously assumed that bishops succeeded the apostles and presbyters succeeded the seventy disciples. (1) For no one could succeed the apostles in the apostolic office as such (which was extraordinary and temporary); but as to the ordinary function of teaching and governing the church, not only bishops, but also presbyters (i.e., all pastors) succeed them. (2) Although the grade of apostolic order was eminent, still in the first mission equal rights were given to them and the seventy disciples; nor did the former ever usurp either jurisdiction or power over the latter. (3) If some of the fathers say that presbyters succeed the seventy disciples and bishops the apostles, they speak after the change had been made. And thus they do not signify that that inequality of grade was established by divine right, but

that (introduced by human custom) it has some resemblance to that old distinction.

XXV. Although Timothy was constituted by the apostle judge of the presbyters when Paul says, "Against an elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses" (1 Tim. 5:19), it does not follow that he as a bishop was supposed to be superior to the presbyters. (1) Timothy is not regarded here as a bishop and ordinary minister, but as an evangelist who was furnished with apostolic and infallible authority. (2) Although he should be regarded as a bishop, is it to be supposed that inferiors are to be judged only by superiors? And yet who does not know that equals are often judged by equals? This holds especially in ecclesiastical cases, whose power is with the presbytery, not only over inferiors, but also over equals as colleagues. That an accusation, therefore, should be instituted with Timothy was not because he was the sole judge of presbyters, but because he was the first in the college by which the decision was to be made. (3) "Elder" (*ho presbyteros*) here is not properly the name of the office, but of age, and it is opposed to the "younger" (*tō neōterō*).

XXVI. That the book concerning ecclesiastical hierarchy is not the genuine offspring of Dionysius, the Areopagite, who was a contemporary (*synchronos*) of the apostles, but supposititious, of an author far more recent and living in the fifth century, has been already remarked by the distinguished men Cajetan, Erasmus, Valla, Beatus Rhenanus, and even Sirmondus, Petavius and other Romanists, as also the most celebrated Daille demonstrates by many arguments. Before that time, there is no mention of this book; neither by those who praise Dionysius (as Aristides and Dionysius of Corinth); nor by those who have given catalogues of ecclesiastical writers (as Jerome and Gennadius); nor by those who write on Acts 17, where Luke speaks of him; nor by those who refute exploded heresies among the Areopagites. The first is Hypatius, who in the year 533 rejects certain passages from that writing opposed to him by the Severian heretics and denies that it is the work of the Areopagite.

XXVII. Although we believe that the presbyterian order and parity (*isotimian*) or equality of pastors received among us approaches nearer to the institution of Christ and the apostles and the practice of the apostolic church, still we are unwilling to disturb anyone on this subject or to condemn the usage of the evangelical and Reformed churches, who retain

the episcopal government so far, as more suitable to the genius and morals and political form of government of their people and more useful for good order (*eutaxian*) and the exercise of discipline. Provided there be always absent Babylonian pride and papal tyranny and this order be acknowledged as of ecclesiastical, not of divine right. But in turn we expect that equity and moderation from our brethren who differ from us here, so that they do not presume to condemn by a decretory sentence as schismatics and destitute of a lawful calling other churches differing from them and (in accordance with the liberty granted to them by Christ) using the presbyterian form of government as better adapted to their state and to the wishes and customs of their people; but should not cease to embrace them with brotherly affection that the bond of unity and fraternity may always remain unbroken and so with heart and strength joined together the work of God may be carried on to the increase of the kingdom of Christ and the destruction of Antichrist.

Twenty-Second Question: The Calling of Pastors

Is it necessary that there should be a public ministry and a calling to it in the church? We affirm against Fanatics and Enthusiasts

I. As God by his word willed to lead men to the communion of Christ and through it to a participation of salvation, it was necessary that there should be men selected to this office by a legitimate call, to whom should belong the right and power of preaching the word and administering the sacraments. Concerning the necessity of this ministry, the question lies between us and the Fanatics and Enthusiasts.

Statement of the question.

II. On the statement of the question observe: (1) the question does not concern the utility of the ministry (which our opponents cannot deny to be manifold) and its effects, most healthful (to wit, the conversion and salvation of men sufficiently evince it); nor does it concern its dignity, the greatness of which not only the honorable titles everywhere given to it in Scripture demonstrate, but also the nature of the office itself, whether we look to the efficient cause (viz., God, the author of this order) or to the

subject on which it is occupied (to wit, divine mysteries and things which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, and which have not entered into the heart of man); or to the object about which it is occupied (to wit, the souls of men); or to the remarkable effects which it works (the renovation and happiness of men); or to the companions which accompany it (to wit, Christ, the prophets and apostles). But it is treated of the necessity—whether it was necessary that any such office should be instituted in the church (which our opponents deny and we affirm).

III. (2) The question does not concern an absolute and simple necessity. For we do not deny that God could, if he wished, have converted and saved men immediately by himself without the ministry of men. Rather the question concerns a hypothetical necessity relative to the good pleasure (*eudokian*) and decree of God himself, which we assert against the modern Enthusiasts and Swenkfeldians and other similar Fanatics who boast of a divine afflatus and enthusiasm (*euthousiasmous*) alone.

The necessity of the ministry is proved: (1) from the institution of God.

IV. The reasons are: first, the express institution of God who both in the Old and in the New Testament called sacred ministers (partly ordinary, partly extraordinary that they might perform the work of preaching the holy word and teaching the people; as was seen in Moses Aaron and the Levitical priesthood and in the prophets whom from time to time he raised up extraordinarily in the Old Testament; and in the apostles, evangelists and other men of God in the New Testament, to whom Christ committed the ministry of the word. Her belongs the calling of the apostles: “Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost” (Mt. 28:19, 20). The apostle confirms this: “Christ,” says he, “having ascended into heaven, gave some apostles; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, and the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith” (Eph. 4:10–13*). Herewith the institution of the ministry, its necessity, use and perpetual duration (even to the end of the world) are clearly confirmed.

2. From the purpose of God.

V. Second, the purpose of God to call men to salvation by the preaching of the gospel. For since the natural man does not receive the things of God (1 Cor. 2:14), nor can he be self-taught (*autodidaktos*), he had need of teaching and instruction which could be received from no other source than from the ministry of the word. For although God from the beginning called man also by his works, still because that had become an insufficient means for him after sin, he instituted another by the word of the gospel, which appears to the flesh to be foolishness, although it is really the wisdom of God in a mystery. "After that in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe" (1 Cor. 1:21). Hence he elsewhere derives the necessity of preaching from this counsel of God: "How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach, except they be sent? So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God" (Rom. 10:14, 15, 17*). Here he employs a most beautiful gradation; for as calling on him implies faith as a prerequisite, faith the hearing of the word, hearing preaching; so preaching requires a divine sending, without which no one can lawfully preach. In vain is the reply that Paul speaks only of his time, "when the doctrine of the gospel was still new and unheard-of; and therefore the thing itself would demand that they who were to proclaim it should be able to prove their mission. But since in our time nothing new is brought forward (but the ancient doctrine of the gospel is proposed), therefore there is no further need of any particular calling. And thus the reference there is to the apostles, which is not to be extended to all who teach others." For the words of the apostle are general, extending to every sacred minister and to all times, no less than the other parts of the gradation, which respect invocation, faith and the hearing of the word. Also the nature of the thing teaches this because the ministry cannot be performed without the will and sending of our Lord and Father.

3. From the nature of the ministry.

VI. Third, the nature of the ministry demands this because pastors are ambassadors (2 Cor. 5:20). Now no ambassador undertakes his office without the special call and command of the prince. They are stewards and dispensers of mysteries in the house of God (1 Cor. 4:1). And yet no one takes this office to himself, except he whom the father of the family and the master of the house (*oikodespotēs*) has appointed. They are "soldiers of Christ" (2 Tim. 2:3), who ought to perform the duties of generals and leaders in this service, which it is not lawful for them to do without a call from the heavenly commander. They are "laborers" in the field of the Lord, who ought to wait that they may be sent to work by the master of the field and vineyard.

4. Because God condemns the self-called, Jer. 23:21.

VII. Fourth, God condemns the self-called (*autoklētous*) and seriously inveighs against them as false prophets and deceivers: "I have not sent these prophets, yet they ran: I have not spoken to them, yet they prophesied" (Jer. 23:21); "Behold, I am against them that prophesy false dreams, saith the Lord, and cause my people to err by their lies; yet I sent them not, nor commanded them" (v. 32). Here the want of a call and commission is set forth as an argument of their seduction. Now although Jeremiah in this place treats in particular of the false prophets of Israel, who, not being sent or called by God, seduced the hearts of the people; no less solid an argument and general rule to be opposed to the self-called (*autoklētois*) is drawn thence—that no one, unless sent by God, ought to usurp the office of teaching in the church, whether a new doctrine is proposed or an old one, because it is always evident that no one ought to assume the part of a legate or minister unless he is sent by the Lord. And as many as teach in the church without being called or sent are said "to teach in their own name" and not in the name of Christ (Jn. 5:43) (i.e., not sent by God), by themselves and their own authority and thrust in by themselves, who on that account deserve the name of thieves and robbers and not of true shepherds (Jn. 10:8). "In those coming," says Jerome, "the presumption of temerity, in those sent the obedience of servitude" ("Prologus," *Commentariorum* ...

Matthaei [PL 26.17]). And Theophylact on this passage: "As many as came, namely, the false prophets, not, however, as many as were sent, as the prophets" (*Enarratio in Evangelium Joannis* [PG 124.70] on Jn. 10:8).

5. From Heb. 5:4.

VIII. Fifth, "No man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. So also Christ glorified not himself to be made a high priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son" (Heb. 5:4, 5*). The apostle institutes a comparison between Aaron, the high priest of the Old Testament, and Christ, to teach that he was truly constituted the high priest of the New Testament. As Aaron did not intrude himself by his own authority into the sacerdotal office, but waited for a divine call; so also Christ glorified him who spoke to him saying, "Thou art my Son" (to wit, the Father, who acknowledged him as his Son). The former member of the comparison Paul proves by the general axiom that "no man takes this honor to himself" (i.e., ought to take to himself, as words denoting action often signify a duty and obligation), but "he that is called of God." Nor if it treats here of the priestly office does it follow that it neither can nor ought to be extended to all other public offices, whether ecclesiastical or political. The special example of Aaron does not restrict and limit, but explains and illustrates that general rule under which he comes. Nor can there be any other reason for the office of teaching others, in which there is more of labor than of honor; and it is praiseworthy always to take up some habit or labor. For labor and honor in the office of teaching are not opposites, but subordinates which mutually accompany each other, in the pastoral as well as in the priestly office. And although it is always praiseworthy to assume the labor to which each one is privately bound it cannot be said equally of public labor, which demands a preceding call.

6. From the practice of the church.

IX. Sixth, from the practice of the church and from examples. No man undertook the sacred office without a call. This appears in priests, prophets, Christ and the apostles. Hence the prophets frequently appeal to their call (Is. 6:8; Jer. 1:4, 5*; Hos. 1:1); Christ (Lk. 4:18 from Is. 61:1, 2; Jn. 20:21);

the apostles (Rom. 1:1; 1 Cor. 1:1; 2 Cor. 1:1; Gal. 1:1; 1 Pet. 1:1). And they who succeeded them in the office of teaching entered upon it not without a solemn call: “When Paul and Barnabas had ordained them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord” (Acts 14:23); “The gift is said to have been given to Timothy by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery” (1 Tim. 4:14). Here belong also other passages of the same kind (2 Tim. 1:6; 1 Tim. 5:22; 2 Tim. 2:2; Tit. 1:5). Since therefore it is the perpetual practice of the church, it is deservedly derived from a divine institution, which demonstrates its necessity. Thus our opponents say falsely here that custom is to be opposed to necessity.

7. From the causes of calling.

X. Seventh, from the most weighty causes demanding a call, which regard the honor of God, the safety of the church and the tranquility of consciences. With respect to God, to satisfy his institution, will and order (Rom. 10:15; Heb. 5:4). With respect to the hearers, that they may be made certain of the lawful calling of ministers and of the truth of the doctrine which they will propose and be persuaded that God wills to be present with ministers lawfully called by the efficacy of his Holy Spirit and to bless their labors, which excites reverence and obedience in their minds. With respect to pastors themselves, so that they may be certain from their call that God willed to use their labor in the ministry and may entertain a firm confidence in the blessing of God upon their ministry and in his sure protection against the hatred of the world and the danger threatening them, with which argument the prophets often comforted themselves (Is. 49:1, 2; 51:16; 59:21; Jer. 1:7, 8).

Sources of explanation.

XI. It is one thing to teach from love and the general calling of Christians (which belongs to all without a special call); but another to teach publicly and by authority (which belongs to the legitimately called alone). Thus a work good in itself, not well done, results in evil to the doer (as the holding up of the ark by Uzzah). Nor ought a good work to be done immediately by

anyone indiscriminately. To act as a magistrate is a good work, since he is the minister of God (Rom. 13:4). Nor yet on this account is it lawful for anyone to exercise it without a special call. To perform an embassy is a good work; still no one would say that this can and ought to be undertaken by all without a call. Christian love ought to be so exercised as not to violate the order divinely established, lest distinct offices and kinds of life be confounded.

XII. One is the method for a disturbed or to-be-constituted church; another for one constituted and well ordered. In the first, love seizes every opportunity for propagating the gospel; but in the other, care must be taken that all things be done decently and in order (1 Cor. 14:40). Many things which are tolerated in the former cannot be endured in the latter.

XIII. When the apostle says, "If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work" (1 Tim. 3:1), by *to oregesthai* and *epithymein* he does not mean the administration of the sacred ministry undertaken by one's own will without a call or by a violent intrusion into this office or a calling unlawful and obtained by evil arts; for all these are repugnant to the divinely instituted order. But he means that ordinate and pious desire by which a man voluntarily devotes himself to the church, commits the judgment concerning himself to others and waits for a lawful call. Thus the internal call is denoted, which does not exclude the external.

XIV. Although all Christians from the general command can and ought to celebrate the praises of God, to offer spiritual sacrifices to him and mutually exhort and console each other (Eph. 5:19; Col. 4:16; 1 Thess. 4:18), it does not follow that a special command is not required for the public work of a minister of the word and the administration of sacred things, which it is not lawful for the uncalled (*aklētois*) to take in hand.

XV. The scattered abroad (spoken of in Acts 8:4), who after the death of Stephen preached the gospel, were not absolutely destitute of a call because there might have been among them either evangelists or presbyters and deacons, as Philip (Acts 21:8). Besides, this was a church to be constitued, not constituted.

XVI. It is one thing to addict themselves to ministering to the necessities of the saints, which is said of the house of Stephanas and of Fortunatus, the firstfruits of Achaia (1 Cor. 16:15); another to ordain themselves into presbyters that they might preach the word and administer the sacraments to

others. If this is extended to the ministry of the word, it is implied that they had of their own accord offered their labor from charity (nevertheless being lawfully called) or that they had separated themselves by a certain vow and purpose to this sacred office, still a lawful calling not being excluded.

XVII. The prophets of whom Paul treats in 1 Cor. 14:29, who were accustomed to speak in the church, are not promiscuously all believers, but either the ordinary teachers of the church (who are often designated by this name) or teachers who, furnished with the peculiar gift of prophecy, submitted their doctrine to the judgment of others.

XVIII. From the delivering of the keys to the church (Mt. 16:19), it is rightly gathered against the Romanists that the right of calling ministers pertains to the whole church, to whom the keys were delivered. But it cannot be inferred thence that all who are in the church can publicly teach, even without a call, because the keys were indeed given to the whole church (i.e., for the use and advantage of the whole church), so that to all orders of the church some right in calling belongs. But the administration of those keys is committed and ought to be committed by the church in accordance with the divine institution to certain persons whom God has appointed stewards over his house, to whom he gives the power of opening and shutting, of retaining and remitting sins.

XIX. If believers are said to be taught of God (*theodidaktoi*, Is. 54:13; Jn. 6:45) and if God according to the covenant of grace ought to inscribe the law in the hearts of believers so that there should be no need afterward that anyone should teach them (Jer. 31:34), the anointing teaching them all sacred things (1 Jn. 2:20, 27), this is not to be understood simply and absolutely to exclude the necessity of a gospel ministry, as if God wishes to teach believers immediately and by himself. Otherwise there would have been no necessity for Christ to send apostles to preach the gospel and to give pastors and teachers for the edifying of his body and the increase of the saints. Nor ought the apostles to have ordained presbyters in every city, to feed and teach the churches founded by them. And in vain and unnecessarily did John write to believers. But these words are to be understood comparatively and relatively, concerning the knowledge under the New Testament, which was to be far more extensive than the knowledge under the Old, in which believers, being still rude and in their minority, needed teachers and leaders continually, to take them as it were by the hand

and little by little to instruct them in the law, line after line (as it is expressed in Is. 28:13). Now in the plenitude of light and of the Spirit, believers (having become adults) can by themselves far more clearly and readily perceive the gospel mysteries laid open to them in the word. Or thus the Holy Spirit wished to teach that the external ministry is not sufficient to ingenerate faith, unless there approaches an internal operation of grace, efficaciously inclining men to receive the gospel (which is a blessing of the gospel covenant above the legal). In this sense, the Spirit is said "to lead us into all truth"; not immediately by enthusiasm, but by means ordained by him; to wit, the preaching of the word and the desire of men, by which faith is not only conceived and formed, but cherished and increased, while that word of life which is the incorruptible seed of our regeneration (1 Pet. 1:23) is also the food and milk, reasonable (*logikon*) and sincere (*hadolon*), by which we are nourished and grow in grace (1 Pet. 2:2).

Twenty-Third Question

Of how many kinds is the call to the ministry and is an ordinary call always necessary? We distinguish

I. That the various questions usually agitated about the calling of pastors may be the more readily explained, the various distinctions of calling must be premised (which recur very often).

General and special call.

II. First, we take for granted that it is not treated here of the general call to Christianity, by which men are called to the church and which is common to all believers; but of the special call to the ministry which is peculiar to pastors, by which certain men are selected for the public ministry and (their life and doctrine having been approved) are consecrated to God by a solemn ceremony and put in possession of the office. Nor do we treat concerning the private preaching of the gospel, by which individual believers are bound by the common law of love to teach, to admonish and to lead their brethren and neighbors to faith and salvation; but concerning public preaching with

authority, the necessity of which is laid upon those who by a special call are consecrated to the public work of the ministry.

Internal and external.

III. Second, this special call is either internal or external. The former is that by which the heart itself is excited by God to consecrate itself to the work of the ministry (of which Paul speaks in 1 Tim. 3:1). This is rather a disposition of mind to receive the call than a call properly so called. By it, a man is conscious before God that he is impelled to undertake this office not by ambition or avarice or any other carnal affection, but from a sincere love of God and a desire to build up the church. The latter, however, is that by which a man thus disposed is expressly called to exercise the office.

Immediate.

IV. Third, this external call is either immediate, which comes from God himself immediately without the intervention of men; such as the call of the prophets in the Old and of the apostles in the New Testament. Such was the call of Paul when he says that he "was called not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father" (Gal. 1:1); in order to oppose his call, not only to an unlawful and merely human call (which is of men), but also to the lawful but mediate call (which is by men). Or it is mediate, which, although from God originally as the primary author, is still through the intervention of men whom God employs as instruments when he calls by the church; such is the call of sacred ministers at the present time. Further, the immediate call can be made in two ways: either absolutely immediately (*amesōs*), when God himself appears to men and speaks immediately with them, as he called Moses, and the various prophets in the Old Testament and John the Baptist in the New (Jn. 1:33). Thus the apostles were called by Christ. Or he proclaims his call to them by agents, as he called Aaron by Moses and Elisha by Elijah. Now although we do not doubt that the inner breathing of the Spirit concurs in this call, still it is not sufficient unless there is added an external manifestation and confirmation, either by an appearance of God himself or by a declaration of the divine will, joined with an agreement of the doctrine proposed with the doctrine

revealed by God in his word, that it may not be confounded with the impostures of fanatics who boast of divine breathings and revelations.

Ordinary.

V. Fourth, again the call is either ordinary, or extraordinary. The ordinary is that which is wont to be made by ordinary means; such as was the call of the priests in the Old Testament and of pastors in the New. And this again is either good (inasmuch as it is instituted by God) or evil and corrupt (inasmuch as it has been vitiated by the depraved morals and customs of men), which either absolutely and in every part is so bad that it cannot be reformed, but must be wholly abolished (such as is the call of the pope and of his cardinals); or only partly, which although somewhat depraved from the fault of men, yet still retains something good from the first institution of God (such as is the call of the Roman bishops). Now as ordinary is taken either properly of that which is consistent with the order originally and divinely instituted; or equivocally for that which is publicly received by inveterate custom, whatsoever it may be. So a good or a bad call can be said to be ordinary according to that varied relation (*schesin*). Extraordinary is also used in different senses: (1) that which is made immediately by God without the help of men and the received order not being observed; such as was the call of the prophets in the Old and of the apostles in the New Testament, and so it coincides with the immediate; (2) that which is not according to the custom and depraved manner received in some church. Concerning this we will treat more fully in what follows.

With regard to doctrine.

With regard to office.

VI. Fifth, again the extraordinary call is viewed in different ways: with respect to either doctrine or office or ceremonies and mode of calling. With respect to doctrine, if a new and before unknown and unheard-of thing is preached (as was the call of Moses who is sent to promulgate the law and deliver the people). With regard to office, when the office is wholly new

and untransmitted (*adiadochon*) (such as the call of John the Baptist was, who had no successor).

With regard to rites and manner of call.

With regard to rites and the manner of the call, when neither the doctrine nor the office is new, but the manner of calling is new and unusual (as the calling of Elijah was). The calling of the apostles can be called extraordinary in these three ways because they were to bring in a new doctrine concerning the advent of the Messiah and they had a new office (which ceased in their persons) and the mode of their call (which was immediately from Christ) was evidently extraordinary.

With regard to gifts.

VII. Sixth, an extraordinary call can be so called either with regard to the gifts and qualities (which are required in those to be called for the performance of the office and with regard to the success and wonderful effects, which came to pass through the ministers of God); or with regard to the election itself and ordination to the office. The call of the prophets and apostles was extraordinary in both ways. For both the gifts themselves and the election and constitution in the office were immediately from God. But there is a certain call which although ordinary with regard to the office itself and the election and ordination (which can be made by men according to the received order), still is rightly called extraordinary as to the special and remarkable gifts with which they were endowed above the ordinary manner who were called to it and as to the wonderful success and wholly extraordinary effects wrought by them (such as was the call of the first Reformers, of which more hereafter).

VIII. Further, there are various marks of an extraordinary call. (1) That it be joined with extraordinary gifts and with the wonder-working efficacy of the power of God, which exerts itself at one time by miracles, at another by the energy (*energeian*) of the word in demonstration of the Spirit and power. (2) That it be made freely and indiscriminately, nor be bound either to nation, or family, or age, or condition and quality, or sex; as Samuel is called when a child, Elijah when an old man, Moses a stammerer, Amos a

ploughman and various women were distinguished by the gift of prophecy. (3) Its use is either in the institution of the church (to found and gather it at first) or in its restitution (to reform it when collapsed and corrupted).

Call to reformation and to the public ministry.

IX. Seventh, one call is to reformation, by which a man is bound to purge his faith and worship of all the errors and superstitions by which it could be corrupted so that he may retain religion pure from every stain. Another to the ordinary and public ministry of the gospel, which consists in preaching the word, administering the sacraments and the exercise of holy discipline. The first is of right common to all Christians, since there is no one who is not called lawfully by his baptism (both for the glory of God and for his salvation) to reject the errors opposed to the nature and purity of true faith and to stir up his brethren to that very thing. But the latter is not common to all, but peculiar to those only who are specially called to it and no one ought to obtrude himself into it. Nor is the reason of this distinction obscure. A reformation consists in acts of faith and love which belong to all and from which no one can be excused because no one can say that he is not bound to exercise faith and love. But the preaching of the word, the administration of the sacraments and the exercise of discipline are acts of public authority, which no one ought to perform in his own name (but in another's) and which therefore demand a peculiar call (which may confer such a power).

The ministry with respect to its essence and accidents.

X. Eighth, the sacred ministry can be considered either with respect to its essence and those things which are necessarily required to constitute it; or with respect to its accidents, which pertain to its good or bad state and condition. What is essential to the ministry cannot be changed without making another ministry. But the essence remaining untouched, it does not cease to be the same ministry, although a varied and manifold change as to the accidents may have taken place. The essence of the ministry is placed in this—that all saving truth pertaining to the conservation of faith and piety

be retained and taught; that the true sacraments instituted by Christ may be administered; and that the people may be held under a legitimate government. The accidents make its state good or bad. The good is when the preaching of the word is pure and entire without any mixture of error or superstition; when the sacraments are rightly celebrated according to the institution of Christ without addition, or detraction, or alteration; and the Christian people are governed in a holy manner according to the word of God and not in a tyrannical manner. The bad on the other hand is when the truth preached is mixed with errors and superstitions; the sacraments are in different ways altered and corrupted; and the government is either confused or unjust and tyrannical. Nothing is more desirable than a good state of the ministry apt to conserve faith, holiness, peace and happiness in the church. Nothing on the other hand is more dangerous and more to be avoided than a depraved state. But still it must not be thought that the ministry ought at once to cease and be extinguished on account of any corruption whatsoever and depraved state; as life is not at once extinguished, but can subsist in the midst of weakness and disease.

XI. Ninth, there is one relation of the ministry considered principally and in itself, but another of ministers who exercise it; as it is one thing to speak of the office of a magistrate, another of the persons who hold it—the office remains always the same, but the persons are changed. As to the former, the ministry is immediately of purely divine institution. But as to the latter, it is also of human institution and if the call of ministers is originally from God, it is only mediately by the intervention of men. In the former respect, it is not doubtful that God in instituting the ministry ordained it in its best state both as to essentials and as to accidentals; as well as to right, as with regard to fact, not only imposing upon men all the parts of this office, but also selecting and calling men who would rightly fulfill them. But in the latter, there is not the same reason of those who are called by men. For as they are concerned only with externals and cannot search into the inner motives of the mind, the ministry can be committed to those who are little suited to this sacred office and who can in different ways corrupt it, whether through ignorance or wickedness. If God had always called men immediately (as he did the apostles), the ministry would never have failed from the first institution, but would have remained always pure and uncorrupted. But from the time that calls began to be made by men, they could easily be

corrupted; nor has God ever promised to accompany such human calls with the spirit of infallibility so that they might always continue pure and without any corruption.

XII. Tenth, we must always distinguish between the state of the church constituted and the state of the church to be constituted; the tranquil and well-ordered state and the same perturbed and corrupted. Many things are lawful in a disturbed condition of the state which would not be lawful in a peaceful and well-composed condition, where all things are rightly ordered and done according to the laws. For then necessity (which knows no law) does many lawful things which (if the necessity was removed) would have to be blamed.

Statement of the question.

XIII. These things have been posited in order that we may come down to the proposed question. (1) It is not inquired whether a call to the ministry is necessary. For this was proved in the former question. Rather we ask whether an ordinary call is so simply and absolutely necessary that without it there can be no lawful preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments. This the Romanists hold; we deny. (2) The question is not whether, notwithstanding a want of the ordinary call, it is lawful for anyone in every case and at all times and in a constituted and well-ordered state of the church to preach the word publicly and to perform the other functions of the sacred office. This we have proved before (against the Fanatics and Enthusiasts) cannot rightly be done. Rather we ask whether in a case of unavoidable necessity and in a perturbed and corrupted state of the church it would be lawful for no one to undertake any parts of the sacred office, except for those who are ordinarily called and have a commission from the rulers of the church. This we deny; the Romanists assert.

XIV. For they hold to such a necessity for an ordinary call and mission that if perchance such a case should occur (that if any visible church with a public ministry should be corrupted by heresy and idolatry, and should eject true believers from her bosom), it would be better for those pious people to remain without pastors and external worship than to usurp the right to create pastors and to give them the power to preach the word and to administer the sacraments (as the author of the book, *de Praejud*. c. 5+ says). Hence from

the want of a call and mission they are wont to condemn our Reformers as schismatics and usurpers who ought not to be heard. However, we think that although the ordinary call is necessary in a constituted church, still it is not necessary in one to be constituted or corrupted, but that believers may undertake those parts from an extraordinary call which is such, if not from public authority and as to solemn rite, still from private love imposed upon individuals by God from their general call.

Proof that an ordinary call is not always necessary: (1) from the general duty of believers to promote their own salvation and that of their neighbors.

XV. That this is so, we gather from many arguments. First, each one is bound to embrace and defend the truth, and to reject falsehood and error; not only from his own heart, but also from the hearts of his neighbors and from the society in which he lives. For no lie has a right per se to be believed or to be taught; nay, it is always worthy of aversion and hatred. And the more serious and dangerous it is, destroying the very foundation of religion, with so much the greater zeal is it to be shunned and opposed. Thus a necessity presses upon every Christian to seek and retain the truth and to reject the lie, both in himself for his own salvation and with respect to others to promote the edification of his neighbor: that according to his ability from the law of love he may teach, exhort and restore an erring brother. This God had commanded in his law: “lest we suffer sin upon our brother and neighbor” (Lev. 19:17), i.e., that we admonish him fraternally and warn him from those things which sin against God and his own salvation. The apostle also refers to this when he wishes us “to exhort one another” (Heb. 3:13). This power is not properly a public office with authority, but the general office of love by which we are bound to one another that we may in turn provide for each other’s salvation. And the necessity for this office increases so much the more when the public office (which ought to serve this purpose) is either not as yet constituted; or if it has been constituted, is so corrupted and depraved as to teach a lie in place of the truth. Then anyone, in such a state of things, ought not only to care for those things which belong to his own salvation by retaining the known

truth and manfully rejecting received errors, but also with all zeal to carry forward those things which pertain to the salvation of his neighbor.

2. From a case of necessity.

XVI. Second, the necessity of the case makes many things lawful which otherwise would not be lawful, in domestic affairs as well as in politics. If the doorkeeper of a house is overcome by a lethargy or by apoplexy, he cannot prevent the entrance of thieves, even though it is lawful for any servant to take the keys and to close the gates against them. If he to whom the care of supporting a family is committed denies bread to his children, who would say that it is not lawful for anyone of the domestics to supply them with bread if he can so that they may not perish with hunger? If the father himself rages for the destruction of his children, should not his arms be wrested from him, his children removed and entrusted to a guardian, not waiting for the judgment of a magistrate? Nay, a friend and neighbor can take this upon himself until the public authority has made some provision for them. When a fire is raging, who doubts that it is the duty of all to bring water to extinguish it, especially when they cease to whom this care pertained? Thus in a republic, if the rulers and prefects snore while the enemy approaches; if the gatekeepers open the gates to him; will it not be lawful for any citizen to snatch the keys from the hand of the betrayer in order to shut the gates against the enemy and to call to arms? If soldiers see the enemy rushing upon them, their leader being sound asleep, or treacherously in collusion with the enemy, shall they remain quiet and await the command of their leader? Will they not of themselves assemble around the standards and take counsel concerning the repulse of the enemy and omit nothing on their part, so as not to be wanting in duty? When the thing itself calls, what need is there to seek an external call? Nay, if they should cease from a regard to obedience, unmindful of the oath given to their prince, they would be deservedly convicted of perfidy and treachery because here the consciousness of wickedness alone pollutes, from which no one purges himself, unless according to his ability he resists the inrushing evil. Nor should the oath given to his leader prevent him. The former far stronger oath made to the prince binds him more closely; nor is he bound to obey his leader except insofar as he remains faithful to the

prince. In the same way, the matter stands here. The believer is bound to obey the rulers of the church only as long as they obey God and preach his pure and entire word. But when they forsake the truth and rise up against God, the supreme ruler, he would be a rebel against God who would follow them. An inferior order is to be retained while the superior is unviolated; but where it is treated of the supreme power and of salvation, he would be injurious to God and to himself and his neighbor who should follow the erring and not withdraw from them. The Romanists cannot deny this. For as they wish the constituted things of the fathers to be preserved inviolate (if no necessity presses), so in a case of necessity they confess that many things can be done which would otherwise be unlawful; as in case of necessity, they yield to the laity the power to baptize (even to women) and to a private person the power to hear confessions, if a priest is lacking.

3. From examples.

XVII. Third, various examples occur from which it is evident that the thing not only can be done, but also frequently has happened, when in a case of necessity and when it was done (concerning either a church to be constituted or to be restored) not a few have undertaken the sacred office without the ordinary call. Here belongs what is said concerning those who, after the death of Stephen, scattered in all directions by the storm of persecution, preached the gospel (Acts 8:4). This is said in particular of certain Cyprians and Cyrenians (Acts 11:20, 21) who, leaving Antioch, preached the gospel to the Greeks. The hand of the Lord is said to have been with them, so that a great number believed and were converted unto the Lord (18:28). Apollos (thoroughly instructed in the way of the Lord by Aquila and Priscilla) publicly convinced the Jews, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was Christ (vv. 25, 26). Ecclesiastical history furnishes many such examples. Here belongs what Theodoret and Sozomen relate concerning Aedesius and Frumentius, youths who being carried to the Indies preached the gospel and not only brought the king and queen to the faith of Christ, but also instituted public assemblies that they might not be without public worship (Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History* 1.22*, 23 [NPNF2, 3:58–59]; Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* 2*.24* [NPNF2, 2:274–75]). Also concerning a captive woman who converted the Iberians

to Christ, the queen being first brought to the faith, and presently the king through the queen, who (seeking the conversion of the whole nation) "was made the apostle of his nation," as Rufinus has it (cf. *Eusebius Werke: Die Kirchengeschichte* 10.11 [ed. E. Schwartz, 1908], 2:975). Thus Theodoret relates that the Samosatian believers, deserted by their pastors, undertook the office of pastor (*Ecclesiastical History* 4.13* [NPNF2, 3:117]). And that Aphraates, a layman monk (such as there were at that time), having gone out in the time of the Arian heresy that he might guard believers against that destructive pestilence, answered the Emperor Valens (who was rebuking him for leaving the monastery): "If I was the daughter of someone and was sitting in a room to take care of the house, and thence should behold flames falling upon it, and it burning, what ought I to do, to remain within and neglect the burning house, or having left my room to run hither and thither and bring water to extinguish the fire? And this is just what I am doing, O Emperor" (*Ecclesiastical History* 4.23* [NPNF2, 3:127; PG 82.1186]). Victor of Utica observes that Marturianus and Saturianus, while detained among the Moors, were preachers of the gospel (*Historia Persecutions Africae Provinciae/De Persecutione Vandalica* 1.10 [PL 58.193]).

XVIII. If today believers, carried by a tempest to the most distant regions of the earth, should be shipwrecked upon the shore among barbarous people, entirely strangers to religion, and pressed by necessity should be compelled to remain there without any hope of returning to their homes, who does not confess that from the law of love they ought to teach the pagans the faith of Christ? And if many of them should perchance be converted, would it not be lawful for them to choose for themselves pastors to constitute a church and provide for its edification and instruction? Would it be better to suffer that light to be extinguished than to establish a ministry for the consolation and salvation of that people, although this could not be done according to the usual order? Thus if perchance it happens in a most severe persecution of a church or province that all the pastors are either entirely destroyed or so scattered that they cannot easily be gathered together or other pastors be obtained elsewhere; in this case would it be more advisable for the believing people to remain without a pastor and without external worship and thus suffer the light of the gospel and all religion to be extinguished than that it should be permitted them to elect and constitute some suitable private person from their own body to feed and

teach them, although the received order could not be adhered to? Nay, who does not see that the glory of God and the salvation of believers demands the contrary altogether? No more can it be sought by what right and by what authority and call these things are done than it can be demanded of a citizen what call he has for opposing himself to an inrushing enemy when the leaders are treacherous; or for extinguishing a fire enveloping a house, if others fail. For the case of necessity and the salvation of the republic (which ought to be the supreme law) demands this. It is the same as if I should ask a man what right he had to obey God and to resist Satan. What call he has to procure his own and his neighbor's salvation. Everyone knows that this is an indispensable necessity.

Sources of explanation.

XIX. It cannot be said that the door is thrown wide open to confusion and to every kind of disturbance if the external call is wanting. He is called a disturber who neglects a possible order; but not he who desires the order with his whole mind, but cannot discover and obtain it on account of the highly disturbed condition of things. He is to be called a disturber who rashly and without reason neglects a well-constituted order; but not he who, by an invincible and unavoidable necessity, is forced to omit it. Thus it is not to favor sedition in a city or camp, when a citizen (of his own accord and uncommanded) rises against a traitorous magistrate, a soldier against a hostile centurion, if in no other way and method he can ward off the evil. Order is perverted and anarchy (*ataxia*) reigns only when anyone permits to himself and thinks lawful so much when there is no such necessity.

XX. In a judge, there is always required an external call that authority may be conciliated to him, because the function of a political office has its power and efficacy from the authority of the performer. But the virtue and efficacy of the ecclesiastical function does not depend upon the authority of the performer, but on the nature of the word which he preaches. Hence an external call is not always required.

XXI. Although the priests under the Old Testament did not exercise their office without a special call; not on that account the pastors of the New Testament also. Their office was restricted to a particular family; to certain circumstances of places and times. The gospel ministry is free from all

those carnal circumstances. Again, salvation did not depend upon the legal priesthood, the intermitting of which did not draw after it the loss of the soul because there was besides this the ministry of the prophets. But the word of the gospel and the preaching of it are necessary to salvation; so that without it faith cannot be obtained. “For faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God” (Rom. 10:17).

XXII. He cannot be said to break the unity of the church and incur the crime of schism who without the consent of a society withdraws from the doctrine and worship received in that society. True union does not consist in errors and false worship, however common and by long use received; because these not only do not contribute to the good of society, but destroy it like epidemic diseases, which do not conserve but lay society waste. Therefore the union of the society (but a depraved and faulty union) is broken. Since a corrupt church has a double bond—one to good, the other to evil; one by which it is constituted in being a church, the other by which it is corrupted; the former binds men to each other and to God, the latter by binding them to each other separates them from God. The first ought to be conserved by us with all zeal and no one can break it without crime; but the later is unjust, which no one has the right to make and all are bound to break. Nay, the first bond demands the breaking of the latter; for as much as anyone wishes to adhere more closely to Christ, so much the more decidedly ought he to break every bond of error and impiety.

XXIII. It is one thing for no one to be able to preach without a call and mission; another for no one to be able to discharge this office without an ordinate call. Paul asserts the former (Rom. 10:15), but not the latter. It is certain that no one uncalled and without a mission ought to intrude himself to teach, as no one can act as an ambassador unless he is sent by the prince. But it is not necessary that that mission from God should always be in the ordinary and received mode. It is indeed true that in a well-ordered state of the church, the order cannot be conserved; nor is any reformation to be expected from those who are over the church, because they are themselves the authors of the corruption which prevails; then nature herself, reason, law and use teach that that must be procured in every way and method which is principal and most important and necessary. The duty of piety and love (which rests upon all) and necessity (or God himself, who has thrown men into that necessity) not only do not forbid, but enjoin and give the power to

provide for what will contribute to personal salvation and the edification of neighbors, although the received rites and orders cannot be observed.

Twenty-Fourth Question: The Right of Calling

Does the right of electing and calling pastors belong to bishops alone or to the church? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists

Statement of the question.

I. That the statement of the question concerning the right of calling pastors (here agitated between us and the Romanists) may be properly understood, we observe: (1) that the question does not concern the primary author of calling, to whom the right properly and autocratically (*autokratorikōs*) belongs and from whom it is derived to others. For all agree in this—that to God alone it belongs, who calls men to the ministry and as Lord and Master sends workmen into the vineyard. But we treat of the instruments which he wills to use in this work and upon whom he confers this power. Are they the bishops and rulers of the church alone to the exclusion of the people (which the Romanists contend for)? Or the whole church or body and multitude of believers (which we hold)?

II. (2) The question is not whether pastors and bishops have the right of election and calling and can exercise it (which we do not deny); but whether they have it from themselves primarily and originally or secondarily and derivatively from the church. Whether they exercise it in their own name or in the name of the church, which grants this authority to them (which we assert).

III. In the call, three things are to be principally attended: (1) the right of calling; (2) the act or exercise of the call itself; (3) the rites and ceremonies usually observed in the call as to ordination and the imposition of hands. It is not properly treated here either of the act or of the rites of the call; for no one denies that these two ought to be done by the presbytery and rulers of the church. Rather we treat of the right and power—with whom it resides; whether with the bishops and the pope or with the whole church.

IV. The Romanists, who wish the bishop to be distinguished from the presbyter and indeed by divine right, deprive not only the church or

assembly of believers of all right to call pastors, but also presbyters themselves. And thus they transfer that right to bishops alone descending in an uninterrupted succession and especially to the Roman pope or ecumenical bishop of the whole church. Thus the Council of Trent decrees: "The most holy Synod teaches that in the ordination of bishops, priests and other orders, neither the consent, nor call and authority of the people, or of any secular power and magistrate is so required, that the ordination is invalid without it. But it rather decrees that they who enter this ministry, being called and instituted only by the people or a secular power and magistrate, are not all to be regarded as minsters of the church, but as thieves and robbers" (Session 23, chap. 4, Schroeder, p. 162). And: "If anyone shall say that the orders bestowed by bishops without the consent, or call of the people or of a secular power are invalid, let him be accursed" (Session 23, Canon 7, Schroeder, p. 163). Bellarmine says, "All Catholics teach with entire unanimity that the right to ordain and call bishops can in no way belong to the people. However the right to elect was sometimes and in some measure with the people, but by the concession and connivance of the popes, not by divine law" ("De Clericis," 1.2* *Opera* [1857], 2:153).

V. The fount of error of the Romanists is the false idea (which they form for themselves) of the call, conceiving it to be as it were a sacrament, which they call the sacrament of order. Hence at once the opinion arises that the people cannot confer a sacrament. Again, they hold that this sacrament impresses an indelible mark which is a physical quality inhering in the mind of the pastor. Third, they contend that Christ and the apostles deposited this sacrament in the hands of the bishops so that it could be dispensed by no one except themselves (which foundation being once overthrown, the other things built upon it readily fall).

VI. Our opinion is that the right to call belongs to the church originally and radically, with whom Christ deposited it to be exercised; however by the rulers in the name of the church, as the royal official institutes judges and magistrates not in his own name, but in that of the king. In a republic, the power to create a magistrate resides in the body of the community which constituted the republic and the inauguration is made in the name of the community by him who is delegated to it. Moreover, as in the church there are three orders (the political, ecclesiastical and economical; or the presbytery, magistrate and people), from all of whom, as members, the

church consists, no state of the church is to be excluded simply from this work, but their own parts and their own duties are to be left to individuals. No one denies that this belongs to presbyters. But because they are not the whole church, but only a part of it, they ought not to seize this calling to themselves alone, the remaining members of the church being excluded. Rather they ought to leave also to the magistrate (if he is a Christian) his parts, not only with regard to his person, because he is the principal member of the church, but also with regard to his office, because he is the guard of the divine law and a nursing father of the church (Is. 49:23). Also to the whole people in general, whose concern also is treated here. Now although the form of the call and election may vary as to species by reason of places and persons and the mode of government (political as well as ecclesiastical); still in general it can be said that it belongs to the presbytery formally, as to trial, election and ordination; to the magistrate eminently, as to approbation, confirmation and application to office; and to the people virtually, as to consent and willing admission. And thus the right to call always remains proper to the body of the church.

Proof that the right to call belongs to the church: (1) from the delivery of the keys to it.

VII. The reasons why we thus determine are various. The first is drawn from the delivery of the keys because the power of the keys was given to the churches, which in itself embraces the right of call. It is evident from Mt. 16:19, where the keys of the kingdom of heaven are promised to Peter and in his person to the whole church; and Mt. 18:18*, where Christ gives to the church the power of binding and loosing. I confess that the church exercises this right by her rulers, but in this the pastors exercise the right which belongs to the body as representing it, so that this right radically belongs always to the body and is proper to it; to the pastors, however, as to use and exercise which ought to be exercised in the name of the body. In vain Bellarmine says, “Peter received the keys in the name of the church because he received them for the advantage and utility of the whole church, and because he alone was not to use them, but to transmit them to successors and share them with bishops and presbyters” (“De Clericis,” 1.7

Opera [1857], 2:158). For Peter confessed Christ in the person of the church, not only because that confession yielded to the advantage of the whole church, but also because (Peter confessing) the church itself also confessed. Thus to Peter were given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, not only for the advantage and usefulness of the church, but also because the church received them in the person of Peter that she might exercise them, both in other parts of the power signified by the name of keys and in choosing and calling suitable pastors. Hence Ferus says, "The church has the keys as mistress and wife; Peter, not as a master, but as a servant" (*In sacrosanctam Iesu Christi evangelium secundum Matthaeum* [1559], p. 222 on Mt. 16).

VIII. Tostatus follows this up excellently, where by various reasons he proves that the keys were given to the whole church and so the right to exercise them belongs to it primarily and radically and to others only secondarily and participatively. "Since community," says he, "is not some one thing properly, but by accident, as a heap of stones, it cannot exercise any acts; nay, it is impossible that there can be in a community jurisdiction according to act. Still there is jurisdiction in community according to origin and according to power because all persons receiving jurisdiction, receive it in virtue of the community, because they can by themselves judge; not, however, the community. Thus it appears concerning the keys of the church because they were given by Christ to the whole church; still because the whole church could not manage them, since she is not any person, he delivered them to Peter in the name of the church. Nevertheless if it should be understood that they were delivered to Peter specially, not only would the common inconvenience which is induced, follow (to wit, that the other apostles would have had no authority of the keys, which is false because to them was given the power to remit sins, Jn. 20). This nevertheless is the only power of the keys.… But there was still another greater inconvenience, to wit, that when Peter died the keys would not have remained, which was necessary if they had been given to Peter alone. And not only if they had been given to him alone, but even if to all the apostles as determinate persons, when they died, the keys would not have remained in the church because they had not the power to give the keys to others, making them their successors.… And yet all the successors of Peter and the other apostles have keys, as Peter and the other apostles. Therefore, the keys were not

given to them as determinate persons, but as ministers of the church. And in this way the keys never can cease in the church, since the church, which has them radically, will never die" ("Beati Alphonsi Thostati … super libro Numero," *Opera* [1507–31], p. 140 on Num. 15, Qu. 48). And: "The church received the keys from Christ and the apostles as ministers of the church, and now the church has them and also the prelates, but the church otherwise than the prelates; for the church has them according to origin and power, while prelates have them according to their use. She is said to have by origin because the power of the prelate is not originated from himself, but from the power of the church by election; for the church, which elects him, ascribes to him that jurisdiction; the church, however, receives from no one, after once receiving from Christ. On this account she has by origin and power and when she bestows them on the prelate, she does not bestow in the manner in which she holds them, to wit, as far as pertains to origin and power, but as far as their use is concerned" (ibid., p. 140 on Num. 15, Qu. 49).

2. From the right of ministry.

IX. Second, the same thing is proved from the right of ministry which belongs to the church. To that body the right to call belongs to which the right of ministry pertains on account of which it was instituted by God; it ought to give its consent and is bound to have it for the conservation of faith and piety. Now pastors and bishops alone do not constitute such a body, but the whole church. For since it is an assembly which God gathered by the ministry of the apostles and which he daily congregates and conserves by the preaching of the word and the use of the sacraments, it is necessary that God (who is not wanting in things necessary) should give to it, for the same reason that he formed it, a sufficient and full right of employing all the means which are necessary for its conservation—among which the principal is undoubtedly the ministry. Just as providence, which congregates men in civil society, which enjoins upon them thus congregated to cherish society by a legitimate order, gives them for that very reason the right to call and set over themselves magistrates by whom they may be ruled and who may make laws and provide for their observance for the good of the whole community. Therefore since the church is a sacred society of men whom

God himself has congregated by his word that they may live together not confusedly, but in good order (*eutaktōs*) (which he wishes to be conserved in the world until its end), it is necessary that from this very circumstance the right to have and to call pastors, by whom it may be regulated and governed, should be bestowed upon it. This is still further confirmed from this—that God, who gave faith and piety to the church, also by that very thing bound it indispensably to these four duties: (a) to persevere in the practice of these virtues to the end; (b) to defend them against the errors and deceptions of Satan; (c) to confirm and increase them more and more; (d) to propagate them according to ability not only to children, but also to strangers. Hence it follows necessarily that God gave the church a sufficient and full right to the ministry, which is the legitimate and fittest means for this. Nor can there be granted a right more legitimate, founded upon indispensable duties, because then it is not only a right rendering the thing just, but also an obligation imposing the necessity of its exertion.

X. Hence it is evident that the church is not for the sake of the ministry, but the ministry for the sake of the church; and that the church does not depend on the ministry, but the ministry depends on the church (as in civil society, the magistrate depends on the society, not [on the contrary] the society on the magistrate). For as in a society, we first conceive that God made men; second congregated them into one; finally, from that union (which cannot be conserved without order) the magistrate took his rise; so in the church, grace in the first place makes believers, then unites them together by the bond of mutual fellowship and because fellowship cannot exist without order and government, thence the necessity for the ministry rises. And thus the ministry is posterior to the church; nor does it make the church true, for it has this from the truth of faith, but the true church makes the ministry legitimate because on the truth of the church depends the righteousness of the ministry. I confess that the church was first brought forward by the extraordinary ministry of the apostles and the same ministry daily preserves it and will preserve it even unto the end because faith is that which makes and always will make the church. The ministry of the apostles makes and will always make the faith; the same word which was preached by them even now at this day continues and brings men together in unity. But there is not the same reason for the ordinary ministry because ordinary pastors were instituted only after the church had already been gathered, for

its conservation and propagation. Hence from the order of nature, the church precedes the ministry and produces it and not the ministry the church.

3. From the right of superiority.

XI. Hence a third argument flows from the right of superiority. The authority and right of action belongs to the superior, not to the inferior. Now the church is superior to pastors, not pastors to the church; the church does not belong to the pastors, but the pastors to the church. "All things are yours," says Paul, "whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas" (1 Cor. 3:21*, 22). Here he rebukes those who gloried in men as heads and for whose sake they raised dissensions and parties among the Corinthians. He shows that they acted falsely because the church is greater than and superior to all. Hence pastors are called the servants and ministers of the church: "We are your servants for Jesus' sake" (2 Cor. 4:5). If ministers to the church, they ought to be elected and called by her. The church is the spouse of Christ; ministers are agents and servants, who ought to obey the spouse. Now although pastors are ministers of the church (not by obeying it, but by ruling and presiding over it), it does not follow that the church does not have the right to call. These are not to be mutually opposed to each other: the lawful calling of pastors by the church and the due reverence and duty towards the minister lawfully called. As the magistrate, who rules over a people, can nevertheless be elected by the people, the office of ruling the church does not take away from the church the right of calling her pastors.

4. From the probation of teachers.

XII. Fourth, from the probation of teachers. The right of calling pertains to him whose duty it is to distinguish teachers from seducers; to prove sound doctrine; to distinguish the voice of the Chief Shepherd (*archipoimenos*) Christ from that of false apostles and not to follow a stranger; to anathematize those who preach another gospel. Now this belongs to the whole church according to the divine injunction, "Beware of false prophets" (Mt. 7:15); "My sheep hear my voice, and they follow me" (Jn. 10:27); "Try the spirits whether they are of God" (1 Jn. 4:1); "If anyone preach any

other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed" (Gal. 1:8). In vain does Bellarmine reply that the people ought to distinguish the true from a false prophet by the agreement of the doctrine he preaches with the doctrine of his predecessors and of the apostolic see. It thus follows that to the people belongs the judgment concerning doctrine. The rule of judgment should not be the doctrine of predecessors or of ordinary pastors because it can happen (and too often has happened) that they wander from the faith. Nor is truth of doctrine bound down to a succession of persons; otherwise the apostles ought not to have followed the doctrine of Christ, which differed from the doctrine of the priests, who were ordinary pastors. But this rule is not to be sought outside of the word of God (from the passages Is. 8:20; Jn.* 5:39; 2 Pet. 1:19; Gal. 1:8). If therefore pastors are to be heard, they are to be heard not absolutely and simply whatever they may advance, but conditionally, if they themselves hear Christ and speak the oracles of God (1 Pet. 4:11) and do not recede from the form of sound words. Otherwise Christ commands his disciples to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Paul wishes us to hold him accursed who teaches anything other than the gospel of Christ. Nor is it to be said that the unlearned people cannot judge of the truth of doctrine except by a comparison of the doctrine of predecessors and of ordinary pastors, because if the ignorance of the people does not prevent them from being able to compare the doctrine delivered with the doctrine of predecessors, why should it hinder them from being able to compare the doctrine of their pastors with that of Christ? This the Bereans did happily, daily comparing Paul's discourses with the Scriptures (Acts 17:11). Now although the people can by themselves judge of the doctrine of their pastor, it does not follow that they do not need preachers. It is one thing to examine the truth of the doctrine delivered; another thing to teach publicly. The former belongs to private persons; the latter to pastors only. The sheep ought not to be shepherds, but they are also not brutes, but rational (*logikai*) beings (who can discern the true from the false and who not only ought not to follow an erring shepherd, but to fly and recede from him and to seek another teaching the truth and to call him into the place of the one teaching error).

5. From the apostolic practice.

XIII. Fifth, from the practice of the apostles. The primitive apostolic church observed this order of calling so that it was not done without the consent of the church (Acts 1:23). The whole church selects two who cast lots for the apostleship and, the lot having fallen to Matthias, he was added to the number of the apostles by common consent. The whole multitude of the pious select seven deacons, who are confirmed by the apostles by the imposition of hands (6:3, 5, 6). The apostles in every city ordain presbyters by the *cheirotonian* of the people (14:23) or by their free suffrages (the word being derived from the Greek custom of those who voted with stretched out and extended hands; hence transferred to any elections, sacred as well as political, it signifies to appoint by vote). And although the verb *cheirotonein* is sometimes taken more broadly for any creation and election (as with Hesychius *cheirotonein* means *psēphizein*; *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* [1862], 4:279); still it cannot be used in that sense here, but it must be understood properly of a creation by suffrage. (a) *Cheirotonia* must be distinguished from *cheirothesia* or ordination, which is made by the laying on of hands. The former is done by the people; the latter by the pastors. (b) Ordination is treated in the following words when it is added, "They commended them with prayer to God." This was not usually done without the imposition of hands (Acts 6:6; 13:3). Nor can it be said that only the votes of Paul and Barnabas are meant, because the circumstances of the text imply that the church concurred in that call and similar examples prove it: "Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men" (Acts 15:22); "It seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord, to send chosen men unto you" (v. 25); "When I come, whomsoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send" (1 Cor. 16:3). In 2 Cor. 8:19, Luke is said to be *cheirotonētheis hypo tōn Ekklēsiōn* to travel with Paul (i.e., elected by the votes of the churches). Chrysostom (Homily 18, *Homilies on Second Corinthians* [NPNF1, 12:364; PG 61.524]), Theophylact (*Exposito in Epistola II ad Corinthios* [PG 124.888] on 2 Cor. 8:19), Oecumenius (*Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios posterior epistola* [PG 118.1017–18]) and Estius (*In Omnes Pauli Epistolas* [1859], 2:144 on 2 Cor. 8:19) understand an election in this passage. If in electing those who were to bear extraordinary messages to the churches, the vote of the church was employed, how much more in electing those who were to perform the ordinary work of teaching? And if to the service (*diakonian*) of

tables, how much more to the service (*diakonian*) of the word? Cotton therefore jeers falsely at our French version, which understands *cheirotonian* of a creation by votes or election. The force of the word denotes this, as Salmeron observes (*Commentarii in evangeliam historiam et in Acta Apostolorum*, Tract. 41 on Acts 14 [1602–04], 12:269–70) and Estius (ibid.). Nor if among the ancient writers and in the canons *cheirotonia* and *cheirothesia* are sometimes confounded and put promiscuously for the election or ordination of pastors synecdochically (because both concur to their constitution and call), does it follow that it holds the same signification in the Scriptures or is retained everywhere in the fathers. Zonaras observes, "Now indeed *cheirotonia* is called the office of consecration because the archbishop extends his hand in blessing the candidate; but formerly the vote itself (*hē autē psēphos*) was called *cheirotonia*. For when the people were admitted to the election of archbishops, being congregated, they voted by extending their hands" (cf. Canon 1, *Canones Sanctorum Apostolorum* [PG 137.38]). This is confirmed by Canon 5 of the Council of Laodicea, which commands that the *cheirotonias* should not take place before the audience, in the number of which were the catechumens (Hefele, 2:301). This could not be said of the imposition of hands, which was done before the whole assembly.

6. From the primitive church.

XIV. Sixth, from the primitive church. The decrees of ancient councils claim for the church the right of calling pastors. The Nicene says expressly: "If perchance any pastor of a church has died, let it be right for those received a little before, to succeed in the place of the deceased, provided they will be seen to deserve it, and the people shall have elected them" (cf. Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History* 1.8* [NPNF2, 3:46–47; PG 82.930]). The Council of Carthage III: "Let not a bishop ordain clergymen without the assent and testimony of the people" (Canon 20*, Mansi, 3:922); cf. also the Council of Carthage IV (Canon 22*, Mansi, 3:953). This canon is cited *Episcopus* at Nannetensis ("Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. 24, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:87–89), Toledo XII (Canon 6; cf. "Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. 63.25, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:242) and Sardis, whose sanction Gratian records ("Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. 65.9, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:252).

Here belong the various "Rescripts of the Popes"—Nicholas, Leo, Gelasius, Stephen, Pelagius and others, which Gratian diligently inserted with their distinctions; also the "Testimonies of the Fathers," many of which (and they plain also) might be adduced from Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Isidore, Gregory the Great and others, who are quoted by Gratian even so far that antiquity (as though with common voice) judged that all those elections were void which were made *haneu laou syneseōs* (i.e., as Cyprian translates it, "without the knowledge and assent of the people") ("Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. 23, 24, 62, 63, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:76–89, 234–49).

XV. Let us give a few passages of the fathers out of many. Cyprian discusses it fully: "The people especially have the power either of electing worthy priests or rejecting unworthy, which also itself seems to descend from divine authority, that the priest should be chosen under the eyes of all the people being present and should be approved as worthy and suitable by the public judgment and testimony" (Letter 67 [68], "To the Clergy and People of Spain" [ANF 5:370; PL 3.1061–62]). This he proceeds to establish by various arguments and adds: "This was done in the ordination of our colleague Sabinus, so that the episcopate was given to him by the vote of the whole brotherhood and by the judgment of the bishops, who had assembled together and given a letter concerning him to them" (ibid., p. 371 [PL 3.1064]). The same thing he confirms by the example of Cornelius, the Roman bishop. "He was made a bishop," he says, "by the judgment of God and his Christ, by the testimony of almost all the clergy, by the vote of the people who were then present and by the college of ancient priests and good men" (Letter 51 [52], "To Antonianus" [ANF 5:329; PL 3.796–97]). Pamelius himself (on Cyprian) cannot cover this up. "We do not deny," says he, "the old custom of the election of bishops, who were accustomed to be elected, the people being present; nay, even by the votes of the people" (Letter 68, "Ad clerum et plebes in Hispania," D. *Caecilii Cypriani ... Opera* [adnotationes Iacobi Pamelii, 1632], p. 166). Origen: "There is required, therefore, in ordaining a priest the presence of the people also, that they may all know and be sure that he, who is the more excellent from all the people … is elected to the priesthood" (*In Leviticam Homilia* 6.3 [PG 12.469], also cited in Gratian, "Decreti," Pt. II, Causa 8, Q. 1.15 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:594–95). Leo I: "Let the subscription of the clergy,

the testimony of the honored and the consent of order and of the people be obtained" (Letter 10 [89], "To the Bishops of Vienne" [NPNF2, 12:11; PL 54.634]). And: "He, who is to be set over all, should be elected by all" (ibid.*). Ambrose: "Deservedly so great a man has come forth, whom all the church elected; deservedly is it believed that he was elected by the divine judgment, whom all demanded" (Letter 59 [63/82], "To Ambrose" [FC 26:321; PL 16.1240–41]). Chrysostom: "All elections and calls are invalid which are made without the knowledge and assent of the people" (lib. 3 *de Sacerdot*.+). Isidore: "If in a congregation the archpresbyters have died … let the archdeacon proceed thither as quickly as possible, and with the clergy and people make an election, so that a worthy pastor of the Lord God may be constituted" (lib. 2 *de offi. Eccles*. cap. 5+). Gregory Nazianzus relates that he was elected "by the vote of the whole people" (*psēphou tou laou pantos*, *On the Great Athanasius* 8 [NPNF2, 7:271; PG 35.1089]). Theodoret asserts the same thing (*Ecclesiastical History* 4.17* [NPNF2, 3:120]); also Nicephorus (*Ecclesiasticae Historiae* 11.26* [PG 146.650–51]) concerning Peter, the successor of Athanasius. Socrates says the same thing concerning Ambrose: "That by the common suffrage of all and with the will and consent of the emperor himself, he was elected bishop of Milan, in the place of Auxentius" (*Ecclesiastical History* 4.30* [NPNF2, 2:113–14; PG 67.543]). Augustine records the same thing concerning Eraclius, appointed the successor of Augustine by the consent, votes, acclamation and subscriptions of the church at Hippo (Letter 213 [FC 32:52–57]). Moreover, Antonius de Dominis proves at large from the ancients that the election of bishops always belonged to the clergy and the people (*De Republica Ecclesiastica* 3.3 [1618], pp. 260–84).

XVI. To no purpose do our opponents fly to various expedients to escape the force of the argument drawn from the fathers. For they easily vanish at the sight of the passages. Will they say that "they treat of the custom and not of divine right"? But Cyprian expressly remarks that this descends from divine authority and God not only shows by an example, but also institutes by precept, that sacerdotal ordinations should be made only under the knowledge of the people assisting (which he confirms from the Acts of the Apostles). For what the apostles by the impulse of the Holy Spirit observed in so difficult a matter by perpetual practice, that deservedly holds the place of a general rule and is considered as descending from divine right. Will

they reply that "the testimony and consent, but not the votes of the people are required"? But the passages teach the contrary, where Cyprian calls a just and lawful ordination "one that was confirmed by the votes and judgment of all." Besides, consent and testimony are equivalent to a vote. Will they add that "it is a suffrage of petition and of testimony, but not of power and authority"? But who does not see that it is one thing to seek, another to vote; and that a vote cannot be given in an election, except from power and authority? Finally, that this was done "by a concession on the part of the popes, not from divine right" as Bellarmine says ("De Clericis," 1.7 *Opera* [1857], 2:157). But where is any mention made of a papal concession or connivance, as the same one terms it? Was not the consent and vote of the people required as necessary for a legitimate call before the Roman bishops claimed this authority for themselves? Again, how could such a concession have a place when the see was vacant?

XVII. Nor must we omit here what we read in the ancient pontifical, where the ordained bishop says, "Not in vain was it instituted by the fathers that the people also should be consulted concerning the election of those who must give themselves to the government of the altar because it is necessary that a man should more readily obey the ordained to whose ordination he gave assent." This is so plain that Passius Valentinus, the canonist who was in the Council of Trent, persuaded the Council to correct it and permit the passage which referred to it to be expunged.

Sources of explanation.

XVIII. Although Christ sent forth the apostles and disciples without the consent or vote of the multitude, it does not follow that the same right belongs to the bishops, separated from the church. The power of Christ (which is absolute and autocratic [*autokratorikē*]) differs widely from the limited and dependent power of men. Nor can that be evinced from Jn. 20:21, when Christ is said to send the apostles as the Father sent him. The particle *kathōs* is not to be taken without limitation, nor is it to be extended to an absolute parity of power, but only to a restrictive similitude, to the divine authority of the office—the promise concerning success in their ministry and defense in dangers and other things of the same kind.

XIX. Brute and irrational (*alogoi*) sheep cannot elect a shepherd because they do not have the judgment of discretion. But there is not the same reason for the spiritual and rational (*logikōn*) sheep. As they distinguish the voice of the shepherd from that of a hireling and of the wolf, so they know how to elect suitable pastors; yea, they are commanded to discern true shepherds from false and to follow the former and flee from the latter. Otherwise the pope (on the hypothesis of our opponents) could not be elected by the cardinals, who themselves are his sheep too. And in the state, subjects (who are called sheep) could not forthwith elect their rulers and magistrates. Now although they do not formally have the power of the office (which they confer on the shepherds), still they have it originally and as to virtue. It is one thing to have the right to call pastors; another to have the right to exercise the ministry. The former is said of the church, but not the latter.

XX. It is one thing to call a pastor to a church to be constituted and to the conversion of unbelieving people; another to call a pastor to a church already constituted and to a people converted. In the former respect, pastors could be sent by the apostles without the antecedent consent of the people at least. But in the latter respect (about which it is now asked), we say that the apostles in the calling of pastors did not omit the votes of the church, as appears from what has been said. The office of evangelists (which was extraordinary and temporary) differs from that of pastors (which is ordinary and perpetual). That could be conferred without the consent of the church by the apostles alone, although even here the apostles did not neglect the vote of the church and the presbytery, as was seen in the ordination of Timothy, upon whom the hands of the presbytery were laid (1 Tim. 4:14). This, however, necessarily demands the consent of the church.

XXI. Titus is ordered to ordain presbyters in every city (Tit. 1:5), but according to the custom of the apostolic church and all things which were becoming being observed (which the added clause—"as I had appointed thee"—sufficiently teaches). Again, it is treated rather of the church to be constituted than constituted because he was "to set in order the things that were wanting" (*ta leiponta epidiorthōsai*).

XXII. The apostolic and synodical canons which interdict the election of pastors to the multitude and people (as the first Canon of the Apostles, that a bishop should be ordained by three other bishops [47.1, cf. ANF 7:500],

which was afterwards sanctioned by the Nicene Council [Canon 4, cf. Hefele, 1:381]; Canon 13 of the Council of Laodicea [Hefele, 2:308]; Canon 12 of Constantinople IV [Tanner, 1:175]) are human, not divine authority. (2) We oppose to them the councils before mentioned, which demand the consent and vote of the church. (3) These canons do not simply exclude the consent of the people from the election, but only give this caution—that the people may not either abuse their right or seize the power of electing to themselves alone to the exclusion of the presbytery; or insolently prescribe to the presbytery the mode of acting; or proceed turbulently and confusedly in this sacred business. And for this purpose, it was also decreed in the canons that the chief men of the church (honest and prudent) should in season expedite this business in the name of the rest.

XXIII. Although we defend the right of the people in the calling of pastors, we are unwilling with the Fanatics to ascribe this right to them, to the exclusion of the magistrate and presbytery. Rather we wish all things to be done decently and in order that to each order of the church their own part should be ascribed with regard to the places and mode of government (as we have said already).

XXIV. Although the body of the church has committed the exercise of the right to call pastors to the presbytery in order to avoid confusion, it has not on that account absolutely and simply deprived itself of that right, so that it can be said to be without it and that it cannot use it anymore in any case. It so committed the exercise of that right to the rulers who administer it in its name that, nevertheless, it has reserved it as originally proper and peculiar to itself. Nor does the example of civil society belong here, where the people resign their right to the prince whom they elect, as to be divested of it absolutely and simply. In this respect, a political and a sacred society widely differ. In the former, the people can absolutely resign their right to the prince, subjecting themselves to him as a master, but the church does not transfer her right to pastors, as to ownership, as if to masters, but only as to use and exercise, as to ministers, who may administer it—not in their own name, but in the name of the church. The reason of the difference is that in civil society (where only temporal goods are considered) nothing prevents the people from being able absolutely to resign their right; nay, it is sometimes expedient in order to avoid confusion and anarchy. But in the church, where salvation is considered, believers cannot without criminality

absolutely divest themselves of that right which they have in the means which is given to them for the promotion of their salvation (such as the ministry is). For although their faith and piety do not depend absolutely upon the pastors, still the exercise of a ministry which is sound and pure is a great help to piety. On the other hand, the preservation of faith is a very difficult thing under a corrupt ministry.

XXV. If it is asked further, Is the church bound to confer her calls always by the intervention of pastors? Can she not in certain cases (where there are no pastors) confer them by herself immediately? we answer that a call must be distinguished as it is regarded in itself with respect to its essential parts or with respect to the mode of conferring it; namely, the ceremonies and rites which are usually employed in it. The essence of a call consists in a threefold consent: of God, the church and the called. Of God because the called ought to speak in his name; of the church because it should be taught and ruled; of the called because he ought to fulfill the parts of his office. The mode of calling consists in certain acts either preceding or concomitant, without which the call would be confused and disorderly: such as are the trial of faith and morals, the testimony of an honest life, blessing and the imposition of hands. As to the former, since the essential of the call can be in the assembly where there are no pastors, it is certain that the believing people can make a call in a case of extreme necessity. I confess, where there are pastors in a church constituted and well ordered, the people ought to concur with the presbytery to institute a call, if this can be done without confusion: but if not, it ought to consider, ratify and approve by her consent the call made by the presbytery because it was made in her name. But where she has no pastors and cannot have them without danger of being scattered, it is certain that she alone can confer a call. For the call does not proceed from the society, inasmuch as it has pastors, but inasmuch as it is an assembly (i.e., a body of believers joined together by the bond of faith, piety and righteousness) and on this account, as it institutes its own order, so is mistress of its own consent. Thus a call does not cease to be full and sufficient (as to essentials) without pastors. As to the rites and ceremonies of the call which do not belong to the essence of it, they ought to be observed in a constituted church, but cannot be always observed in a church to be constituted and reformed. See what was said in the preceding question.

XXVI. It is again asked here, how the laity (who are not ministers) can make ministers, since no one can give what he does not possess. The answer is easy. Undoubtedly no one can give what he does not at all possess. Yet the church or the body of believers (although not having the ministry as to exercise, namely as fulfilling its functions in preaching and administering the sacraments), still has it as to the right and power of conferring it because its authority and consent makes the functions of the ministry valid by the institution of Christ, who willed to confer this right upon this religious society. Thus the ministry belongs to the church because it is instituted only for her sake and for her advantage. Calling is placed in this—that this public right is committed to him who is called that he may use it in the name of the whole society. Nor can the legitimate power of entrusting this deposit to certain persons be denied to the people, since there is no more just call than that (which is founded not only in a legitimate right, but also in an indispensable duty and obligation; such as the power which we said belongs to the body of the church). Nor if any private person considered separately cannot claim this right for himself, does it follow that it cannot be ascribed to the body of believers. For nothing is more absurd than to imagine that the body of any community cannot have and commit to others what does not belong to the private individuals of which it is composed. Otherwise the people could not elect a ruler and magistrate because no private person of the people has this right.

Twenty-Fifth Question: The Call of the First Reformers

Was the call of the first Reformers legitimate? We affirm against the Romanists

I. Among all the questions which refer to the call of pastors, none is more frequently agitated by Romanists or productive of greater contention than that which relates to the call of our Reformers. Their design is to prove them guilty of schism and to condemn the Reformation inaugurated by them as unlawful and begun without a call. Thus by this digression, they wish to draw us away from the chief matter and, these barriers being thrown

up, to turn the cause another direction, that they may avoid an examination of doctrine and escape safely.

The question concerning the call of the Reformers preposterous.

II. But this method of procedure is altogether preposterous. (1) The question between us and the Romanists concerns doctrine, not discipline. And yet it is lawful even for any private man to act, seek and answer concerning doctrine. (2) The question concerning the call cannot be understood without the other, since the first parts of the call are the trial of doctrine and a proof of the truth which is to be preached. (3) In vain is an inquiry made into the truth of the call, if it is evident concerning the truth of doctrine. Faith does not depend upon the call, but on the contrary the call depends upon faith. The faith is not true because they who preach it are lawfully called; but on the contrary, they are lawfully called who retain and propose the true doctrine. (4) This was the way in which the Pharisees (who inquired into his call) treated Christ. "By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority?" (Mt. 21:23). To whom Christ (answering and in turn asking them concerning the origin of the baptism and the doctrine of John) sufficiently indicates that the question about doctrine ought to precede that about the call. Thus if our opponents ask us with too great importunity, Whence did our ancestors have the authority of teaching otherwise than was received? we in turn by an opportune retort (*hanterōtēma*) can reply and ask, Was the doctrine of the Reformers from heaven or from men? If the former, why do they oppose it? If the latter, why do they not prove it? And if they cannot show that there is any difference between the doctrine of Christ and the Reformers, why are they in doubt about their lawful call? (5) This question can with far better right be urged against the Romanists, who can show in Scripture no trace of a call of popes, cardinals and priests.

III. Although the question concerning the call of pastors is of no slight utility, as much with respect to pastors themselves (for their consolation) as with respect to the people (for the preservation of good order) and the discernment of lawful pastors from the false and privately (*pareisaktois*)

introduced; the necessity of it sinks far below the necessity of the question concerning doctrine. That is a necessity of order only, without which salvation can be obtained; but this is a necessity of means, without which we cannot attain to salvation (since no salvation can be obtained without faith, which includes the knowledge of saving doctrine). Hence if it is inquired to which of two assemblies we ought to join ourselves, the one which is supposed to have an uninterrupted succession (but without the truth), but the other truth of doctrine (but without the succession), no one will hesitate in replying that we ought to join the latter because a call without the truth cannot save, but truth can save without the call.

IV. Our opponents here falsely suppose that mission is the title from which we ascribe to ourselves the right of changing the church, because we have no other title than the truth of doctrine. If it is false, whatever we have done is unjust. But if it is true, what was done by us could be done justly and legitimately. Nor ought it to be replied that there is no hope of salvation for us if our church is false; and that the church is false if our mission is false. There is one relation of a mission, false in essentials and with respect to the doctrines which are proposed; another of a mission which is said to be false and unlawful in accidentals and with respect to the rites and ceremonies, which could not be observed in a disturbed condition. But these are not essential either to the ministry or to the church; nor are they necessary to the salvation of those who believe. The former argues a false church; but the latter does not because it can be found in a true church. Such, however, is our mission; not with respect to doctrine, but only with respect to the rites then received.

The validity of the call of the Reformers is established.

V. That we may be able to vindicate our call against the most unjust prejudices with which it is usually burdened, it is to be observed that the validity or invalidity of the ministry is to be viewed principally in three aspects. (1) With respect to the functions which are to be performed and the things themselves which are taught and commanded in it, if they are true or false, just or unjust. (2) With respect to the assembly in which it is

exercised, if it has the right to call or not. (3) With respect to the persons who exercise the ministry in that assembly. In the first respect, the call and ministry of the Jews, Mohammedans and other similar unbelievers is impious and sacrilegious because the things taught in it are impious and false and the functions unlawful. In the second, the ministry of the Donatists and Luciferians (which was good in itself because nothing evil was taught in it) was vicious because it was exercised in schismatical assemblies which had no right to separate themselves from others. In the third, the ministry of simony and of an usurper, although good in itself, does not cease to be evil and unlawful on account of the defect of a personal call. Now it is easy to show under this threefold relation (*schesei*) that the call of our Reformers was legitimate. First, with respect to the things which are taught or commanded, because the ministry (which the call imposes upon us) consists wholly in the preaching of the doctrine of Christ and his apostles. If this is denied by our opponents, we must come to the way of discussion or the examination of doctrine and leave the way of prescription or the question concerning the call which they press so zealously. And thus it will be easy for us to demonstrate the truth of our call from the truth of the doctrine we teach. But the Romanists never will be able to prove the call or the right which they hold to teach transubstantiation, purgatory, the sacrifice of the Mass, the worship of images, the invocation of saints and other similar dogmas which are diametrically opposed (*dis dia pasōn*) to the word of God, because there can be no call to teach errors and superstitions. Second, the assembly in which the ministry is exercised had the right to institute such a ministry: first, because that ministerial authority pertains to the true church and the right of communicating it to pastors, as was seen in the preceding question; again, because that church cannot but be true in which the true doctrine of Christ is retained and errors and false worship are condemned, such as we maintain ours to be. Third, with respect to the persons, because they were not self-called (*autoklētoi*), who intruded themselves by their own motion into the ministry, but had a call from the church to whom that right belongs. For if they were not always called according to the rites then received, they were not on that account destitute of a lawful call in essentials.

VI. But that we may more specially demonstrate the truth of the call of the Reformers, they are to be regarded in a twofold order. The first is of

those who were called and ordained in the Roman church. The second of those who were called by assemblies of believers without pastors. And as to the former, a legitimate call cannot be denied to them, unless the Romanists wish to confess that they are destitute of a lawful call. For their call is either legitimate or it is not. If it is lawful, they cannot blame it on our men. If it is not lawful, they badly object to us the want of it.

VII. Nor can it be objected that they lost their call by impugning the doctrine received in the Roman church. So far from their being able to be said on that account to have lost their call, on the contrary they brought it back to its true and legitimate end and the one intended by Christ. I confess that this was not the intention of those who ordained them—that they should oppose themselves to the received doctrine; but it was their duty to attend to the command of Christ and to the primeval obligation and nature of their office. Two ends occurring here must be accurately distinguished. One is the primary end of God, the author of the calling and of the office itself; the other, the secondary and less principal end of the men calling. It is certain that they did not regard the end of the men, which was to defend and propagate the papal doctrine, because it was unjust. But they had respect to the primary end of the office itself and of God calling, which was to teach the truth and to win souls to Christ. Nor can the oath given to the pope stand in the way, because they were bound before to God. Therefore when they found out that they could not in good faith fulfill their oath given to the pope, except by violating their oath to God, they were bound to break the faith pledged to the pope rather than the faith pledged to God. As in a camp the soldiers promise allegiance to their king and general, but first to the king, then to the general on account of the king. And yet if they learn that the general has deserted the king and is plotting treason, they are bound by that same oath not only to desert the general, but also to oppose him as far as they can, unless they wish to incur the crime of treason.

VIII. And here again the call comes to be distinguished. One which is false in its institution and unlawful in every way, which tends primarily to the propagation of impiety and idolatry; another which in its institution indeed is holy and just, but (corrupted by the abuse of men) has degenerated and by them is directed to the propagation of error. The first must be absolutely rejected because there is nothing good in it. But the other is to be corrected and purged, so that the errors and corruptions introduced being

taken away, the institution and use of Christ alone may remain according to God's intention. Such, however, is the call of the bishops and presbyters in the Roman church, which as to the institution of God was good, but as to the abuse of men had become bad. Hence the cutting off of the errors and corruptions introduced by men could not be an abrogation, but a correction and restitution of the call. For it ought always to tend to this—that the called should perform his functions religiously and holily according to the institution of God and although all others should pervert that office to another direction, still he (if he listened to the voice of God and his own conscience) was bound to investigate the truth, to embrace it when found and to teach it publicly, for the destruction of error and the procuring of salvation for the flock, for the whole institution of the ministry must always be derived from the fountain and primary author For God himself, whom we must obey rather than men, demands this. The first intention and scope of the church requires it, which ought to be no other than the preaching of the truth and the rejection of error. The very necessity of things and the nature of the call demand this. Hence whoever is canonically ordained ought to use his call to propagate the doctrine of that church in which he received his call, if it was conformed to the truth; if not, he ought to oppose it.

IX. Now although the Reformers were excommunicated from the church of Rome, they cannot on that account be said to have been deprived of the call which they had received. It was unjust and could not deprive them of their right, as the apostles did not lose their call because they were excommunicated by the Jewish synod; nor the orthodox bishops who were excommunicated by the Arians, especially since (on the hypothesis of the Romanists) ordination impresses an indelible mark. This very thing is sanctioned according to Gratian. (Pope) Celestine says, "If anyone was either excommunicated or divested of office or clerical dignity by the Nestorian bishop or by the others who follow him, from whom they began to preach such things, it is manifest that this one both continued and continues in our communion; nor do we consider him removed, because he could not by his sentence remove anyone, who had already shown that he himself ought to be removed" ("Decreti," Pt. II, Causa XXIV, Q. 1.35 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:980). This is confirmed in chapter 36 (ibid., 1.36, pp. 980–81).

X. Although we maintain that a true call was in the church of Rome, we do not on this account recognize her as a true church, because these things do not equally answer each other in turn. Where a true church is, there indeed undoubtedly is a true call. But not vice versa. Where a true call is, there is a true church because to the truth of the call the profession of Christianity is sufficient (which can exist in a false and heretical church). The truth of a church can no more be gathered from the call than from baptism, which evidently can be true even in a heretical church. Thus the mission can be among those who are not a true church, but retain something of a church because the mission does not arise from the church as its source and principle, but from God through men (even bad men). Thus it makes no difference to the efficacy of the sower or planter whether he sows and plants with clean or soiled hands, provided the seed is good and the land fertile. Augustine: "The light of a lamp or of the sun is not polluted, even though it may pass through filthy places; it makes little difference whether water is conducted through a canal of stone or of silver" (*? On Baptism, Against the Donatists* 3.10 [NPNF1, 4:440; PL 43.144–45]). And: "The word of God is preached even efficaciously by the wicked" (cap. 11+). In the idolatrous Jewish church nevertheless the call remained. The Arians and Nestorians were not a true church; still they called many bishops who were received by the orthodox as lawful without any new call and recognized as true pastors; cf. Socrates (*Ecclesiastical History* 2.12 [NPNF2, 2:41]), Sozomen (*Ecclesiastical History* 3.4, 7, 9 [NPNF2, 2:284, 286–87, 288]) and Theodoret (*Ecclesiastical History* 2.13 [NPNF2, 3:77–79]). Nor ought it to be said with Perronius that such were restored to their former rank, because the restoration was no other than a confession of the truth and the acknowledgment of error.

XI. The second order is of those Reformers who, although they had not been called by the church of Rome, undertook this office. Concerning their call, it is inquired. But here ought to recur what we stated before—that we must distinguish between a church constituted and to be constituted or reformed; and the ordinary way from a case of extreme necessity. In a constituted church, we think the sanctioned order ought to be retained, so that all things may be done decently in the church and disorder (*ataxia*) and confusion avoided. But in a church to be restored, we are not always to wait

for the ordinary call, but any private person can, in a case of extreme and unavoidable necessity, enter upon the work of reformation.

XII. Now we suppose that such was the case and we are prepared to demonstrate it from the state of the church of Rome, which was most depraved with regard to faith as well as with regard to worship and tyranny; and that errors were found in the very ones who ought to rule the church, who being turned into wolves laid waste the Lord's flock and endeavored to draw the church with them to the same precipice of error. Who then could expect a reformation from them? Each believer therefore had a sufficient call to undertake the work; for although they could receive no authority from the church of Rome to preach the gospel, still the reason of those most disturbed times, the indispensable necessity which rested upon each one of promoting his own salvation and the law of charity (which orders us to promote the salvation of neighbors) gave them the authority to preach the gospel purely, to reject the papal errors, to call men out from them, to gather them together when called out, to institute sacred assemblies and elect others to be their successors, the power being granted to them for that purpose by the converted people. This is true as it is lawful for good citizens, although in private life, to rise against a traitorous ruler and to shut the gates against an approaching enemy. And on this account the more (as has already been proved), the right to call pastors belongs properly to the church, in whose name it is exercised by the pastors when there are any. But where there are none, it can use the same in another way; for neither if it has lost its pastors, has it at once lost its right; nor if she cannot exercise it by ministers, can she not by herself or by some other one to whom she has committed it. Not only is it her right, but also her duty that the ministry fail not (which was instituted by Christ)—not for a certain time, but for ever until the end of the world as a means of faith and salvation (Mt. 28:20; Eph. 4:11, 12).

XIII. We gather from various sources that the call of God did truly belong to this ministry of the Reformers. First, from necessity because since God wishes men to be thrown into that state that they will miserably perish unless in this way they provide for their own salvation and that of their neighbors, he also (who suffers them to be reduced to this necessity) determines to give them the power on that account the more of performing their office than to permit the truth to be taken from the world and their own

and others' salvation to be endangered. Now it is evident that the Reformers were constituted in that state of unavoidable necessity. They saw the church of Rome laboring under innumerable deadly corruptions, which they could not profess without immediate danger to salvation. No reformation was to be expected from the rulers of the church, from whom the errors flowed and who contended fiercely for them; and so far from wishing to think about a reformation, they persecuted with fire and the sword those who undertook to seek it and dared to oppose themselves to the encroaching errors. The voice of God himself who imposed this necessity was also annexing: both by the general command to follow and confess the truth and rebuke falsehood in every time and place and in every class of men; and by the special command to come out of Babylon (Rev. 18:4) and withdraw from the communion of the erring (2 Cor. 6:16, 17).

XIV. Second, from the mark of the call impressed upon them, which consists not only in purity of doctrine and innocence of life, but also in the remarkable and extraordinary gifts with which he adorned his servants and by the secret impulse and noble motives by which he excited them to undertake so great a work. For if God confers illustrious gifts upon no one except when he calls him to a great and arduous undertaking, it cannot be denied that God imposed such a call upon the first Reformers (since it is evident that they were endowed with extraordinary gifts). Not that they were wholly miraculous and supernatural, such as in the apostolic church, since these pertained to the church to be founded. But still they were special and extraordinary inasmuch as they were much above the mode and measure of those times, in which a more than Cimmerian darkness of error and vice spread over the heavens of the church and the minds of her rulers. For who does not wonder at the profound erudition, the accuracy of judgment, the most ardent zeal, the admirable faith, the invincible constancy, the most intense love, the singular purity of life and morals and the other innumerable gifts by which they shone above others and proved that they were vessels of election (*eklogēs*) separated by God to this extraordinary work? These were indeed the authentic seals of their divine call.

XV. Third, from the wonderful and truly stupendous success which God gave to their labors, by which it happened that they not only began, but also carried on and at length perfected so great and so difficult a work,

notwithstanding the innumerable efforts, arts, acts of violence, frauds and cruelty and most dreadful persecutions of resisting adversaries, in enduring and overcoming all of which they testified the unconquerable strength of their souls. And the wonderful providence of God showed itself so conspicuously in beginning and carrying on this work that no one (unless he willingly shuts his eyes) can help seeing it. Since therefore this most difficult work was both perfected once beyond the expectation of all and has stood from that time among so many obstacles and contradictions, it cannot be doubted that it was truly divine (according to the saying of Gamaliel, Acts 5:34–39) and that the men who gave themselves to this work with so great zeal and labor were stirred up to it by a divine call.

Sources of explanation.

XVI. The call of the Reformers can be called ordinary and extraordinary in different respects. It was ordinary (1) by reason of the office because it was not a new and extraordinary ministry, such as the apostleship was. Rather it was that same ordinary office which was instituted by Christ and the apostles and which ought to continue to the end of the world. (2) With regard to doctrine because they were not to set forth a new doctrine, but the same which had already been preached by the apostles; nor to raise up a new church, but to reform one corrupted and to correct a depraved worship, and to restore it to the primeval institution of Christ and the apostles. (3) With regard to the perpetual and indispensable right which belongs to believers professing the truth and rejecting errors and with regard to the duty devolving upon both pastors and believers themselves of following Christ and withdrawing from false teachers according to his command. (4) With regard to the material and as to the ordinary functions of the word and the administration of sacraments. But it may well be called extraordinary with regard to the mode and rites which were usually observed because it was not made in the ordinary manner and the one used in the church of Rome, but beyond the order and received rites on account of the case of extreme necessity. (5) With regard to exercise because although reformation was the ordinary function of their office, for which they had no need of any new right or new ministry (since each pastor is bound to reform his own flock as often as there is need), still because this is not accustomed to be

done every day, in this work there was something extraordinary inasmuch as the people needed extraordinary and unusual help in purging the doctrine and worship from the adhering errors. Since therefore according to various relations (*scheseis*), this call can rightly be said to be both ordinary and extraordinary, it ought not on this account to seem strange if our divines speak in different ways according to those various relations: some calling it ordinary; others extraordinary in different respects (*kat' allo kai allo*), the truth of the thing always remaining the same. If ordinary is understood properly as that which is consistent with the order primarily and divinely instituted, the call of the Reformers is well said to be ordinary; but if it is taken equivocally for what has been received publicly by inveterate custom (whatever that may have been), it can be said to be extraordinary because it differed widely from that custom and manner which had grown up in the church of Rome. But we deny that this custom was a lawful order, since it is pure disorder (*ataxia*) which prevailed in that church under the appearance of order.

XVII. Not every extraordinary call ought to be confirmed by miracles, for various prophets and John the Baptist, who were extraordinarily called, wrought no miracles; but only that extraordinary call which is said to be such with regard to a new doctrine or a new office, such as the call of Moses and the apostles because they made the ancient worship antiquated and instituted a new. But when the same doctrine, which was before delivered, is retained and purged, there is no need of miracles, because the same miracles by which it was confirmed before still conduce to its confirmation. Such, however, was the call of the Reformers. They did not bring in a new doctrine, but purged the doctrine of Christ, corrupted by the errors of men. Hence Gregory (the Great): "Those signs were necessary in the beginning of the church, so that the multitude might grow to faith, it was to be nourished by miracles because even we, when we plant a vineyard, so long as we pour water upon it, until we see the trees become firm in the earth and if they have once fixed their roots, the irrigation will cease" ("Sermon 29 [4]," *Homiliarum in Evangelia* [PL 76.1215]). Thus miracles are required in a worship to be instituted, but not when it is treated only concerning a worship to be restored; when the church is to be erected and founded primarily and not when it is only to be reformed and purged from its defilement. Besides, the wonderful success which God gave to the labors

of the Reformers has the relation of a miracle, by which God plainly declared that such a call as accomplished so great a work must have proceeded from him.

XVIII. It is one thing to institute a new ministry; another to institute new ministers. God alone can do the former because he alone is Lord of religion to change it at his pleasure; but the church can do the latter in every state because this right was given to her by Christ, nor can it be taken away from her for any cause whatever. It is one thing to erect a new ministry; another to reform a ministry already instituted, but corrupted. The church has no right to do the former; but she has the right (nay, she is bound in duty) to exercise the latter. For as she is bound to preserve a pure ministry, she is also bound to reform it when it is corrupted.

XIX. An usurpation of the ministry is one thing; another is the use of a lawful right granted by God. An usurpation of the ministry which is made without any right is always unjust and unlawful; but the use of a right cannot be unjust. The Reformers cannot be called usurpers because the church at every time has the right to call pastors for her own edification, although all the rites otherwise received cannot be employed. If, therefore, it happens that the pastors already instituted fail in their office and falsely abuse their ministry, the church (for whose sake the ministry was instituted) always has the right to purge a corrupt ministry. And if this cannot be done on account of the obstinacy of men, she has the right to leave that ministry and to choose others who will rightly perform their duties.

XX. The call which the Reformers had from the church of Rome was Antichristian, as to the ordinary ministers; but Christian and legitimate, as to God the author and primary foundation. Nor ought it to be traced to the pope, but to God, the author of the call.

XXI. The Reformers had nothing in common with the Novatians and Donatists, who (without necessity and rashly) seceded from the church on account of personal difficulties. Our Reformers seceded for the most weighty reasons regarding the corruption of doctrine and applied themselves to reformation.

XXII. While the ministry flourishes in a church, she ought indeed to use it for the calling of pastors; nor can she ordinarily institute pastors, except by the ministry already constituted. But the ministry failing (being miserably corrupted), she can elect ministers to herself for her edification,

even without the intervention of a ministry; both because she has this right from God and because in every time and place she is bound to preserve a ministry for the instruction of believers. Nor can it be said without the greatest absurdity that it is better in a case of necessity (all pastors failing) for a church to remain without pastors and to be without external and public worship and the exercise of religion, waiting for God to raise up others out of the ranks, than to call pastors without the intervention of other pastors. The necessity of a ministry to give a call is a necessity only of order (which ought to be observed in an instituted state), but which is not absolutely and simply necessary to salvation. But the necessity of the preaching of the gospel and of the call of pastors to it is a necessity of salvation which cannot be obtained without the word and faith in it. Again, since the end is to be preferred to the means, the institution of pastors, which is the end, should be considered more necessary than the observance of the received order, so that it may not be done except by pastors, which is only a means to secure that end. And since primary obligations ought to take precedence over later obligations, who doubts that the law which places the necessity of a ministry in the church binds much more strongly than that which wishes no one to be ordained except by the ministry of other pastors? The latter is particular, holding good only in a constituted order and while its use is possible, but which has its exceptions; but the former is universal, which in every time and place without any exception ought to obtain. Hence when it is impossible for both laws to be observed, regard should be paid altogether to the first (which is the more ancient and universal) and the cause and foundation of the second.

XXIII. Although God has not expressly said that in extraordinary cases it is lawful for the pastoral power to be communicated in another way than by the ordinary ministry, it does not follow that this cannot be done. The institution of the ministry being once made in the church (which ought to continue until the end of the world) gives a sufficient right to the church of always conserving, reforming and erecting it anew (if it is corrupted and extinct), so that there is no need of a new command for it; as the precept which he gave to the church and to believers concerning the preservation of the truth obliges her when to reform herself—when she finds that she has departed from the truth. The same command embraces both things: the preservation of the truth and the restitution of it when corrupted.

XXIV. (1) The reordination of those who now come to us from the church of Rome does not evince that their call was invalid; but only that it was corrupt and vitiated, which on that account ought to be purged, so that what is wicked and Antichristian may be separated from what is good and Christian. Nor if such a call could suffice to a church to be reformed, ought it to suffice in a church already reformed, because in the former case another could not be had. (2) This reordination is not so much a new ordination absolutely, as a reformation and purgation of the former; so that what was good in it may be confirmed and what was evil corrected and that it may be evident to the church for her edification, concerning the purity of the doctrine and morals of the called and concerning the consent of the other pastors. Besides in entering into a new society on which they ought to depend, it was right to receive the command and mission from her. (3) Since ordination is not a sacrament, nor is there any harm in its reiteration (nay, it contributes not a little to the edification of the church), there is nothing to hinder its repetition; nor does the second consecration derogate from the validity of the former—nay, it confirms it in those things which are good, an example of which we have in Acts 13:2, 3 where hands are again laid on Paul and Barnabas, who had already been called.

XXV. As in a civil society it would be absurd to seek what call a man had to live, to regulate his own affairs and to avoid whatever is harmful to health and safety, so it is absurd in a religious society to seek what right believers have and with what call they are furnished to profess the true faith and to worship God purely, to reject whatever is repugnant to the truth of faith and purity of worship and which can injure their spiritual life and safety. For the obligation suffices by which each one is bound to promote his own salvation, which the nature of the thing itself and the command of God imposes upon us. I confess that this cannot be done without a sundering of the bond of union by which we are joined in society with others; but this has place only with respect to error, not with respect to truth. Nor must it be supposed that the true unity of the church is broken, because the assembly from which the secession is made is no more to be regarded as a church of Christ, but as an assembly of errorists, who first broke the true unity of the church by their deadly doctrines and false worship.

XXVI. Nor ought it to be said that a secession from the public ministry cannot be made by private persons without a violation of the obedience

which God himself has frequently commanded should be rendered to it. For although no one denies that we ought to hold in great esteem the pastors and faithful ministers of God who watch for our souls and that we ought to obey them according to the direction of Paul (Heb. 13:17); still it is certain that that obedience and dependency is not absolute and unlimited (which belongs to God and Christ alone), but circumscribed within certain limits (i.e., as far as it promotes the glory of God and our safety and as far as it can consist with the fidelity and obedience due to Christ). For since the public ministry is nothing else than the external means for bringing men to salvation by a profession of the true faith and the practice of a pure worship; this, however, is the relation of external means—that when they recede from the destination of the user and not only do not bring us to the faith, but remove us from it, the love of the end ought to prevail over the love of the means because the means are not sought except on account of the end. If it appears that the public ministry not only does not lead us to salvation and does not point out to us the way to heaven, but thrusts us by its pestiferous errors on to most certain destruction, who doubts that we ought to secede from it in order to secure our salvation? Nor can the example of the civil magistrate (who is not to be deserted although he executes his office wrongly) prove the contrary. Only a temporal good is here involved which brings no damage to salvation; but the ministry is concerned with a spiritual good and the salvation of our souls, than which nothing ought to be dearer to us. Nor, moreover, ought it to be said that this is to resist God himself, who placed us under pastors. In the ministry, we must carefully distinguish that which is of divine institution and that which is of human disposition. That there should be a ministry in the church is of divine institution, but that the ministry should be exercised by this or that person (if you except the apostles and evangelists, the first teachers of the church) is of human disposition. The order of the ministry is inviolable because it is from God; but it is not the same with the ministers. For they are called by men, so the call can often be corrupted by various faults, either of the givers or of the receivers. In this case, it is not only lawful, but necessary to secede from false pastors who endanger salvation. Nor is the scandal which can spring from such a separation (if any does arise from it) to be compared with the peril of salvation and the injury to religion.

XXVII. This is confirmed more strongly if the nature of the union which believers hold with Christ and with their pastors is examined. For the union of believers with Christ is immediate, but with pastors only mediate because believers are not united to their pastors except in Christ and on account of him (for he is the center and bond of our communion, whether with believers or with pastors). Hence it is gathered that believers ought not to be united with their pastors, except inasmuch as it is evident that they are united to Christ; and they ought to be separated from them as often as they see them to be separated from Christ and wanting to draw others away from him. The same is to be said concerning the dependence which believers ought to have both on Christ and on pastors. The first is immediate and absolute; but the latter only mediate and conditional. Christ alone has a right over the conscience, as the supreme and *anypeuthynos* ("beyond human accountability") ruler. Pastors are ministers and interpreters of his will; therefore, the dependence and submission due to them rests wholly upon the dependence due to Christ by them (which is the rule and cause of that). Therefore, as long as pastors show themselves to be true ministers of God, believers ought to depend upon them on account of Christ; but if it happens that they act like lords, not as ministers, and lead away from Christ and do not lead them to him; if, in order to depend upon them, the dependence and obedience due to Christ has to be violated, who will deny that we ought most justly (nay, indispensably) to secede from them in order that our union with Christ may remain safe and unimpaired?

XXVIII. Innovators, who propose to us a new and false doctrine, differ from reformers, whose design is not to bring in a new doctrine, but to reform the old which had been corrupted and to purge it from the errors superinduced. The first are not to be heard, according to the command of Paul (Gal. 1:8). But the latter not only are not to be rejected, but are to be embraced and followed with zeal, if we are satisfied that they are true reformers. In order to ascertain this, we must examine their doctrine. We maintain that our first pastors were such from the conformity of their doctrine with the doctrine of Christ; nor except most falsely can they be traduced as innovators.

XXIX. The passage of Tertullian—"Who are ye? When and whence come ye? What do ye do in mine, not of me?… I am an heir of the apostles, as they decreed in their will, as they swore, I hold" (*Prescription Against*

Heretics 37 [ANF 3:261; PL 2.51])—is rightly opposed to innovators who introduce a new doctrine differing from that of the apostles. Concerning whom he immediately adds, "Hence foreigners and heretics, enemies to the apostles, except from a diversity of doctrine, which each one at his pleasure, either takes or receives against the apostles?" (ibid.). But it has nothing to do with our Reformers, who had no other object in view than to bring us back to the truth of the gospel and to the purity of the apostolic doctrine, from which the church of Rome had departed.

XXX. The examples drawn from the practice of the apostles about the call and ordination of pastors are not against us. They relate to the church already established, in which the apostles wished the order instituted by them in presbyteries to be preserved. But we speak of a corrupted church which had no pastors, except those corrupt and tainted with multiple errors.

XXXI. If in some churches the Reformation was instituted by laymen, besides the fact that (in that most deplorable state and in a case of unavoidable necessity) there was a sufficient call for individuals to resist the abuse (as we have already proved and confirmed by various examples), the old canon in Clement of Rome pertains, in which it is enacted: "That he who teaches, although he may be a layman, yet skilled in speaking and sober in morals, may teach because they will all easily learn of God" (cf. *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* 8.32* [ANF 7:495; PG 1:1134]). If anything could be desired here, it would be supplied both by a subsequent ordination and by the public authority of the magistrate and the consent of the people.

Twenty-Sixth Question: The Marriage of the Clergy

Is a perpetual celibacy according to apostolic institution to be necessarily observed by the sacred order? Or is marriage lawful for ministers? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists

I. Thus far we have discussed the call of ministers. Now we must discuss their celibacy and immunity and privileges with the Romanists, who on both heads enter into controversy with us here.

Statement of the question.

II. And to speak first of celibacy, it is known that the Romanists, who are accustomed to designate under the name of clergy all ecclesiastics distinct from laymen and seculars (although contrary to the style of Scripture, which calls the whole church the *klēron* and inheritance of the Lord, 1 Pet. 5:3), impose this law upon them that they should perpetually abstain from marriage and live in celibacy. Their design is partly by a greater appearance of holiness to commend them to the people and to conciliate greater authority to them; partly to bind them more strictly to the pope—as if to concede marriage to the bishops is nothing else than to remove the hierarchy from the church and to reduce the pope to the episcopate of Rome alone, as many in the Council of Trent said. "The marriage of presbyters being permitted, it would undoubtedly happen that all would turn their affection and love to their wives and children, and so to their families and country. Thence would cease that close connection of the clerical order with the Apostolic See." As Sarpi has it (and elsewhere Cardinal Carpensis thus reasons), the clergy being permitted to marry, it would follow "that cherishing a family, wives and children, each one regarding obedience to his prince, would show less obedience to the pope; so that in a short time the Apostolic See would not extend beyond the limits of the city of Rome" (*Historie of the Council of Trent* 5* [1620], p. 460). And here the amazing fallacy of Satan is discovered, who contaminated with all kinds of uncleanness (*akatharsia*) the Levites of the Lord (whom holiness became above others) under the religious pretext of chastity and perfection and from the clergy alone took away by law what God had given to all others as a remedy against the incentives of the flesh, so that they who are ready in other things to relax by dispensation, in this one thing are inexorable and will not permit the priests to marry.

III. But because the Romanists do not agree among themselves on this point, we must find out what is the received opinion among them. All indeed agree that marriage is interdicted to the greater orders and that the law of perpetual celibacy is enacted (Canon 9, Session 24, Council of Trent; Schroeder, p. 182). But all do not understand the interdict in the same manner, whether as to its cause or as to its end. Some wish the cause to be natural, as if the nature and use of marriage of itself and by itself is repugnant to the functions of the sacred order and of the priesthood, as they who, to defend the justice of the interdict, exaggerate so monstrously the

uncleanness and filthiness of marriage, who consider to be in the flesh and to be married as the same thing, and deny that those married can please God, which Pope Siricius formerly said, and thus they think that a priest sins far more grievously if he marries than if he commits fornication. This is the most impure proposition of Costerus: "If a priest commits fornication, or keeps a concubine in his house, although he is guilty of a grievous crime, still, if he marries, he sins worse." This opinion, which is also that of Pighius, Hosius holds is pleasing to all Catholics; this their practice sufficiently shows, since on account of fornication no one of the clergy is deposed (cf. Gratian, *Decretum*, Pt. 1, Dist. 82.5 [1601], p. 502). And yet on account of matrimony all are dismissed. In this way not only the use of wedlock, but also wedlock itself of itself and in its nature is repugnant to the priesthood. Others, however, that they may envelop in smoke this horrible doctrine, hold the opposition of matrimony and of the priesthood to be only accidental, which may be sought either from a vow of continence (which they wish to be annexed to sacred orders, as certain ones maintain) or from the interdict of the church (as others), which again various writers hold to be of divine right—as John Major (*Quartus sententiarum Johannis Maioris*, Dist. 24, Q. 2 [1509], pp. 131–36) and Francis Turrianus (*De actis veris sextae Synodi* [1551]). Others, however, consider it of human and positive ecclesiastical law, as Espensaeus, Gregory of Valencia, Bellarmine, who cite on their side Thomas (Aquinas), Durandus, Cajetan and others. Again as to the boundary (*terminum*) of the interdict, they do not all agree. For some absolutely and precisely (*apotomōs*) deny that it can admit of an exception that matrimony can be allowed to priests, and that no ecclesiastical power, not even that of the pope, can do anything in this respect (as Costerus, Medina and others). Others contend that it is dispensable, since it is of positive right; but still it is not expedient for it to be relaxed. This is the opinion of Bellarmine: "We must see to it that the vow of continency is annexed to the sacred orders, so that it may be lawful after ordination neither to marry nor to use wives taken before; by a positive right indeed, but a most ancient, and which it is no way expedient to relax at this time" ("De Clericis," 19* *Opera* [1857], 2:178).

IV. Our opinion is that matrimony is not any moral good or evil, which has by itself any bearing upon piety or impiety, but belongs to things indifferent, which a man can use or not just as he judges it to be expedient

for him. It is also our opinion that it was instituted by God himself from the beginning even before the fall, so that man might have in it a suitable helper in life; and after the fall that it might be a powerful remedy against the lust and intemperance of the flesh. Hence it is to be required or prohibited by no ecclesiastical law, but must be left to each one's own free will. Each one can, for private reasons satisfactory to himself, either use or abstain from it, just as he feels disposed; and indeed abstain, if he finds that he has the gift of continency that so he may be the better qualified for any office, whether ecclesiastical or political. On the other hand, he not only can, but also ought to use it, if he discovers that he is destitute of that gift according to the prescription of the apostle, who commands all to marry who cannot contain themselves. Not only the liberty, but also the necessity and law of contracting marriage is such that no mortal can or ought to hinder it. Thus impiously and against the arrangement of God and Christian liberty is the law of celibacy imposed upon sacred ministers.

V. Hence the state of the question readily emerges. (1) The question is not Ought all sacred ministers to marry? or Is celibacy allowable and suitable for those who have the gift of continence? For none of our divines asserts the former, or denies the latter. Rather the question is whether the law of celibacy should be so imposed upon all who administer sacred things without distinction, that it is not lawful for them at all to marry. This our opponents affirm; we deny. (2) The question is not whether celibacy with respect to its end and utility is fitter and better in a certain case and time (which with the apostle we do not deny, 1 Cor. 7); but whether in its own nature and intrinsically it is more excellent. This we deny. (3) The question is not whether it is lawful for Christians to bind themselves by a solemn vow to celibacy (which belongs to another question, concerning vows and monasticism); but whether the church can enjoin the law of celibacy upon the clergy constituted in sacred orders. This our opponents hold; we deny. (4) It is not inquired simply whether it ought to be prohibited to those who are already instituted in sacred orders to contract marriage, and not to them before they have been ordained (which is the opinion of the Eastern church and of the Greeks, who distinguish between matrimony contracted and to be contracted and allow those who aspire to sacred orders to marry before they have taken orders and also to use it after they have taken them, but deny that this is lawful for them afterwards). For we do not think that matrimony

to be contracted can be distinguished from matrimony contracted, because we hold that for the same causes both should be either allowed or forbidden. The question, therefore, returns to this—Should a law of perpetual celibacy be imposed upon sacred ministers? Or should marriage be left free to them? Also may it be used after the ministry has been undertaken? Our opponents affirm the former and deny the latter. We hold the opposite.

First reason for the liberty of matrimony, from its honorableness (Heb. 13:4).

VI. The reasons are: (1) from the honorableness of matrimony. "Marriage is honorable in all [*en pasi*], and the bed undefiled" (Heb. 13:4). Whatever is honorable in all cannot and ought not to be prohibited to a certain class of men; and what in the sight of God is undefiled cannot and ought not to be interdicted as unclean. By what law should that be disgraceful to the ministers of the church alone which the Holy Spirit declares to be honorable in all? As if a sacrament (in their opinion) which sanctifies others pollutes a priest, the administrator of the sacrament. Nor can it be said (a) that "in all (*en pasi*) must be referred to things and not to persons, and so is of the neuter gender, not of the masculine." Where the law does not distinguish, we must not distinguish. Again, if all things pertaining to matrimony are honorable (*timia*), how can the state of matrimony be considered impure in some? Third, the scope of the apostle shows that he treats of persons, not only of things, because he opposed those who live in chaste wedlock to whoremongers, against whom he testifies that God will punish them more severely on this account—that he has instituted a remedy for them against the lust of the flesh which is honorable in all, of whatever condition. Fourth, many of our opponents refer it to persons. The Louvain Bible, the Antwerp (Polyglot) of Benedict (Arias Montanus) retain "among all." Thus also Pagninus, Salmeron, Cajetan, Estius, Bellarmine and others. So Paphnutius in the Nicene Council understood it, using this passage against the celibacy of the clergy. "Do not," said he, "impose a burdensome yoke upon the necks of those who are initiated into the sacred office, for marriage is honorable in all" (cf. Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 1.11* [NPNF2, 2:18; PG 67.103]). (b) "The opinion of the apostle is imperative, not assertative, so that the

meaning is, honor marriage because God will judge whoremongers." If so, Paul ought to have said, Let it be honorable (*timios estō*); not simply, Marriage is honorable (*timios ho gamos*). This proves that it is a mere assertion and not a command. The following words do not have the causal *gar* as if the reason for the command was given (to wit, because God will judge whoremongers). Rather he uses the adversative *gar* that he may oppose whoremongers to the married and testify that the virtue of the latter is pleasing to God, but the filthiness of the former is hateful to him and on that account the more severely to be punished. Syrus, Chrysostom, Oecumenius, Theophylact, Jerome (on Mt. 13+), Augustine (*On Original Sin* 2.39 [34] [NPNF1, 5:251]), Anselm (cf. Hervaeus, "In Epistolam ad Hebraeos" in *Commentaria in Epistolas ... Pauli* [PL 181.1681–82] on Heb. 13:4) and others explain it assertatively. (c) "It cannot be understood universally of all persons, but only of the lawfully married; otherwise marriage between a father and daughter, a brother and sister would be honorable." Marriage is honorable in all who are joined together according to God's order. Now the joining together of such cannot be called marriage, but incest, which God most severely prohibits as nefarious (*athemiston*). This cannot be said of the marriage of the clergy, who are nowhere excepted from the order divinely instituted and who therefore can be lawfully married. Besides, whoring and adultery are here opposed to marriage. As therefore they are interdicted to all, so also the latter is enjoined upon those who need it.

2. From the command of the apostle.

VII. (2) From the command of the apostle, who enjoins marriage upon each and all who cannot contain themselves: "Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband" (1 Cor. 7:2). "But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn" (v. 9). Here Paul says that marriage is not only lawful and permitted, but also obligatory upon all of every order and condition who cannot contain. If ever a distinction of persons was to be employed, here was an opportune place. This the apostle does not do. Opposing the universal mark, he says *ekastos* with no exception at all (except the gift of continence); no limitation being added of bishop,

presbyter or deacon; or distinction either of time before or after the priesthood; or of condition of virgins or widows. Again, no peculiar cause is given, but an indefinite and general cause (to wit, fornication, the danger of which overhangs the clergy no less than others and on this account ought to be carefully guarded against and so much the more because in them it is a much more heinous sin). In vain is the objection "that he is speaking of the married." For what Paul says, that he speaks to "the unmarried and widows" (*hagamois kai chērais*) and orders them to marry ("let them marry [*gamēsatōan*]," says he), sufficiently proves that it ought to be extended further and that "let him [*echetō*] have his own wife" (v. 2) ought not to be restricted to those already married, but to be referred also to those to be married (as Lyranus observes, who thinks it relates to marriage to be contracted, *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria* [1617], 6:243). No better is it said that the continent bound by a vow are excepted, because the question is whether a vow can be lawfully made and whether a law can be imposed. Nor did Paul express that condition except where it is a gift. I confess that vows are to be made, but lawful and just vows, not such as are repugnant to a call, to God and the conscience.

3. From the prohibition of marriage being placed among the doctrines of devils (1 Tim. 4:1–3).

VIII. (3) From the prohibition of matrimony which the apostle places among the marks of the apostasy of the last times and which he calls the doctrine of devils: "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats" (*kōlyontōn gamein, kai apechethai brōmatōn*, 1 Tim. 4:1–3). The scope of Paul is to show Timothy with what zeal he ought to labor in the house of God (which is the pillar and ground of the truth) so that he may rightly discharge his office, not only on account of the excellency of the mystery of piety and the sublimity of the gospel (concerning which he had spoken in the end of the preceding chapter), but also on account of the danger hanging over the church from seducers who especially in the latter

times would not only run into apostasy and fall from the faith (i.e., from the true doctrine of the mystery of godliness), but also be involved in various most pernicious errors, giving heed to seducing spirits and embracing their errors, as if they were divine and heavenly doctrines while they are really impious and false, forged in the shop of Satan and proceeding from the Devil, the father of lies. He marks the manner of that seduction by "speaking lies in hypocrisy" (i.e., by fraud and lying, concealed under the specious zeal of piety and sanctity). Of this he gives two principal marks: "forbidding to marry and the interdiction of meats" because celibacy and abstinence are the special external qualities by which seducers are accustomed to veil their hypocrisy and impiety; not only following both laws, but also imposing them upon others. This the apostle intimates when he adds *pseudologous kōluein gamein, kai apechethai tōn brōmatōn*. Here the expression is curt and an ellipsis of the contrary occurs. For he does not mean that these seducers forbid abstinence from meats as from marriage (which some of the Romanists ridiculously maintain, against the consent of all interpreters ancient as well as modern). But on the contrary, he asserts that they will forbid marriage and the use of meats. And thus the word *kōluein* will either signify the contrary according to the nature of the thing —to "forbid" with respect to marriage and to command with respect to abstinence, as *tsvh* (which signifies to command) sometimes denotes to forbid (cf. Dt. 2:37); or it will be an ellipsis of the contrary, so that we must supply to *poiountōn* (as Syrus does) or to *keleuontōn* ("commanding") as Epiphanius—"forbidding marriage and commanding to abstain from meats." Various ellipses of this kind occur in sacred as well as profane writers. Under the same word, two actions either contrary or at least diverse are understood, which Estius remarks on this passage from Ps. 121:6: "The sun shall not burn thee by day, nor the moon by night" (cf. *Biblia Magna Commentariorum Literalum* [1643], 2:474 on Ps. 120*:6). The moon does not burn, but makes cold. Also: "Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted: but the rich, in that he is made low" (Jam. 1:9, 10)—supply "be depressed, be of humble spirit, considering the instability of his lot." A similar locution occurs in 1 Tim. 2:12, 1 Cor. 14:34 and frequently with profane writers. Phaedrus: "I do not forbid you to be dismissed, but to be tortured with hunger"—supply, "I command you" (*The Aesopic Fables of*

Phaedrus 4.19.31 [Loeb, 332–33]) (cf. Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 8.506 [1970], 2:226).

IX. To no purpose is it excepted that Paul "marks those who absolutely prohibited marriages as evil; such as were the Tatians, Encratites, Marcionites and Manichaeans." (a) The rebuking of these cannot excuse them unless they can prove that they do not prohibit marriages and the use of meats, which the apostle here condemns. (b) This was the old apology of the Montanists—that this prophecy did not apply to them, who did not condemn marriages as wicked, but only thought that they ought to abstain from them under the appearance of greater sanctity; rather it ought to apply to Tatian, the parent of the Encratites, and better to Marcion, as Tertullian observes (*On Fasting* 15* [ANF 4:112]). Nevertheless the ancient church condemned Montanus and the Montanists and applied this prophecy of Paul to them, as appears in the "Preface" to the Council of Gangra (cf. Mansi, 2:1095–99) and Canons 4 and 10 (cf. Hefele, 2:329, 331), to whom there is almost the same and a common cause with the Romanists. Thus the Manicheans did not condemn marriage absolutely, but prohibited it to their elect (Augustine, *On the Morals of the Manichaeans* 18 [NPNF1, 4:86–87]). (c) This prophecy refers no less to the Romanists, yea, more than to the old heretics. First, the apostle speaks of the apostasy "in the latter times" (*hysterōn kairōn*), which designate not so much the times of the primitive church (which immediately followed the age of the apostles) as the last times (which should flow on at the end of the world, as the Vulgate has it). Second, Paul speaks of those who would have the power to forbid marriage and the use of meats, which belonged less to those heretics (who could indeed teach, but could not command or compel) than to the Roman popes, who arrogate this right to themselves. Third, it does not treat of those who absolutely condemned marriages, but of those who hypocritically (i.e., under the appearance of a certain pretended holiness) interdicted marriage to particular men and imposed abstinence from certain kinds of food. Nor on this account was it necessary that the Spirit of God should so earnestly guard believers against those blasphemous errors of the ancients, whose manifest impiety, at first sight, would appear hateful to almost all. But greater danger was to be feared from Antichrist, who would work the mystery of iniquity under the pretext of piety.

4. From the practice of the apostles.

X. (4) From the practice of the apostles and the liberty granted them. The apostles and disciples of Christ were either married or could have been. Peter certainly and James and John had wives (Mt. 8:14; 1 Cor. 9:5). Philip the evangelist too (Acts 21:8, 9). To the rest, the power to marry was free without interfering with their apostleship: "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?" (1 Cor. 9:5). Nor can it be said that "the women, who followed the apostles, were not their own wives, but wealthy women, by whom from the example of Christ (Lk. 8:1, 2), they were supported." (a) First, the word *gynē* (used here) is everywhere taken for a wife; so Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 3.6 [ANF 2:390]), Eusebius, Nicephorus, Tertullian (*Exhortation to Chastity** 8 [ACW 13:55]), Valla, Faber Stapulensis and many others translate it. Reason persuades because Paul treats of the power over wives, whom their husbands carried around with them in their journeys; not of the liberty of other women in following the apostles. (b) The gloss is repugnant to the scope of the apostle, who testifies that for this reason he had not carried around a wife, that he might not be burdensome to the church. Now if the apostles had carried around these pious women, the church would not have been burdened but relieved by them. (c) Paul does not speak of many, but of one, which can be none other than a wife; otherwise he would not have endured to lead around such virtuous women, whom to have in companionship the Synod of Nicea forbade (cf. Canon 3, Tanner, 1:7). In vain is it added, "Their wives were dismissed by the apostles after their call because they are said to have left all to follow Christ" (Mt. 19:27). This is a gratuitous invention and is denied as easily as it is affirmed. Nay, neither could this have been done by the apostles without violating the primeval law of marriage and the rule laid down by Paul (1 Cor. 7:10). The dereliction of which the apostles speak (Mt. 19:27) is not of all things entirely which were required for the preservation of life (because thus they would have injured themselves), but only of those things which would encumber them—either in an ordinary and prompt ministry or in the free confession of Christ and his gospel. Of this kind, lawful wives cannot be said to be, who could serve for their consolation and the confirmation of their faith.

5. From the liberty to marry, 1 Tim. 3:2.

XI. (5) From the liberty of marriage left to ecclesiastics (1 Tim. 3:2, 4). The apostle wishes that a bishop, who ought to be blameless (*anepilēptos*), must be "the husband of one wife" (*mias gynaikos anēr*). He could not have said this if he had believed the episcopate and celibacy to be incompatible (*asystata*) and unless he had acknowledged that marriage was free and allowable to a bishop, provided he was the husband of only one and not of many wives. We do not use this passage to prove that a bishop ought necessarily to be married (which is calumniously charged upon us), but to show that a bishop can be married, provided he is the husband of one wife. Nor can this be explained "allegorically concerning the bishop of one church," as some hold. The things added by the apostle refute it, when he makes mention of children and from the government of his family wishes to judge whether he is fit to govern the church or not. Nor "concerning him as he was before ordination, not who is the husband of one wife." A verb of the present and not of the past time is used—"a bishop must be" (*enai*), not "have been." "If any be blameless" (*eitis estin anenklētos*, Tit. 1:6); also concerning deacons, "Let them be [*estōsan*] the husbands of one wife" (1 Tim. 3:12). In the same manner the husbands of one wife are to be understood; as the other attributes are predicated of them, sobriety, temperance, blameless life, which are spoken of the present, not the past time, so that he was not only before adorned with them, but constantly is. Nor would it help to commemorate the virtues of wives if they were either dead or separated from their husbands. Finally, they falsely maintain that "this arrangement (*diatagma*) of the apostle was temporary, which should prevail only in the primitive church on account of the paucity of unmarried men, which compelled them to select the married, but that there is a different rule for our times." For if in those times (which were the times of the church's virginity) marriage was not opposed to the episcopate, why should it be today? The law laid down by the apostle was not for one, but for all times.

XII. Moreover the monogamy (*monogamia*) enjoined here does not exclude digamy or successive polygamy. For if it is lawful for a wife after the death of her husband to marry another (provided it is done in the Lord, Rom. 7:2, 3; 1 Cor. 7:39), the same ought to be lawful for the husband also.

Thus second marriages in this sense cannot be blamed, however much many of the ancients opposed them. Rather a simultaneous marriage is opposed, of which there were two species: one open and manifest, when the man supported at home two or more wives at the same time (as obtained under the Old Testament); or more secret, when anyone after repudiating his wife without just cause took another in her place while she was living (which since it was usual with the Jews at that time and customary with the Romans and other Gentiles, from whom various polygamists came to the faith, it was a just and fitting cause why the apostle should disapprove of it in him who was to be advanced to the sacred ministry). Although this might in some measure be tolerated in others (because as it had already been done, it could not be corrected, although it was vicious), nevertheless in a bishop it was not to be borne and consequently was forbidden.

6. From the primeval institution of marriage.

XIII. (6) From the first institution of marriage. The power to marry was given to all without exception, both by divine right (Gen. 1:28) and by the right of nature. This is evident from the desire implanted in all of having a helper worthy of himself and of seeing children and propagating the race in them. No law can be shown which can abrogate this right so solemnly given. As no one can hinder the natural inclination of conservation by meat and drink, so no one can be bound not to take a wife, especially under a necessity so urgent as a remedy of incontinence. And on this account the more—that Christ repeated, confirmed and vindicated that primeval institution which was common to all (Mt. 19:4, 5; 5:27); and the apostles prescribed rules of living for husbands and wives without distinction of political and ecclesiastical order among Christians (Eph. 5, 6; 1 Pet. 3). Now although the precept concerning marriage is affirmative (which on that account does not oblige always and at every time, but in case of necessity), it does not follow that it can be abrogated with respect to some and a contrary law be imposed upon them; especially in an urgent case of necessity, not only for the good of propagation, that the human race may not perish, but also to prevent fornication in those who do not have the gift of continence. Nor are we of those who think that the right of nature must necessarily be used by all, but we contend that no one should be prevented

from using it. For there is a twofold right of nature: one, which all must use; the other, from which no one is to be kept, of which kind is matrimony.

7. From the evils attending celibacy.

XIV. (7) From the evils attending celibacy. This law was the cause of monstrous evils which filled the world with impurity and the church with scandal. The witnesses are very many, the Roman popes themselves not being excepted. Pius II (formerly Aeneas Sylvius), as Platina relates in his life, says: "For a great reason marriage had been taken away from the priests; for a greater it ought to be restored" (*The Lives of the Popes* [1685], p. 401). Nor did Paul II (in [John] Bale, *The Pageant of the Popes* [1574], p. 166), Salvianus, Hulderic Augustanus, Gratian, Bernard, Polydore Virgil, Agrippa and others attempt to conceal this. The bishop Quinquecclesiensis (Georgius Draskowich of Pecs/Funfkirchen in Hungary) confessed that the sacrificing priests contaminated with lusts and filthiness of life grew old in the highest impiety. Hence complaints were made everywhere of this corruption and frequent wishes for the relaxation and abrogation of this law. Cassander zealously strives that the law of celibacy may be abrogated because it is the occasion of unbridled licentiousness ("De Articularis Religionis … consultatio," *Georgii Cassandri ... Opera* [1616], pp. 892–1014). Sigmund, in the Council of Basil, seeks for matrimony to be restored to the clergy. In the Council of Trent, the Quinquecclesiensis bishop, in the name both of the Emperor and of the Duke of Bavaria, the French Orators and fathers of Lorraine (*Lotharingus*) pled for a relaxation of that law.

8. From the difficulty of continence.

XV. (8) From the difficulty of continence, which is a peculiar gift and granted to a few: "All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given" (Mt. 19:11). "Every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that" (1 Cor. 7:7). Therefore celibacy ought not to be imposed upon all indifferently, since continence is not in the will of man, but depends upon God (although the means for obtaining it are not to be neglected by man). In vain does Bellarmine reply, "As the gift of continence does not belong to all, so neither ought all to be priests: but those only, who

seem to have this gift." He gratuitously supposes that those only are to be selected for priests who have the gift of continence, while the apostle determines that he also can be elected who is the husband of one wife. Again, it is one thing to seem to have this gift; another really to have it. Many seem to themselves and others to have this gift, who nevertheless when brought to the exercise of it acknowledge that they do not possess it, nor can they promise it to themselves in the future, although they may wish and desire it and seek it from God in prayers. For prayers are founded upon faith and faith on a promise; while no promise was given to a certain class of men about obtaining this gift for ever.

9. From the practice of the old church.

XVI. (9) From the practice of the old church. The law of celibacy has not been long received in the church. The Canons of the apostles, put forth by Clement of Rome read thus: "A bishop or presbyter should on no pretence of religion put away his own wife; if however he has rejected her, let him be excommunicated, if he shall continue, let him be deposed" (*Ecclesiastical Canons* 6 [ANF 7:500]). Nor ought this to be referred only to the care of her as to food and dress, but also as to his bed because the apostle teaches that a lawful wife is despised if the due intercourse (*synousia*) is denied her (1 Cor. 7:3, 4). Hence "Defraud ye not one the other" (v. 5). The very words of the canon teach this because they speak of him who, under the pretext of religion, deserts his wife; but to abandon all help, what pretext of religion can he have? But it is plain that a separation from that bed is caused under this very pretext. Thus the words of the canon are to be understood of the bed. Pope Nicholas, according to Gratian, speaking concerning the separation from the bed, confirms this: "Under no pretence of religion should a husband dismiss his wife" ("Decreti," Pt. II, Causa 30, Q. 1*.3 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1955], 1:1097); cf. also Zonaras, Canon 5, *Canones Sanctorum Apostolorum* [PG 137.46]). Here belongs Canon 4 of the Gangran Synod: "If anyone contends concerning a presbyter, who has taken a wife, that he ought not, celebrating sacred things, to communicate to the offering, let him be anathema" (Hefele, 2:329). The design of the canon is to permit the married presbyter to minister (*leitourgein*); it treats not only of him who had a wife, but who was still married, as Gratian recites it

("Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. XXVIII. 15 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1955], p. 105) and Balsamon ("Canones Synodi Gangrenae" *Commentaria Canones Sanctorum Apostolorum* [PG 137.1247]). For Eustathius (of Sebaste), against whom that Gangran Council was instituted, maintained that marriage should be absolutely forbidden to presbyters, as Nicephorus informs us (*Ecclesiasticae Historiae* 9.45 [PG 146.414]). But the decree of the Council of Nicea comes up for special notice, by which it was provided that there should be no canon by which the use of marriage should be restrained; rather it was placed at the discretion of all. For since some were endeavoring to secure a law of celibacy, Paphnutius, Bishop of Thebes, earnestly dissuaded them. Although himself unmarried, he said with a loud voice, "So weighty a burden should not be imposed upon sacred ministers, marriage is honorable in all, and the use of the nuptial bed is chastity itself" (cf. Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 1.11 [NPNF2, 2:18]). The fathers of this Council adopted his opinion and unanimously disapproved of celibacy, according to Gelasius Cyzicenus (*Actorum Concilii Nicaeni* 2.32 [PG 85.1335–38]), Socrates (*Ecclesiastical History* 1.11* [NPNF2, 2:18]), Sozomen (*Ecclesiastical History* 1.23* [NPNF2, 2:256]), Gratian ("Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. XXXI *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1955], pp. 111–16) and many others. Here belongs also the Third Canon of the Fifth Council of Constantinople and the Thirteenth Canon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council at Trullan (cf. Hefele, 5:226). It is also known that in the ancient church many sacred ministers were married: Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Polycrates, Irenaeus, Spiridion, Gregory (the father of Gregory Nazianzus), Gregory of Nyssa (the brother of Basil), Tertullian, Hilary of Poitiers and innumerable others, whose examples are referred to and vindicated by Chamier (*Corpus theologicum* 16.13 [1653], 3:595–603), Gerhard ("De Ministerio Ecclesiastico," *Loci Theologici* [1868], 6:238) and Dumoulin (*The Novelty of Popery*, Bk. 7, Pt. 4.8 [1662], pp. 492–94).

Sources of explanation.

XVII. What kind of life is better, more holy and happier (properly and by itself) and peculiarly imperative to sacred ministers, that they must themselves determine altogether. But we deny that celibacy is such. Nor can it be shown from 1 Cor. 7, where the apostle indeed compares celibacy with

marriage and prefers the former to the latter; but not properly and by itself, since on the contrary he professedly asserts that both are external states of life which do not recommend or render us acceptable to God (v. 18ff.), but relatively and with respect to a certain time. Celibacy, therefore, is said to be better than marriage, both because it is exposed to fewer cares and troubles and also lighter (v. 28) and because those times were filled with persecutions (v. 26), which could be more easily endured by the unmarried than by the married. That the "good" (*kalon*) according to Paul therefore is to be understood not of moral goodness and virtue, the very institution of matrimony (which has a blessing connected with it) teaches; and that God himself says, "it is not good for man to be alone" (Gen. 2:18). Rather it is to be understood of "useful goodness," as the apostle himself explains it by *sympheron* (what "is profitable and suitable," v. 35) and "on account of the pressing necessity" (*dia tēn enestōsan anankēn*) which coming on, it might be said, "Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare" (Lk. 23:29). Finally, celibacy (whether perpetual or temporary) is not commanded, but only advised. Paul denies that he has any commandment of the Lord concerning it (vv. 6, 25). He testifies that he wishes to cast a snare upon the conscience of no one by an opinion of its necessity or worship (v. 35). He advises not all, but those only who have the gift of continence (vv. 7, 17). Others he tells to marry (vv. 2, 9). Thus Paul compares the advantages and disadvantages of both states, not to cast a snare, but to unfold which is the more advisable. On both sides indeed are rocks and distraction, but the most dangerous are those which spring from the incentives of lust, a burden the more grievous, the more deeply and strongly fixed in the heart.

XVIII. That the apostle wishes a bishop to be *sōphrona* ("sober") and *enkratē* ("temperate," 1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:8) does not favor celibacy. For *sōphrōn* is either opposed to *aphroni* and *mainomenō* ("raging" and "insane," and then signifies one "out of his mind") or to *akolastō* ("dissolute") and signifies "temperate" (one who preserves moderation in eating and drinking). It is also opposed to lustfulness (*tois aphrodisiois*), such as can exist in marriage equally as well as in celibacy. He is called *enkratēs*, not who abstains from conjugal intercourse, in which no pious person can count the legitimate use of wedlock (otherwise how could he

order a bishop, the husband of one wife, having children, to be *enkratē*), but who is free from unlawful desires and keeps himself within due bounds.

XIX. It is one thing to be "entangled with the affairs and cares of this life" (*tais tou biou pragmateiais*), to wit, the immoderate, too great, calling away from piety, holiness and the performance of duty; it is another to be bound by marriage. Paul forbids the former in a bishop (2 Tim. 2:4), but not the latter. This appears even from this—that in the first epistle, he enjoins upon the bishop the care of his own house. Hence it is evident that affairs opposed to this sacred service, not subordinated to it, are meant.

XX. Although the power to make laws belongs to the church, it is not on that account permissible for her to impose a law of celibacy upon the sacred ministry; both because Christ, with sufficient clearness, intimates that such a law cannot and ought not to be enacted, ordering that it be permitted each one to determine for himself (Mt. 19:12); and because neither he nor his apostles ever made such a law; and because Paul wishes necessity to be absent (*anankēn*) from the counsel of retaining virginity (1 Cor. 7:37), such as the law of celibacy imposes, to which the arguments already adduced have reference.

XXI. When the apostle says the married can defraud one another with consent for a time that they may give themselves to fasting and prayer (1 Cor. 7:5), he does not wish to impose the law of celibacy upon any, but to teach that there is a time in which it is advisable to abstain from the use of wedlock, even lawful, that we may be the better disposed to divine worship. He speaks, therefore, of prayers; not of any kind, but special and such as are often appointed in an extraordinary way with fasting, either on account of some remarkable public or domestic calamity, or on account of the election of ministers, or from some other necessity. He advises mutual abstinence, not because marriage by itself hinders prayer, but that all affairs being laid aside (even lawful pleasures) they may give themselves wholly to the pursuit of piety and earnest prayers. But what has this to do with the law of celibacy, since it is treated not of perpetual abstinence, but only for a few days; not of ordinary prayers, but of extraordinary? Nor is this said only of the clergy, but also of the laity and it is ordered that they should come together again that Satan tempt them not for their incontinency. In vain is it added that the clergy ought to abstain always because they are always bound to be prepared for divine worship. For although they are always bound to be

free for divine things (i.e., so as never to be free for the opposite things [such as idolatry is] and so that in the first act they may always be ready for it), still they are not bound to be always free for divine things in the second act, so as never to be not free; otherwise all the duties pertaining to life (*ta biōtika*) would be interdicted to them. Thus divine things are to be so cared for first and principally that human things should not be neglected and should have their own places and turns in which they may be attended to.

XXII. The *syneisaktos* woman, prohibited to ministers by Canon 3 of the Council of Nicea, is not a true wife (Tanner, 1:7). (1) The contrary was decreed by the counsel of Paphnutius, nor was the use of a lawful wife disapproved. (2) It is treated of a suspected woman and thus a wife cannot be called *syneisaktos* ("introduced secretly") and is distinguished from her, Novella 123+. (3) Such a woman is prohibited to "all who are in the clergy" (*holōs heni tōn en klērō*), since the Romanists maintain that the law of celibacy does not bind the lower orders. (4) This kind of secretly introduced women (syneisaktōn) was held by those only who professed celibacy; not either by vow, or by law, but by free will; as appears from the Council of Carthage (Chapter 3, Mansi, 3:146), Balsamon (*Basilii ... Epistola Canonica Prima* 3 [PG 138.591–95]) and Photius (*Nomocanon*, Tit. 8.14 [PG 104.1091]), which is also the reason why the canon did not except a wife, but only a mother, sister and other females. Thus concubinage and not matrimony is forbidden here; so Balsamon, Zonaras; and of our opponents Clicthovaeus, Espensaeus, Medina and many others explain it.

XXIII. Since the power to pass any law repugnant to the word of God and to the right of nature belongs to no council, if any was decreed by some councils about celibacy (as the Council of Neocaesarea, Canon 1 [Hefele, 1:223], the Council of Elvira, Canon 33 [Mansi, 2:11], the Second Synod of Arles [Hefele, 3:168] and Carthage II and V [cf. Hefele, 2:424]), it cannot make it lawful and just. Again no other councils than the Latin and Western and those not ecumenical but provincial only favor it; but the Greek, whether ecumenical or particular, show it no favor.

XXIV. If conjugal intimacy involved any uncleanness under the Old Testament, it was wholly legal and Levitical. This was abrogated with the abrogation of the priesthood, no less than uncleanness arising from contact with a dead body. Again, if these examples availed anything, it would follow that the law of this abstinence should be extended only to the time in

which they prepare themselves immediately for public worship or are free for public worship by the act itself. For it was lawful for the whole people and for the priests of the Old Testament to be married, although upon them equally was incumbent the duty of meditating on the law night and day. Third, those courses (*ephēmeriai*) or changes of the priests of the Old Testament were not instituted because conjugal intercourse rendered the priests unworthy to serve (*leitourgian*), since those courses were instituted four hundred years after Moses and the high priest himself, whose duty it was to offer a daily continual sacrifice, was married; nor did any law exist which imposed celibacy upon the priest or ordered them to stay away from their homes during the time of their course (*ephēmerias*). In general it must be remarked that many things were enjoined upon the Jews which do not bind Christians. They had to abstain from the flesh of swine, rabbits and other kinds of flesh; many pollutions also were to be avoided from which Christians are freed as from a most burdensome yoke. Therefore, although any such command should occur, nothing could be elicited from it, unless it would peculiarly teach that this should be continued under the gospel.

XXV. It is one thing to hinder ecclesiastical duties by itself; another by accident, or perpetually or for a time, or from its own nature or from abuse only. The former are rightly prohibited, but not the latter. Matrimony not by itself, or always hinders, or calls away from the whole, but from so much. For many bishops were holy and yet married; and in the Greek church the presbyters were always allowed to marry. Again, from the prohibition more evil springs than from a withdrawal not perpetual (on account of the danger of fornication). For the danger of impure indulgence is imminent, for which reason the apostle makes the law. And never was that distraction so great as this danger because to no sin could any inconvenience be either compared or equaled; nor is there any so great that it is not always better to marry than to burn.

XXVI. They which were not defiled with women (Rev. 14:4), who are on that account called virgins, are not the unmarried who abstain from wedlock, because marriage is nowhere called pollution; on the contrary it is said to be unpolluted (Heb. 13:4). Thus it would follow both that all the unmarried and they alone would then be saved (which is absurd). For the patriarchs, prophets and many apostles were married, and not a few unmarried under the papacy are whoremongers. Rather thus the pure

worshippers of Christ are designated, who are not defiled with idolatry (which is spiritual whoredom), or with intercourse with Antichristian churches, or with the pleasures and defilements of the world.

Twenty-Seventh Question: The Immunity of the Clergy

Are ecclesiastical persons exempt from the jurisdiction of and subjection to the civil magistrate? We deny against the Romanists

I. This question also is agitated between us and the Romanists. For as the pope from pure ambition arrogates to himself autocratic (*autokratorikēn*) power and jurisdiction in the church, so he wishes all the clergy to be wholly exempt from all power of and obedience to secular princes and to be entirely enslaved and bound to his own.

Opinion of the Romanists.

II. The Romanists mutually agree in certain things; in others they disagree. They agree in exemption and immunity. Hence that expression of Emanuel Sa in his aphorisms: "A priest cannot commit the crime of treason against a king because he is not a subject." But they differ as to the nature of the right —whether it is divine or human or mixed. Some hold that it is only of human right; others that it is mixed, as Bellarmine. Again, others contend for divine right, which is the opinion of the Canonists, who maintain that the clergy are simply and absolutely exempt from the civil power, in temporal as well as in spiritual matters; in personal as well as in real; in criminal as in civil, and indeed by a divine right. Boniface VIII: "By divine and human right, the clergy and their property are free from the secular power" (cf. "Sexti Decretalium," Bk. III, De Censibus ["Quanquam"], Tit. 20.4 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 2:1058). The Council of Trent: "The immunity of the church and of ecclesiastical persons was instituted by the ordination of God and by canonical sanctions" (Session 25, chapter 20, Schroeder, p. 252).

III. Bellarmine embraces his opinion in five propositions ("De Clericis," 1*.28 *Opera* [1857], 2:201–2). The first is: "In ecclesiastical causes the

clergy are free from the power of secular princes by divine right." Second: "The clergy are in no way exempt from the obligation of civil laws, which are not repugnant to the sacred canons or to their clerical office." Third: "Although the clergy are bound to obey the civil laws, still they cannot be punished by a political judge or in any way be carried before the tribunal of a secular magistrate." Fourth: "The property of the clergy, ecclesiastical as well as secular, is free and should deservedly be free from the taxes of secular princes." Fifth: "The exemption of the clergy, in political matters, at least as to property, was introduced by human right, not by divine." Nevertheless the same one, inconsistent with himself, in the appendix to his second volume, defends the immunity of property by divine right in order to conciliate the favor of Sixtus V, who, offended with those who had spoken of the just subjection of the popes to Caesar in civil matters, was on the point of placing the works of Bellarmine in the index of prohibited books, as Barclay observes (*De potestate Papae* 13 [1609/1973], pp. 101–2).

And of the orthodox.

IV. We think that the following distinction should be made. There is a twofold subjection of subjects by which they are under the sway of the magistrate, whether believers or unbelievers. The one, as to persons, in criminal and civil causes. The other, as to abilities in paying tribute and sustaining other civil burdens. We think the clergy are bound by both at least by a divine and natural right, no less than other subjects (although by privilege almost everywhere they are free from personal burdens on account of the labors of the sacred ministry, in some places also from tributes).

Statement of the question.

V. Hence it is evident (1) that the question does not concern subjection as to ecclesiastical office (which is occupied with the preaching of the word, the administration of the sacraments and the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline); and as to ecclesiastical causes, which involve the conscience, which can be legitimately settled only from the word of God and the authority given by God to the church, such as are controversies concerning the faith. For in these spiritual ecclesiastical acts, they are not subject to the

magistrate, since the magistrate neither can, nor ought to prescribe to them another form of teaching, of rebuking errors of sins, of administering the sacraments, than that which is prescribed by the word of God. Nay, the magistrate stands related to them as a member of the church, as a sheep to the shepherd. But it is treated of subjection as to political duty or political causes, which regard the affairs of life (*ta biōtika*) and the external peace and tranquility of the republic. In these we say ministers are bound no less than other citizens, from the number of whom they are not excepted when they are enrolled among ecclesiastics. And it is just that the laws should be observed so much the more sacredly by them as their life is the more conspicuous (as it were, examples to the flock). It is necessary that they should be conspicuous by the example of a holy life.

VI. (2) The question does not concern the privileges which, from the kindness and liberality of Christian rulers and princes, can be granted to the clergy, many of which it is evident have been granted by emperors. Rather the question concerns the immunity which belongs to them by divine right. (3) It is not inquired concerning the personal burdens which we acknowledge ought not to be imposed, lest they should be a hindrance to the exercise of their ecclesiastical duties and detract in some way from either the dignity or the authority of the sacred office. Hence, Justinian determines "that presbyters should be free from personal duties, which are performed with industry and labor" (cf. "Generaliter," *Corpus Iuris Civilis, II: Codex lustinianus* 1.3.51 [52] [ed. P. Krueger, 1967], pp. 34–35 and "Presbyteros," ?ibid., 1.3.6, p. 19). For if they were bound to them, they would be drawn away from their office and the dignity of the priest would be disturbed, as it is said ("Nec honore," ibid., 1.3.7, p. 19)—as to be a soldier, a watchman, and to perform other services which are merely civil. Leave out the case of extreme necessity, if the country is exposed to extreme danger. But concerning real burdens, as to the property which they possess, not so much with respect to sacred and ecclesiastical property, which, consecrated to the church, is before free and safe from all pressure of tributes (although in a case of necessity, it may be subjected to an extraordinary tribute, as with respect to secular property acquired by them by purchase, inheritance, the rights of marriages and other means, from which ought to be paid to the magistrate what is owed). For the property passes over with the burden upon it, "while real burdens follow the property and its possessors

whomsoever they are" (?"Imperatores," ibid., 11.43, p. 438). Nor on this account are they taken away from the political jurisdiction of the magistrate because this property is possessed by the clergy. For the fact that clergymen serve the church does not make them cease to be citizens and parts and members of the state; or that as such they should not be subject to the political ruler and their property, which they hold in their own right, not be liable to taxation.

VII. Finally, it is not inquired concerning the special, partial and limited immunity which is of human right, descending from the kindness and privilege of pious princes upon the ecclesiastical order, by which they are exempted in certain cases with respect to persons or property from public burdens and the duties of subjects. But concerning the general, total and indeterminate immunity which is of divine right, such as the Romanists ascribe to the clergy as much with respect to persons as to property. However, we deny it.

Immunity is overthrown: (1) by the general command of obedience.

VIII. The reasons are: (1) from the general command of obedience and subjection which is extended to all without exception. The passages are: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers" (*hyperechousais*, Rom. 13:1); "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man" (1 Pet. 2:13); "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers" (Tit. 3:1). Christ himself wishes "to be rendered to Caesar the things which are Caesar's," and what he spoke with his mouth, he presently took care to fulfill in act. Here various arguments lie concealed. (a) The mark of universality, "every soul" (i.e., by synecdoche, person, as frequently elsewhere); for to wish to take soul for the animal man (as some do) is so absurd as to need no refutation. (b) It is not treated concerning any power, but concerning the secular power which bears the sword for the protection of the good and the punishment of the wicked and to whom tribute is to be paid. (c) As many as shake off this yoke proclaim war against God and nature, resisting the ordinance of God, and disturb the public tranquility and unloose the bonds of society. (d) The immediate antithesis between the civil magistrates and

subjects; now the clergy do not belong to the order of the magistrate, therefore they must be placed among the subjects. (e) Paul and Peter, writing to all the saints, cannot exclude the ministers of the church unless they are to be dropped out of the number of the saints. Chrysostom: "The apostle shows that these are imposed upon all, both priests and monks, not only upon seculars; a thing he declares in the very exordium when he says, let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, even if he be an apostle, an evangelist, a prophet, or whoever he may be, for neither does that subjection subvert piety. And he does not simply say, let him obey, but be subject unto" ("Homily 23*," *Epistle to the Romans* [NPNF1, 11:511; PG 60.615] on Rom. 13:1). Theophylact, on this passage, asserts the same thing (*Expositio in Epistolam Romanos* [PG 124.514]). Bernard: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; if every soul, yours also. Who has excepted you from the universality? If anyone tries to except you, he endeavors to deceive" (*De Moribus et Officio Episcoporum ... Epistola XLII* 8.31 [PL 182.829]).

IX. Futile are the objections: (a) "Every soul ought to be subject unto the highest powers, while they are higher powers; but princes are not higher powers with respect to the clergy, because princes themselves have partly subjected the clergy to their bishops in all civil and temporal causes and the supreme pontiff exempts all from subjection to princes." But the foundational principle (*to en archē*) is begged, what is to be proved is taken for granted (to wit, that princes have exempted and were bound to exempt the clergy from their power and that the Roman pope could exempt them from the power of princes). This we deny because he can determine nothing against the divine right which binds them to obedience and subjection. Now although princes embracing the Christian faith subject their scepters to Christ and to the spiritual power, it does not on this account follow that the ministers of spiritual power are exempted in temporal affairs from the temporal power. Only one thing may be gathered—that princes as to spiritual matters are subjected to the spiritual power; not in like manner that they lose their political authority over ministers in temporal matters. (b) No better "are Christians distinguished here from priests, so that these things are addressed to them as Christians and not as priests." Things to be joined together are absurdly separated; for if a priest is a Christian he ought always to be subject (although in the exercise of his office and as to spiritual

matters he is free). Also, if the mark of baptism and of gospel liberty in Christ does not release from obedience to the king, much less does clerical character. For the liberty of the church is stated concerning faith and the soul before temporal matters. (c) That this is to be understood "concerning the soul, which can be subjected; but that power cannot be subjected to power and so neither ministers who have the power." Power cannot be subjected to power in the same order; but nothing hinders those who possess spiritual power in the ecclesiastical order and in the court of conscience as to spiritual matters from being subjected in the political order and as to temporal matters, to the political power. So that we say the power of ministers is not autocratic (*autokratorikēn*) and supreme, but serving (*hypēretikēn*) and ministerial.

2. From the example of the priests of the Old Testament.

X. (2) From the example of the priests of the Old Testament, who were subject to the political magistrate in civil as well as in criminal affairs. Nor can the relation be different, because Bellarmine confesses, "The clergy are the same now, as priests were formerly" ("De Clericis," 1.28 [prop. 5] *Opera* [1857], 2:204). Moses is set over Aaron as God (Ex. 4:16) and corrects him, after his fall into sin (Ex. 32:21). The Levites were subjected not only to Aaron, but also to Moses, who was the civil prince of the whole people. Nor can it be objected that Moses was also the high priest. For although before the consecration of Aaron, he might have sometimes out of order performed the functions of a priest, still when he was once anointed and consecrated, he committed the whole of that office to him in the name of God, nor any longer fulfilled any parts of it; but only that of leader and legislator. So David constituted the orders and offices of the Levites (1 Ch. 23, 24). Solomon displaced Abiathar, guilty of sedition (1 K. 2:26, 27). Nor did he resist him or cause the divine law to be violated. To no purpose is it said either that "this deed is narrated, not approved," because the same reply can be given to all the examples adduced by our opponents from the Old Testament to establish their opinion; or that "Solomon acted here as a prophet, not as a king." For indeed it belongs to prophets to pronounce the

judgments of God; to punish with exile or other severer penalties belongs only to the magistrate. Nor can it be gathered from this that Solomon is said to have done this "that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled." For by princes also he fulfills his word, as by ministers; nay, even by the wicked, as by Judas and others. Here pertains the fact that Jehoshaphat enjoins upon the priests the reformation of public worship (2 Ch. 17:7–9); Jehoash rebuked the negligence of Jehoiada, the priest (2 K. 12:7); Hezekiah restored religion that had been corrupted by the priests (2 Ch. 29:30, 31); Josiah burned the bones of the priests upon the altar and cleansed the temple (2 K. 23:20*). Nor can it be replied that it is not strange if in the Old Testament the spiritual was subjected to the secular power because in it temporal promises flourished. For if the reason holds good, the opponents cannot deduce a divine right from the Old Testament.

3. From the example of Christ.

XI. (3) From the example of Christ, who both in personal and in real matters submitted to the magistrate. As to person, it is apparent from Jn. 19:11, where Christ acknowledges the power of Pilate over him and submits himself to him: "Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above." Here it is manifest that the civil power over Christ was divinely constituted to which in that state of humiliation he ought to be subject by obedience even unto death. They who hold this subjection given by Christ to be of act and not of right openly contradict the Scripture, which testifies that Christ was made of a woman, and so he also was liable to the law (Gal. 4:4). Now this law subjects man to the human and indeed divinely instituted order. On this account, Christ as the Son of man was subjected to the magistrate by right as well as by fact. I confess that by necessity of nature and as he was a divine person, he was not subject and could have exempted himself from it; but because he willed to be made man, on this account as such he ought to be liable to human laws. Again, if he willed in fact to undergo that trial, why do the clergy remove themselves from it and why are they unwilling to follow the example of their Lord? No better is it said that "the power given by Christ was not a judiciary power, but a permission." Christ ought to have spoken of the same power concerning which Pilate had spoken, "Knowest thou not that I have power

to crucify thee, and have power to release thee?" (Jn. 19:10). This can be referred to no other than a judiciary power. Therefore a mere permission is not here to be supposed, such as was given to Satan and the Jews to harass Christ. Far otherwise does he conduct himself towards Pilate judging him, for he acknowledges less sin in him than in those. Nay, he who places himself before the tribunal of Pilate frequently withdrew himself from the hands and stones and fury of the Jews. Hence Bernard: "Even then he spoke by himself and experienced in himself what he had declared in the church by the apostles, there is no power except it be from God" (*De Moribus et Officio Episcoporum ... Epistola XLII* 9.35 [PL 182.832]). Before him, Augustine had said on this passage: "The power of Pilate over Christ was from God, according to that of the apostle, all power is from God" (Tractate 116, *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:426; PL 35.1942]).

XII. The same thing is confirmed by the custom or tribute paid to the *Quaestors* by Peter both for himself and for Christ (Mt. 17:25–27*). All acknowledge this to be a mark of subjection. For although Christ, as Lord of all, was not bound to pay tribute, still because he was not yet recognized as such, for the sake of avoiding scandal (lest he should be regarded as a despiser of the law of God), he wished tribute to be paid both for himself and for Peter, either because Peter alone was present and not the other apostles, or because he alone was asked as having lived in Capernaum. Now if Christ did this, much more his ministers; and if for Peter he was bound to pay tribute, by what right do the popes (who boast that they are the successors of Peter) pretend to be free from it? It does not help them to say, "Christ paid tribute because he wished, not because he was bound." Christ so wished to pay tribute that at the same time also he wished that he ought to pay and was bound in the state of humiliation in which he then was; as he was bound to be circumcised, to be baptized, to be subject to Pilate and to die. Thus he was bound to pay tribute. He was indeed free absolutely as the Son of God; but in this case he was not free because he had made himself a servant. Jerome, on this passage, thus explains: "As a royal son he did not owe tribute; but he, who had assumed the humility of flesh, was bound to fulfil all righteousness" (*Commentariorum ... Matthae* [PL 26.131] on Mt. 17:24, 25). In this way, he wished to set an example that he might teach what should be done by all his disciples in this particular. So that whoever are Christ's should think that they ought to do what Christ did and so much

the more he does it because he sees him doing this for us and as an example for us, on whom otherwise according to himself there rested no obligation to do it. Moreover this is true in whatever way that tribute is understood, whether concerning the Caesarean tribute or the poll tax imposed by Augustus upon the Jews. The latter amounted to a double drachma (from which the Jews had delivered themselves by a revolt), which Vespasian reimposed after Jerusalem had been stormed, as Josephus informs us (JW 7.218 [Loeb, 3:566–67]). This is the opinion of Jerome and many of the Romanists, of Jansen (*Harmo*. cap. 69+), Salmeron, Barradius and others. It seems to be confirmed by what follows, where it is treated of the kings of the earth taking tribute. Others hold that it concerns the tribute which God had imposed upon the children of Israel for the use of the sanctuary (Ex. 30:11–16), as it seems to Hilary, Bellarmine, Baronius and others. In either case, the force of the argument always remains. For from what he paid to the temple, it may also be gathered that he submitted to the civil laws. For the tribute was paid to God as to the proper King, but he who was the Son of that King was able to exempt himself from it.

4. From the deed of Paul.

XIII. (4) From the deed of Paul, who appeals from the council at Jerusalem to Caesar: "I stand at Caesar's judgment seat, where I ought to be judged … I appeal unto Caesar" (Acts 25:10, 11*). Now to what anyone appeals, he acknowledges to be superior to and a judge to himself and submits to its power. Futile is the reply of Bellarmine, "Paul appealed to Caesar because he was in fact his judge, although not in right." He speaks not only of fact, but also of right when he says "that *dei*, he ought to be judged before Caesar." Now where Paul ought to be judged, there he was of right subject to judgment. For he never would say that what is repugnant to right ought to be done. What in action of right is done not of right must be understood to be done against right and injuriously. "He who acts against a debt of justice," as Aquinas says, "sins mortally" (ST, II-II, Q. 69*, Art. 1, p. 1490). However, it pertains to the debt of justice to preserve uninjured the right of the superior, which he does not do who substitutes another in place of the true judge. It is confirmed by this—that God ratified the appeal. Sending an angel, he consoled Paul struggling in the storm: "Fear not, Paul, because

you must stand before Caesar" (Acts 27:24). This thing he certainly would not have mentioned, if against right the apostle had determined that Caesar should be his judge instead of Peter. Hence Bellarmine, acknowledging the weakness of the answer, adds: "The difference between heathen and Christian princes can secondly and better be said of Albert Pighius; for when the rulers were heathen, the pontiff was not their judge; but, on the contrary, he was subject to them in all civil causes no less than other men. Deservedly, therefore, Paul appeals to Caesar and recognizes him as judge, since he was accused of exciting a sedition and a disturbance." But neither in this way can our opponent escape because thus the condition of Christian princes would be worse than that of heathen. Yet the gospel does not abolish governments and as Bellarmine himself says, "The Christian law deprives no man of his right." This would be the case, if by his conversion to Christ he would lose a part of his jurisdiction and power. What if Bellarmine himself elsewhere rejects this answer? "I do not approve," says he in a review of his works, "what I said with Albert Pighius that Paul appealed to Caesar as to his lawful prince; for if the reason of the exemption of the clergy is because they are ministers of Christ, who is the Prince of the kings of the earth, they are certainly exempt by might, not only from the power of Christian rulers but also of heathen" (to wit, by this method he wished to gain the favor of Sixtus V, who was so offended because he had said that the pontiffs were formerly of right subject to Caesar in civil causes that he intended to brand all his works with the censor's mark). Hence he adds in the third place that the question concerning which Paul was accused was about faith; and on this account it did not pertain to the political magistrate; nor was Paul subject to Caesar. But Paul clearly shows that he was not accused before Caesar only on account of religion, but for other matters. For the Jews accused him of various crimes and especially of sedition: "We have found this man a mover of sedition [*kinounta stasin*]" (Acts 24:5). Again, Paul does not dispute about faith directly before Festus and Caesar; but concerning the violence used towards him (to wit, that it was not lawful for the Jews to injure him on account of his preaching the gospel). It is not inquired whether Paul is a heretic or not, but whether on account of his preaching the Jews ought to have planned and perpetrated these things. "If I be an offender, or have committed anything worthy of death, I refuse not to die" (Acts 25:10). And thus he demands that he should be judged; not

whether the things they had said were true, but whether for that reason he deserved death; whether he was injurious to the Jews, a profaner of the temple and an enemy of Caesar. To Caesar, therefore, he appeals, not only to the judge of the Jews (that they might be restrained), but that he himself also might be judged as to the crimes charged against him by the Jews.

5. From the state of the clergy.

XIV. (5) From the state of the clergy, who are citizens and parts of the state and who therefore ought to be either magistrates or subjects, since these are the two integral parts of the state. Therefore, since they are not in the number of magistrates, they ought to be in the number of subjects because the state is not in the church, but the church in the state (as Optatus says, *De Schismate Donatistarum: Adversus Parmenianum* 3.3 [PL 11.999]). Bellarmine acknowledges this: "Clergymen, besides being clergymen, are also citizens and certain parts of the political state; therefore, as such it becomes them to obey the laws and the magistrate because it is not fit that the members should differ from the head" ("De Clericis," 1.28 *Opera* [1857], 2:202). Thus Medina: "It is not repugnant to reason that men bound to obedience to God and spiritual functions should in temporal and civil matters be under the secular magistrate. For as the secular prince as a Christian and in spiritual things is a sheep and a son of the priests; so on the contrary, the priests as citizens and in temporal things can be called sheep and as it were sons of the secular princes" (in *c. de restit*. q. 15+).

6. From the disadvantages.

XV. (6) From the various disadvantages and absurdities. Nothing can be imagined more pernicious and unjust than that plenary exemption of the clergy. For what greater iniquity than that the flower of the goods of the state should be given to them to feed upon, who not only do not bear the burdens or assist the state from those goods (whence they ought to hope for their safety), but do not even acknowledge her as a benefactress, from whom they at first obtained all they have by begging? What greater pest than to have in the very bosom not only those against whom you do not dare to mutter if they injure you, but also who have given faith to another

power; who are bound, at the nod of another, to take up arms against you, as Arnisaeus says (*De subiectione et exemtione clericorum* 1.2 [1635], pp. 11–28). What more unjust than to have the goods and advantages of the state in common with others and yet to be unwilling to bear its burdens with them, so that there is a pressure upon all others and a relaxation to them alone? Love of country does not suffer those who possess so many and such great things to sit down in ease and withdraw themselves from its burdens. Finally, if the gospel law does not free anyone from obligations contracted previously, or from a filial obligation, or a pecuniary, or from one of service, nor from a conjugal obligation, why should it exempt from the subjection and obedience due to the magistrate? For it is assumed and not proved that the bond of a debtor with his creditor, of a slave with his master, of a son with his father is greater because this debt, as founded in divine right, is indispensable.

7. From the suffrages of Romanists.

XVI. (7) From the suffrages of the Romanists and of various popes. Gregory, the Roman bishop, "recognizes the emperor as his lord" (Book 3, Letter 61, "Ad Gregorius Mauricio Augusto" [CCSL 140.210]). He calls himself "the unworthy servant" of the emperor and in the same place "confesses that he owes obedience to him" (ibid.). He acknowledges that "to the prince is given power not only over soldiers but also over priests" (ibid., pp. 209, 211). Pope Leo IV, writing to Lothair (I), acknowledges this, as it is given in Gratian ("Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. 10.9 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:21 and "Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. 63.1.2, ibid., 1:235). This right he also confirmed to Otto (I) ("Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. 63.23 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:241). The same Leo IV asks to be judged by the Emperor Louis (II) and promises to obey his decision ("Decreti," Pt. II, Causa 2, Q. 7.41 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:496). Nor can it be said with Bellarmine that "he subjected himself to the discretive and not to the compulsive judgment of the emperor." For he who desires a matter to be judged by a lawful judgment (as Leo) demands not only a decision, but also the execution. Many Romanists agree with us here, principally they who teach that the clergy in ecclesiastical and spiritual matters are indeed free by divine right from the secular power, but in other matters only by human

right; as Francis of Vittoria ("De potestate Ecclesiae prior," *Obras* [1960], pp. 317–27), Soto (*Commentarium in quartum sententiarum* 4, Dist. 25 [1575], 2:40–74), John Medina (*De Poenitentia, Restitutione, et Contractibus* [1581/1967], 2:106) and Covarruvias ("Practicarum Quaestionum," 5*.31 *Omnia Opera* [1604], 2:546–53), Molinaeus, Alciatus, Bannes, Albert Pighius, Jansen, Marsilius of Padua.

8. From the constitutions and deeds of emperors.

XVII. (8) From the constitutions and deeds of emperors. It is evident that emperors, mindful of their power and conscious of their calling, subjected the clergy to political laws. It appears from both the Codex and the Novellae, where they command many things to the clergy ("Decernimus," *Corpus Iuris Civilis, II: Codex Iustinianus* 1.3.26 [ed. P. Krueger, 1967], p. 21); and "All should live according to the laws, even if they belong to a divine house" ("Omnes," ibid., 1.14.10, p. 68). "No bishop can be drawn unwillingly before a secular unless the prince has ordered it" (Novella 123. cap. 8+). These last words, as also the word "unwillingly," Gratian has omitted because they overthrow the papal cause (c. Nullus q. 1+): consult here, "Addictos," *Corpus Iuris Civilis, II: Codex Iustinianus* 1.4.6 (ed. P. Krueger; 1967), p. 40; "Si qui," ibid., 1.4.7; *Corpus Iuris Civilis, III: Novellae* 3 (ed. G. Kroll, 1988), 3:18–24; ibid., 6.8, pp. 45–47, etc. From the preamble of the Edict of Justinian, written to the archbishops and patriarchs, it is evident that Justinian (although he granted an audience to the bishops), still reserved the supreme investigation and appeal to himself. Valentinian (letter to the Bishops of Asia, according to Theodoret) writes: "Honest bishops obey the laws not only of God, but also of kings" (*Ecclesiastical History* 4.7 [NPNF2, 3:111; PG 82.1186]). From the canonical right, it appears that the emperors formerly had the power of coercing the popes and the clergy, as James, King of England, proves ("A Premonition to all Most Mightie Monarches," *Works* [1616], pp. 287–338). History testifies that Christian emperors often judged and deposed popes. Constantius II exiled Liberius; Justinian exiled Silverius; Otto I deposed John XII* and substituted Leo VIII; Henry III (of Germany) ordered Gregory VI and Clement II to be ordained; Constantius accused Athanasius of the death of Arsenius; the legates of Constans, the Emperor, accused

Stephen, Bishop of Antioch, of public violence and condemned him in his palace (cf. *Corpus Iuris Civilis, I: Digesta* 48.8 ["Ad legem Corneliam de sicariis"] [ed. P. Krueger, 1955], pp. 852–53). Nor can Baronius deny this (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, Annus 558 [1867], 10:170–75).

Sources of explanation.

XVIII. It is not absurd that one and the same man should be a sheep in the ecclesiastical order and as to spiritual matters, and a shepherd in the political order and as to temporal matters. As therefore in those things which pertain to the kingdom of Christ, princes are justly subjected to the sacred ministers (who perform their embassy for Christ), so in those things which pertain to the earthly life, it is necessary that they should obey the commands of the prince. Thus in a fleet it is known that the captain submits to the shipmaster in those things which pertain to the government of the ship; but that the master submits to and obeys the former in things belonging to the office and power of the captain.

XIX. The political and ecclesiastical power of ministers cannot be said to be collateral. For collateralness obtains only among equal powers, while the power of ministers sinks far below the political power because it is only ministerial and subordinate (*hypēretikē*), while the other is architectonic and principal. Nor are magistrates to be said to be subject to ministers, but to Christ, who sent them; while ministers are properly under magistrates as lords.

XX. The superior ought to be exempted from the sway of the inferior in those things in which he is truly superior. But a clergyman is not superior in civil matters whether they relate to persons or property; but only in spiritual, as to the mysteries of the word and sacraments and their distribution.

XXI. It is one thing for the sacred ministry to enjoy certain privileges granted to them by princes; another to have perfect immunity by a divine right. The former we grant, but not the latter. Nor from certain particular examples can a perpetual and universal right be gathered. Bellarmine himself says: "The examples of the Scriptures do not make a thing to be of divine right, but they are the precepts of God which do this" ("De Clericis," 1.7 *Opera* [1857], 2:160). The exemption granted to the Egyptian priests by

Joseph (Gen. 47:22) was not an immunity from all subjection to the royal jurisdiction in political matters and tributes, but only an immunity from a certain tribute (namely, from paying the fifth part of the produce of their fields which were not sold to the king) since a portion of food was assigned to their owners from the royal storehouses. Again, no divine command, but a human arrangement is here recorded.

XXII. If Artaxerxes forbids tribute or custom to be imposed upon the priest and other ministers of the temple (Ezr. 7:24) because living upon the sacrifices and offerings they were without lands, it does not follow that a tax could not by any right be required of them, if the state had need for it and it appeared proper to the king.

XXIII. The Constitutions of the Emperors and the Novellae of Justinian, by which Bellarmine defends his opinion, do not help his cause since they show exemption of the clergy to be a human privilege granted by the indulgence of the emperors rather than acquired by any divine right. Nay, even according to Bellarmine, Justinian does not exempt the clergy in criminal causes, but only in civil. And we have seen above that emperors imposed that subjection upon ministers.

XXIV. We grant that priests among almost all nations have been free from certain burdens and tributes; but we deny that they have been free from all jurisdiction of the magistrate. It is one thing for the highest dignity to be usually ascribed to them, but in its order (which we confess); another to have obtained power in temporal and civil matters (which we are unwilling to confess). Hence Gelasius ascribes sacred authority to the popes, royal power to princes (Gratian, "Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. 96.10 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:340–41).

XXV. If princes subjected the clergy to bishops, this was done for the sake of piety because the faults of ecclesiastics could not be known without the scandal of the weak and the injury of religion, by ordinary ministers, especially if they should be unbelievers and hostile to the church; but inasmuch as that immunity was sanctioned by a perpetual law and obtained simply and absolutely (which ought to have lasted only for a time and in a certain sense [*kata ti*]), this is to be ascribed to the superstition of princes and the ambition of the bishops. Now that the Roman pontiff subjected the bishops themselves with the clergy and at length the princes themselves with the bishops to himself and threw upon their necks the yoke shaken off

from his own neck, is to be considered as having been done neither by a divine nor a human right, but as proceeding from the tyranny of Antichrist predicted in the Scriptures themselves.

XXVI. It is gratuitously said that by this subjection the ecclesiastical order is lowered, its authority perishes and the necessary liberty of correcting men of the state is taken away. For subjection in political and temporal matters does not destroy authority in spiritual matters. The high priest freely withstood Uzziah, the king, seizing the thurible, although in civil matters he was subject to him.

XXVII. In vain does Bellarmine maintain that the clergy are bound by the civil laws only directively, not compulsorily; and it is a mere illusion by which he endeavors to blind us. For what is that subjection to the law, if we cannot be compelled to obedience? The nerve of the law is the penal sanction and if this cannot be inflicted, the law is worthless, thus losing all force and authority. The obligation is nothing without the power of compelling in the superior and the necessity of obeying in the inferior under a penal sanction. On this account, Paul imposes that subjection "on account of wrath" (i.e., the fear of punishment) as well as on account of conscience.

XXVIII. It is one thing to speak of a perfect exemption; another of certain privileges granted by the kindness of princes. Justinian does not speak of a perfect and universal immunity, but ordains that in civil causes only, the clergy should first meet the bishop that they may not be drawn away from their duties; or be compelled to be absent from their churches on account of a trial in court ("Novellae 79, 83, 123," *Corpus Iuris Civilis, III: Novellae* [1988], pp. 388–90, 409–11, 593–625). In criminal cases, however, he subjects them to the public judgments of the state. And if he granted the audience of a bishop in ecclesiastical causes, still he reserved to himself the supreme right and investigation. If the bishops received privileges from princes, they belonged to the jurisdiction of princes, because he who receives a privilege from another acknowledges him to be superior.

Twenty-Eighth Question: The Salaries of Ministers and Ecclesiastical Goods

Is any salary due ministers of the church? We affirm against the Anabaptists

Statement of the question.

I. This question was agitated before this by the Anabaptists, who thought the gospel should be preached gratuitously; either by richer persons who have sufficient means for living, or even by the poorer who procure for themselves support and the necessaries of life by some mechanical (*banausō*) art and by their own labor, after the example of Paul, who worked at tentmaking (*skēnopoiētikēn*) and labored with his own hands (1 Cor. 4:12). And they considered the Reformed ministers not to be true ministers, but mercenaries, who take up the ministry as a business and are accustomed to devote and to hire out their labor to those offering the highest wages. They acknowledge, indeed, that the church is bound to see that the ministers called by them are supplied with things necessary (Article 78, *Protocol ... des gesprecks tho Emdden in Oistfrieszlandt* [1579], pp. 233–36). But in this case only—if they have no means with which to support their families honestly, either from a patrimony or a business and trade and other vocation of this world. But beyond this case, they hold that ministers are bound to preach from love and gratuitously.

II. The orthodox thus maintain: the minister not only can, but also ought to live by the ministry. And although in case of necessity, when, namely, it can be sustained neither by the church served, nor by others, it may furnish the gospel without expense (*adapanon*); nay, even beyond the case of necessity on account of weighty reasons from love and Christian prudence it can remit that debt to any church, and thus revive it by their alms for a time or for ever, still they are not bound by a divine and human right; but on the contrary the church is bound absolutely to the care and payment of a just salary.

Proof that a salary is due to ministers: (1) from 1 Cor. 9:4–6.

III. The reasons are: (1) from the passage of Paul (1 Cor. 9:4–19), where the seat of this doctrine is and the apostle not only claims for himself and all ministers not only this right to receive due wages and this power, but confirms it by various arguments from both divine and natural right and by approved examples. The first is drawn from the apostles. "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles? Or I only and Barnabas, have not we power to forbear working?" (vv. 5, 6). The second from the analogy of the soldier, farmer, shepherd, to whom natural equity and reason teach that wages are due: "Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?" (v. 7). The third, from the prescription of the law about the ox treading corn, from the lesser to the greater because the mouth of the ox that treads out the corn must not be muzzled (Dt. 25:4). As God prohibits the driving away of the laboring ox from the crib, how much less should the ministers of the church be deprived of the fruit of their labors. For by this law, he did not so much regard oxen as men that they might not be defrauded of the just wages of their work: "Doth God take care for oxen? Or saith he it altogether for our sakes? That he that ploweth should plow in hope" (vv. 9, 10). The fourth, from a comparison of unequals, the work and the pay: "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things?" (v. 11). The fifth, from the divinely instituted order, in the Old as well as in the New Testament: "Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? They which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel" (vv. 13, 14*).

2. From the command of Christ.

IV. (2) From the command of Christ, where sending the apostles to preach the gospel in Judea, he forbids their carrying anything on the way (not even food), but wishes them to live at the expense of those to whom they were sent (Mt. 10:10; Lk. 10:7). He gives a most just reason for this (to wit, that "the workman is worthy of his meat and of his hire"). This shows that a support (*ta biōtika*) is no less justly due to the ministers of the gospel from their hearers than wages are justly due to the hired man for his labor and

work. Nor ought the words of Christ ("Freely ye have received, freely give," Mt. 10:8) to be objected. It is plain that he does not speak there of the preaching of the word, but concerning the graces and miraculous gifts of healing and of powers, for which he forbids a price to be received, much less that they should be sold, as Simon Magus maintained (Acts 8:18). "Heal the sick," says he, "cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give" (Mt. 10:8). That this cannot be extended to the just pay of ministers, the words quoted from v. 10 prove. For why does he wish the apostles to be sustained and supported by their hearers, because the workman is worthy of his meat, if they are bound to preach gratuitously?

3. From the salaries of the priests of the Old Testament.

V. (3) From the salaries of the sacred ministers under the Old Testament (Num. 18:8–12), to whom were given ordinarily sacrifices, tithes, firstfruits, and other similar things, besides certain cities and suburban fields (Num. 35:1–8). Now although in the New Testament, we are not bound by those laws as to the special material from which and the manner in which the pay was given, still they remain as to kind and analogy, as is evident from the passage already quoted (1 Cor. 9:13).

4. From the example of Christ and the apostles.

VI. (4) From the example of Christ and the apostles, who did not refuse to receive from believers what was necessary for their support. Christ received from women of their substance (*ta hyparchonta*, Lk. 8:3), as also Paul from the Philippians (Phil. 4:10, 15, 16). And in 2 Cor. 11:8, he says that he took wages (*opsōnion*) of other churches to do service to the Corinthians that he might be able to preach to them the gospel of God freely (to wit, to avoid the charge of avarice and of filthy lucre with which the false apostles endeavored to press him).

5. From threatenings.

VII. (5) From the threatenings following a withholding of pay. Because not to pay ministers their salaries is numbered among the most grievous sins of injustice towards a neighbor and of impiety towards God, upon which God threatens punishment and promises his blessing to those doing the opposite (Mal. 3:8, 10, 12; Neh. 13:10, 11; Gal. 6:6, 7). "God is not mocked," says the apostle, "for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

6. From absurdities.

VIII. (6) From the absurdities and disadvantages following. For the necessity of wages being denied, it would follow (a) that in the election of ministers the qualities and prerogatives of the flesh would have to be regarded and they should be preferred who could be supported by their own means and preach gratuitously. This would result in the best and most meritorious being often passed by in an election. (b) There would be a most dangerous discrimination between ministers. Some could furnish the gospel without expense (*adapanon*) from love and conscience towards God; others would burden the church with their necessity and so would be less respected and more disagreeable and less pleasing. (c) Salaries would thus be changed into alms and ministers would be supposed to live by alms (which is false) and their condition would be rendered contemptible. Hence it was wisely provided in the system of the Reformed churches of France that a salary should be assigned to each pastor and that no one should be put in office without it (cf. "The Discipline of the Reformed Churches of France," Canon 42 in Quick, *Synodicon* [1692], 1:xxiv).

7. From natural justice.

IX. (7) From natural justice and equity, the rule of which the apostle indicates (2 Cor. 8:13, 14), which does not suffer an advantage to be received to the injury of another, so that one should be burdened while the entire community is relieved. Nay, equity demands that they who are taught should support the teachers with their substance (Gal. 6:6; Tit. 3:13); and they who receive spiritual things from anyone should give to him at least temporal things.

Sources of explanation.

X. It is one thing not to have the right to seek and demand wages; another to be unwilling to use it for certain reasons. For the right remaining, the exercise and use of it can be intermitted here and now. Paul could have done the latter and actually did it for weighty reasons (Acts 20:33; 2 Thess. 3:8, 9). But he makes a rule neither for himself nor for other ministers which they are bound to follow constantly, since we read elsewhere of his using this right.

XI. Wages (*misthophoria*) is one thing; the love of money (*philargyria*) another. In Mic. 3:11, the priests are rebuked "who teach for hire, and the prophets, who divine for money" (namely, who teach what is false to get money from the rich, who speak agreeable things and promise a happy condition to the state in order to receive a more liberal pay). For they ought the more severely to rebuke the sins of their hearers and to exhort them to repentance by a threatening of punishment. But it cannot be inferred from this that it is unlawful to receive pay, because God had in his law provided for the liberal support of these very priests who are accused of avarice.

XII. It is one thing to enter the ministry for the sake of the pay and of gain; another to demand wages and to agree for it to discharge the ministry suitably. The former characterizes mercenaries, who do it solely that they may acquire gain from the gospel. But the latter characterizes true pastors. Indeed if no pay should be due to them for the work they perform, if it was to be a truly arbitrary and gratuitous collection (as are alms), then it would not be lawful to stipulate for pay and a stipulation of this kind would be sordid and simonaical. But because it is due most justly by the prescription of God and Christ, it is lawful for it to be engaged for, when it cannot be obtained otherwise and suitably. Nor in this is there any taint or stain of mercenary disposition or suspicion of it, provided it is moderate, not too burdensome to the flock and sufficient for the honest support of the pastor and his family. The mode of this pay ought to be determined by the counsel of the prudent and the common consent of the church. If any pertinaciously and wickedly and ungratefully (not from poverty) deny this, they are not worthy to have the preaching of the word of God and ought to be deserted by their pastors.

XIII. If any ministers are able from a patrimony to support themselves and family suitably and honestly, they are not on that account to be defrauded of the wages of their ministry. Nor ought they, unless for a peculiar reason, to refuse the reward of their labors (1 Cor. 9:18), lest they may appear to seek for the glory of a certain superior holiness or reflect discredit upon their poorer colleagues; and lest the people, misled by this immunity, may cherish avarice to the great disadvantage of successors and of the whole church, which cannot always secure a ministry without expense (*adapanon*). However, since each one is master of the wages obtained by his own labor, it is fair that at his own and not another's will he should expend upon the poor and for other uses what seems best to him.

XIV. However, these wages can be paid in various ways; either by the voluntary offerings of believers which they liberally contribute of their goods for the common use of the church from Christian love and justice (as was done by the first Christians in the time of the apostles and for some ages after); or from a mutual agreement and the joint pay of individuals brought together; or paid from the public treasury by the Christian magistrate; or drawn from tithes; or finally, from the annual returns and produce of fields and farms given and left to the church and other ecclesiastical property. Now in whichever of these ways it is procured, it makes little or no difference at all as to the thing itself, provided a sufficient salary is given to the ministers of the gospel. A measure should be observed in it, that it be not too small and less than is sufficient for the honest support of the pastor and his family; nor too large, conducing to luxury and pride more than that which is sufficient and necessary. For both extremes are equally dangerous and to be avoided, lest they be either despised by an ungrateful people from too close domestic economy; or become extravagant and indulge in luxury, ease and vain show from a too expensive and splendid establishment (as was the case in the papacy).

XV. Although a pastor is bound in certain cases to work without pay (*gratis*), if indeed he has means when the church is very poor or just planted and still weak (which would be unwilling to receive the gospel except freely); or when the sects do this and reproach our ministers for not doing it, it does not follow that this right does not belong to them. If the church is sufficiently rich, but is unwilling either from avarice or contempt and disdain of his ministry to give the necessary salary, it is lawful for him to

leave that church (all other means having been first tried) and to offer himself to the ministry of another church. For so great an insult towards a minister (I will not say crime) persuades and permits the migration.

XVI. If it is asked what is to be thought of the free services of monks and especially of the Jesuits (which we read as having been prescribed to them by Ignatius, the founder of the order; cf. *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, Pt. VI. 2.7 [566] [trans. G.E. Ganss, 1970], p. 256), the answer is easy—that it is not only bald hypocrisy, but both an impudent and treacherous license to scrape together everything. For whatever they may feign about their teaching gratuitously, still they are accustomed to receive most promptly the choicest lands, the richest farms and immense returns made to them by way of gratuitous gifts or alms. And so they pay their labor, not gratuitously, adverbially or freely (*dōrean*), but out of favor, nominally (i.e., by those who acknowledge with a grateful mind and remunerate the kindness).

XVII. As to ecclesiastical property, that we may say something about its origin and increase, it is certain that it took its rise even in the time of Christ through the pious offerings and dedications of believers and especially of the women whose names are mentioned in Lk. 8:2, 3. The management of this money was entrusted to Judas, which he was bound to expend partly for the use of Christ and the apostles, partly for the use of the poor (as it is explained in Jn. 12:5, 6). After the ascension of Christ, the first church of the Christians gathered at Jerusalem, partly for the sake of testifying love, partly that it might be less exposed to the attacks of enemies and more ready for migration and flight. They put all that they had in a common treasury, the richer relieving the wants of the poorer even by the sale of their fields (Acts 2:44, 45; 4:32, 34, 35). But this community of goods (not for possession [*kata ktēsin*], but for use [*kata chrēsin*]) neither had a place in other churches besides that at Jerusalem, nor continued there for a long while. Thus particular churches had their own treasuries into which each one threw his donation and collections were made (as appears from the defenses of Justin and Tertullian).

XVIII. Writers are not agreed at what time the church first began to possess lands and large estates. It is certain that even before Constantine the churches had obtained lands and farms and that the Roman church had been enriched above others with the most ample donations. These were not only

sufficient for the support of the clergy and the poor, but also for the relief of other churches. But profuse largesses (by which the enriched church swelled up so largely) at length prevailed in the age of Constantine. For this emperor, in his zeal for the Christian religion, restored to the churches what had been seized by his predecessors and measured out to them a part of the customs, tributes and public grain and presented most splendid gifts from the gold and silver statues of destroyed idols. But as to giving the city of Rome the empire of the west, which is ascribed to him ("Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. 96.13 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:342), it has been remarked and proved to be false and suppositious already by invincible arguments from learned men in the papacy itself: Peter de Vinea, Dante, Marsilius of Padua, (Nicholas of) Cusa, Valla, Otho Friesingen, Volaterranus, Nauclerus; nay, even by Aeneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II) himself. Therefore it seems that this gift (whatever it was) must be ascribed to Pepin (III) rather than to Constantine (although neither did he lavish so many and so great gifts as is commonly supposed). It is far nearer the truth that the popes (Italy being rent with intestine wars) occupied by violence and fraud not a few towns and dominions and now looked for the donation of this or that.

XIX. Afterwards, superstition increasing (fascinated by which the common people believed that there was no wickedness so atrocious and no crime so base that it could not be expiated by donations of this kind), the force of overflowing largess could not be stopped by any dykes, by which as by an immense flood the church was overwhelmed and destroyed and its spiritual glory has degenerated into the splendor and luxury of a profane monarchy. With too much truth was it said, "Religion brought forth riches, but the daughter devoured her mother." Let him who wishes more concerning the origin and increase of ecclesiastical goods consult Hospinian ("De Templis," 5 ["De origine … et bonorum ecclesiasticorum"] *Opera Omnia* [1681], 1:397–443), Voetius (*Politicae Ecclesiasticae*, Pt. I [1666], Bk. IV, Tract. II, pp. 595–797) and the golden treatise of the Italian, Paul Sarpi of Venice (*Treatise on Matters of Beneficiary* [1686]).

Twenty-Ninth Question: Ecclesiastical Power

Does any spiritual power distinct from the political belong to the church? We affirm

I. As God (who is not a God of confusion, but of order) has instituted in the church a sacred government and order by which it might be rightly gathered and when gathered be conserved and governed, on this account he willed that pastors should be furnished with some lawful power and authority that they might execute the office committed to them in a sacred manner. However, because errors of different kinds prevail about this power, in excess as well as in defect, we must diligently examine within what limits it ought to be circumscribed, that it may not be extended too far, or be restricted too much.

II. The Romanists err in excess, who convert this power into an intolerable domination and tyranny over the conscience and make it supreme and absolute in the Roman pontiff, as the vicar of Christ and the successor of Peter. The Erastians, Libertines and other such disturbers err in defect, who acknowledge no spiritual power to have been given to the church, but that mere preaching and persuasion are left to pastors. If any power belongs to them, it is derived wholly from the magistrate. And that all other power or jurisdiction of the church, whatever it may be, is pure tyranny and thus a part of the mystery of iniquity. So "while they foolishly avoid vices, they run into the opposite." Wishing to destroy tyranny, they fall into anarchy and on account of the abuse of the thing take away its lawful use. With whom agreed not so long ago Louis Dumoulin, son of that venerable man Peter Dumoulin, who, treading in the footsteps of Erastus, maintained that ecclesiastical power (and excommunication, depending on it) was a mere figment of men; nay, a part also of the mystery of iniquity and the ladder by which the pope ascended to the summit of that intolerable tyranny by which he impiously subjected emperors and kings themselves to his yoke; and that there can be given no other more suitable means for overturning with one blow the whole papacy than the abrogation of ecclesiastical power. This he laboriously endeavors to prove in *Ad Paraenesim suam ad adificatores imperii* (1657) and *Jugulam causa* (1671) and in various epistles and treatises which he published on this subject. In these he impotently and most unjustly inveighs against the opinion received in our churches and the practice thus far adhered to happily and with great fruit; also the blessed memory of the great men and faithful servants of God who instituted this sacred government in the church, and especially the memory of our Calvin he does not blush to traduce—as if they had still

retained the remains of popery and wished to raise the tribunal of the church above that of the civil magistrate. The worthlessness and falsehood of this figment has already been exposed and solidly confuted by various writers and most recently by that most distinguished theologian, (Pierre) Jurieu, in his learned treatise, *Traite de la Puissance de l'Eglise* (1677).

III. The orthodox (holding the middle ground between these two extremes) acknowledge that a power and authority distinct from the political, has been given to the church, but one that is only ministerial and subaltern and not supreme and autocratic (*autokratorikē*). And as they confess that the tyrannical power of the papacy introduced by men is deservedly discarded, so they think the ecclesiastical order divinely sanctioned should be retained according to the word of God against the disorder (*ataxian*) of the Anabaptists and Libertines.

Statement of the question.

IV. That the statement of the question and the nature of this ecclesiastical power may be better understood, we remark (1) that the question does not concern imperial, royal, monarchical and supreme and *hanypeuthynō* ("not liable to human authority") power (which is peculiar to Christ alone, the head and King of the church). Rather the question concerns the inferior and ministerial power which belongs to his servants. (2) Nor does it concern the extrinsic ecclesiastical power, which is such only indirectly, objectively and by external domination, which is indeed concerned with the church as to things without (*kata to exō*), but which is not formally in it, nor directly subordinates her to itself (such as is the power of the magistrate about sacred things). Rather the question concerns that which is formally and intrinsically such as to spiritual matters, which properly pertain to faith and religion. (3) Nor does it concern the extraordinary power of the prophets and apostles as such taken formally and specifically (which was peculiar to them and did not pass over to others); but it concerns the ordinary and common power which was given by Christ to the church and to all its rulers. (4) It is not inquired concerning the power which is occupied with the internal and invisible state of the church. For in this she is under Christ alone, nor has any mortal any right and power in this respect over her. Rather the question concerns that which is concerned with the external and

visible state in the communion of the same profession of faith and the use of sacred things. This is nothing else than the sacred ministerial right granted by Christ, the head, to the church; of externally governing herself and her affairs for mutual edification and salvation.

V. However, this power is distinguished in different ways. Some distribute it into two parts: dogmatic and judicial or disciplinary power. To the former are reduced the preaching of the word, the administration of the sacraments (with the remaining ecclesiastical acts and those which subserve them as means), the gathering and establishing of churches, the election of ministers, the convocation and holding of assemblies and the like. To the latter belongs the exercise of discipline. The double key of knowledge and of government belongs here. But others more fitly divide it into three parts: (1) dogmatic (*dogmatikēn*); (2) ordinating (*diataktikēn*); (3) judicial (*diakritikēn*) and disciplinary. The first is occupied with the doctrines of faith, the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments. The other with ecclesiastical laws and constitutions and the government of the church by them. The third has reference to the exercise of discipline and embraces both the right of censuring sinners and of excommunicating them; whether with a lesser excommunication by a suspension from the communion of sacred things or with the greater by exclusion from the church; also the right of restoring those thus excommunicated when they have repented.

Ecclesiastical power is proved: (1) by the keys.

VI. That there is such power in the church is proved: (1) by the keys which were given to the church. For since it is evident that the keys are a sign of power and authority, it cannot be doubted that some power distinct from political was given to pastors, since Christ expressly testifies that he had given them the keys of the kingdom of heaven (to wit, the power of shutting and opening heaven, of binding and loosing sinners and of remitting and retaining sins, Mt. 16:19, 20; 18:18; Jn. 20:22, 23). Now although the use of the keys is referred to the preaching of the word, still it is not included in it, but must be extended to the exercise of discipline which Christ instituted in his church and which ought to be exercised not only separately by individual pastors, but conjointly by a whole synod.

2. From the nature of society.

VII. (2) From the nature of society, because no society can remain entire and unimpaired without some order and government; and government cannot subsist without some power to rightly and fitly dispose all those things which pertain to the common good and to eliminate and remove the evils threatening ruin to the society. So the integrity of the church of Christ (which is the most excellent and orderly of all societies) cannot stand in this world, unless it were bound to a certain government and to suitable laws, by which its order (*eutaxia*) and system could be preserved inviolate against the frauds and assaults of the flesh, the world and Satan. Therefore, Christ, who is never wanting to his church in necessary things, has committed this power to her, which she can exercise through her rulers.

3. From the nature of office.

VIII. (3) From the nature of office, because every office or function and ministry bespeaks power; and to whomsoever any office is committed, to him is given the right and power of acting according to that office; nay, on him is imposed the necessity of acting, for if the office of praetor, quaestor, secretary, consul, etc. is committed to anyone, a homogeneous power is understood to be given to the same by a necessary consequence. Now an office is imposed upon sacred ministers (Eph. 4:11, 12; Mt. 16:19; Rom. 12:6; Acts 20:28). Therefore the power and right of exercising it as to all its parts is given to them.

4. From the titles given to pastors.

IX. (4) Because the titles by which pastors are distinguished denote this power when they are called "they who rule well" (*proestōtes*, 1 Tim. 5:17); "who are over" (*proistamenoi*, 1 Thess. 5:12); "ruling over" (*ēgoumenoi*, Heb. 13:7, 17); "overseers" (*episkopoi*, Acts 20:28); "stewards" (*oikonomoi*, 1 Cor. 4:1, 2; Tit. 1:7); "governments" (*kybernēseis*, 1 Cor. 12:28). All these titles involve some authority and power over those who are committed to their care. Worthless is the reply that all these are to be understood spiritually, concerning that authority which is exercised in the

administration of the word and not concerning that which is concerned with discipline. That authority is designated which at that time was exercised by rulers, which was not only about the preaching of the word, but also about discipline, as various examples teach; and the word "governments" (*kybernēseōn*) denotes a far different power than one merely doctrinal. Otherwise there would be no difference between those who rule well and those who labor in the word and doctrine (1 Tim. 5:17), whom Paul asserts to be worthy of double honor.

5. From passages of Scripture.

X. (5) Because the Scripture builds up that power in many places: "For though I should boast somewhat more of our authority, which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for your destruction, I should not be ashamed" (2 Cor. 10:8). Here he speaks not only of the power of announcing the gospel, but also of the power of exercising discipline, as is clear from vv. 4–6. So in 2 Cor. 13:10: "Therefore I write these things being absent, lest being present I should use sharpness, according to the power which the Lord hath given me to edification." In both passages we have the word *exousias*, which denotes power. Other similar passages in which Paul asserts the authority of his ministry belong here. Now although the present authority and power of pastors sink far below apostolic authority (which obtained in the primitive church), it is not on that account to be considered as no authority at all, for they ought always to have their own weight and their own power, although less.

XI. (6) Because the exercise of such power frequently occurs, as in the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15), which the church not only convoked by the power granted to it, but where it also exerted that multifarious power in the very decision, dogmatic (determining the controverted truth and rejecting error) as well as ordaining (commanding the Gentiles to abstain from certain things for the sake of peace and edification) and judicial (marking the authors of that schism and error, holding them as false and subverters of souls, Acts 15:24). Here belongs also the fact that the decrees of this Synod are called *dogmata*, "the decrees that were ordained" (*dogmata kekrimena*, Acts 16:4), which necessarily implies power and jurisdiction. Now although the apostles who were present in this Council were endowed with the

extraordinary gift of infallibility, it does not follow that the decrees of the Council were peculiar to them and cannot belong to other churches. It is evident that the power of a decisive vote was given, not to the apostles alone, but also to the presbyters and the whole Council (as we gather from Acts 16:4). The same thing appears from the apostolic practice towards the incestuous Corinthian, whom Paul with the whole Council decides should be delivered to Satan (1 Cor. 5:3–5). They could by no means have done this unless they understood that a spiritual authority and power had been conferred upon them for that purpose. Concerning this, we will have to say more when we discuss the subject of excommunication. Third, from the practice of the primitive church, which from time to time both convened synods and made various decrees and sanctions about doctrine as well as about discipline.

7. From the church of the Old Testament.

XII. (7) Because the church of the Old Testament had its own peculiar polity and form of sacred government, in the exercise of which the ministry had a power distinct from the political according to the institution of God himself. Therefore from parity the same ought to be the reason for the church of the New Testament that it also should have its own power and form of government to avoid confusion and preserve good order (*eutaxias*).

8. From 1 Cor. 14:32.

XIII. (8) Because the "spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets" (1 Cor. 14:32), namely, as to the examination of doctrine and as to corruption and censure if anything perchance occurs whether in doctrine or in morals worthy of reprehension. From this it is apparent that power was granted to the prophets taken collectively to judge the prophets singly; not by a political judgment, or by a merely discretive judgment of private persons, but by an ecclesiastical and authoritative judgment. And if this had a place in extraordinary prophets, how much more ought it to have a place in ordinary; so that here no one ought to arrogate to himself an *anypeuthynon* ("not liable to human authority") power, as if all indeed had the power of judging, while he could be judged by no one. Here belongs also the

circumstance that Paul elsewhere prohibits: “Receive [not] an accusation against an elder, except before two or three witnesses” (1 Tim. 5:19). Here government and the power of government clearly shine forth; for to receive accusation under two or three witnesses is an act of power.

Ecclesiastical power is distinct from political as to origin.

XIV. However, this power (whatever it may be) is not the same with political power, but diverse in its entire kind. (1) As to origin, political power was instituted by God, the Creator; and supreme ruler of the world; but ecclesiastical power was instituted by Jesus Christ, the supreme head of the church and its Lord and governor. The political magistrate as such does not serve properly and formally in promoting the kingdom of Christ, nor does he discharge his office in his name, as appears in the heathen magistrate; but ministers are sent by Christ for the establishing of his kingdom and act in his name.

As to the subject.

(2) As to the subject, political power can be in the hands of heathen and strangers to the covenant, but not ecclesiastical. The former can be exercised by women; the latter not.

As to form.

(3) As to form, political power is controlling (*architektonikē*) and absolute (*autokratorikē*), which implies dominion and sway. But ecclesiastical is ministerial (*hypēretikē*) and economical (*oikonomikē*) and serving (*diakonikē*), which consists in service alone without any sway and dominion properly so called. Although the magistrate with respect to God is a servant and his power ministerial (Rom. 13:4), still with respect to the subjects over whom he presides he exercises dominion and empire (1 Pet. 2:13; Lk. 22:25). Now ministers not only with respect to God, but also with respect to the people over whom they are placed, are only servants and not lords (1

Cor. 4:1; 2 Cor. 1:24). The magistrate has the power to make laws properly so called for the government of the state and of improving and changing them when necessity demands. But to ministers does not belong this lawmaking power. They can and ought to promulgate the laws of Christ and to apply them to certain cases. They can make canons for the preservation of good order (*eutaxian*); but they can make no laws properly so called. Christ alone is the legislator, whose laws can neither be changed nor remodeled by ministers. The magistrate has a compulsory power over goods and bodies (Rom. 13:4, 5). But pastors are not armed with the sword, nor have they any compulsory power for the infliction of bodily punishments.

As to end.

XV. (4) As to end. For the principal and supreme end of the civil magistrate as such is the glory of God, the Creator, conservator of the human race, and the ruler of the world. The subordinate end (which regards the community itself) is the public peace and tranquility, the external and temporal good of the state. For although the magistrate as a Christian ought also to advance the kingdom of Christ, nevertheless not as such; but the supreme end of the ministry is not only the glory of the Creator, but also the glory of Christ, the Mediator, and the King and head of his church. The subaltern end is the peace and safety of the church, the preservation and propagation of the mediatorial kingdom of Christ.

As to the object.

(5) As to the object. Civil power has for its object things, actions and persons which and inasmuch as they pertain to the animal life and public companionship or the external man; but ecclesiastical power has for its object sacred things, persons and actions as such, under this formal reduplication, inasmuch as they are both ordained and can be ordained to union with God in Christ and to eternal salvation. It is not indeed to be denied that civil power is occupied also about sacred and ecclesiastical things, for the care (although not the administration) of these belongs to it also; but it stands related to them only extrinsically, not intrinsically. It has for its object things without (*ta exō*), not things within (*ta esō*), and in this

respect civil power is not to be called ecclesiastical formally and directly, but only objectively and indirectly.

As to effects.

(6) As to effects, so that the magistrate is concerned with the object in a political way and has a political end, he also has homogeneous effects (to wit, political and civil laws, civil punishments and fines and by these means civil peace and tranquility); but the ecclesiastical power as it is occupied with a spiritual object in a spiritual manner and for a spiritual end, also has spiritual effects; such as the determination of controversies of faith, the constituting of canons about good order (*eutaxian*), the dispensation of the keys, by which sinners are bound and loosed and other similar things.

As to mode.

XVI. (7) As to mode. Civil power is earthly and natural, reaching only the external man; but ecclesiastical power is spiritual, regarding the internal man and the conscience. The latter is not regulated by natural reason, civil laws and human statutes, by which states are governed; but by the word of God alone and the canon of the Scriptures dictated by the Holy Spirit. It is not exercised in a political and worldly, but in a spiritual and mystical manner by the keys of the kingdom of heaven and by the sword of the Spirit and other similar weapons; not carnal, but the power of God to the pulling down of strongholds and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ (2 Cor. 10:4, 5*). It administers the sacraments, which are seals, not of any earthly and civil privilege, but of mystical union with Christ and of his spiritual benefits. Nor does it regard any other end than the edification of the body of Christ, the establishment of his kingdom and the salvation of sinners.

XVII. Therefore, since this ecclesiastical power is spiritual and differs in so many ways from political, it follows that it is not formally and specifically civil and secular, but distinct from it in species, and consequently that it is not with the magistrate as the first and proper receptive (*dektikon*) subject, from whom it passes over to pastors (as false politicians and Libertines, the enemies of the power of the church, pretend).

XVIII. The falsehood of this comment is evident. (1) Thus the keys of the kingdom of heaven would have been given to the magistrate as such (which we read of nowhere). They would have been given to all magistrates, which cannot be said of the heathen magistrates, who are not members of the church. They would have been given to him alone because inasmuch as he includes himself by himself, therefore not to the apostles and evangelists; not to the pastors and rulers of the church, whether ordinary or extraordinary, because they are not magistrates. (2) So by no right could the apostles and they who followed them exercise that ecclesiastical power which Christ granted to magistrates as such. (3) Thus the church would be confounded with the state because the magistrate as such is over the state and has the state as his correlate. (4) Thus the church would neither be the church, nor would it have any absolutely necessary ecclesiastical power for the edification of Christ's kingdom and the salvation of men. And yet the church does not cease to be the church and to have that ecclesiastical power, even when the magistrate is outside the church; nay, even as to the spiritual state it is sometimes better situated, as in the time of the apostles and after that of apostolic men. (5) It would follow that there is some absolute (*autokratorikēn*) power in the church and that someone on earth can be called master besides Christ (contrary to Mt. 23:8, 9). Thus ministers would no longer have to be called diacritically ministers of Christ in the church and in the work of Christ, as the apostle wishes (1 Cor. 4:1; 2 Cor. 5:19, 20; Gal. 1:10); but ministers of men or deputed and vicarious magistrates, equally with other legates and prefects because they use the aid of those by the same right and mode in ecclesiastical as the aid of those in political matters. (7) It would follow that all ecclesiastical power by itself could be exercised by the magistrate himself, since it is not expedient to use the assistance of others. For what anyone performs by another as a minister or delegate can be performed by himself. Thus he will constitute synods and councils; he will feed the people with the word and sacraments; he will excommunicate and use the keys of the kingdom of heaven, which everyone sees to be most absurd. (8) The church is the kingdom of heaven, not of this world. In it, therefore, magistrates or the lords of this world do not have intrinsic, direct and domestic (*oikeian*) power because there is no proportion between the object

(which is wholly sacred and spiritual) and the power (which is secular and human in itself).

Sources of explanation.

XIX. Ecclesiastical power cannot create a prejudice against the political, as if an *Imperium in imperio* was established (because they are power entirely different, as we have already said), no more than by parental and marital power prejudice is done to the political, because they are in a different order. I confess that the ecclesiastical and hierarchical power of the papacy (which establishes a dominion and tyranny over the conscience and subtracts the sacred ministry from the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate) can well be called an *Imperium in imperio*. But it is far different with the legitimate and ministerial power maintained by us, which is of an entirely different kind.

XX. The power of the magistrate about sacred things ought not to abrogate the power belonging to the rulers of the church, because although they are concerned with the same object materially still it is not the same formally. The power of the magistrate is external; that of pastors internal. That is compulsory and bodily being armed with the right and power of the sword; while this is spiritual, coercing and convincing with spiritual weapons (i.e., with the word of God and censures applied to the conscience). That includes dominion; this only ministry. That is about the church and sacred things externally (*kata ta exō*); this in the church itself and internally (*kata ta esō*). That is called ecclesiastical only objectively and improperly; this formally and properly.

XXI. Although the apostles did not speak as masters and lords, or claim for themselves the authority of Christ, it does not follow that they had no power at all and that they did not give commands to believers (the opposite of which appears from Tit. 2:15; 1 Thess. 4:11; Philem. 8; Acts 15:28; Col. 4:10; 1 Tim. 4:11; 5:7; 6:17). Hence obedience to them is enjoined (Heb. 13:17; 2 Cor. 2:9). Nor is that authority special to the apostles, but common (although in a different degree) to all pastors, to whom it is also extended, Tit. 2:15; Heb. 13:17; 2 Tim. 2:2.

XXII. Our opinion has nothing in common with the papal tyranny because as it gives the power to command to pastors, so it ascribes to

believers the power of proving all things and holding fast to what is good (1 Thess. 5:21); wishes to call forth the judgment of believers themselves (1 Cor. 10:15; 1 Jn. 4:1); and rejects the blind obedience of the Romanists.

XXIII. On account of the abuse of a thing, its use is not to be given up. Nor if the pontifical tyranny should be avoided, should we on that account pass over to the other extreme of the confusion and anarchy of the Anabaptists. Rather we must hold the mean of lawful ecclesiastical and ministerial power between these two extremes.

XXIV. It is one thing to speak of intrinsic and domestic (*oikeia*) power; which is purely spiritual and formally ecclesiastical, as ministerial; another to speak of secular power; formally political and reigning supreme, which is extrinsic to the church as such, not intrinsic. On this account, it can be called ecclesiastical only objectively and according to extrinsic denomination, but it is intrinsic to the state and to the supreme powers constituted in the state. The former power, which is spiritual and ministerial, belongs to the church alone as such; the latter to princes and magistrates alone.

XXV. Political power is architectonic, to which all other powers are subordinate and on which they depend—even the ecclesiastical and spiritual. But subordination is twofold: one by itself or as it is spiritual, which we deny in spiritual matters and grant in civil; the other accidental or as it is corporal and secular; or connected with a secular thing or action, which we acknowledge in sacred things.

THIRTIETH QUESTION

Is the ecclesiastical power concerned with doctrines, creeds and confessions of faith? We affirm

I. We said that there are three parts of ecclesiastical power: the first dogmatic or its power respecting articles of faith; the second ordaining (*diataktikēn*) or the power to make (*diataxeis*) constitutions and canons conducing to good order (*eutaxian*); the third judicial (*kritikēn*), which regards the exercise of discipline. To the first can be referred the key of knowledge; to the second, the key of government and direction; to the last, the key of jurisdiction and of correction.

Concerning the power about doctrines, negatively.

II. We treat here of the first part or of the power concerning articles of faith. About this we say: (1) negatively (*kat' arsin*), that it does not consist in the church conciliating authority to the word, either as to itself or as to us, since on the contrary all the authority of the church is suspended on the word of God and rests upon it (Eph. 2:20), as has been proved in its place when we disputed concerning the Scriptures. (2) Or in its making new articles of faith, because as nothing ought to be taken away from the Scriptures, so neither ought anything to be added to them; and whoever wishes to know beyond what is written or to preach any other gospel than that which is preached, is subjected to a curse (Gal. 1:8). (3) Or that it should interpret the Scriptures absolutely (*autokratorikōs*) and infallibly at pleasure, because the supreme right of infallible interpretation can be ascribed to no other than the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scriptures, who is his own best interpreter in and by the Scriptures (1 Pet. 4:11), who on this account orders us to depart from all private interpretation (*idian epilysin*, 2 Pet. 1:20). (4) Or that she is the supreme judge of controversies, because this supreme power belongs to Christ alone, the infallible teacher, and can no more be transferred to another than his prophetical office. Also the Holy Spirit directs us to the Scripture as the judge and wishes all spirits and the doctrines preached by them to be tried by it (Is. 8:20; Jn. 5:39; 1 Thess. 5:20, 21; 1 Jn. 4:1; Heb. 4:12). This was proved at length in Part I, concerning the judge of controversies.

And affirmatively: (1) in the custody of the Scriptures; and (2) in the interpretation.

III. But affirmatively (*kata thesin*) it consists (1) in the custody of the Scriptures as a sacred deposit entrusted to her (Rom. 3:2). (2) In its interpretation and vindication, that its legitimate meaning may be sought, disclosed from the Scriptures themselves and vindicated against the sophistries of errorists. In this sense, she is called by Paul "the pillar and ground of the truth" (*stylos kai edraiōma tēs alētheias*, 1 Tim. 3:15). In this sense, the church is the guardian, herald and defender of Scripture, yet

because this pertains not so much to power as to work and office. (3) This power is properly to be attended to in the judgment which the church ought to make concerning doctrine; also in the creeds and confessions which she ought to compose for the conservation of doctrine and the bond of ecclesiastical communion.

(3) In judgment.

IV. However, this judgment in matters of faith is not only of private discretion, belonging to infallible and *anypeuthynon* ("not liable to human authority") authority (which belongs to God alone); but public, connected with authority, yet subaltern and bound to the word of God. In which, although with respect to external order believers are bound to acquiesce (as long as the foundation of salvation is not impaired), still as to the conscience it binds no farther than it is found to be conformed to the infallible canon of the sacred Scriptures.

(4) About creeds and confessions of faith.

V. To this power belongs the making of public creeds and confessions, which are usually and by synods and presbyteries to preserve the unity and agreement of faith and reject errors. They do not have the same authority as the Scriptures, since they must be compared with and corrected by them. Yet they have even their own memorable weight and ought to be valued very highly by the pious. Both because they contain the sum and foundation of the Christian doctrine and are like barriers against the errors and corruptions which can injure religion. And because they are the bonds of ecclesiastical communion and formulas of consent which testify of the unity of faith and the agreement of churches with each other and are distinguished from unbelievers, as soldiers by marks or watchwords from their enemies.

VI. Such formerly was the Apostles' Creed, which was made in the beginning of Christianity. Not that it was composed by the apostles themselves for a rule of faith, individuals contributing one article as their symbol, as some think; but because it was gathered from the writings of the apostles as a compendium of the doctrine delivered by them. Further, we gather from a comparison of ancient writers that this Creed was twofold:

one shorter in explanation, more ancient in use, greater in authority, received with the very institution of baptism and used together with the administration of baptism even from the times of the apostles and perpetually connected with it, immediately divine in origin, and thus self-credible (*autopiston*) and authentic, the rule, standard and principle of faith, which contained the faith of the Trinity from Mt. 28:19. Another, however, more prolix, which we now have contained in twelve articles. Concerning that first shorter one (not the latter), the fathers are to be understood when they say it is a rule of faith instituted by Christ when he sent the apostles into the world to teach "nations baptizing them in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." Tertullian says, "We have received the rule of truth by baptism" (*de Prescript*. cap. 14+ and 20+). Irenaeus says, "We have a confession of faith by the very tradition of baptism" (libro. 1. cap. 2+). As to the latter, although as to matter we do not deny it to be divine as taken from the sacred writings, still in form it is only a human authority and not of divine and self-credible (*autopistou*) authority. This symbol others followed afterwards, written in various times and by various men; such as the Nicene, the Constantinopolitan, the Athanasian and the Chalcedonian. The Constantinopolitan is evidently the same as the Nicene, with this single exception—that in the article concerning the Holy Spirit these words are added against Macedonius: "And in the Holy Ghost, quickening Lord, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, who is adored and glorified together with the Father and the Son" (cf. Tanner, 1:24).

VII. Confessions, distinct from creeds, are fuller explanations of the creeds themselves, whether of the articles of faith or also of the doctrine of morals, and so of the whole of religion written for the necessity of one or more churches. Many of this kind were put forth from the beginning of Christianity and in these latest times in various kingdoms and nations, that by them (as from authentic tablets), what should be taught in the churches might be made manifest against the calumnies and unjust prejudices of men. Such are the Augustan (Augsburg) in the year 1530, laid before the Emperor Charles V in council by some princes of Germany; the Bohemian, called also the Waldensian, approved by Luther and Melanchthon in the year 1532 and by the free barons and other nobles of the kingdom of Bohemia presented to his most Serene Majesty Ferdinand I in the year 1535; the Helvetic, in the year 1536; that of Basel, at first brief, afterwards

made fuller in the year 1566; the French, in the year 1559, adopted at Paris in the first National Synod; the Anglican, in the year 1562; the Scottish, in the year 1569; the Belgic, written first in French in the year 1561 and in the year 1579 confirmed in the Belgic Synod; the Polish, published at Debreczen in the year 1570; and many others of the same kind.

VIII. However, two things can be asked about these confessions: first, their necessity; then, their authority. As to the necessity, we say that it is not absolute, as if the church could not do without them. For there was a time when she was without them, being content with ecumenical creeds alone or even without these, content with the formula of Scripture alone; but hypothetical on the hypothesis of a divine command and of the condition of the church, from the time when heresies, the danger of contagion, the calumnies of adversaries and intestine discords in religion began to disturb her, that the necessity and justice of our secession from the church might be manifested, that they might be formulas of agreement and a bond of saving union by which all the pious might be held together in one body and so all distractions, dangerous dissents and schisms, wounding the truth and unity of the church, might be shunned.

IX. Their authority ought indeed to be great with the pious in the churches, but still sinking below the authority of the Scripture. For the latter is a rule, they the thing ruled. It alone is self-credible (*autopistos*) with respect to words as well as to things, divine and infallible; they, as divine in things, still in words and manner of treatment are human writings. Faith is immediately and absolutely due to it; to them an examination is due and that having been made, if they agree with the word, faith. It is the constant and immutable canon of faith; while they are subject to revision and new examination, in which it is right not only to explain and amplify them, but also to correct whatever fault should be found in them and reform according to the rule of the word. Hence it is evident that they err here in excess who hold such confessions as the rule of the truth itself and make them equal to the word of God. They are at best secondary rules, not of truth, but of the doctrine received in any church, since from them can be seen and decided what agrees with or what differs from the doctrine of the church.

X. Therefore, their true authority consists in this—that they are obligatory upon those who are subject to them in the court of external communion because they were written by the churches or in the name of the

churches, to which individual members in the external communion are responsible (1 Cor. 14:32). Hence if they think they observe anything in them worthy of correction, they ought to undertake nothing rashly or disorderly (*ataktōs*) and unseasonably, so as to violently rend the body of their mother (which schismatics do), but to refer the difficulties they feel to their church and either to prefer her public opinion to their own private judgment or to secede from her communion, if the conscience cannot acquiesce in her judgment. Thus they cannot bind in the inner court of conscience, except inasmuch as they are found to agree with the word of God (which alone has power to bind the conscience).

XI. Therefore, they err in defect who acknowledge no authority or a very slight authority in confessions; such are the neutrals and Libertines, who, to consult their own interests, profess nothing certain and determinate, but amid the conflicts of contradictions are undecided and fluctuate and, falling in with the winds of fortune, bend their sails to their influence. Their religion, consequently, you would properly call (if they have any) a monthly faith; nay, even a daily (*hēmerobion*) or hourly. Unorthodox persons and heretics are such who, seeing that they are checked by such formulas as by a bridle that they may not scatter their errors to the winds, endeavor in every way, either openly, or secretly and by cunning, to destroy their authority. As was done by the Arminians, who frequently (*in considerationibus suis in Confess. et Catech. Belgi*.+) have calumniously charged us with ascribing to these formulas an authority canonical and equal to the Scriptures, when they were read and explained in the public assembly, as if they were considered as the very word of God. But the groundlessness of this accusation appears from the acknowledged difference between confessions and the word of God. Nor is it obscure with what design these things are said by them; namely, that in this way they may weaken the public confession and, the formulas themselves being gradually abrogated, introduce new ones invented by themselves, but deceitful and of bad faith.

XII. What we say of the public confessions, we wish to be applied to the formulas of agreement which from time to time it has been customary for the churches to make in order to repress the itching of innovators and to oppose germinating errors, which can corrupt the purity of the faith and sow the seeds of discord, that the form of sound words (*hypotypōsis*

hygiainontōn logōn) and the type of the doctrine (*typos didachēs*) delivered to us may be preserved unimpaired. This was often happily done in the ancient church and in a former age, and has been frequently renewed in ours by pious and prudent counsel, to ward off dangerous novelties which could injure the simplicity of faith and disturb the peace of the church. This was seen in the various French synods concerning various heads of doctrine; in the Synod of Dort, in Holland, about the five points controversies; in Switzerland and here many years before about the imputation of Adam's sin, the universality of grace and certain allied heads; for the confirmation of the doctrine received and constantly believed among us.

Thirty-First Question

Does a legislative power properly so called, of enacting laws binding the conscience, belong to the church? Or only an ordaining (diatakikē) *power, of sanctioning constitutions and canons for the sake of good order* (eutaxian)? *The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists*

I. The second part of ecclesiastical power is lawmaking (*nomothetikē*) or ordaining (*diataktikē*), which regards the sanctioning of laws or constitutions which ought to flourish in the church for good order (*eutaxian*) and the preservation of a lawful government. About this, the controversy is with the Romanists.

II. They, by sinning in excess as on other points, make that power immense, maintaining that to the church belongs the power to make laws properly so called, which by themselves bind the conscience and cannot be violated without mortal sin (even scandal being removed) and to which, therefore, obedience is due on account of the authority of those commanding. However, we think that no proper lawmaking (*nomothetikēn*) power was given to the church by which she can make laws directly and by themselves binding the conscience; but only an ordaining power (*diataktikēn*), which can form constitutions and canons for the preservation of peace and good order (*eutaxias*), which on this account do not bind the conscience by themselves and directly, but only indirectly in case of scandal; that these are not laws enacted by a prince, but only an order by ministers; not of the essentials of Christ's kingdom, but only of the external

accidents and things indifferent; nor are they good per se, but only on account of circumstances and their relation (*schesin*) to the end.

Statement of the question.

III. On the statement of the question take notice: (1) acts of divine worship are twofold, some which do not differ from the worship itself (to wit, from piety and holiness, in which worship essentially consists); others ordinated to worship as helps or instruments to perform that worship suitably and declare it abroad. The former kind of acts can be instituted and commanded by God alone, who is the sole chief and legislator, who has dominion over the conscience; nor does any right belong to the church of adding, taking away or changing anything. The latter, again, are either necessary and so also instituted by God, at least as to being (*to on*)—for example that assemblies should be held, the word preached, the sacraments administered; others are contingent and free as to quality (*to poion*), the reason of which depends upon the honesty and fitness of particular churches (to wit, that assemblies should be held in this or that time and place and the sacraments administered). The former, as being necessary, depend upon God alone and the church has no control or power over them; the latter God has thus far left to the will of the church as means and indifferent, so that a regard be always paid to divine truth, Christian simplicity and public edification.

IV. (2) We must accurately distinguish between laws properly so called, which are made with jurisdiction; and canons or constitutions, which pertain to mere direction. Laws sanction the essence of divine worship and it belongs to God alone to give them as the Lord of souls; but constitutions direct men in the practice of worship, prescribing its order and manner, as to place, time and other external circumstances, which can be variously altered as edification demands. Laws bind the conscience per se and directly, and a violation of them incurs guilt; but constitutions bind the conscience only indirectly and mediately in case of scandal and contempt. Hence the guilt arising from their violation is not properly on account of the violation of the constitution, but on account of the neglect of the authority which God ordained, and on account of the scandal given. In making laws, ministers are only heralds and envoys, who promulgate the laws of the prince and enunciate the commands of God, addressing believers in his name; but in

constitutions they are directors of external worship in matters pertaining to good order (*eutaxian*) because although God has prescribed in general that all things should be done decently and in order, still he has sanctioned nothing in particular, but left it to the prudence of pastors, who are able to dispose of them as they see is conducive to edification. For so great is the variety in minds, so great the conflict between judgments and dispositions, that unless they are bound by certain laws as by chains and bits, they would easily disagree with each other and the unity of the church be dissolved. Since about things of this kind there was no special precept, since they are innumerable and mutable depending upon circumstances of times, places and persons, God wishes the rulers of the church to consult for its peace, edification and decorum by determining those things which seem best adapted to the habits of the people and with regard for times and places.

Proof that the church has not a lawmaking power: (1) from Jam. 4:12.

V. These things being thus posited, we include our opinion in two propositions. First: "Pastors have no right to make laws properly so called binding the conscience." The reasons are, first, because there is one lawgiver (Jam. 4:12), to wit, supreme and *anypeuthynos* ("liable to no human authority"), who has a right over the conscience and who can save and destroy, not only the body, but also the soul (Lk. 12:5). Pastors are mere commissioners and heralds, who have no right to make or change laws, but only the office of promulgating them and urging their observation. As in civil affairs, the same is said to be the command of the prince and of the herald, but for a diverse reason—of the former as he enacts and prescribes, but of the latter only as he declares and proposes; so in sacred affairs the authority of the command is from God alone, its promulgation only is left to ministers. To no purpose is the primary and secondary legislator distinguished, because the conscience has no one between itself and God by whom it may be known and judged. As it is known to God alone, so it can be judged by him alone. And as no one subordinates the husband towards the wife, so no one can be subordinated to Christ with respect to authority

over the conscience, which he has joined to himself in a spiritual wedlock and over which on this account he obtains the right of husband.

VI. Nor can the relation of political legislators have place here, who are subordinated to God, the supreme legislator. For there is a great difference between the political magistrate and the ecclesiastical minister. (1) Kings and magistrates are properly called lords under God, who have power over the bodies and goods of men and so can dispose of their lives and property; but ministers are not so, who have only a ministry (*diakonian*), not a rule (*archēn*), and to whom on that account no right over the conscience belongs. (2) In affairs of this temporal life, dominion does not hinder salvation or deprive us of the grace of God. It makes miserable, but not wicked. That we suffer can stand with integrity and a good conscience; so we are bound to be subject, although the commands are unjust and severe. But in affairs of conscience which have reference to faith, piety and the worship of God, no one can usurp dominion over the conscience; nor are we bound to obey anyone, because otherwise we would be bound to error and impiety and thus we would incur eternal punishment and our consciences would be stained with vices without criminality because we would be bound to obey superiors absolutely. (3) It suffices in the political order that external obedience be given although the internal assent of the conscience be absent because political authority is concerned only with bodily and external goods. But in matters of faith and piety, the consent of the heart is required, without which nothing can be acceptable to God. Therefore, although a proper lawmaking (*nomothetikē*) power is granted in civil affairs, it does not equally obtain in ecclesiastical affairs.

2. Because it is not lawful to add to the law.

VII. Second, it is not lawful to add to or take anything from the divine law (according to Dt. 4:2; 12:32). If nothing could be added to the Mosaic Law, much less to the evangelical law of Christ, which the Apocalypse confirms (Rev. 22:18). Nor can it be said that this was enjoined upon the believing people and not upon pastors (as Bellarmine says, "De Romano Pontifice," 4.17 *Opera* [1856], 1:513–16). Every addition, whatever it may be, and by whomsoever made (even by an angel), is condemned (Gal. 1:8). Nor can

such an addition be consistent with the perfection of the Scriptures, as we have already seen in its place.

3. Because the commandments of men are forbidden (Is. 29; Mt. 15:9.).

VIII. Third, all human commandments are prohibited. “In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men” (Is. 29:13; Mt. 15:9). Nor can it be objected that the commandments of the church are not human commandments, but in a measure divine, whether as to inspiration or as to the divine authority from which they proceed. The commandments of men (rejected here by Christ) were the commandments of the elders and rulers of the Jewish church, who professed to be called and sent by God and inspired by the Holy Spirit; and on this account the more that at that time the Jewish church alone was the true church, whose rulers therefore must be considered as God’s ministers. On this account, the commandments of men (condemned by Christ and Isaiah) are all those which are not found in the word of God, which alone is divine and inspired (*theopneuston*).

4. Because pastors are bound to the law.

IX. Fourth, pastors are subaltern judges bound to the law, who ought not to leap over the bounds of the authority granted to them, nor to introduce anything beyond the commandments of their prince. Hence Christ, commissioning the apostles, expressly enjoins upon them to teach nations to observe what he had commanded them. “Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you” (Mt. 28:19, 20). They are ordered, therefore, to teach the commandments of Christ, not their own; nor the commandments he was about to give, but those he had already given (“whatsoever I have commanded,” *hosa eneteilamēn*), that no place might be left to anyone for obtruding as the command of Christ anything beyond the word which he had delivered to them. Hence elsewhere, speaking of the gift of the Holy Spirit, he says that he will put them in mind of what he had already said to them (Jn. 14:26). Now that Christ elsewhere says, “He, who

hears you, hears me," does not prove that the rulers of the church can fabricate new commands and burden consciences with new laws. When they who speak the commands of Christ are heard Christ is heard. But Christ is not heard, when they are heard, who do not speak his commands, but their own.

5. Because believers ought not to be made the servants of men (Gal. 5:1; 1 Cor. 7:23).

X. Fifth, believers once delivered by Christ ought not to be brought back under the yoke or to be made the servants of men (Gal. 5:1; 1 Cor. 7:23). This would be the case if men had the right to make laws properly so called, which obligate the conscience. Nor can it be said that this liberty has respect only to the deliverance from the bondage of sin and from the yoke of the Mosaic Law and not from obedience to prelates, to whom Christ himself subjected us. For Christian liberty, while it subjects us to Christ, by that very thing takes us away from every other yoke and from all other laws not given by Christ. The obedience which he wishes to be rendered to teachers must always be understood with the condition—in as far as the teachers do not prescribe to us another thing than what Christ gave to us in his commands (which they do not do, who arrogate to themselves the right of making new laws).

Sources of explanation.

XI. It is one thing for laws to oblige the conscience by themselves and immediately; another for "obedience to be given to laws on account of conscience." Divine laws alone bind the conscience per se because God alone has dominion over the conscience. But obedience is due to human laws, whether political or ecclesiastical, on account of conscience, which orders us to obey God, who instituted the magistrate and minister. Those laws bind the conscience whose dominion is properly and of itself in the conscience; but those which are observed on account of conscience rest upon a different authority (i.e., of another law).

XII. Mt. 16:19 does not sanction a lawmaking (*nomothetikēn*) power, but only ascribes authority to ministers of the gospel to preach the gospel and to exercise discipline in the name of Christ, by virtue of which believers are loosed, unbelievers and the impenitent bound (as we have seen elsewhere). Jn. 20:21 establishes that no better; it gives the authority of calling to those who are sent, but does not make them lords of our faith, whom Christ wished to be helpers of our joy (2 Cor. 1:24). For the principal cause does not communicate its power to the instruments, according to the condition and mode of which it acts. The particle "as" (*kathōs*) denotes a similitude and analogy between the mission of Christ and ministers, but not an equality. The similitude is in the call to the ministry and in the ministry of the word, but not in the mediatorial work and in the royal and lawmaking (*nomothetikē*) power (which is peculiar to Christ and incommunicable [*akoinōnētos*] to others).

XIII. The apostolic constitution enacted in the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15) was not a new law, but repeated from Moses. As to licentiousness, it certainly ought to have been of perpetual right and necessary per se, but as to things strangled, blood and pollutions of idols, only relatively on account of charity and the necessity of avoiding offense, sanctioned only for a time (as has already been proved, Topic XII, Question 26, Sections 20, 21). Nor if it is called a "burden" does it therefore follow that it was a law properly so called, obliging the conscience. This is understood only relatively by reason of the positive precept which believers were bound to obey to avoid scandal. Otherwise Paul himself testifies that the conscience is not bound by such an interdict per se (1 Cor. 8:8, 13; 10:23, 25, 27).

XIV. The law concerning opposition to digamy (1 Tim. 3:2) is not a positive law, made only by the church, but it is a divine and eternal one, which God himself (the author of nature) enacted, who commanded two, not more, to be in one flesh. Nor if Paul had enacted this law would it follow that any laws might be made by any minister or church.

XV. From Heb. 13:17 nothing else can be gathered than that obedience is due to teachers, as long as they hear Christ themselves and speak the words of God. Otherwise if they lead us away from Christ, they ought to be anathema to us. Thus two causes concur in the ministry of the word: God the efficient principal and man the instrumental, which he who obeys

(provided he is moved by the efficient and principal cause) obeys God himself.

XVI. When the apostle speaks of the commandments and traditions which he gave to believers for their observance, he either means the very precepts of Christ (1 Thess. 4:2; 2 Thess. 3:6, 14) or ecclesiastical enactments about things indifferent which pertain to decorum and good order (*eutaxian*). These should indeed be kept for the maintenance of good order, but not from their binding the conscience (as 1 Cor. 2:2).

XVII. The example of the Levitical priests is falsely adduced here (cf. Dt. 17:12) because their commandments did not bind the people, except so far as they taught the law delivered by God, of which they were by him constituted peculiarly the vindicators and guardians. "According to the sentence of the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do" (v. 11).

Second proposition concerning canons of the church.

XVIII. The second proposition: "Although to pastors a lawmaking (*nomothetikē*) power so called does not belong, or the right to enact laws obliging the conscience, still they have the power to make ecclesiastical canons and constitutions for the preservation of good order (*eutaxian*) and decorum which although they are for this reason to be observed, still do not bind beyond the case of scandal and contempt." This is the other part of ecclesiastical government, which is occupied in constituting the external polity or good order (*eutaxia*), that all things may be done decently and in order in the house of God (1 Cor. 14:40). This is spoken of in 1 Cor. 11:34; 16:1. The apostolic constitution (Acts 15) and the various things decreed by them concerning the government of the church belong here.

XIX. The object of this directive power is not the doctrine itself of faith and worship (which rests upon the word of God alone), but other things concerning which the express word of God is not given, which are either merely indifferent and free or ambiguous and doubtful, concerning which God has delivered nothing certain in particular, such as was the case about which the apostle speaks in 1 Cor. 7:10, 12, or which refer to the mode of

external worship, or the determination of the circumstances, without which the precepts of the first table and the public exercises of piety in ecclesiastical assemblies scarcely and not even scarcely can be rightly observed and performed. Here pertain the time, place, form and rule of prayers, addresses, of the administration of the sacraments, fasts, alms-giving: all of which ought to be established and exercised not with confusion, but rightly and decently (*euschēmonōs*) for the edification of the church. Since these in themselves are indifferent and do not directly touch the mystery of our salvation, they do not of themselves bind the conscience, nor yet are they so fixed and immovable that they may not be reformed and changed where the use of the church shall demand.

XX. Although the authority of these constitutions is great in the church, we deny that it is absolute, but limited; or that it is equal with the divine laws; or that it is as great a sin to transgress the former as the latter. We deny that they can change the nature of things, so that what are in themselves indifferent can be made necessary and of perpetual right; or that any part of Christian righteousness is in them, much less any merit with God; or that they can extend themselves beyond ecclesiastical polity or good order (*eutaxian*), which by themselves are not of piety, but only on account of another thing and by accident. Again, we say that they are not to be measured by themselves, but by divine laws, that they may not in any way obstruct, but may rather subserve the latter. Again, in the transgression of them there can be no sin except indirectly (i.e., not on account of the usurpation of the thing itself [as in homicide, fornication], but on account of another thing [if it is from a contempt of lawful authority], for because obedience is commanded by God, there is sin in a neglect of it, if with a neglect of brotherly edification, or if from impiety and license). However, if all these are absent, there will be no sin in a transgression of them. Therefore the natures of the things themselves are not changed by the laws of the church (since they are indifferent) and when they are prohibited, the use of them only is contracted, so that it is forthwith free, provided it be accommodated to the necessary order of the church and be judged by the rule of Paul: “All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient” (1 Cor. 10:23). And because there is not the same reason for all times and places and the same things are not always expedient everywhere, therefore laws of this kind do not everywhere or always have force; nor is their use

perpetual; nor is the authority of the one commanding to be so much regarded as the cause of the command.

XXI. These statutes and laws (if perchance they are called laws, the word "law" being used widely) the fathers call now canons (*kanonas*), then regulations (*diataxeis* and *diatagas*); again ordinances (*diatypōseis*), then decrees (*horismous*) promiscuously. Sometimes however they are distinguished, so that articles concerning faith are called properly canons, formulas or rites of ordinances (*diatypōseis*), sections or decrees (*horismoi*) pertaining to the discipline of the clergy. In later times, all decrees of this kind were designated by the appellation "canons."

XXII. The primitive church used a twofold right, divine and canonical. The divine right used the codex of the sacred Scriptures, but the canonical the Codex of the Canons. Hence in councils, two codices were usually placed in the middle of the assembly that by their right the bishops might explore among themselves the doctrines of piety, refute rising heresies and decide questions pertaining to ecclesiastical discipline and sacred government (*politeian*). Hence everywhere in the acts of the councils of Chalcedon, Constantinople, Trullan and others, these words are found: "the sacred and inviolate codices of the gospel being placed before in the middle." The Council of Chalcedon itself also mentions the Codex of the Canons and from it cites the canons of the fathers and by their right pronounces concerning controversies. "We think it just that the canons, which were established by the holy fathers in each synod thus far, ought to be observed" (Canon 1, Tanner, 1:87). Here belongs what the emperor says: "We ordain, therefore, that the holy ecclesiastical canons, which have been both set forth and confirmed by four holy councils, should hold the place of laws (*taxin nomou epechein*), for we receive the decrees of the aforesaid holy councils just as the sacred Scriptures and guard the canons as laws" (*Corpus Iuris Civilis: Novellae* 131.1 [1968], pp. 654–55). And this is that genuine ancient right and canonical body which was sanctioned in the empire by ecclesiastical and imperial power. Upon which the papal canonical body (by usurpation alone and without the authority of the churches and of the empire; nay, even against it) was little by little obtruded.

XXIII. The collection of these canons was varied and multiple. Some refer to this the books of the apostolic decrees (*diataxeōn*) or constitutions

under the name of Clement. Peter de Marca in his work, *Dissertationum de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii* 3.2 (1763), p. 81, says that all at his day believe this to have been the production of a writer of the third century. Blondel agrees with him ("Praefatio," *Apologia pro sententia Hieronymi* [1646], pp. 39–40). Daille, however, thinks they were written only in the fifth century a little before the decree of Gelasius in the Roman council of the year 494. Also the Canons of the Apostles, which learned men long ago found out to be supposititious and only from the fifth century, in which the books of the constitutions were sent forth and were collected perhaps by the same author from the various canons of councils, as Daille holds. It is certain that the Codex of the Canons was before the end of four councils, as is gathered from the Council of Chalcedon, Articles 4 and 11 (cf. Mansi 7:6, 278), and Baronius, on the year 341 (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, Annus 341 [1865], 4:365–90), confesses it, in which the canons of the first four general councils are mentioned, Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, and the canons of particular councils approved by general councils, the Ancyran in the year 308, of Neocaesarea in the year 316, of Gangra 326, of Antioch 341, of Laodicea 364, of which the two former councils preceded and the two latter followed the Nicene Council. But they were prior to the remaining three general councils. This is the "Codex of the Canons of the Universal Church" which Tilius [Du Tillet], Bishop of Meaux, published in France (cf. *Kanōnes tōn Apostolōn kai tōn hagiōn Synōdōn* [1540]) and after him Christopher Justellus at Paris in the year 1610 (*Codex Ecclesiae universae*), and then Henry the son of Christopher had it republished in the year 1661, in his *Bibliotheca Iuris Canonici Veteris* (cf. William Voellius, *Bibliothecae Iuris Canonici Veteris* [1661], 2:789–1140). To this must be added the "Codex of the African Church" and the *Nomocanon* of Photius with the scholia of Balsamo, published by the same Justellus in Greek and Latin (1615); and many others of this kind which came forth at various times and in different places, in collecting which Dionysius Exiguus, Isidore Mercator, Burchard of Worms, Ivo of Chartres and at length Gratian labored, the latter of whom inscribed his work "The Harmony of Discordant Canons," which is held in great esteem by Romanists.

XXIV. Now there is a great difference between ecclesiastical canons and the documents of faith and morals contained in the Scriptures. For these are the "inflexible canon of truth" (*kanōn aklinēs tēs alētheias*), as it is called

by the ancients. But ecclesiastical canons (since they are of positive and human right, constituted only for the sake of external order, with the same consent with which they were enacted) can be changed and modified, others more suitable, in accordance with times and persons, being substituted for them. This Tertullian has well expressed: "The one rule of faith is wholly and alone immovable and unchangeable.… But this law of faith remaining, others of discipline and conversation admit a newness of correction" (*On the Veiling of Virgins* 1 [ANF 4:27; PL 2.889]). Thus they differ from civil laws in various particulars. (1) The latter flow from an absolute power; the former from a power only ministerial. (2) The laws, however harsh and unequal (as long as they require nothing base and contrary to the commands of God), must be obeyed on account of conscience, even scandal being laid aside; from the more unjust canons it is lawful to recede. (3) The laws are armed with punishments properly so called, but the canons not likewise; nor ought ecclesiastical censures to be reckoned among punishments properly so called.

XXV. Further we must carefully observe in these canons (1) that they do not proceed beyond the sphere of indifferent things, since in eternal and necessary things one is our legislator, God (Jam. 4:12). (2) That they do not by their oppressiveness and multitude burden and hinder more than adorn and promote the worship of God. (3) That they do not issue in tyranny and superstition or in any way impinge upon the word of God, Christian liberty and the analogy of faith and cast a halter over the conscience, as if in them the beginning and end of salvation consisted. (4) That an opinion of merit, worship and necessity is not connected with them and that they do not come in place of the worship of God by themselves, since they are only its helpers and accompaniments.

Thirty-Second Question: Ecclesiastical Discipline and Excommunication

Does the spiritual power of excommunicating contumacious and scandalous sinners belong to sacred ministers? We affirm against Erastus and his followers

I. The third part of ecclesiastical power has regard to the exercise of discipline, which consists in the spiritual power by which public and scandalous sinners (on account of impurity of doctrine or of life, after the private and public admonitions of the church have been neglected and rejected) are kept away from the signs of divine grace by the ministers according to the order and authority of the presbytery. And if they persevere in the same contumacy, are at length declared before the whole church in the name of the Lord to be excluded from the communion of the church, until they shall become reconciled to God and the church by true and serious repentance.

Our opinion concerning discipline and excommunication.

II. The necessity and justice of this discipline (apart from the institution of God) is gathered from the nature of the thing itself. For if no society (nay, no house) can be held in a right state without discipline, it is evident that it is much more necessary in the church, whose state it is becoming to be the most orderly. As therefore the saving doctrine of Christ is the soul of the church, so discipline is as the nerves by which the members of the body mutually cohere, each in its own place. On this account, whoever either desires discipline to be done away with or hinders its restoration or exercise, seeks the dismemberment of the church. For what would happen if each one was allowed to do as he pleased? Discipline, therefore, is the foundation of order and the bond of unity, the bit by which they are held in check and tamed who rage against the doctrine of Christ, the goad by which the unwilling are excited and as it were the paternal rod by which they who have grievously fallen may be chastised kindly and in accordance with the gentleness of the Spirit of Christ.

III. The ends which the church has in view in discipline of this kind are: first, that with contumely of God they may not be named among Christians who lead a disgraceful and wicked life, as if his holy church were a band of wicked and abandoned men. For since she is the body of Christ, she cannot be defiled with such putrid members without some disgrace attaching to her head. A regard must be paid also to the Lord's Supper that it be not

profaned by a promiscuous exhibition. Second, lest by a constant association with the wicked (as is usually the case) the good be corrupted. For nothing is more easy than to be drawn away from the right course of life by bad examples. On this account, he commands the Corinthians to remove the incestuous person from their fellowship because "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump" (1 Cor. 5:6). And afterwards: "If any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such a one do not eat" (1 Cor. 5:11). Third, that they may begin to be ashamed of their baseness, that the chastisement of their wickedness may do them good, from which they may arouse themselves under a sense of the rod, who would have been more obstinate by indulgence.

IV. Here it is particularly to be observed that this discipline exercises such a degree of severity as is always connected with a spirit of kindness. For we should always diligently take care (as Paul commands) that he against whom it is directed be not overwhelmed with sorrow because thus the remedy would be turned into his destruction. For since this is sought in its exercise—that the sinner be led to repentance and evil examples be removed; lest either he may badly regard the name of Christ or others be induced to imitate him—it can easily be judged thence how far to proceed and where severity ought to cease. For when the offender gives to the church the testimony of his repentance and by this testimony obliterates as far as he can the scandal, he is not to be pressed further; otherwise rigor exceeds the proper bound. Hence the immoderate austerity of the ancients cannot be approved, which was both contrary to the prescription of God and was exposed to great dangers. For since they enjoined upon the sinner the usual repentance and privation from the sacred communion, now for seven, then for four years, and again for a whole lifetime, what could follow from this, except either great hypocrisy or the deepest desperation? Therefore that spiritual sword is not to be unsheathed for a trivial cause (as is the case everywhere among the Anabaptists), but all things are to be first tried and only by degrees ought we to resort to extreme measures (i.e., from a lesser to a greater excommunication; as formerly the Jews proceeded from Niddus to Cherem and thence to Maranatha).

V. This power of reproof consists of the twofold key: shutting and binding, opening and loosing (as we gather from Mt. 16:19). By the former,

obstinate heretics, disturbers of the peace of the church, scandalous and incorrigible sinners, after one and another admonition are suspended from the use of the sacraments and if they persevere in their contumacy and rebellion, they are ejected from the church, so that it is not lawful for them to join with believers in the exercise of piety. This ought not to be extended to political society and to charitable and moral duties simply or other things due and necessary from our vocation in the economic or political state, as the Romanists wish; as if wives should be prohibited from their husbands, children from parents, servants from masters, subjects from rendering obedience to excommunicated princes, to which they are bound by the law of nature. For excommunication cannot sever the natural and moral bonds by which men are mutually held together. Rather this separation ought to be extended only to those parts of intercourse which would seem to imply connivance or approbation. By the latter, however, which is said to be opening and loosing, those repenting and sincerely grieving for their sins, after a suitable reparation of their offense is made (which is called canonical satisfaction) are received again to the communion of the church and the sacraments.

VI. Further this ejection from the church is to be conceived of in different ways according to its twofold state. For as to the external state, it denotes a real separation from the external communion of the church and the use of the sacraments, but not a perpetual separation; rather for a time, until he has repented. As to the internal, it is not a real expulsion from the mystical body of Christ; for he who has once been joined to that body can never be cast out from it. Rather it is only a threatening or declaration of the intrinsic demerit of guilt (to wit, that such an impenitent and contumacious sinner deserves to be cast out of that society according to the sentence of God pronounced against such sinners, 1 Cor. 6:9). Consequently, he is deservedly deprived of the sense of the presence of God in this life and will be deprived of the enjoyment of glory in the other, unless he repents. Hence we are not at once to believe that by excommunication the sinner is simply and absolutely cut off from the body of Christ; for he does not cease often to be a member of the church in secret and as to internal state, although as to external discipline he may for a time be removed from the society of believers. As a father, when he turns out of his house a contumacious son and deprives him of his presence and the testimonies of paternal favor, still

not as yet on that account does he wholly disinherit him or divest himself of all fatherly affection towards him; nay, then using this remedy to bring him to repentance, even by this deed exercises his love towards him although not acknowledging it then, will afterwards acknowledge it, when by true conversion he shall have returned into favor with his father. Thus excommunication is the rod of a pious mother upon a wicked child whom she does not consider as not her child because she chastises him, but severely punishes him that he may reform that he may not become altogether not a son: not to destroy, but to heal; not to cast him away from, but to bring back the wanderer to herself. Nor is it an obstacle that God says he will ratify in heaven what was bound on earth; for he ratifies it in the same manner in which it was pronounced and that cutting off is never absolute, but conditional (as has been said).

VII. This is our opinion concerning ecclesiastical discipline and its exercise in excommunication which prevails in most of the Reformed and evangelical churches and is profitably exercised. Still we must confess that some who are most closely joined with us have not thus far received its use, not that they consider it unjust and unlawful but because they think that under Christian princes it is not so necessary and, the Christian magistrate rightly performing his duty and restraining all the scandalous according to the rule of the divine word, the church can safely dispense with it. Meanwhile they not only do not disapprove and condemn its use in other churches, but even think it can and ought to be conveniently retained, as was done in the past century by the distinguished magistracy of Zurich and the venerable assembly of the same church, who being interrogated by our divines about the consistorial laws and the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline and especially about the use of excommunication (which wicked and factious men in every way endeavored to overthrow) answer “that not long ago they had heard of the consistorial laws of that church and acknowledged them to be pious and in accordance with the prescription of the word of God, and on this account they ought not to be changed by innovation; that it was sufficient that they should be preserved unimpaired, especially in this age, in which men were from time to time growing worse. And although their discipline did not in all respects correspond with ours, still theirs was conducted with a regard to times, places and persons, nor on that account did they wish ours to be subverted.” And afterwards: “They did

not send the form of their discipline so as to prescribe even in the least; it is enough that the churches persevere in the things once received and certainly received in a holy manner from the Scriptures" (cf. "Letter of Bullinger to Calvin, Dec. 12, 1553," in *Ioannis Calvini Epistolae et Responsa* [1576], p. 119).

VIII. But others, whom excommunication displeases, have gone further; not only to receive it as not necessary, but to condemn it as unlawful and unjust, as a purely human invention having no foundation in the Scriptures and as interfering with the rights of the magistrate, to whom the correction of the guilty belongs. Of this opinion was Thomas Erastus, M.D., which he strives to prove by various arguments in theses and a treatise on excommunication, which excited various disputes at Heidelburg about this subject. Here some followed him and particularly Louis Dumoulin (of whom we have spoken before), who dares to traduce it not only as a figment of the human mind and an empty scarecrow, but also maintains that it should be avoided as worse than a dog and a snake and thrust out of the bounds of the church as a pest of the human race, the scourge of the earth, the origin of all evils, the sole foundation of pontifical tyranny, the mystery of iniquity and the mark of Antichrist. Nay, to such a pitch of fury does the insane man rouse himself as to maintain that the words in the liturgy referring to it, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I excommunicate all idolaters, heretics, etc.," should be expunged and replaced by these—"In the name of John Calvin" (as if Calvin were the first author of that sacred institution and it had not obtained in the primitive church before him). But less remarkable is it that a man favoring independency and fanaticism has struck upon this rock and was so fascinated with this error that he did not cease to contend in its defense as for the dearest object until the time of his death; nay, that he also dared to assail those who differed from him with wit and bitter sarcasms and to urge them with empty railings, in which he made himself a laughingstock to the pious and the lovers of order and was condemned by his own relatives and friends as "a head scarcely curable by three Anticyras" (as he complains frequently in his epistles).

The justice of excommunication is proved: (1) from the right of societies.

IX. How unjustly the opinion held in our churches is traduced by him and other associates (*homopsēphois*) it is not difficult to show from the various solid arguments upon which it is established. (1) As we have said before, this is the natural right of all well-regulated societies—that they can separate from their own flock unfit and injurious men and the impurities, disgraces and cancers of their assembly. For the same power by which they have the right of gathering themselves together gives to them the authority to make laws and constitutions for the preservation of the body and for the expulsions of those who will not obey those laws and who, by their rebellion, could taint or corrupt the whole body. And it is a necessity of such a kind that without it no society can long exist. Now if this is granted to other societies, far more ought it to belong to the church, which is both holier and better regulated. Nor can they with whom we now argue deny this, who acknowledge (the magistrate not being a believer or neglecting his duty in restraining and punishing the wicked) that each assembly by associated discipline and mutual covenant can assume for itself a certain power of the magistrate, reduce the disorderly (*ataktous*) to order, drive the impious and unbelievers from itself (and cause them to keep by themselves), and provide for other things conducing to its own conservation. Now it makes little difference whether this is called a right of nature or authority flowing from Christ, since the right of nature is derived from no other source than God himself. Nay, since the church is a sacred and religious society instituted by Christ, no one can deny that she has received from Christ himself whatever power she has, as all other things. For the same one who wished to establish her in the world furnished her also with all things which are necessary for her conservation.

2. From the use of the Old Testament.

X. Second, from the use of the Old Testament because excommunication had a place in the Old Testament. For to say nothing of the ejection of fallen man from paradise and the prohibition of the eating of the tree of life (of which the former was the type of the church and the latter had the relation of a sacrament); and of the fact that Cain is said to have been driven out from the face of the Lord (Gen. 4:14), undoubtedly from the place dedicated to divine worship and to sacred assemblies (which divine judgment can be

an example to us as to ecclesiastical judgment); it is evident that under the law the uncircumcised, the leprous and the legally unclean were prohibited from the temple and the ceremonies. (1) God commanded that the impure according to the law should not only voluntarily abstain from the communion of sacred things (Lev. 5, 6, 7, 10), but also that the priests and Levites should have a care for this thing above the others (to wit, that according to the word of God they should discern and judge between the pure and impure, the holy and profane [as we find concerning all impurity in Lev. 19:8; Ezk. 44:9], and concerning the unclean from leprosy [Lev. 13:2], and that those whom they judged to be unclean should be kept away from the communion of the temple and of sacred things, until by special sacrifices they were made clean again). Expiation necessarily supposes uncleanness and exclusion from the altar necessarily followed uncleanness, which (besides the particular example of Uzziah, 2 Ch. 26:16–21) is universally indicated. "Jehoiada appointed the offices of the house of the Lord by the hand of the priests the Levites … And he set porters at the gates of the house of the Lord, that none which was unclean in anything should enter in" (2 Ch. 23:18, 19*). Now although this was said of ceremonial uncleanness, no less (nay, much more) from the lesser to the greater can and ought it to be understood of moral uncleanness, since the former was a type of the latter (Hag. 2:12, 14). (2) God joins the uncircumcised in flesh with the uncircumcised in heart in exclusion from the sanctuary: "No stranger, uncircumcised in heart, nor uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my sanctuary" (Ezk. 44:9). Although this should be understood mystically of the sanctuary of the New Testament, still it denotes what was to be done in the external sanctuary, which the rebuke of the priests clearly demonstrates: "O ye house of Israel, let it suffice you of all your abominations, in that ye have brought into my sanctuary strangers, uncircumcised in heart, and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in my sanctuary, to pollute it, even my house" (vv. 6, 7*). (3) The prophets in various places rebuke those who entered the house of God with hands full of blood and the priests because they did not distinguish between the clean and unclean (Is. 1:12; Jer. 7:9; Ezk. 23:38; 22:26; Zeph. 3:4). Thus they who were unclean through fraud and theft could not approach to the sacred things, until they were purged by the prescribed sacrifices of God (Lev. 6*:1*–7*). Now where impurity is, there also is an exclusion from common sacred things (Num. 19:20). Here

belongs what Moses so often speaks of the "excision" of a soul from the people (Ex. 12:15, 19; 30:33; Lev. 7:20*, 21*; 17:4; Gen. 17:14; Num. 9:13; 15:30, 31; 19:20 and often elsewhere), which we think with our Calvin and many other learned men is to be referred to excommunication rather than to any judgment sent by God (*theēlaton*).

XI. Nor is it doubtful that excommunication had a place among the Jews and was often exercised (as appears from Ezr. 10:8). Hence mention is so often made in the gospel of "separation" (*tou aphorismou*) and of those who were "put out of the synagogue" (*aposynagōgoi*) for following Christ (Lk. 6:22; Jn. 9:22, 34, 35; 12:42; 16:2). Here belong those three kinds of separation which obtained among them: *ndhvy, chrm* and *shmth'* or *mrn 'th*'. This difference among these is made by the learned—that *ndhvy* was the first and milder form of excommunication, for a certain time; while *chrm* was heavier, by which he was punished who paid no attention to the first, which was made with severity and imprecations; the third was the heaviest, which was without the hope of a return to the communion of the state or the church, as the most learned Buxtorf observes in his Talmudic Lexicon (*Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* [1640], pp. 2462–63). Now if this discipline was a mere invention of human genius (which ought to have founded the mystery of iniquity), how comes it that Christ, who so severely rebukes the scrupulous religion of the Pharisees in tithing herbs and in cleaning vessels, utters not a single word concerning this deadly practice? This with sufficient clearness indicates that this rite was not disapproved by him, provided it was rightly exercised.

3. From the prescription of Christ.

XII. Third, Christ confirmed and prescribed that order which already obtained in the Jewish church, by delivering the keys of the kingdom of heaven to Peter and in his person to the whole church, by which it is not only opened, but also shut that the profane may not approach it, and by the power of binding and loosing granted to the same (which we have already seen are not to be referred to mere preaching, but include also the exercise of discipline). It is confirmed by Mt. 18:17, where Christ wishes the offending brother who neglects to hear the pious admonitions of a wounded brother to be brought before the church or the presbytery; and if he neglects

to hear it, to be considered by us as a heathen man and a publican, in allusion to the process of the synagogue. For whom it excluded from its communion, it pronounced to be as heathen and publicans (i.e., aliens from the covenant and people of God, such as were all heathen and publicans, who were held in the greatest dishonor among the Jews, with whom the people of God could hold no intercourse).

XIII. Futile is the objection here that (1) "the binding and loosing denote the remission and retention of sins, made by the preaching of the word." The positing of the one is not the exclusion of the other; nay, these mutually attend each other—the general binding and loosing, which is made by preaching, by which in general pardon is promised to the penitent and punishment is denounced against the rebellious; and the special, which pertains to the exercise of discipline, by which promises of grace are applied to particular penitents and the retention of sins and exclusion from the kingdom of heaven (unless he repents) is threatened against the particular scandalous and contumacious sinner. (2) "That the church which the injured brother ought to hear is the Jewish Council, or the political magistrate of the same religion, and if he does not wish to hear even this, he must be brought before a Gentile magistrate, as is usually the case when the affair is with a heathen and a publican." But the worthlessness of this gloss is apparent from various considerations. (a) The Jewish Council is nowhere designated by the name of church. And it is absurd that Christ should refer his disciples (when unjustly treated) to the political Jewish Council, because it was bitterly opposed to the Christians and was shortly to be abrogated with the state. Again because such a council was either the supreme tribunal from which there was no appeal (while here they wish an appeal to be made to a pagan magistrate); or if any inferior court is meant, an appeal ought to be made from it, not to pagans, but to the supreme Jewish Council. But it is clear that Christ meant that church to which he willed to give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, so that whatever was bound on earth should be bound in heaven (v. 18); concerning whom he says, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (v. 20), which everyone sees is said to the Christian church. (b) It is an unheard-of thing that by these words, "Let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican," is designated an appeal to a heathen magistrate. So therefore, it will be lawful for Christians; nor only lawful, but they will be bound to

have recourse to a heathen tribunal in contending and disputing with a brother, contrary to Paul, who forbids it and sharply rebukes the Corinthians on this account—that they went to law before the Gentiles with a brother (1 Cor. 6:1–3). Again, in this way Christ would teach the manner not of gaining the offending brother, but of recovering the loss and repairing the injury, which ought not to be the primary design of Christians. (3) "That Christ does not say, Let him be to the whole church as a heathen man and a publican, as he ought to have said, if the excommunication was to be made by her, but, Let him be to thee." (a) But it is falsely supposed that according to us the meaning of the words is: "Let him be to thee as a heathen man" (i.e., let him be excommunicated, as if Christ had given to each private person the power to excommunicate a contumacious brother). For we think these words mean nothing else than a separation from the brother, so that we do not regard him any longer as a brother, or live with him as a member of the same religious society or hold intercourse with him, as the Jews wished to have nothing in common with pagans and publicans. (b) In this way, we do not maintain that Christ gave to each one the right to excommunicate a brother by holding him as a heathen man, but only that he wished us to regard as a heathen man the contumacious brother who refused to hear the church and who for that reason was cut off from the communion of the church by the church or the ecclesiastical presbytery. Thus that a man is held as a heathen and a publican does not constitute excommunication, but it follows it and is supposed to be done by the church or the assembly of rulers on account of contumacy. (c) Christ could rightly have said, "Let him be to you as a heathen," because he was speaking of that which was to be done by an injured private person towards a hardened and stubborn brother who neglected to hear the church and who on that account was excommunicated by the sentence of the church. But from parity of reasoning, what is said to one is said to all. Hence it is immediately added in the plural, "whatsoever ye shall bind," not "whatsoever thou shalt bind." (4) "That a power was indeed given to the church, but as long as it was under the cross and the Christian emperors it was without it." But this is also gratuitously supposed because the order constituted in the church by Christ ought not to be temporal but perpetual. As by perpetual use, it was afterwards confirmed under Christian as well as under pagan emperors. Christianity embraced by the emperors ought not to have abrogated that

power, but only to have avoided derogating from the civil power or being confounded with it. So far from the pious magistrate taking away this order, he ought rather to have confirmed and sanctioned it. So that it is evident that it constantly obtained even under the emperors.

4. From Paul (1 Cor. 5:3).

XIV. Fourth, Paul often confirms the same institution, especially in the punishment inflicted on the incestuous Corinthian (1 Cor. 5:3). After having described the atrociousness of the crime and rebuked the neglect of the church to cast that man out of her communion, he decides by apostolic authority that what they ought to have done before, they should at length do (i.e., that congregated together in the name of Christ, from whom they had received this power, they should deliver this impure one over to Satan and thus remove him from their midst). Not indeed that the one miserable, cast out from the house of the Lord, may perish in the kingdom of Satan, but that he, wasted by this punishment, may entirely destroy that accursed affection of the flesh and thus be saved in the day of the Lord. Thus the Corinthian church would not be defiled by the contagion of such great impurity. Rather what was constituted in the law of the Passover, this leaven as it were being purged out, it may truly celebrate the feast of unleavened bread (i.e., may worship God purely and holily), approaching both to the hearing of the word and to the table of the Lord; thus to enjoy Christ, our Passover. "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit … to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (vv. 4, 5*). Here various arguments run together: (a) the apostle reprimands the Corinthians because "they had not mourned, that such a sinner might be taken away from among them" (v. 2), not indeed by capital punishment, as if he wished to ascribe to the presbytery the right belonging to the magistrate; but by excommunication, by which a sinner is taken away from an assembly (i.e., is excluded from the church, as Cyprian remarks), and because the church, when she was about to exclude anyone from her fellowship, assumed the habit of those mourning and "mourned over him as dead," as Origen says (*Contra Celsum* 3.51 [trans. H. Chadwick, 1965], p. 163). On this account, to mourn is put by a metonymy of the adjunct for to

excommunicate. Thus he prescribes to them "to put away from among them that wicked person" (v. 13). He could not assuredly have done this had he not recognized this to be the right of the church, to eject the scandalous from her communion. (b) He describes this punishment by "purging out the leaven" (v. 7). For as leaven ought to be thrown out of the house in the celebration of the Passover, so the wicked incestuous person, who like leaven could leaven the whole mass (i.e., corrupt the whole church, as the contagion of one wicked man easily flows unto all), ought to be put away from the church, lest he should corrupt others by this depraved example. (c) The delivering unto Satan can be explained in no other way than by excommunication and its effects. The reason of the locution is sought from this—that he who was ejected from the church and by this deprived of the peculiar goods of the church, such as are prayers, sacraments, public preaching, the pastoral care and the special protection of God, is left exposed to the tyranny and temptations of the Devil, who reigns outside of the church. Thus Paul wished the better to indicate how dreadful it is to be cast out of the church. Here belong those words of Theophylact: "They punished the unbeliever and incorrigible and delivered him to Satan. How? He was put out of the church; he was put away from love; naked he was given up to the wolf" (*Commentarius in primam epistolam ad Timotheum* [PG 125.27, 30] on 1 Tim. 1:20*).

XV. To no purpose do Erastus and others (in order to elude the force of this argument) bring up these objections. (1) "If to deliver unto Satan is to put away from the church, out of which there is no salvation, Paul would not have said that he did this, in order that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord." But why not? For being cast out of the church, he is considered to be delivered unto Satan; not as if he were to remain with Satan and perish with him, but on the contrary that, moved by the sense of his most wretched state, he may repent and thus, the flesh (i.e., the corruption of the old man which before ruled over him) having been abolished, the spirit may be saved (i.e., that the old man may be mortified and the new quickened into life). (2) "The delivering unto Satan must be understood of the miraculous delivery of the incestuous man to torment and slaughter, as was done by Peter with Ananias and Sapphira and by Paul to Bar-Jesus." But many things show that Paul speaks simply of the ordinary office of the church and not of a miracle. (a) He rebukes the Corinthians

because they did not remove him from among them (v. 2), while he would not blame them for not working a miracle. This was a special gift of the apostles, not of all; nor had the apostle commanded them to perform a miracle. (b) To take him away a solemn consent and convention of the church is required, for that punishment was to be inflicted by them whose duty it was to gather themselves together for this end, whom the apostle commands to purge out the old leaven and take away the wicked one from among them. Now what need was there for the consent and gathering together of the church to work a miracle, which it does not appear that the apostles ever desired in any extraordinary work? (c) The end of this punishment shows that it cannot be understood of death miraculously inflicted upon him, both because it is evident that the incestuous person survived that delivery and because he is delivered unto Satan that his spirit may be saved (i.e., that he may repent in this life and at last be saved). This is confirmed by the parallel passage where Paul is said to have delivered Hymenaeus and Alexander unto Satan "that they might learn not to blaspheme" (1 Tim. 1:20), i.e., thus punished they might cease from their blasphemy by serious repentance. (d) The example of Ananias and Sapphira has no bearing upon this because it did not pertain to the exercise of discipline and their correction, but to the just punishment of their lie—that thus the authority of the apostles might be more highly esteemed. (e) Although "to take away from among" sometimes is understood of killing, it does not follow that here also it is to be so taken, because the apostle does not say simply that such a one should be taken from among, but "from among you" (*ex hymōn autōn*) (which clearly implies ejection from the church). (f) Although we should grant what some of the fathers held that this delivering unto Satan drew with it some bodily tortures, the opinion concerning excommunication would not on that account be overthrown because these are not inconsistent with each other—to be cast out of the church and to be tormented by Satan, who reigns without the church; as an evil spirit entered into Saul when cast out by the Lord. Chrysostom joins both together; the scourging of Satan and ejection from the church. "They cast him out from the common assembly of believers," says he, "he was cut off from the flock, he was made naked, and so destitute was given to wolves" (Homily 5, *Homilies on Timothy* [NPNF1, 13:425; PG 62.528] on 1 Tim. 1:20). (3) Now although the delivering unto Satan was something

extraordinary, inasmuch as it proceeded from apostolic authority (as it is certain that to the apostles was given by Christ a higher power than to others in the government of the church that on this account they might be held in greater esteem by believers), the whole of this action was not therefore extraordinary and singular, proper to the apostle alone, exclusive of the church (which is here expressly included). Nor if what was extraordinary ought to have ceased, ought what was common and ordinary to have been on that account abrogated and what he had wisely prescribed to his church as permanent and immutable (as the very learned Salden most fitly remarks in his celebrated dissertation, *de Virga Apostolica*, where he follows up this argument solidly and accurately, as all other subjects, which he handles in the learned work of theological leisure [*otiorum*] recently published, where he clearly demonstrates that nothing less than himself is at leisure [*otiari*]).

XVI. (4) Here is properly referred what the apostle says concerning the rod which he could hold over the Corinthians: “What will ye? shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love?” (1 Cor. 4:21). For I am not ignorant that many learned men think that this apostolic rod is to be ascribed to the peculiar prerogatives of the apostles and is nothing else than a certain extraordinary power granted to them, by which not by words, threatenings and rebukes only, but also by some severer remedy (i.e., by some bodily infliction) they could deal with disobedient and contumacious sinners, which they exercised at times towards the impious and incorrigible that by their example the good might be moved, the wicked deterred from blasphemy and the severest punishment of God be manifested towards evildoers. Nor do we deny that examples of this severity occur in Peter towards Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:5) and in Paul towards Elymas, the sorcerer. Nevertheless, there is nothing which compels us to come to this, since that rod can fitly be referred to the severity of discipline with which as a father, such as he had said he was towards them (1 Cor. 4:15), he could chastise their faults by ecclesiastical censures and sharp correction such as was that which he was about to exercise towards the incestuous person. This he opposes to the spirit of mildness and love, not because it did not also proceed from love, but because the love was concealed under such severity, as by sadness of countenance and harshness of words, by which he

was not so much about to console and strengthen the penitent, as to rebuke delinquents, as the same man of God properly remarks.

5. From Rom. 16:17.

XVII. Fifth, from various passages in which the apostles not obscurely designate this discipline: “I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them” (Rom. 16:17); “And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed” (2 Thess. 3:14*); “A man that is a heretic after the first and second admonition reject” (Tit. 3:10); “If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him Godspeed” (2 Jn. 10*). These passages signify that the familiarity and society of such should be shunned because he who bids him Godspeed and much more, who hospitably entertains him in token of familiar benevolence, “shares in his evil deeds” (i.e., partakes of the guilt as an approver or favorer). He alludes to the custom of the Jews, who shunned the excommunicated as heathen and publicans, nor offered or returned to them the salutation common among men. This and other similar things are said not only to private persons, but also to the whole church. And this is easily gathered from the lesser to the greater. For if each individual believer was bound to separate himself from the wicked, how much more was the church herself bound to eject them from her communion? Here belongs the fact that the Ephesian church is praised for “not being able to bear them which are evil” (Rev. 2:2), to wit, convicting and casting them out of the church, tempering gentleness with zeal and not conniving at sins.

6. From Mt. 7:6.

XVIII. Sixth, from Mt. 7:6, where Christ forbids to “give that which is holy unto the dogs.” Now by the words “that which is holy” are meant the mysteries (*mystēria*) of which the servants of God are stewards (1 Cor. 4:1). The terms “dogs” and “swine” square with none better than with those whom, admitted into the church, experience has proved to be such and the church has judged. Therefore the Lord forbids the giving of his mysteries

and consequently the dispensing of the sacraments to such. And although this is not said directly with respect to the Eucharist or excommunication, still the general rule is elicited from it, concerning the not tolerating the profanation of sacred mysteries, which is done by impure swine and dogs. Nor ought it to be replied that the bad cannot corrupt the good with whom they communicate. A great scandal is created thence to pious souls who cannot without a holy indignation see these sacred mysteries polluted by the profane and themselves associated with them at the same table and that no distinction is made between the good and bad, the penitent and impenitent. Again, these mysteries are made common when the holy things which are intended for the holy are distributed promiscuously to the profane. Third, although no harm should come thence to the good and pious, still the greatest evil is in this—that the profane themselves pollute the sacred table and bring down upon themselves most certain destruction, eating and drinking their own condemnation. Now it is the duty of pastors to hinder as far as they are able pollution of this kind, lest they also themselves be guilty of the holy things being polluted by others through their negligence. Would it not be cruel mercy to give to a profane person free access to the sacred mysteries by which he would contract new guilt? Nay, compassion alone (by which it is just to be moved towards the miserable one increasing his crimes and in this way casting himself headlong into the gulf of perdition) would be sufficient for denying to him the sacrament, even if there were no other reason for it.

7. From the practice of the ancient church.

XIX. Seventh, from the practice of the ancient church, which was accustomed to remove public sinners from the communion of holy things, until by various public exercises of humiliation (generally expressed by the common name of confession, the scandal to the church having been suitably repaired), they were again by the same power publicly received and admitted. This Tertullian clearly teaches: “Certainly we feed faith with holy words. We rouse hope, strengthen confidence, we exercise discipline nonetheless by the inculcation of precepts. There too also are exhortations, chastisements and divine censures. For it is also judged with great weight that among certain ones in the sight of God it is the highest prejudice to the

future judgment, if anyone has so transgressed as to be removed from the communication of prayer and of the assembly and of all holy intercourse" (*Apology* 39 [FC 10:98; PL 1.532]). More things of this kind are met with in Cyprian concerning the exercise of this discipline. Here belong those four distinct grades of penitence which obtained among them. (a) *Proklausis* or "weeping" at the gate of the oratory or temple, where the sinner stands and beseeches those who enter with tears that they would pray for him. (b) *Akoasis*, the "hearing" of the divine word in the portico of the oratory; whence they had to depart as soon as the prayers began, during which it was wrong for them to be present. (c) *Hypoptōsis*, "prostration" within the gate of the temple, where one remained with the catechumens and was bound to go out with them. (d) *Systasis*, "standing together," when one had the right of standing together with believers themselves and was no longer obliged to go out with the catechumens, which, at length, *methexis* or a participation in the sacraments followed. In the standing together (*systasei*) there was a "participation in the prayer" (*koinōnia tēs euchēs*); in *methexis*, there was a "participation in the holy things" (*koinōnia tōn hagiasmatōn*). And how constantly and rigidly this discipline was carried out is evident from the penitential canons. No one indeed was exempted from it, so that the chief men also together with the common people would bring themselves to the endurance of it; and deservedly, since it would appear that they belonged to Christ, to whom it was right that all the scepters of kings should be submitted. Thus Theodosius, when he was deprived of the right of communion by Ambrose on account of a murder committed at Thessalonica, threw down all the royal insignia by which he was surrounded, bewailed his sin publicly in the church and prayed for pardon with groans and tears. Nor did he judge that this ought to seem indecorous in him, to prostrate himself suppliantly before Christ, the King of kings; nor that he ought to be displeased with the church judging him. Now although that ancient severity has been relaxed in the progress of time and those strict canons have fallen into desuetude, when the manners of Christians began to grow milder through the resources and pleasures of the world, the whetstone of persecutions failing, on which the fervor of zeal and the love of virtue were accustomed to be sharpened, it ought not on this account to be wholly done away with, but should be exercised suitably to place and time for edification.

Sources of explanation.

XX. Although a private person cannot separate himself from the sacred Supper without the crime of schism on account of the vices reigning among many in the church (provided the doctrine be pure); it does not follow that it is not lawful for the church to separate anyone from the Supper, provided the confession be pure. The relation of a private man is different from that of the rulers of the church. For these are commanded to watch that the sacraments be not profaned and to discern between the clean and unclean with public authority (which it is not lawful for a private person to assume for himself). The former is a remedy against vices, but the latter violates charity.

XXI. Although Christ had admitted the traitor Judas to the communion of the sacrament (concerning which it is deservedly doubted), it would not follow that all should be admitted promiscuously because Judas was as yet a secret traitor and hypocrite, known to Christ alone. Christ however was unwilling to act as God from divine authority, but as man and the servant of the Father. No one, however, ought to be kept away from the Supper; except on account of public and scandalous sin which has been proved by competent testimony and of which the sinner has been convicted and condemned by public authority.

XXII. There is not the same relation of the word and of the sacraments. The word is directed to all, even to the wicked and profane, because it is the means of the conversion of men. But the sacraments are intended only for believers because they are the seals of the covenant which ought to seal grace to the covenanted; they suppose a special application, demanding the condition of faith in the user. The word is destined to give faith and repentance, but the sacraments to confirm both. The word is directed to unbelievers that they may become believers; the sacraments are given because they are supposed to be believers. The word does not make a bond of society among those to whom it is preached; the sacraments are given as a bond of our union that they may be seals of our justification. Thus they cannot rightly be given to those who burst the bonds of society and are not in a state of justification.

XXIII. Although Paul has expressly excluded no one from the sacred Supper (1 Cor. 10, 11) because he leaves this duty to the ecclesiastical

council (content with having prescribed the rule), still he sufficiently teaches how we must deal with scandalous sinners and heretics when he says that no one can be a partaker of the Lord's table and the table of devils; signifying that he who partakes of sacrifices to idols cannot approach the Supper of the Lord. He clearly testifies the same thing both in 1 Cor. 5 and 2 Thess. 3:14, 15.

XXIV. The parable of the tares which should be left until the harvest does not belong here because it treats of secret hypocrites, whom it is not easy to separate from true believers; nor does it relate so much to the office of the magistrate or pastor as to believers themselves, whom Christ here exhorts not to despair, because they were compelled to bear the wicked with them. Christ does not indeed wish to deny that pastors are bound to purge the church and in this should be assisted by all the pious, as far as each one's calling permits. But when all in common contribute mutual help, if they cannot succeed so far as to purge the church from all defilement, the ministry ought not on that account to be set aside or the whole church be disturbed with an unaccustomed harshness. Thus this similitude concerning the universal purgation of the church (never to happen before the last day) does not prohibit particular dismissions made by the magistrate or by ecclesiastical judgment.

XXV. Although Christ hindered no one expressly from using the sacraments, still he sufficiently designates this when he forbids anyone to approach the altar until he has first become reconciled with his brother; when he forbids that which is holy to be given to dogs; when he wishes contumacious brethren and rebels against the voice of the church to be regarded as heathen and publicans; when he wishes him who is without a wedding garment to be thrust out from the feast; and when Christ institutes and celebrates his Supper only among his disciples; since by this very thing he shows that to them alone who profess to be the disciples of Christ belongs the celebration of the Supper; and not to those who on account of impurity of life and public crimes have been excluded by the church from the communion of sacred things. Who could suppose that Christ, when he instituted the Supper (which is the badge of our mystical communion with him) wished anyone to come to his table otherwise than worthily? Therefore inviting those coming worthily and commanding all to eat, he surely did not order the unworthy to approach as they were; but he thus

exhorted that by repentance they should prepare themselves for that feast; sufficiently teaching (according to the interpretation of the apostle) that they could not approach otherwise affected.

XXVI. There was no reason why John the Baptist should reject the Sadducees and Pharisees coming to his baptism, as they approached with confession of sins (as it is expressly explained in Mt. 3:6); nor should they be excommunicated by others; nor had he the power to excommunicate them, although they had been worthy of excommunication. Therefore, he did what belonged to his office when he exhorted all who came to him to repent, the most severe judgment of God according to the law being proposed and at the same time present remission of sins being offered in Christ.

XXVII. As the Anabaptists rage, who, in order to subvert the tribunals of magistrates, feign that the more wicked are to be visited with no other punishment than that of excommunication; so without reason others think that this kind of censure is prejudicial to the authority of magistrates, since ecclesiastical correction and political punishment differ in many ways; and the latter pertains to punishment (*timōrian*), while the former principally to reformation (*paideian*); this leaning upon the salvation and conversion of the soul, but that upon the punishment and destruction of the body. Therefore, although the magistrate visits the wicked with bodily punishment, it does not follow from this that there is no place for spiritual and ecclesiastical punishments (*epitimiais*), by which sinners may be led to sorrow before God, to repentance and salvation.

XXVIII. There is no need of a special revelation of the Holy Spirit for the decreeing of excommunication. It is sufficient that pastors act according to the word of God and the power granted to them in it. For as it is evident from the word of God concerning the right (for what reasons it should be exercised); so from the fact, it is evident from suitable testimonies concerning offenses committed to be punished by the church.

Thirty-Third Question: The Origin and Authority of Councils

Does it belong to the Roman pontiff to proclaim and gather councils, to preside over them and to confer upon them infallible authority in doctrines of faith and religion? And is the Council of Trent to be accepted? We deny against the Romanists

I. That threefold power of the church which is concerned with its government (of which we have treated thus far) is exercised not only by pastors and presbyters (or the ordinary conventions of particular churches), but also in councils, which are extraordinary gatherings of many churches of the same province or nation and kingdom, joined together (which are called provincial and national councils); or even of many nations at the same time, such as were those formerly which were called ecumenical or universal. Not that they were convoked from the whole world absolutely, but from the whole Roman Empire, which was called "all the world" (*pasa oikoumenē*, Lk. 2:1) and consisted both of the eastern and western bishops, into which two parts that empire was distributed. Otherwise truly ecumenical councils never were or can be.

II. Since there are various controversies concerning councils, still three are specially reckoned which are embraced under this question—concerning their declaration, presidency and authority. Before we speak of this, we must briefly state our opinion concerning councils and their necessity and use (which will throw not a little light upon the fuller understanding and unravelling of it).

Our opinion concerning councils.

III. A council (so called from *concalando* or *conciendo*, i.e., "calling together") is a public assembly, convoked either by a political magistrate or by the common consent of the church, in which pious and learned men rightly called and delegated take up ecclesiastical causes; and opinions being compared from the word of God define (according to the power granted to the church by God) that the evils which are accustomed to beget heresies and schisms may be either avoided or cured.

IV. Now although councils are not simply and absolutely necessary to the being of the church (since without them faith and the church can be safe and were, for a long time); still their use and necessity for its better being is

rightly urged against the disorderly (*ataktous*) and independent from the multiple utility which they can confer. (1) For the preservation of the truth against heresies, that the saving doctrine of faith may be asserted against heretics and may be approved by the consent and testimony of a public assembly. (2) For the confirmation of peace and good order (*eutaxias*) against schisms and anarchy, that ecclesiastical discipline may be rightly established with regard to times, places and persons and be restored wherever it has been relaxed. (3) For the defense of Christian liberty against the ambitious attempts of those who stride on to tyranny. For as it is not to be expected that the church militant on earth will be free from diseases of this kind, so this remedy of councils has not only become useful, but also necessary; especially where, the cross and persecution being removed, it enjoys external peace, from whose ease evils of this nature are wont to grow up more frequently and their contagion to spread more widely. For then the common conflagration must be extinguished by a common aid and concourse; the evils, which injure the whole, must be cured and guarded against by the whole; and what touches all ought to be taken care of by all.

V. And here the apostles shine out clearly to us by their example, who when a dispute arose about legal observances, immediately called a council: "And the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter" (Acts 15:6). For although the apostles were infallible and on this account could alone have settled this controversy, still they wished by their example under the guidance of the Holy Spirit to prescribe the order which should perpetually prevail in the church after their decease. And truly if the apostles, who by a peculiar prerogative had received from God infallibility (*anamartēsian*) in the faith, still were unwilling to give sentence concerning the contention about legal ceremonies unless a council was first called together; how much more should pastors of a later age, who are liable to error, contribute aid and demand mutual help? For God does not bestow all things upon individuals and often, what a few cannot do, more can. Besides ecclesiastical laws have greater authority among the people when they are made with the unanimous consent of many pastors.

VI. Now the end of such conventions is not always happy, from the accident of human corruption, according as the worst corruption is accustomed to belong to the best (as it was caused by the arts of Rome that from the Council of Trent, from which a reformation in the head and

members was expected, nothing but a confirmation of errors and of Antichristian tyranny proceeded). This reason formerly moved Gregory Nazianzus to say to Procopius that "he avoided all conventions of bishops because he had never seen a good end of any synod" (to wit, from the vice of men, their love of wrangling [*philoneikia*] and desire for rule [*philarchia*]) (Epistle 130*, "Ad Procopium" [PG 37.226]). On this account, this ought not to be an objection to a thing in itself lawful and very useful. As Augustine truly says: "The authority of councils is very healthful in the church of God" (Letter 54 [118], "To Januarius" [FC 12:253; PL 33.200]). Christ pronounces, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (Mt. 18:20).

Opinions of the Romanists.

VII. About these councils it is inquired, to whom do the rights, of summoning, of the presidency and authority belong? The Romanists refer all these to their pope, whose privilege they assert to be: (1) to proclaim and to convoke councils; (2) to preside over them and to moderate the whole convention by a certain praetorian or rather dictatorial power; (3) to give them infallible authority, so that they cannot err in their canons and decrees and the same must be absolutely acquiesced in without further examination (cf. what Bellarmine says, "De Conciliis et Ecclesia," 1.12–14, 19, 20 *Opera* [1857], 2:23–27, 33–40; and ibid., 2.2, 3ff., 2:43–46ff.).

And of the orthodox.

VIII. The orthodox answer in different ways to these various questions. (1) As to convocation, they maintain that the right of this belongs to the church. For as Christ committed the power of government to the church, so he lodged with her the authority of procuring all those things which pertain to the prosperity of that government, among which is deservedly placed the convocation of councils. Now because this convocation cannot be made except by authority, it must be considered as belonging more properly to those who are the principal members of the church and whom God gives to his church as nurses and guardians of both tables, such as are kings and magistrates, with whom are the jurisdiction and sway and compulsory

power, of which there is often need here. But if the magistrate is a stranger to the faith, even in the manifest danger of the church, she ought not to be wanting to herself, but can use the right and authority of convocation which God committed to her, by which she may as quickly as possible meet the present and pressing evils, if in any way it can be done. But we contend that no right to convoke councils belongs to the pope. (2) We say the same concerning the presidency and think a twofold office should be distinguished here (the political and ecclesiastical) as they are in councils which belong to the regulation of external order; the other to the examination and decision of spiritual things. The former we lodge with the political magistrate; but the latter we ascribe to one or more bishops or pastors, elected by common consent out of the ranks. The parts of a political president are: to gather the council; to protect them when collected; to prohibit both external violence and internal disorder (*ataxian*) and indecorum (*aschēmosynēn*); to sanction decrees lawfully enacted and conformed by the signatures of the delegates, by their own authority also, that the synodical judgment may be sanctioned by the royal additional judgment (*krisis synodikē epikrisei basilikē*). And of the ecclesiastic president, the parts are: to propose questions in the council; to settle disputes and altercations; to take the vote; to reduce the decrees to acts by scribes and the like. (3) Finally, as to authority, we acknowledge no other infallibility in them with regard to the matter except insofar as their canons and decrees agree with the written word of God. Concerning the other with regard to the efficient, we maintain that they are human and fallible and can have no infallibility (*anamartēsian*) from the Roman pontiff.

Proof that councils do not depend on the pope as to convocation: (1) because such power was not given to him.

IX. The foundations of our opinion are: (1) the pope neither received this power of convoking councils, presiding over them, and bestowing infallible authority upon them from Christ, because no trace of it exists in the Scriptures; or from the emperor, from whom he was accustomed to seek the convocation of a council, as Leo I says (Letter 54 [9], “Ad Theodosium”

[PL 54.855–56]; Letter 43 [24], “Ad Theodosium” [PL 54.821–23]; Letter 45 [26], “Ad Pulcheriam” [PL 54.831–35]). Nay, it was not lawful for bishops to come together in antiquity by the civil laws, except with the consent of the emperor. Nor could he have it from himself, because no one takes this honor to himself (Heb. 5:4).

2. Because convocation is an act of the civil power.

X. (2) It is an act of the civil and compulsory power, which does not lie within the sphere of ecclesiastical order, or belong to it of right; such as are defining and prescribing the place, time and manner of the conventions, to pledge security to the members, to pay the expenses, to command the bishops to meet together, to inflict punishment upon the contumacious and the like. These are concerned with external and civil matters and cannot be performed without dominion.

3. Because this is clear from the examples of the Old and New Testaments.

XI. (3) It is evident from the examples of the Old and New Testaments that the convocation of sacred conventions belonged to kings and believing magistrates. It appears from the examples of Joshua (Jos. 24:1*), of David (2 S. 6:1; 1 Ch. 28:1), of Solomon (1 K. 8:1), of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 20:3, 4), of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 29:4), of Josiah (2 K. 23*:1). And under the New Testament by the example of Constantine the Great in the Council of Nicea; of Theodosius I in that of Constantinople; of Theodosius II in Ephesus; of Marcian* in that of Chalcedon; of Justinian in Constantinople II; and of others in other councils. In vain do they cavil here who wish the authority of the emperor and the consent or demand of the Roman bishop to be considered as two partial causes. For all the remaining bishops also could and ought to have given their consent and where there was need, to have demanded a council.

Nor as to the presidency.

XII. Not as to the presidency, because there is the same relation of the presidency as of the convocation; for to lay down the order of business, to restrain excess and to regulate the whole convention by his authority are no less acts of civil and compulsory power than those which belong to the convocation of a council. Hence they who are said in the Old and New Testaments to have proclaimed and convoked such assemblies also presided over the same, whether immediately and by themselves, or mediately by legates, as long as the majesty of the emperors remained in the empire and her liberty in the church. And indeed the ordinary and perpetual right over ecclesiastical matters is founded on the divine and ecclesiastical law; neither of which, however, gives the right of presiding to the pope of Rome. Not the divine because no proof can be adduced for it. Not the ecclesiastical because the members of the universal church never consented to confer this right on the pope. In addition, we have the perpetual practice of the purer councils.

Nor as to authority.

XIII. As to infallible authority, it cannot be said to be conferred on councils by the pope. (1) He cannot give what he does not possess (as has been shown elsewhere, Question XI). Hence not even among our opponents themselves is there an agreement concerning his infallibility. (2) Councils have no authority except when and insofar as their decrees square with the word of God and are found to agree by a serious and religious examination (from the passages Dt. 4:2; Is. 8:20; Gal. 1:8, 9; 1 Thess. 5:21). For since they represent the church militant on earth in epitome (*kat' epitomēn*), they are no more placed beyond all risk of erring (whether in doctrine or morals) than the church herself. Since there is no infallible (*anamartēton*) member of her here, it is absurd to ascribe infallibility (*anamartēsian*) to the entire body.

XIV. Therefore the authority of councils sinks far below that of the Scriptures, nor do their decisions bind the conscience any further than they appear to be conformed to the word of God. Hence a judgment belongs to them in matters of faith; not authoritative, infallible and supreme, but subaltern and ministerial; obligatory as to the external order of ecclesiastical communion and which ought to be of great weight among all the pious, but

not as to faith and conscience, except insofar as they coincide with the Scriptures, which alone can bind the conscience.

XV. But as councils can be occupied about three things which meet together in the church (doctrines of faith; canons or constitutions of government and good order [*eutaxias*]; and the exercise of discipline towards those who either in faith or in morals grossly err); so their authority can be viewed in different ways. For as to the first, their decrees are like the decisions of wise and prudent men who can maturely discuss anything. As to the second, they are directors who from the power granted to them have the right to sanction what contributes to good order (*eutaxian*). And as to the last, they are judges constituted in the church for inflicting ecclesiastical punishments on sinners.

Sources of explanation.

XVI. Although councils ought to be congregated in the name of Christ, it does not follow that they are not to be convoked except by the sacred authority of Peter and of his successor. Since to do a thing in the name of Christ is nothing else than in obedience to his command and relying on his favor to do it for his glory, princes and magistrates act in the name of Christ no less than ministers.

XVII. Although the Levitical high priest had the right to convoke councils and to gain for them infallible authority, it does not follow that the same belongs to the Roman pontiff, because no other besides Christ succeeded the ancient high priest (Heb. 7, 8, 9). Besides, the right of extraordinary conventions was with the supreme magistrate (as we have said) and if they had any authority, that flowed entirely from the word, not from the pope.

XVIII. Councils have the promise of the perpetual presence of Christ, not absolutely, but relatively (namely, inasmuch as they are congregated in the name of Christ and act according to the rule prescribed by him). Otherwise they are subjected to a curse (Gal. 1:8).

XIX. In vain does Bellarmine (in order to confirm the supreme power of the pope over the church and councils) use the testimony of more modern Romanists, to which we can reply as rightly as it was impiously objected by

the Pharisees to Christ—"Thou bearest record of thyself; thy record is not true" (Jn. 8:13).

XX. Although we are unwilling to grant infallible authority to councils, still we do not say that they have none. Rather they are of great weight in the church, inasmuch as their judgment, although not self-credible (*autopiston*), is still public and proceeds with the authority granted by Christ. This we wish to say only of those which are gathered together lawfully and freely in the name of Christ; not of the false and spurious who, neglecting the command of Christ by which he forbids the adding to or detracting from the word of anything, determine anything at their pleasure. Not content with the oracles of Scripture, which is the unique rule of perfect wisdom, they mingle something new with it from their own brains.

XXI. There is a difference between an external court and the internal court of the conscience. An opinion settled in a legitimate council is judicial and magisterial as to the external court, so that by it the external society must stand and fall and from it the right is sought by the supreme magistrate of enjoining silence upon the dissentient or of dismissing from the state. Otherwise in the external society neither a mode nor an end could be imposed upon disputes and contentions. As to the internal court of conscience, a council is not to us a mere consultation and investigation (as Bellarmine falsely charges upon us); but with the investigation of truth and justice, there is the passing of sentence—not magisterial, as the Romanists hold, but ministerial; of suasion, not of compulsion; of an interpreter who declares and explains justice, not of a judge who does justice.

XXII. The opinion of the bishops in council cannot be judicial, decisive and obligatory; neither per se, because the individuals can differ (nay, also err); nor on account of the consent of the majority, because even they (as our opponents themselves confess) can err; nor on account of the confirmation of the pope, because that is extrinsic to the council and posterior to the opinions of the bishops, whose nature consequently he is not able to change. He has no absolute judgment (*autokratorikon*) and the Romanists are not agreed as to whether the faith of Christians should rest upon the decision of a council or of the pope.

XXIII. It is not necessary that there should be in the church any external infallible judge by whom controversies of faith may be solved. It suffices for believers, for the tranquility and rest of their consciences, that there is an

interior or divine definitive judgment (namely, of Christ and the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scriptures). An external human judgment, infallible and definitive in the church, is neither necessary nor possible. Controversies do not belong to external order but to the mental judgment for which a judge is necessary to enlighten the mind and sanctify the will (which an external and human judge cannot do because he has no power over the conscience).

What is to be thought of the Council of Trent, and why it is rejected by us.

XXIV. From what has been said thus far, it clearly appears what is to be determined about the authority of the Council of Trent (which is from time to time thrust upon us by the Romanists)—whether it is such as can or ought to be received by a believer. For since it is evident by many most weighty reasons that it was anything but a lawful and free council gathered in the name of Christ, then it is indubitably gathered that it is to be held in no esteem by us, but ought to be rejected as spurious and Antichristian. (1) It was convoked by the pope who, as we have already said, has right neither of convocation, nor of presidency. (2) The judges of this Council, the bishops and others to whom the pontiff granted this privilege could not be competent judges; both because they have never proved from the word of God that this power belonged to them and because they arrogated to themselves a magisterial and decisive power in the court of conscience, such as belongs to no mortal; and because in the Council it was principally treated concerning these, that the power which they claimed for themselves, their faith and morals and thus their reformation could be called into controversy, hence they could not be judges in their own cause; also because they were the sworn slaves of the pope, who dared to depart not even a hair's breadth from his command; and because there was an adverse party of Protestants whose cause was argued, and unsworn (*aspondoi*) enemies, whom they had frequently anathematized, and who consequently (according to the canon of Pope Nicholas) as suspect and hostile, could not be judges (Gratian, "Decreti," Pt. II, Causa 3, Q. 5.15 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:518). (3) Its only rule was not the sacred Scripture and the voice of the Holy Spirit, the supreme Judge speaking in the Scripture, but also

unwritten (*agraphos*) tradition with it, of which the pope acted as the infallible interpreter, whom they impiously called the "soul of the Scriptures." (4) It was not free either with respect to place, which was suspect and dangerous; or with respect to persons because the Protestants, who were most especially concerned, were never lawfully invited and heard. For if a safe conduct had been given to them, they might have been present at the Council and have spoken freely their opinion with the others, and they would not have had to plead their cause as if guilty and to receive laws from others as dictators and magistrates. Again, the caution of the Synod, extorted by the prayers of the emperor, was ambiguous and treacherous since the reserving clause was inserted, "as far as regards the Council itself." This left an open gate to the arts of the pope, so that he might at pleasure decree after them. Again, it could not be free because the pope (at the same time the accused party and the pleader) presided by legates, claimed for them alone the right of proposing, relying upon the skillful and ambiguous decree, through the clause "the legates proposing." Thus no one could offer to the Council matter for any kind of deliberation. The Spaniards and Caesareans deservedly complained that this remarkable fraud "struck at the vitals of the liberty of the Council." So it was lawful for the legates at their own pleasure to remove controversies displeasing to the pope about the power of the pope, the superiority of a council and other similar things, and to devise and conceive articles so that they might be decided according to his wish. And almost all the matters of any importance, before they were decided in the Council, were not only examined at Rome, but also determined. Hence that common expression was bandied about among the Romanists themselves: "That Holy Spirit who governs the Council of Trent was from time to time sent from Rome shut up in a portmanteau." And the Cardinal of Lorraine grievously complains: "The Council was not in the least free, since nothing was permitted either to be discussed or to be decided, except what pleased the legates, and the legates did nothing except according to the will of the pope" (Sarpi, *History of the Council of Trent* 7 [1620], p. 659). I omit those cunning arts by which the ministers of the pope endeavored to gain over to their side the fathers in the Council and refusing, they not only rebuked them, but also pushed them and tried by every means to deprive them of the freedom of speech. I pass

over innumerable other things which prove a most corrupt mode of acting. From which it is clearer than the noonday sun that it was anything but free.

XXV. (5) So far from any reformation of doctrine or of discipline having been made in this council (which was for so long a time sought and expected, in the head as well as in the members), on the contrary a greater confirmation was made by it of errors as well as of corruptions and of the papal tyranny. If any reformation was undertaken, it was altogether ludicrous and hypocritical, depending on the will of the pope, who was the author of the corruption and abuses; so that the fathers did not dare to touch, much less to remove the root of almost all the evils fixed in the pope and the Roman court and in the tyranny, avarice, luxury and ambition of both. Hence if any decrees attacking in any way the pontiff and the Roman court were seen to be enacted, at once the following decree deprived them of all their force, by which it was provided "that in all decrees concerning the Reformation of morals and ecclesiastical discipline, the authority of the Apostolic see is always both safe, and is to be understood safe" (Session 25, chap. 21, Schroeder, p. 253). Add the right of interpreting each decree of the Council, which, the Synod allowing, the pope reserved for himself, which being posited, all the matters of the pope and his court however injurious came to nothing and everything returned to its former state.

XXVI. (6) Many decrees of the Synod are ambiguous and equivocal in order to conciliate the opinions of men however they disagreed and such as suit the oracle (*loxia*) of Apollo better than a Christian council. Hence these Tridentine decrees are deservedly called "the high shoes of Hercules," as they could easily be received by both contending parties, as if favorable to them. This was done by Dominic de Soto and Andrew Vega, who although diametrically opposed to each other on the article concerning nature and grace, still brought forward for themselves the Tridentine Canons in the books which each one (while the Council was in session) published on this subject. This we might easily show as to other articles, so that not without reason was it said, "The Tridentine fathers aimed at a unity of words and not an agreement of things." Hence so wide a field of litigation was left to modern sophists. The crafty Henotics, the Walenburgian Brethren, the Condomensian Bishop (Bossuet, An *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church* [1685]) and others, relying upon this generality and ambiguity of the Tridentine decrees, endeavor to persuade the simple that

we agree in many particulars. But it is easy to show that this is to associate light with darkness.

XXVII. (7) Neither an emperor, nor kings, nor princes subscribed to this Council. Also the whole of France has never been willing to receive it so that it could have the force of law, and it was severely condemned by Lorraine because it assented to many articles condemned in France. Also the fathers of the Parisian court in the decrees of reformation rejected many things derogating from the right and liberties of France; such as that power is given to the bishops to inflict pecuniary fines upon the laity and to lay hands upon their property; that in the article concerning wars, they take to themselves the power to proceed against kings, the emperor and other superiors, to strike them with anathemas, to strip them of their dominions, to place the goods of private persons in their treasury; that by confirming ecclesiastical immunities, it gives to the pope alone and the judges of the church the power of judging in the causes of accused bishops, as if the princes dismiss the right over their subjects and at once become ecclesiastics and many other similar things. On account of this, they constantly repudiate this Council, as in the smallest degree influenced by the Holy Spirit, as was observed by de Thou, Bochellus, Pasquierio and others; and particularly by Charles Dumoulin, who demonstrated in a published consultation that "the Tridentine Council was improperly convoked, was nothing, held and terminated the ancient decrees of the fathers." And even Peter de Marca, Archbishop of Paris, testifies that the convention of the French clergy frequently demanded the promulgation of the Tridentine Council from the kings under this law, that they should except from their sway those matters which would be opposed to the manners of the kingdom and the liberties of the French church. "To their desires," says he, "the princes, the whole of this matter being often referred to the counsel of the most prudent men, could not accommodate themselves." He adds the reason—"because the liberty of the French church was interfered with by very many decrees of this Council" (*Dissertationum de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii* 2.17 [1763], p. 76; cf. also de Thou, *Historiarum sui temporis continuatio* 7 [1628], 4:382–473). And that no one may say if they erred, it was only about discipline, not about matters of faith; it is easy to show that such errors concerned not only discipline, but also the doctrine itself. Such is, for example, the article of the superiority of

the pope over the council, which was confirmed by this Council; the article about the power of the church above the temporal power of kings, which was settled (Session 25, chap. 20*, Schroeder, p. 252); the article concerning the immunity of the clergy and the like. Besides, it cannot be conceived why a church should be infallible in doctrine, but not in discipline; since it seems to belong no less to the essence of the church to be governed according to the prescription of Christ than to be led into all truth. And on this account the more—that there is so great a connection between discipline and doctrine that the heads of discipline and doctrine pass over also into the heads of doctrine, as we have already said.

XXVIII. Further, if anyone should desire to know more thoroughly this Council and its mode of action, let him consult that most sound and consummate writer, Paul Sarpi, who has given us a truly incomparable history (as Conringius calls it) with such accuracy and fidelity that nothing further can be desired. Nor if Cardinal Pallavicinus, a fawner upon the court of Rome, attempted a refutation of this golden work in bulky volumes or endeavored with malignant teeth to destroy the fame and faith of so great a man, did he obtain anything else than the contempt of pious and learned men. By the most weighty writers of the Romanists themselves and especially Count Julius Clement Scoto and Caesar Aquilinus, he was convicted not only of vanity and arrogance, but also of ignorance, prevarications and rank calumnies against a most faithful historian. Hence it happened that after the history of Pallavicinus had been published, among the zealous men in the papacy itself contending over the history of both, that of Sarpi began to be held in greater estimation than ever before. Caesar Aquilinus tells us: “The whole force and weight of the answer to the History of Paul Soave [Sarpi], which is found in the volumes of Pallavicinus, consists in diluted arguments and empty digressions. The remainder of what he has written is superfluous, worthless and sometimes pernicious, and these two volumes sufficiently great can rightly be compared to owls, who appear indeed to be large birds, not from the size of their limbs and the amount of their flesh, but from the superfluity of useless feathers” (*De tribus historicis Concilii Tridentini* [1662], p. 49). And Julius Clemens, although also devoted to the pontifical fathers, publishes various moral, censorial and historical notes and thirteen heads of introduction to his history in which he proves that he impairs the confidence of many in

those things which he wrote against Sarpi through mere bitterness and malevolence; that he is a slanderer and of bad faith in various matters, which he argues against the publicly known truth; and that his history is fabulous, foolish and scandalous and injurious to the papacy itself. But who can wonder that the true and sincere history of that Council (which faithfully uncovers the most base arts of the Roman court for the oppression of truth and liberty) should be by no means agreeable to the palate of that man who, as its sworn slave, labors for this one thing, to establish its errors and tyranny; and who therefore does not blush to charge upon us a new gospel and forms an idea of the church, not such as Christ and his apostles handed down to us, but such as Plato and Aristotle and other wise men and princes of the world would constitute? Thus far we had learned from the gospel of Christ that the church is an assembly of men bearing the cross after Christ; bidding farewell to the world and its vanities and to mundane policy; despising the riches, glory and pleasures of the world; and glorying in sufferings, poverty and persecutions; and diligently engaged in the practice of piety, humility, charity and other good works, as the safest way for obtaining salvation. But our Cardinal has found out a far more convenient Christianity which is pleasing to the flesh and can be made to agree with the world. He maintains, namely, that the government of the church ought to be instituted after the example of the kingdoms of the world by an earthly and carnal policy and that this is according to the institution of Christ (Pallavicinus, *Histoire du Concile de Trent* 1.23 [1864], 1:630–35). He confesses that the church ought to propose to itself as a design, the increase of riches and glory, to aim at the possession of perfect human felicity which Christ has formed, so that if Plato and Aristotle were alive, they would confess that according to the rules of their mundane wisdom, a more excellent and noble republic could not be formed than the Christian republic. And because (according to the idea of the wise men of the world) a republic cannot be happy unless it is possessed of resources and glory and abounds in wise men according to the flesh, he wishes the same to be the case in the church and confesses that the Roman church was instituted according to this idea and uses all means for the accumulation of wealth which (although they resemble simony) can rightly be used. He sneers at those who would have the church reformed according to the idea of the gospel, which he calls an ideal reformation, sought by no others than foolish

men, impelled by a preposterous zeal and without knowledge ("Introduction, chap. 10," *Histoire du Concile de Trent* [1864], 1:533–37). According to him, the church ought to dread nothing more than poverty; nor avoid anything more studiously than this evil (*Histoire du Concile de Trent* 17.14 [1864], 2:1232–40). On this account as many as say that ecclesiastical goods should for the greatest part be distributed to the poor are enemies of the church and that practice is directly opposed to the human happiness of the church and to the requirement of God and nature. Therefore, he thinks that these goods should be fitly employed in keeping up the splendor of the Roman court, by which infidels and Mohammedans can be converted to the faith (ibid., 8.17, 2:294–301). Thus ambition and the desire of glory are the two stimulants which impel men to the ministry of the church (ibid., 1.25, 1:639–58). On this account, riches and benefices should be accumulated to allure men by these bonds of humanity (ibid., 12.6+). Human happiness and temporal prosperity ought to be found at Rome as a fountain and to it riches should be carried from all quarters to support the majesty of that court. He says that the pope is monarch of the universe (whose power is unlimited and independent), all of whose kings ought to be tributary and who can at pleasure dispose of the goods of all (ibid., 8.17, 2:294–301 and 6.3.8 [1844 ed.], 2:34). I omit innumerable other things of this kind which can neither be read without horror, nor related without indignation. But we have not so learned Christ.

Thirty-Fourth Question: The Political Government of the Church

What is the right of the Christian magistrate about sacred things, and does the care and recognition of religion belong in any way to him? We affirm

About the political government of the church.

I. After having treated of the ecclesiastical government of the church, we must add something about the political. Concerning this, a grave question is moved in the examination and decision of which it is sinned in different ways, in excess as well as in defect.

Some sin in excess.

Others in defect.

II. They sin in excess who claim all ecclesiastical power for the magistrate; who, oppressed by the liberty of the ministry, deliver the thurible into the hand of Uzziah and think that no power belongs to pastors except what is derived from the magistrate. They sin in defect who remove him from all care of ecclesiastical things so that he does not care what each one worships and allows free power to anyone of doing and saying whatever he wishes in the cause of religion. Or who, although they ascribe to him the care of nourishing and defending the church, so that he may kindly cherish and powerfully defend it, still leave nothing of recognition and nothing of judgment concerning religion save the execution alone to him. They rest upon this foundation—that this knowledge and judgment about matters of faith is proper to the ecclesiastical order, whose decrees the magistrate is bound to respect and perform. This is the opinion of the Romanists, which Bellarmine sets forth ("De Clericis" ["De Laicis"], 3.17 *Opera*, 2:33–34).

Middle ground of the orthodox.

III. The orthodox (holding the mean between these two extremes) maintain that the pious and believing magistrate cannot and ought not to be excluded from all care of religion and sacred things, which has been enjoined upon him by God. Rather this right should be circumscribed within certain limits that the duties of the ecclesiastical and political order be not confounded, but the due parts be left to each. This we embrace in two propositions.

First proposition: That a right about sacred things belongs to the magistrate is proved: (1) from the command, Dt. 17:18.

IV. First proposition. "A multiple right concerning sacred things belongs to the magistrate." It is proved (1) from the divine command. To him was committed the custody of the divine law; on this account he ought to care

for the piety and worship of God, which is commanded by the first, no less than for justice and love, which is commanded by the second table: “And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites: And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes” (Dt. 17:18, 19*). This is repeated in Jos. 1:8, and in the solemn inauguration of Jehoash the book of the law is given to him by Jehoiada that he may understand that the guardianship of it has been committed to him (2 K. 11:12). The same command is confirmed from other passages where kings and princes are ordered to be instructed to serve the Lord with fear and to kiss the Son (Ps. 2:11*, 12*); where it is said that they will come to Christ and shall fall down before him (Ps. 72:10, 11); where they are said to be set up for this purpose that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty (1 Tim. 2:2), which could not be secured without a special care for religion.

2. From the titles given to magistrates.

V. (2) From the titles and appellations given to the magistrate in Scripture as (a) when they are called “nursing father” of the church (“And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers,” Is. 49:23; Is. 60:10); not only to procure for her temporal goods, but what is far more necessary, spiritual and heavenly goods. (b) They are called “gods” (Ps. 82:6) because they bear the mark of his power and rule over the people in his name. By his authority, they ought therefore to conduct themselves as vicars of God, promoting his glory above all things and taking care that their subjects pay him the due tribute and tax for his lawful and pure worship. (c) “Pastors” (Is. 44:28), not because they only furnish food, but that they ought to be anxious for their salvation, taking care that their subjects are led to the healthful pastures of the word of God. (d) “Fathers” (1 S. 24:11*), who ought to have a care for their people, that their food and clothing may be provided for them; but especially their spiritual food and that they may be instructed in the fear of the Lord.

3. From reasons.

VI. (3) From reasons: (a) Because to him is commended the safety of the state and all things pertaining to it, among which the care of religion and of sacred things is conspicuous. Hence the Philosopher (Aristotle) assigns "the service of religion" (*peri to theion epimeleian*) the principal place among those things without which the state cannot exist (*Politics* 7. 7.4 [Loeb, 572–73]). And Plato says, "Special regard must be paid to religion in the state" (lib. 2 *de Repub*.+); and "It is appointed the bond of all society and the pillar of just law" (lib. 6+). Cicero calls religion "the foundation of human society" (*De Natura Deorum* 2.31 [Loeb, 19:198–99]). (b) Because he ought to procure all the good of the subjects for whose sake he has been constituted and to render an account of it to God; now religion and things pertaining to it are without controversy the principal good of these. (c) Governments are the guest chambers of the church; therefore the magistrate ought to see that it is well with her.

4. From the examples of kings.

VII. (4) From the approved examples of kings and magistrates, in the Old as well as in the New Testament. Moses, administering the office of a king over the people (Dt. 33:5*), establishes religion by divine authority, promulgates the law, inaugurates Aaron and prescribes laws to the whole people and the order of the priests. Joshua governs the Levites, orders the ark to be carried around, sees that the people are circumcised and renews the covenant. David takes care that the ark should be brought back from the house of Obed-edom to his own, appoints singers and distributes the duties of the Levites through certain courses (1 Ch. 15:16; 23:6), and prepares all things necessary for the building of the temple (1 Ch. 22:2). Solomon removes from office Abiathar and puts Zadok in his place (1 K. 2:27), builds the temple (1 K. 6), draws the ark into it with solemn pomp and sanctifies it with prayers and sacrifices (1 K. 8). Asa overthrows the altars and statues of foreign worship and cuts down the groves (1 K. 15:12, 15; 2 Ch. 14:4). Jehoshaphat brings about a reformation and ordains an ecclesiastical and political senate (2 Ch. 19). Joash restores the temple (2 K. 12:4, 5*). Hezekiah takes away the high places, shatters the statues, breaks

the bronze serpent to which the Israelites burned incense (2 K. 18:4), opens the doors of the house of the Lord and repairs them, institutes a reformation of worship and a purgation of the temple, enters into a covenant with the Lord (2 Ch. 29:10) and brings back the people to the true worship of God (2 Ch. 30). Josiah publishes the book of the law found by Hilkiah, the high priest, and has it read before all the people (2 K. 23:2; 2 Ch. 34:30); he celebrates the Passover and exhorts the priests to do their duty (2 Ch. 35:1, 2). To these can be added the examples of pious emperors: Constantine the Great; each of the Theodosii; Arcadius and Honorius; Valentinian; (?)Majorian*; Justinian and others, whose piety in the care of religion was celebrated everywhere, as appears from ecclesiastical history and the Novellae. Hence these words (worthy of preservation) of Constantine in an epistle written to the churches after the Council of Nicea as given in Eusebius: "I thought I ought to labor for this above all things, that in the church the one faith of a most happy people, sincere love and reverence towards God the author of all, in no way disagreeing, should be preserved" (*Life of Constantine* 3.17 [NPNF2, 1:524; PG 20.1074]). Of Honorius: "Among the greatest cares of our empire, reverence for the Catholic law is either the first or the only thing; for neither do we either in the labors of war do, or ordain in the councils of peace any other thing, except that the devoted people of our world may preserve the true worship of God." And of Arcadius to Flavian: "No thing holds us equally anxious as the care of the sacred churches and the most firm basis of faith in Christ by which we are saved, and barbarous nations are brought in subjection to us. For neither by our strength do we these things, nor by the power of horses and chariots of war, but all things turn out prosperously to us strengthened by the power of God." Ambrosius commends Theodosius by this name because "being near to death he paid greater attention to the church than to the empire." Justinian says, "There is no less care to me for the things which are profitable to the most holy churches than for my own soul" (*Corpus Iuris Civilis, III: Novellae* 3.3 [1968], p. 24).

Sources of explanation.

VIII. It is one thing to usurp another's calling; another to administer lawfully the duties of an office committed to him. Uzzah and Uzziah rashly

invaded another's calling. But when princes take care of religion, they discharge the duties of an office entrusted to them.

IX. Although the care of religion belongs to the magistrate, political and ecclesiastical power are not on this account confounded. They are concerned with it in a different way; some are the duties of that, others of this. The former is concerned only about extrinsic things, as to their external disposition and order (which belong to the worship of God); the latter, however, about internal things (to wit, the administration of those things which pertain to the worship of God). He does not exercise the ministry of the word who admonishes and corrects a minister erring in doctrine or delinquent in life and removes an obstinate or scandalous one. He does not baptize who prohibits the profanation of baptism, who takes care that holy things should be done in a holy manner.

X. As it is not lawful for bishops to draw the sword, so neither is it lawful for princes and civilians to handle the thurible; as to the preaching of the word, the administration of the sacraments and other things which formally belong to pastors and are of the essential reason of their office. But it does not thence follow that the other functions concerning the government of the church do not belong to the believing magistrate. Although it is not lawful for bishops to engage in politics or to plead in court, still it is lawful and incumbent upon them to admonish and to exhort magistrates to do their duty. And if they at any time fail in it, they are to rebuke and to denounce the judgment of God against them. So, in turn, although the preaching of the word does not pertain to magistrates, still it is lawful for them to admonish and rebuke bishops and pastors neglecting or wandering from their office; nay, also to bring to order transgressors and to take care that the ministry be not corrupted and religion suffer no harm.

XI. Although Christ did not commit his church to Tiberius, but to Peter, still he did not exclude princes from the care of religion (he called them nursing fathers); nor did he who said "Kiss the Son" repel kings as such. The ministry of the word is committed to pastors; but the care of the state no less to the magistrate; in which state if the church exists, why should not the pious magistrate as such both afford entertainment to the church and keep off the wolves, who in the name of pastors lay waste the flock? Otherwise, by the same argument, I shall have denied that the defense of

religion belongs to the magistrate because he gave no commands about religion to Tiberius.

Second proposition: An absolute right in sacred things does not belong to the magistrate, but a limited. In what it does not consist, negatively.

XII. Second proposition. “Although a right about sacred things belongs to the magistrate, it is not absolute, but limited and circumscribed within certain limits, differing greatly from the right of pastors.” This can be shown: (a) negatively (*kat’ arsin*), in what it does not consist; (b) affirmatively (*kata thesin*) and positively, in what it does. As the former: (1) he cannot make new articles of faith or institute and enjoin new worship because it is will-worship (*ethelothrēskeia*) condemned by the word of God (Is. 29:13; Mt. 15:8*, 9; Col. 2:23) and subjected to a curse (Gal. 1:8, 9) and vindicated by various examples of the divine judgment in Jeroboam, Ahab and Nebuchadnezzar. (2) To him does not belong the preaching of the word or the administration of the sacraments, because they are proper and essential formal ministerial acts (Mt. 28:19, 20) which no one ought to exercise without a call (Heb. 5:4; 1 Cor. 7:20).

XIII. (3) He cannot exercise ecclesiastical discipline by the authority of the ecclesiastical keys, shutting or opening heaven, because those keys were given to the church or presbytery (Mt. 16:19; 18:18) and not to the magistrate, whose weapons are not spiritual but carnal. (4) He cannot prescribe to ministers the form of preaching or of administering the sacraments, because the pastor has that authority immediately from Christ, not from the magistrate; or command them to do anything contrary to the rules and institutions of the ministry, no more than a physician can give to a feverish patient hellebore instead of rhubarb. For such things belong to the ministerial office which is of divine right. (5) In deciding and establishing ecclesiastical matters, he cannot, nor ought he to, enjoin anything without consulting and hearing the pastors; no more than he should prescribe from the college of physicians and the shops of druggists anything belonging to that art without consultation with them. The same thing must be determined concerning controversies of religion, which he ought not to recall to his

own judgment alone and determine authoritatively about them. Although he can and ought by reason of his calling to recognize religion and distinguish the true from the false.

In what it consists affirmatively.

XIV. Affirmatively (*kata thesin*) there are many things which belong to the magistrate in reference to sacred things. (1) He ought to establish the sacred doctrine and the pure worship of God in the state according to the prescription of the divine word; faithfully to conserve it when established or even to restore and reform it when declining, as is evident from the passages already quoted concerning Asa, Jehoshaphat, Josiah, Joash, Hezekiah. Hence the design of pious princes and Christian magistrates must be praised, according to which they lent a helping hand to the Reformation (which was in vain expected from the Roman court) and used all their endeavors to cherish and sustain it. (2) He ought to protect the church according to his ability, to restrain heretics and disturbers of ecclesiastical peace, to promote the glory of God, to defend and propagate the true religion and to hinder the confusion of religions. (3) To provide for the ministry of the word and of the sacraments rightly according to the word of God, where it does not exist; to treat it reverently and honestly, cherish and defend it, where it does exist; to open and encourage schools also as seedbeds (*seminaria*) of the state and the church in which the youth may be instructed and trained. (4) To provide with all diligence that each minister may do his duty, to confirm the diligent, to stir up the lazy and to punish the delinquent according to the ecclesiastical canons or civil laws. (5) To cause the customary formulas and ecclesiastical constitutions which define the doctrine and government of the church according to the rule of Scripture to be sanctioned by a legitimate order and when once sanctioned to be preserved unimpaired. (6) To constitute authoritatively the ordinary conventions of the church in which ecclesiastical business concerning the doctrine, discipline and order of the church are transacted according to the word of God. And for the purpose of retaining purity of doctrine and holiness of discipline and of deciding controversies of religion, besides the ordinary conventions, to gather provincial and national synods when there

is need, to moderate their actions and judgments by his counsel and in addition to confirm and defend them by his authority.

Sources of explanation.

XV. Ecclesiastical power is either internal, direct and formal, occupied with the administration and exercise of sacred things (such as the preaching of the word, the administration of the sacraments and the dispensation of the keys); or extrinsic, indirect and only objective (such as is concerned with sacred things, as to procurement and disposition, that all things be done decently and in order in the house of God). The first belongs to pastors alone, to whom he has committed his church and given the keys of the kingdom of heaven; the latter belongs to Christian magistrates and princes, inasmuch as they ought to be the guardians of both tables; as in a well-regulated family the father disposes and arranges all things, the execution and performance of which belongs to the domestics. Here belongs the distinction of "bishop towards things externally, and towards things internally" which the Emperor Constantine employs between himself and the pastors of the church: "You are constituted bishops in the church; I without the church; both of God" (*hymeis men tōn eisō tēs Ekklēsias, egō de tōn ektos hypo Theou kathestamenos episkopos*, Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 4.24 [NPNF2, 1:546; PG 20.1171–72]).

XVI. Although formerly kings and priests were the same persons, not only among the Gentiles, but also sometimes among the people of God, and so all the firstborn bore among their own people a certain kind of kingdom and priesthood, still with the remaining ceremonies, this type of Christ (whom alone the church recognizes as at the same time her king and priest) was abrogated and consequently it is not lawful to join together these two administrations in the same man. The example of Moses, which is adduced, is extraordinary; nor did he (when Aaron his brother was inaugurated and constituted high priest) perform the functions of a priest. The agreement and coordination of these administrations does not effect that both should be given in charge to the same man, who is scarcely sufficiently fit for either; nor also is it expedient for the public that they should be united and that sacred things should be cared for in a human manner.

XVII. Although political, external and objective power in reference to sacred things presupposes a formal, proper and intrinsic ecclesiastical power and the exercise of it; still in its kind it is always first and antecedent (yea, even alone, if we wish to speak accurately) because the other public, supreme and architectonic power does not precede or attend or follow it, but only the subjection and obedience of all citizens; and the subordinate and ministerial power of the political officers follows and accompanies it. Nor if the magistrate is subjected to Christ, the head of the church, and to his word, is he forthwith properly subjected to his minister, who proclaims his word. As the prince is subordinated to the king, but not to the herald or ambassador by whom the commands of the king are borne to him. It is one thing to obey and to be subject to another as a lord; another to hear one and to obey his teachings. An uneducated father obeys his son, skilled in law, medicine or theology, especially if he is furnished with the doctorate; the prince obeys the counselor and the bench of judges, when a cause is decided in favor of any citizen against himself; nonetheless his supreme dominion remains.

XVIII. Political power is occupied with a thing either directly and immediately, or indirectly, mediately and consequently. In the former way, it is concerned absolutely with the external man and the things pertaining to life (*ta biōtika*) without any discrimination of faith or unbelief and with all civil matters. In the latter, it is concerned with sacred and spiritual things, not with respect to the relation of spiritual and ecclesiastical as such (which is not the immediate object of political power as such), but with respect to the external adjunct, either of place or time or persons or other circumstances (which by themselves are the object of political power).

XIX. Although the magistrate (according to us) has not a supreme and unlimited authority over sacred things, it does not follow that our opinion does not differ from the opinion of the Romanists. (1) The magistrate as lord (to wit, furnished with a ruling power by God) protects the church, according to us; while according to the Romanists he protects her only as the servant of the pope. (2) According to us, the Christian magistrate has the right of knowing and judging concerning matters of faith, at least with a discretive and approving judgment, whether he ought to confirm by his authority the judgments of the church and commit them to execution. But according to the Romanists, the church alone judges by a supreme,

definitive and infallible judgment, which the magistrate (equally with the private person) is bound simply and with implicit faith to embrace and to put into execution without any preceding judgment of discretion upon the judgment of the church. He ought to draw the sword at the nod of the priest and be a blind executor of the decrees of the church, as often as the church has thus judged it to be expedient, whether the affairs and reasons of the state bear it or not. (3) According to us, if the magistrate in his judgment about ecclesiastical matters abuses his power, he does not cease to enjoy the title of that power by human and divine right; nor can the church as such resist or shun his authority, much less abrogate his title and power. Her arms are prayers and tears and only by suffering does she oppose herself. While according to the Romanists, the church has the power to reduce the magistrate to order (by their judgment abusing his power), whether by his own subjects (whom she absolves from their oath of allegiance) or by neighboring princes, his territories being exposed to spoliation or extirpation.

XX. The name "Head of the Church," given to the King of England, is not understood of intrinsic, formal and spiritual ecclesiastical power, but of extrinsic, objective or defensive power about ecclesiastical matters. This is evident from the articles of religion approved by the Synod at London in the year 1562 and by the public consent of the Queen and the orders of the kingdom, of which the thirty-seventh is this: "When we ascribe to her royal Majesty the supreme government, by which title we understand the minds of certain calumniators are offended, we do not give to our rulers the administration either of the word of God or of the sacraments, which even the injunctions by Queen Elizabeth lately published most clearly testify, but only that prerogative which we find was always ascribed in the holy Scriptures by God himself to all pious princes, i.e., that they should continue in duty all states and orders committed to their faith by God, whether ecclesiastical or civil and should restrain with civil sword the obstinate and delinquent" (cf. Cardwell, *Synodalia* [1842], 1:71). It is confirmed from Lancelot Andrews, where setting forth the primacy of kings (the adversary objecting being Calvin), he answers: "Calvin as he did not approve of the king as pope, so did not approve of the pope as king; nor do we approve in the king what we detest in the pope, while both he with us and we with him think that the duties of King James in the Christian church

are the same as those of Josiah in the Jewish church, nor do we ask that anything beyond should be done" (*Tortura Torti* [1609], p. 379). And: "If you prefer an example from Christian rulers, the king demands this, that he should be a bishop of things without (*tōn ektos*), which Constantine, as a ruler of religion, did; which not only Charlemagne, but also Louis the Pious did" (ibid., p. 382). In the same manner James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, in a speech published with a controversial work against the Jesuit, Hybernus, defends the oath of fidelity which declared the king to be the sole, supreme governor in the kingdom. Thus he distinguishes "two distinct powers established by God in these lands, one of which is of the keys committed to the church, the other of the sword entrusted to the civil magistrate; the former ordained to operate about the internal man, having an immediate relation to the remission and retention of sins; the latter ordained to operate about the external man, affording protection to the obedient, and inflicting external punishments upon the rebellious" (which in the same place he explains and proves) (*A Speech Delivered in the Castle-Chamber at Dublin the xxii of November, Anno* 1622, pp. 3–4). And afterwards: "Although in this way we make the prince and priest guardians of both tables, and although the matter about which they exercise their office can be the same, still the form and mode of governing in it is distinct in every way. One extends itself only to the external man, the other to the internal; one binds or looses the soul; the other attends to the body and things pertaining to it; one has a special regard to the judgment of the future world, the other refers to the present retention or privation of some of the conveniences of this life" (ibid., p. 6). He at length concludes after many other things, "According to the common opinion and public authority of the Anglican church by the supreme government of the king is meant the civil and the power of the sword, nor can it in any way be extended to a government which is purely of another kind" (ibid., p. 7). He who desires more on this subject should consult the celebrated Voetius (*Politicae Ecclesiasticae*, Pt. I [1663], Bk. I, Tract. II, pp. 149–82).

Can the magistrate compel subjects to faith?

XXI. We must not omit here the question which is wont to be agitated—whether the care of the magistrate about sacred things is to be so far

extended that he can or ought to compel his subjects to religion and faith. This is indeed the opinion of the Romanists, which they have thus far too well approved by deeds and every day approve, both by the cruel practice of the Spanish Inquisition and by the dreadful and savage persecutions which they employ against those who are unwilling to embrace the Roman faith and to bend their necks under the papal yoke. Nay, they are wont to place this among the means of conversion. For as by the right hand they endeavor to allure men to themselves by the hope of rewards and earthly advantages, so by the left hand they strive to turn them away from the faith once delivered to the saints by the fear of punishments and evils.

The negative is proved.

XXII. But far different is the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, who as he teaches that men should be drawn to the faith by no other hope than that of heavenly goods and of eternal life, so he wishes them to be excited to piety by no other fear than of the judgments of God and of hell. “Knowing the terror of the Lord, we persuade men” (2 Cor. 5:11). Every other way ought to be deservedly suspected by us as proceeding not from Christ, the prince of life, but from Satan, the prince of death; who as he showed to Christ the kingdoms of the world and their glory, for the purpose of exciting his hope, so as a raging lion and a murderer, he is accustomed to rage among men with the fear of punishments and death in order to call them away from the faith. But the disciples of Christ, following their Master and teacher, think that no one ought to be forced to faith and religion; but the weapons which are to be employed here ought to be spiritual, not carnal; strongly persuading the mind by the evidence and demonstration of the truth, not violently forcing men by lashes and torments; not by the sword of the flesh, but with the sword of the Spirit; not with bonds as iron fetters, but with the sweet bonds of charity and love.

1. From the example and command of Christ.

XXIII. The reasons are: (1) the command and example of Christ because nothing like this was ever either commanded by Christ or approved by his example. Christ indeed orders the apostles to teach and to baptize, but

nowhere commands them to kill those who are unwilling to hear, or compel them to believe by the authority of the secular arm. Nor does the passage where the servant is ordered to compel the guests invited to the feast of the heavenly Lord evince the contrary: "Compel them to come in" (Lk. 14:23). This compulsion is to be understood according to the subject matter, not of physical compulsion (which compels a man unwilling), but of moral compulsion (which influences and persuades the will). Thus is most fitly designated the soul-turning and most powerful force of the word and Spirit, which God employs in the conversion of men to work in them to will and to do (Phil. 2:13) and to draw them to Christ; sweetly indeed but powerfully, by a grateful invitation, but by a most efficacious persuasion which makes the unwilling man willing; and by an unconquerable power draws him torn from the world to Christ and introduces him into his communion; this sweet compulsion and persuasive necessity (*peithanankē*) is discussed in Jer. 20:7, Jn. 6:44 and Acts 9:1–9.

2. From 2 Cor. 10:4.

XXIV. (2) From the words of the apostle: "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds; casting down imaginations, and every high thing … and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ" (2 Cor. 10:4, 5). Thus the apostle points out that the means and instruments which we use and war for Christ in propagating the gospel are not carnal, such as are accustomed to be used by the kings and princes of the world to extend the boundaries of their empire (to wit, the sword and violence). But "the power of God" (i.e., spiritual, which are most powerful for the destruction of strongholds, that is, of the desires by which men defend themselves in sins, as at the sound of the horn the walls of Jericho fell; and to the overthrow of the reasonings of human wisdom and of all high places of the flesh and to the bringing of every thought to the obedience of Christ). This truly cannot be accomplished by corporeal arms, which can bring the body indeed to order, but have no power over the mind; but the sole efficacy of the word of Almighty God and of the Holy Spirit, which so affects and moves the hearts of men, that overcome by the truth they are drawn to obey Christ and willingly come under his yoke.

3. Because no one has dominion over the conscience.

XXV. (3) Because religion and faith belong to man's conscience. Now no one can assume for himself dominion over the conscience except God. "We have not dominion," says Paul, "over your faith" (2 Cor. 1:24). And Maximilian II well remarks: "There is no tyranny more intolerable than to wish to dominate over consciences," because God has reserved that dominion for himself alone. Seneca was not ignorant that the conscience can be subjected to no mortal: "Our bodies are exposed and committed to lords, but the mind has its own right, which is so free and roaming that it cannot be held even by this prison in which it is placed, from using its power and going forth to infinity as a companion to the gods" ("On Benefits," 3.20 in *Moral Essays* [Loeb, 3:164–65]).

4. Because this is done in vain.

XXVI. (4) Because their success in this attempt is ineffectual. Nor can the effect ever be obtained, because faith is in the soul, which cannot be forced. "He who imposes upon me a necessity," says Lactantius, "either of believing what I do not wish or of not believing what I do wish; nothing is so voluntary as religion, in which if the mind of the sacrifices is opposed, it is already taken away, it is already nothing" (*Divine Institutes* 5.19* [FC 49:380; PL 6.616]). That cannot be sincere which is forced; nor anything pleasing to Christ unless it be voluntary. There is no profit in these means of the violent; either souls are more alienated and irritated or become hypocritical, holding one thing in the heart, professing another with the lips, and while they profess externally this or that faith, they are opposed to it in mind. Here belongs especially what Philo in his book relates concerning Calanus, a most ancient philosopher of the Indians, who is said to have written to Alexander the Great on this opinion: "Friends may persuade you to compel the Indian philosophers, not even in a dream having gotten sight of our affairs and our business. You will move bodies from place to place, you will do no violence to unwilling souls, no more than if you could compel walls and beams to utter a voice.… No king, no prince can make us

do anything against the opinion of our minds" (*Every Good Man is Free* 14.96 [Loeb, 9:65]).

5. From the suffrages of the ancients.

XXVII. (5) From the testimonies of ancient and more modern writers. Tertullian says, "It does not belong to religion to compel to religion, which ought to be voluntarily taken up, not by violence" (*To Scapula* 2 [FC 10:152; PL 1.777]). Hilary says, "It is not becoming, it is not right that the unwilling and repugnant should be forced and compelled" (*Ad Constantium Augustum* 1.2 [PL 10.557]). Lactantius: "There is no need of violence and injury, because religion cannot be compelled, the affair is to be managed by words rather than by stripes, that it may be voluntary" (*Divine Institutes* 5.20 [FC 49:378; PL 6.614]). And afterwards: "The executioner and piety are far separated. Piety cannot be joined together with violence, nor justice with cruelty. Religion is to be defended, not by killing, but by dying; not by barbarity, but by patience; not by crime, but by faith" (ibid., 5.19 [FC 49:379; PL 6.615]). Athanasius testifies that it belonged to heretics to propagate their religion by slaying. Speaking thus of the Arians: "They compelled the unwilling to a change of opinion which is by no means the part of men confident in their cause; for not by swords or darts or the military hand is the truth preached, but by persuasion and consultation. What, however, is the liberty of persuading, or the reason of consulting there, where he who opposes receives as his reward either exile or death? In the same place that new and detestable heresy is overwhelmed with arguments, falls with truth itself ashamed, strives to draw to itself by force, blows, and prisons those whom it could not induce by words, and thus manifests that it is not pious and a worshipper of God. For it is the property of a pious religion, as I have said, not to compel, but to persuade" ("Epistola ad omnes ubique solitariam vitam agentes," *Opera Omnia* [1627], 1:830–31). Hilary says, "God has taught rather than demanded a knowledge of himself, and by the admiration of his heavenly works conciliating authority to his precepts, he despises the will forced to confess him" (*Ad Constantium Augustum* 1.6 [PL 10.561]). In the same place against Arius and Auxentius: "The church terrifies by exiles and prisons, and compels to be believed for herself what was believed by exiles and

prisoners; she hangs on the worth of the communicants, what was consecrated by the terror of persecutors; she puts to flight priests, what was propagated by exiled priests" (*Contra Arianos vel Auxentium* 1.4 [PL 10.611]). Gregory: "We were made pastors, not persecutors; and an illustrious preacher says, Reprove, entreat, rebuke with all patience and doctrine; but that preaching is new and unheard of which demands faith by stripes" (*Ad Gregorius Maximiano Episcopo** 3.52.63 [CCSL 140.199]). This was reduced to a law (cf. "Decreti," Pt. I, Dist. 45.1 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:160). Bernard: "Faith is to be won, not imposed" ("Sermon 66 [12]," *Song of Solomon* [trans. S.J. Eales, 1984], p. 407 [PL 83.1101]). The wiser of our opponents cannot deny this. Since the king of France, in the year 1553, had promulgated a severe decree for the extirpation of the Reformed, the Parisian Senate, in order to dissuade him from his purpose, among other things most weightily writes: "It seemed just that he should rather tread in the footsteps of the ancient church, which accomplished her object not by fire and the sword in the religion to be established and propagated, but by the example of the purer doctrine and the virtuous life of her bishops" (de Thou, *Historiarum sui temporis* 16 [1625], 1:332). Here belong the golden words of the same author in his preface: "We are sufficiently taught by experience that the sword, fire, exiles, prescriptions irritate rather than heal the disease inhering in the mind: consequently to cure it, there is need not for those things which penetrate only the body, but of doctrine and diligent instruction which gently distilled descends into the mind; since all other things are sanctioned by the will of the civil magistrate; religion alone does not command, but from the taught opinion of the truth, the favor of the divine presence being vouchsafed, it is poured into minds well prepared; to this torments avail nothing because they rather strengthen minds to resistance, than break and persuade them" ("Epistola," ibid., v. 1).

6. From the practice of the ancient church.

XXVIII. (6) From the practice of the ancient church. The church suffered, but did not arouse persecution; she conquered paganism as paganism had conquered her; but she did not render to it measure for measure. She did not employ the authority of the Constantines and Theodosians to force

unbelievers to the faith or to sprinkle the shrines of false gods with the blood of their worshippers; as pagans used the swords of the Neros, Maximians, Decians and Diocletians to bathe the earth with the blood of Christians. And he must evidently be a stranger to ecclesiastical history who is ignorant that in the struggles which the orthodox church had with the Arians, Eutychians and other heretics, she commonly used no other weapons against them than exhortations, arguments and councils. But on the other hand, heretics brought fire and the sword into the living temples of the Holy Spirit and by the terror of torments and death (which they exercised against believers) disseminated their deadly errors rather than by other means.

XXIX. Although the magistrate ought to be anxious about the salvation of his subjects and to omit none of those things which are in his power to procure it, it does not follow that this ought to be done by violent and unjust means repugnant to divine and natural law, to the example of Christ, and to the spirit of Christianity, which breathes both pure charity and gentleness; also to the practice of the apostles and of the ancient church. Teachers and not torturers are to be employed here. More is gained by admonishing than by threatening and by teaching than by killing.

XXX. Now although faith is not to be commanded, but persuaded; nor ought anyone to be compelled to abjure his heresy, it does not on this account follow that a confusion of religions and Samaritanism should be introduced into the state or the tolerance of any of the sects and especially of those which tear away the primary heads of Christianity (such as the Socinians and the like), which would be an evident injury to the glory of God and highly injurious to the safety of the state. Or that any heretics erring concerning the faith should be borne with and not coerced with any punishments (which the Socinians urge and other sectarians of the same class in order to scheme for their own advantage). Now because the Romanists go to the other extreme and think they should be pursued with the sword and with fire and punished capitally, as many as they judge have fallen into heresy (which they measure by the dissent from their faith, that thus they might the more sharply excite princes to the destruction of the Protestants and Reformers), we must briefly ascertain how between these two extremes the mean can rightly be held.

Ought heretics to be punished? Statement of the question.

XXXI. And here above all we think the pious and Christian magistrate ought to do his duty in reference to heretics, both for the curing of them (with whatever gentle measures he can, if they are curable) and to restrain and check them (if they are incorrigible), in order to drive out the consuming plague from the churches. But a multiple caution must be used, lest it be sinned either by an excessive severity or too great mildness. For we must accurately distinguish between the seduced and the seducers, between "those deceiving [*planōtes*] and being deceived [*planōmenoi*]" (2 Tim. 3:13); between those who err slightly and those who err more grievously and obstinately. The former are to be mildly instructed; the latter are to be more strictly coerced. Between those who attack a single article of faith and those who overturn the principal foundations of Christianity. We must distinguish between those who sin from ignorance and keep their errors secret and to themselves, and those who teach them to others (*heterodidaskalousi*, 1 Tim. 6:3) and infect with the contagion of their errors whomsoever they can; and especially heresiarchs, blasphemous and factious, disturbers of the public peace, who not only pertinaciously defend the errors which they cherish, but also whenever an opportunity is presented, strive to spread them against admonitions and prohibitions often repeated, polluting heaven and earth by their horrible blasphemies, and who under this pretext excite disturbances and seditions in the state. For against these no one can doubt that greater severity should be used. Again we are to distinguish the multitude of a nation (which is infected with any error) from particular individuals who labor to head a school and sect that shall survive them. They are to be distinguished (with whom the magistrate has as yet entered into no agreement and in whose will therefore it is placed to tolerate or reject them) from those who live under the public faith of agreements and edicts granted to them before and frequently confirmed. For to the former nothing is owed; but to the latter covenants once sanctioned are to be kept, as they bind the magistrate no less than the people (unless they have rendered themselves by some crime unworthy of such a benefit of a subject). Finally, a great distinction ought to be made between heretics who

are judged to be such by the consent of all Christians and are lawfully convicted by the word of God (such as are atheists, Deists, Epicureans, Socinians and the like) and those who are held to be such by some from prejudiced opinions, on account of dissent from their own belief, although they have never been lawfully convicted of their errors, nor do they teach anything (as to positive articles) which is not received by others.

1. Proposition: Heretics can be coerced.

XXXII. These three propositions having been established, we set forth our opinion. The first is: "It is lawful for magistrates to coerce and also to inflict some punishment upon contumacious and obstinate heretics, who cannot be healed and who wound the peace of the church by their factions." For since (as we have said before) they are the guardians of both tables and the care of religion belongs to them, they ought to see to it that she suffers no harm and prudently meet the approaching evil, that the gangrene may spread no further and may not become diffused over the whole body. Now they cannot conserve religion unless they coerce the pertinacious and factious despisers of it. This the glory of God (of which they are vindicators) and the safety of the state (of which they are the defenders) demand. If smaller evils are coerced by weighty punishments, this which is the greatest—that which injures the truth of God, which blasphemes his name, which wounds the church, which corrupts the faith and brings the salvation of believers into danger—ought not to be left without a remedy. Nay, there is sometimes need of so much the prompter and stronger remedy as thence the greater destruction threatens the whole body, unless it be provided against in season.

XXXIII. Here belong the laws enacted by Moses against apostates, blasphemers, false prophets, soothsayers and idolaters (recorded in Dt. 13:5; 17:12; Lev. 24:16). Also the examples of Moses and of pious kings in the Old Testament, who did not hesitate to purge religion and to coerce the false prophets and heretics and idolaters and to inflict upon them various punishments. And of the Christian princes under the New Testament, who enacted various laws against heretics, whom they not only punished with prison and exile, but also coerced with other heavier punishments. See *Corpus Iuris Civilis, II: Codex Iustinianus* 1.3* ("De Summa Trinitate"), pp.

5–6; and ibid., 1.5.4 (“Manichaeos” of “De Haereticis et Manichaeis”), p. 51; ibid., 1.5.8 (“Quicumque”), p. 52.

XXXIV. Nor are the following opposed to this opinion or the parable of the tares. As was said before (Question 32, Section 23), this does not refer to the civil magistrate or to the ecclesiastical ministry so as to deny that any guilty persons are either to be visited with political judgments or to be restrained by ecclesiastical discipline, which would be by far the most absurd; but that we may know that offenses in the church will never be wanting until the end of the world and that evils are to be borne which cannot be corrected without damage. Or the example of Christ, who did not quarrel and contend (Is. 42:2, 3), or break the bruised reed, but sweetly called men to himself. Gentleness is ascribed to him, which supports the weak, not which hardens more strongly wickedness. He is gentle that he may not break the bruised reed, but not that he may encourage their obstinacy who break the weak; rather he is armed with an iron scepter with which to bruise the heads of his enemies. Or Christian kindness, because this does not take away the right of the magistrate to bear the sword, and it ought not to cause him to sheathe his sword as the avenger against the wicked. It causes indeed that there should be a place for mild remedies and that all things should be tried first, before going to extremes. But this mild and humane method of healing differs much from a weak irresolution, which is nothing else than an encouragement of evil. Cruel is the mercy which exposes the sheep as a prey that the wolf may be appeased; and which suffers the body of Christ to be lacerated and their minds to be tainted with the poison of corrupt doctrines that the stench of one rotten member may remain entire. Or that the civil magistrate has no power over the soul in which the heresy inheres. Although he does not have a right over the soul, he has over the tongue, as over the hand; and he can punish the heretic teaching another doctrine (*heterodidaskalounta*) no less than the thief who steals another’s property, or the robber who kills a man, because he corrupts society, the care of which the magistrate ought to have. Therefore coercive power does not apply to internal faith, but is concerned with external acts, over which the magistrate has power. For as an opinion of the mind is not to be punished, still neither is a pestilent and impious profession to be endured.

2. Proposition: It is not lawful to punish all heretics with capital punishment.

XXXV. Second proposition. “It is not lawful to inflict capital punishment upon all errorists and heretics.” Against the Romanists, who think that all heretics should be persecuted with fire and sword, whether they sin by simple error and from weakness, or wickedly and inflexibly; whether they truly err about faith and by the common consent of Christians, or are considered such by their own judgment on account of dissent from the church of Rome. This they confirm too well by their practice and by the accursed tribunal of the Inquisition and the torture of consciences and the dreadful manglings of the pious worshippers of God most falsely stigmatized with the odious name of heretics; exercised both in former ages and even in our own; not only upon particular individuals, but upon entire peoples and nations; upon myriads of men of all races, of every age, sex and condition (as appears from the martyrologies).

It is proved: (1) because this is repugnant to the spirit of Christianity.

XXXVI. The reasons for our opinion are: (1) this barbarity and cruelty is repugnant to the spirit of Christianity and the design of the gospel, which is to save, not to destroy; to allure men to the faith by the word, but not to compel them by the sword; to destroy errors and vices, but to spare persons as far as possible. It belongs to Mohammed to advance with slaughter and blood and to establish his empire by cruelty and torments. But Christ reigns in us by the Spirit of grace and love. He seeks the salvation of men, not their blood. Hence Christ said to the apostles asking him to call down fire from heaven to destroy the Samaritans, “Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men’s lives, but to save them” (Lk. 9*:55*, 56*). He was teaching that such vengeance does not agree with the evangelical spirit even to the end of his advent. Nor can Maimburg deny it in his *History of Calvinism*, while he maintains that “Calvinism shows itself sufficiently to be the false, nor even from Christ, who is the God of peace, proceeding in a violent manner and opposed to the

gospel, by which it wishes to be established" (*Histoire du Calvinisme* 1 [1682], 1:4).

XXXVII. (2) This shuts up the way to the conversion and salvation of men, which ought to be the end of religion and of the ministry. For while the erring enjoy life, there is always room given for repentance, which is wrested away by death; it is sought in vain after that. (3) This is a mark of Antichrist, who was to be distinguished by persecutions and blood. "The beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit," it is said, "shall make war against the saints, and kill them" (Rev. 11:7). "He shall cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed" (13:15). The same thing also appears in what is said of the Babylonian harlot: "She was drunken with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus" (17:6); and "that in her was found the blood of the prophets and saints and of all who were slain in her" (18:24).

XXXVIII. (4) The fathers acknowledged this, as appears from the passages before cited. Augustine is on our side: "This pleases no good persons in the Catholic church, if it is vented in rage even unto death against anyone, although a heretic" (*Contra Cresconicum* 3.50 [PL 43.526]). And: "We desire them to be corrected, not to be slain; nor do we wish discipline regarding them to be neglected, nor to be exercised with punishments, of which they are worthy. So therefore deal with their sins that they may be ashamed that they have sinned" (Letter 100, "To Donatus" [FC 18:142; PL 33.366]). And: "Love men, destroy errors, contend for the truth without cruelty" (*The Letters of Petilian, the Donatist* 1.29 [NPNF1, 4:529; PL 43.259]). Chrysostom: "The Lord does not forbid us to disperse the assemblies of heretics, to stop their mouths, to deprive them of the liberty of speaking, but he forbids us to kill and butcher them" (Homily 46*, *Gospel of Matthew* [NPNF1, 10:289; PG 58.477] on Mt. 13:24–30; and 'Homilia LXVII,' "Ad populum," in *Opera* [1530], 4:603–7). Arnobius: "We have received from the teaching and laws of Christ that we ought rather to pour out our own blood than pollute our hands and consciences with the blood of others" (*Case Against the Pagans* 1.6 [ACW 7:64; PL 5.729]). Nor do we find the practice of the ancient church to have been different, as we have already said. And if, after the emperors became Christians, certain punishments were decreed against heretics that they might be restrained by them, still their lives were spared; or if stricter laws concerning capital

punishments were enacted against certain ones (as against the Manichaeans, Donatists, Circumcellions and others), they did not so much regard them as heretics as factious, disturbers of the church, seditious, who had reached even the highest point of crime, who were in the habit of slaying those who differed from them and exposing them to exquisite torments, and filling all things with fury, conflagrations and murders, as Augustine remarks in various passages; cf. Letter 88, "To Januarius" (FC 18:22–34), *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani* 1.7 (PL 43.41–43) and Letter 105, "To the Donatists" (FC 18:195–211).

XXXIX. Although heretics can by right be excommunicated, they cannot on this account be rightly slain; otherwise fornicators, gluttons, brawlers and the like could rightly be slain because they can be excommunicated. There is a different reason for political and ecclesiastical punishment. He who deserves the greater punishment in the same class, deserves also the lesser; but it does not hold good from one species to another—from the civil to the ecclesiastical. Besides, excommunication cannot be called in this respect a greater punishment than killing because it always leaves room for conversion and salvation, which capital punishment does not.

XL. Although the magistrate has the right of the sword against the wicked and impious, it does not follow that it ought to be unsheathed promiscuously against all heretics (as neither against all sinners). Only this is rightly gathered—that the magistrate can coerce heretics and punish them and in proportion to their criminality (to wit, if they are blasphemous, factious and rebellious), can inflict upon them capital punishment also, as will hereafter be said. But not upon simple heretics and the seduced, who sin through ignorance and weakness, who deserve commiseration rather than punishment and who on this account are to be instructed and cured (if it can be done), not to be punished.

XLI. A general rule cannot be deduced from extraordinary, particular and heroic examples. Hence the deed of Elijah (causing the four hundred prophets of Baal to be slain) does not belong here; nor that of Peter adjudging Ananias and Sapphira to death (Acts 5:1–10); of Paul striking blind Elymas the sorcerer. These were wholly extraordinary to conciliate authority to the prophet of the Lord and to the apostles; but not that any rule should be prescribed to the magistrate.

XLII. The relation of murderers, poisoners and perjurers differs from that of simple heretics. The former sin against society and the state. On this account, they are justly slain as much for the punishment of their crime as for an example. But heretics injure themselves alone provided they keep their errors to themselves.

XLIII. Those of our divines who on the question (Ought heretics to be capitally punished?) contend for the affirmative, do not speak of all kinds of heretics, the simple and seduced, who sin from ignorance and infirmity and injure themselves alone; but of the factious, contumacious, seditious and blasphemous, disturbers of the public peace. This Beza often tells us: "Far be it from us to arm the magistrate against those who sin even from simplicity rather than from wickedness, without injuring others and without bold blasphemy. We are not so foolish, nor do we divest ourselves of all feeling of humanity; nay, we wish all milder remedies to be first applied even to contagious and moral diseases and to be directed to the glory of God and the love of our neighbor" (*De haereticis a civili magistratu puniendis* [1554/1973], p. 34). And: "This I say, that we do not speak of those, who are weak in the faith, for we have in fact shown that they ought to be taught, and not punished; still in such a way that their weakness be not cherished. But of self-condemned (*autokatakritois*) heretics, that is, domestic enemies of the church, obstinate and factious" (ibid., pp. 108–9). And: "We have shown that they only are to be called heretics, when they seek to gain the name of believers, and are convicted lawfully from the word of God, still following their own judgment so pertinaciously and refractorily defend certain false doctrines in religion against the church, that they do not hesitate to wound its peace and harmony by their factions" (ibid., p. 184). This Calvin had already remarked: "For neither when we appoint magistrates as guardians for the protection of religion, do we sharpen their swords, as about to punish every error, they may presently leap to blood; for we know that there are three grades of errors, and to some we confess pardon is to be extended, for others a moderate chastisement is sufficient, so that only manifest impiety should be visited with capital punishment" (*Fidelis Expositio Errorum ... Serveti* [CR 36.477]). Namely, as he afterwards explains: "Where religion is torn up from her foundations, detestable blasphemies against God are indulged in, souls hurried to destruction by impious and pestiferous doctrines, finally where defection

from the sole God and pure doctrine is openly essayed, it is necessary to descend to that extreme remedy that such poison may spread no farther" (ibid.). And: "Now both prudence and gentleness is to be exactly preserved by us, there is no doubt that a mild and religious knowledge of doctrine ought to go before judgment. But this is by no means an obstacle, why it is not the duty of the magistrate to coerce with the sword and punishments those who since they are themselves apostates from the right faith, solicit others to defection, and contemning God ensnare wretched souls in their fallacies, disturb the peace of the church, and rend and tear the harmony of piety" (ibid., pp. 467–68). Bullinger: "There is a great difference in persons. For there are standard-bearers, and obstinate leaders into error, who are bold hypocrites, and babblers, and therefore best fitted for seducing, themselves indeed rushing unto their own destruction without hope of amendment, and dragging others along with them. And these are to be coerced by all measures, as pests of the church, that their contagion may not as a cancer spread more widely. Again there are certain ones seduced and crazed by others, who err, but not through wickedness; nor obstinately. These we ought not to condemn forthwith, but to pray to the Lord for them and to instruct the wanderers in the spirit of gentleness and kindness, until they return to a better mind" (*Fiftie Godlie and Learned Sermons, divided into five Decades* 2, Sermon 8 [1577], p. 201). And afterwards: "Now there is a notable difference between sufferings and punishment. The pertinaciously erring, and striving to lead others with them into error and to hold them in errors, blasphemous and disturbers, nay, subverters of the churches can rightly be slain; still on this account every one who errs is not forthwith to be capitally punished. And they who can be cured by threatenings and rebukes, ought not to be dealt with more severely; moderation is best in every thing" (ibid., p. 202).

3. Proposition: It is lawful to kill blasphemous arch-heretics.

XLIV. Third proposition. "We think that incurable (*aniatous*) factious and blasphemous arch-heretics, not ceasing to scatter their poison, against interdicts often repeated and a pledge given, disturbing both the state and

church, can be punished with death." Yet that this is not resorted to unless all other mild means have been tried without avail to cure them and restore them to a better mind. For when it is evident that such remedies not only do not cure the evil, but rather exasperate and increase it, then at length (although sorrowfully) the magistrate compelled by the necessity of his office will direct his attention to it; like physicians, who are wont to employ extreme remedies for desperate and extreme maladies that what cannot be corrected and cured may be stopped by the knife and cautery so that the healthy parts may not be affected. In the meantime, that the magistrates may rightly perform their duty in this particular, they ought to remember that they should keep themselves within the bounds of their power, nor alone presume to judge of heresy, since they do not so much belong to the magistrate as they are parts of the church. Again, that they should take care that the judgments of errors be exercised in a holy and incorruptible manner, not from any authority of men (whoever they may be) or from any prejudice either of time or custom, but from the pure and sincere declaration of the word of God, lest they afford themselves (through error) not vindicators of God's truth, but ministers of another's cruelty. Finally, that after an accurate examination and diligent consideration of all circumstances, they decree that punishment by which his honor may be asserted for the majesty of God and the peace and tranquility of the church secured.

It is proved: (1) from the atrociousness of the crime.

XLV. The reasons why we so determine are various, indicated already by us in Section 32 and the following, to which we add the atrociousness of the crime. For if punishment ought to increase with the greatness of the crime, no one can doubt that the blasphemy and impiety by which the majesty of God is directly assailed, is the greatest of all crimes and one which on that account ought to be visited with the greatest punishment; especially if an obstinate and pertinacious contempt of political and ecclesiastical order is joined with it as also perjury and an insane fury for corrupting others with the same poison. Such monsters of men ought to be regarded as public pests

and cancers, as disturbers of the church and state whom it is of the highest importance to remove, whether to vindicate the glory of the offended supreme majesty or to conserve human society.

(2) From the authority of God.

XLVI. The second is the authority of God, who enacted various capital laws against apostates, false prophets, idolaters, blasphemers and the like (Dt. 13:1, 2; 17:12; Ex. 22:20; Lev. 24:15), of which we have spoken before. This is so for no other reason than that he might exhibit the greatness of their crimes and the justice of the vengeance which he was about to take on them. Now although we do not deny that these had something peculiar by reason of the more rigid Mosaic polity (which does not belong to us living under a milder economy), still it is certain that they have also their use in general among us and two things can rightly be gathered thence. First, since defection from religion, which was established by the word of God, and persuasion to defection are punished by the civil magistrate, the same crimes ought not to remain unpunished, but ought to be punished now also. Again, since no reason can be given why the majesty of God and the safety of the church and state should be of less weight with us than it was formerly among the Jews (nay, on this account the greater, as the Father has manifested himself more clearly by the Son than by the prophets), Christians can have less excuse if they despise the true religion or defend it with less zeal than the Jews. We might here bring forward also the various examples of severity against the impious, idolaters and blasphemers: of Moses against idolaters (Ex. 32:27, 28), of Josiah slaying the priests of the high places at the altars (2 K. 23:20), of Jehu killing the priests of Baal (2 K. 10:25) and the like. For although it is not to be denied that there was something extraordinary in these cases, still it is gathered from them that such crimes deserved this punishment and it could justly be decreed by God.

XLVII. Here also belong those various laws of which we have spoken above, which were enacted by emperors against the Manichaeans, Donatists, Apollinarians, Eutychians—some of which consigned them to exile and deportation, infamy and the deprivation of goods; others devoted them to capital punishment. Marcian* wished that “those who attempt to

teach unlawful things be coerced with the ultimate punishment" (*Corpus Iuris Civilis, II: Codex Iustinianus* 1.5.8 ["Quicumque"] [Krueger, 1967], p. 52). Speaking of those who return to Manichaeanism, the code wishes them "to be handed over to extreme punishment" (*Corpus Iuris Civilis, II: Codex Iustinianus* 1.5.5 ["Ariani"] [Krueger, 1967], p. 51). And: "He wishes the Encratites to be visited with capital punishment" (L. quisquis+).

XLVIII. Lest this opinion may be said to be the opinion of only some of our divines, Zanchius tells us, "Almost all of our men are of this opinion, that heretics should be punished with the sword" ("De Magistratu," *Operum Theologicorum* [1613] [Miscellaneorum], 7:166–88). Bucanus: "Is it lawful for the magistrate to proceed against heretics with the sword?" (*Institutes of Christian Religion* 49 [1606], p. 874). He answers affirmatively. Besides Calvin and Beza, the same thing is asserted by Bullinger, Aretius (*Short History of Valentinus Gentilis* [1696]), Junius ("Secunda defensio catholicae doctrinae de S. Trinitate Personarum," *Opera Theologica* [1613], 2:61–124), Danaeus ("Ethices Christianae," 2.13 *Opuscula Omnia Theologica* [1583], pp. 130–40) and others. Gerhard himself, although he strongly opposes the capital punishment of all heretics, confesses that it can justly be used against some: "It is not a question concerning the seditious, blasphemous, heretics, who besides the propagation of false doctrine, excite sedition in addition, instigate subjects against magistrates and utter direct and open blasphemies against God; for that they can be capitally punished on account of sedition and blasphemies we do not wholly controvert" (Locus 24.317, "De Magistratu Politici," *Loci Theologici* [1868], 6:446). And: "No one of us denies that pertinacious heretics can be excommunicated, no one hinders the punishment of seditious heretics, disturbers of the public peace, with the sword" (Locus 24.355, ibid., 6:470). So Antonius de Dominis, who solidly proves by various reasons that no one should be forced to the faith, still acknowledges that Christian princes and magistrates can and ought to rise against true heretics and schismatics by the laws and sometimes also by capital punishments (*De Republica Ecclesiastica* 7.8 [1618], pp. 116–25). (1) That they may have a tranquil state, which is for the most part wont to be disturbed by heresies and religious controversies. (2) From their due and proper office, by which Christian princes are bound to preserve religion pure and untarnished. (3) That they may prevent blasphemies against God and Christ. (4) That terrified by the disadvantages from the laws and the

stripes of punishment, if not compelled, they may at least be inclined to embrace the truth.

XLIX. Nor ought it to be said here that in this way arms are furnished to the Romanists and their swords sharpened to the persecution of us with fire and the sword. Everyone sees how much we differ from them on this subject; nor except most unjustly is our opinion brought forward to excuse their cruelty. Who does not acknowledge that it is one thing to wish blasphemous arch-heretics and factious disturbers of the church to be punished; another that the sword can be drawn promiscuously against all the erring, whether they are seducers or seduced, whether weak or contumacious, whether they sin ignorantly or wickedly? It is one thing to be able to punish justly (but very rarely) one or another heretic, openly impious and blasphemous; another to be able to exercise dreadful manglings upon whole nations and myriads of wandering men, but in other respects honest and quiet, of every sex, age and condition, so as to utterly destroy them and to be able rightly to visit with capital punishment; one thing to decree the punishment of death to those who, convicted lawfully of their deadly error, show themselves to be incorrigible (all milder measures having been used to no purpose), nor cease to spread as far as permitted their poison, against warnings and interdicts; but another to rage unmercifully against the pious worshippers of God who have never been convicted of their heresy, nor can they be proved guilty of any error, except that they are unwilling to subject themselves to the papal yoke, that they do not recognize any other word of God than the written, other redeemers and another head of the church than Christ, another sacrifice than his death, another religious worship than that which is due to God alone. Let every pious person judge whether such ought to be traduced by the odious name of heretics. Certainly it is not lawful by the royal edicts in France which have often prohibited this. And yet these are the harmless men whom the Romanists have persecuted and daily persecute with the sword and fire and all manner of cruelties, even the very thought of which strikes the mind with horror. As sad experience too well teaches, and the martyrologies relate in full, and as many as have written the history of the atrocious persecutions and cruelties practised at various times in Spain, France, Ireland, Bohemia, Belgium, Piedmont and elsewhere, and most recently the celebrated author (Jurieu, “Histoire du Papisme,” *Histoire du Calvinisme,*

Seconde Recrimination 1–4 [1683], pp. 191–219), where he describes also the dreadful cruelties of the Spaniards exercised towards the Indians under the pretext of conversion (as given in Bartolome de las Casas, "Historia de las crueldades de los Espanoles Conquistadores de America …," 3 *Coleccion de las Obras del Venerable Obispo de Chiapa, Don Bartolome de las Casas* [1822], 1:369–411). From all of this, as from the detestable tribunal of the Inquisition, he most certainly proves that no one of all the sects is more cruel than the Roman.

L. They who traduce the punishment inflicted upon the most impure Servetus as unjust and cruel, that from it they may excite hatred against the distinguished magistracy of Geneva and especially against that great man of God, Calvin, have never sufficiently weighed the atrocity of his crime. (1) It was not a simple heresy lying concealed in the heart about one or another head of faith, but a complicated heresy, the basest of all, bursting forth with regard to the principal heads of Christianity and especially the adorable mystery of the Trinity, which that wicked man blasphemously did not blush to call (I shudder in repeating it) "the three-headed dog" with many other horrible blasphemies. (2) Not once and transitorily, but often and for a long time (namely for 30 years), he did not desist from disseminating this deadly poison; not in one place only, but in many parts of Europe; not only with abusive mouth, but also in most virulent writings against warnings and interdicts frequently repeated. (3) Calvin did not approach the matter except sorrowfully; and while all other means had been tried in vain to overcome his obstinacy and recall him to repentance, still he could have escaped the punishment, if he had wished. "No danger of a heavier punishment pressed," says Calvin, "if in any way he had been curable. It would have been allowed him to escape punishment even by moderation alone" (*Fidelis Expositio Errorum … Serveti* [CR 36.480]). (4) Nothing was done here rashly and precipitately by the magistrate, but all the circumstances were maturely weighed in the fear of God and not without a consultation also with the most distinguished chiefs of Reformed Switzerland, who acknowledged the equity of the judgment and approved it by their votes. (5) Bucer judged that "he deserved to be torn asunder." Melanchthon affirms that "the Genevan magistrates did right for killing this blasphemer after a regular trial." When Grotius, however, endeavors to throw the whole blame of this punishment upon Calvin, calling him with scurrility "the burner of

Servetus," he boldly calumniates him against the faith of the whole history and the testimony of all writers, who assert that Calvin did what it was his duty to do, that he might be convinced of his unnatural and dreadful heresy and return from his pestiferous error to bring forth better fruit. But that he prompted the magistrate to burn him, neither do they anywhere say, nor is it confirmed by any proof. Nay, it is evident that with the college of pastors, he tried to dissuade them from this kind of punishment; but the magistrate was horrified at so many blasphemies and did not wish to deal with him mildly. But who wonders that the punishment of that devoted head, which is deservedly placed among the standard-bearers of an impious sect, displeased the Socinian?

LI. We conclude that the Christian magistrate can inflict capital punishment upon similar pests and monsters of men; but so that extreme remedies should be applied only to extreme evils and even in these great moderation should be used, that the love and clemency worthy of a Christian should never be violated.

NINETEENTH TOPIC

THE SACRAMENTS

FIRST QUESTION: THE WORD "SACRAMENT" AND ITS DEFINITION

What is a sacrament as to the name and as to the thing?

Necessity of treating the sacraments.

I. As God willed to enter into a covenant with the church (of which we have thus far spoken) in order to apply to her the salvation purchased by Christ, so (such is his goodness) for the greater confirmation of faith, he has condescended to seal this covenant by sacraments as seals, that by them as badges he might distinguish and separate his people from the rest of the world. On this account, the necessity to consider them is incumbent upon us. Not only to ascertain more distinctly their nature and use; but also to unravel more easily the numerous and most important controversies which are wont to be agitated about them by various adversaries. For we cannot behold without grief that those things which were instituted by God to be bonds and symbols of union and concord among Christians, have been made (by the depravity of men) the seed plot of contentions and the apple of discord (*mēlon eridos*), which has torn asunder Christians by a mournful divorce.

II. However, this topic contains many heads. First, we will dispute in general concerning the sacraments; second, in particular of baptism and the holy Supper, which are the two sacraments of the New Testament instituted by Christ; third, of the five false and spurious ones added by Romanists. But we must first say something about the word and the definition of a sacrament.

Use of the word "sacrament.".

III. We do not think there should be any contention about the word "sacrament." For although (being Latin) it does not occur in the books of the Old and New Testaments, still its use has been so customary in the church and it has been received so long, that if anyone (influenced by superstition) would abstain from it (as is done by the Socinians, who in this way aim not so much at the word as at the very nature of the sacraments), we think he is scrupulously and preposterously religious. Hence the Romanists do an injury to Luther and the Lutherans to us when they charge us with being shocked at this word, since it is evident that it is ordinarily used by us. But no less ridiculous are the Romanists who, because this word is not found in Scripture, wish to prove its insufficiency. For to whom can it seem strange if a Latin word does not occur in the Scriptures, which are written in Hebrew and Greek?

And its origin.

IV. It is well known that *sacramentum* comes from *sacrando* (i.e., "to consecrate" and "to initiate") as *juramentum* from *jurando, testamentum* from *testando*. With the ancient authors of the Latin language it signifies two things. (1) The "money" or the pledge deposited by two parties to a suit with the pontiffs in a sacred place, with which he was mulcted who had lost his cause as a punishment of an unjust litigation (as Varro observes, *On the Latin Language* 5*.180 [Loeb, 1:166–69]). (2) An "oath" which was taken only when some sacred deity was invoked. Hence *sacramento contendere* (with Cicero) means "to affirm by a solemn oath"; *sacramento interrogari, sacramento teneri*, etc. But it is used peculiarly to denote a military oath by which soldiers bound themselves by a certain rite and prescribed words to the state and the magistrate, that they would strenuously perform what the emperor had commanded and would not desert the military standards. Hence the phrase *obligare sacramento* (Cicero, *De Officiis* 1.36 [Loeb, 21:38–39]) and Isidore (*Etymologiarum* 9.3 [PL 82.347]). Hence in the old glosses *sacramentum* is a military oath (*horkos stratiōtikos*). Tertullian: "We were called to the militia of God, even then when we responded to the words of the sacrament" (*To the Martyrs* 3 [FC 40:22; PL 1.697]).

V. The word, having been transferred from military affairs to sacred uses, was employed by ecclesiastical writers to signify any mystery or sacred and not obvious doctrine. Hence everywhere in the fathers you will find the sacrament of the Trinity, of the incarnation, and of faith, and in general the whole Christian religion comes under this name. In this sense, the word is used in the Vulgate where the word "mystery" occurs (1 Tim. 3:16; Eph. 1:9; 5:32). "The sacrament of the seven stars" (Rev. 1:20); "the sacrament of the beast" (Rev. 17:7). More strictly it is taken for a sacred sign or external symbol which exhibits one thing to the sense, another to the mind. In this sense Augustine says, "Signs, when they pertain to divine things, are called sacraments" (Letter 138, "To Marcellinus" [FC 20:40; PL 33.527]). At length and by various degrees, it most recently came to signify a sign and seal of the covenant in Christ, instituted by God in the church. Again, sacrament in this sense is taken either for external signs or rites simply, or for the internal thing signified; or to embrace both the external and internal thing, the sign and thing signified complexly, in which sense it is here considered by us.

The word mystērion answers to it.

VI. To this word the Greek word *mystērion* corresponds, derived also by profane writers either from *muein* ("to initiate into sacred things," whence the priests over sacred rites were called *mystai*, either from closing [*para to muein to stoma*] the lips, because it was fitting, as Eustathius says, that "the priests of secret rites should close their lips, and not reveal things which were not to be uttered" [*tous mystas myein to stoma, kai mē ekphainein amemyēnta*]) or from the Hebrew *sthr*, which is to "shut up," hence *msthr* ("secret"). Afterwards the sacred writers transferred this word from a superstitious to a better use to designate all the heads of the Christian religion which are hidden from flesh and blood. But in the Scriptures, it is never used for a sacrament, as this word is taken strictly for the signs of the covenant of grace (although in other respects we do not repudiate that word, because the sacraments are really signs of a secret thing or of invisible grace, which have a hidden signification and commend themselves most especially with a latent mystery).

VII. Scripture more properly calls them "signs of the covenant" (Gen. 9:12, 13; 17:11), "signs and seals" of the righteousness of faith (Rom. 4:11), and simply "signs" (Ex. 12:13), "patterns" (*hypodeigmata*, Heb. 8:5; 9:23) and "figures" (*antitypa*, 1 Pet. 3:21). In the Old Testament, the word *'vth* occurs (Gen. 17:11; Ex. 31:13, 17; Ezk. 20:12, 20), which denotes a sign and is applied to the old sacraments.

Various definitions of sacrament.

VIII. Now although it cannot be perfectly defined, because it is something concrete and extraordinary which consists of things which are not in the same genus, still it can be fitly described. By many it is said to be "a sign of a sacred thing," as Augustine, who says, "Signs, when they pertain to sacred things, are called sacraments" (Letter 138, "To Marcellinus" [FC 20:40; PL 33.527]). The definition of the Scholastics is: "A sacrament is the visible form of invisible grace." But neither pleases the modern Romanists. Bellarmine says these definitions are imperfect, if they are taken according to the sound of the word; but if they are received according to the sense of the Roman church, they are legitimate because by signs they understand sensible signs established and active ("De Sacramentis in Genere," 1.2 *Opera* [1858], 3:20–22). Therefore he seems expressly to find fault with two things in the adduced definitions. The first, that the sacraments are called a visible form too specifically; for he contends that it is sufficient for the nature of a sacrament, if the sign is sensible (i.e., can be perceived by any sense, even if not by the sight). The other, that the sacraments are not said to be active signs (i.e., effecting grace). These two things he expressly places in the definition of a sacrament which he draws from the catechism of the Council of Trent in these words: "A sacrament is a thing subjected to the senses, which has the power not only of signifying but also of effecting grace" (*Catechism of the Council of Trent* [tr. J.A. McHugh, 1923], p. 142). This is cunningly proposed by Bellarmine in order to favor the invented sacraments of penitence, matrimony and the like, which are without a visible sign. Again, that he may lay the foundation of that false hypothesis (to wit, that the sacraments of the New Testament confer grace *ex opere operato*, as they express it, of which we will speak hereafter).

The true definition is proposed.

IX. In defining a sacrament, we follow Paul, who, speaking of circumcision, says, it is "a sign and seal of the righteousness of faith" (Rom. 4:11). This is a generic definition and is rightly ascribed to the species. Therefore, this torch throwing its light before us, we say: "The sacraments are the signs and seals of the grace of God in Christ." Or a little more explicitly: "Sacred visible signs and seals divinely instituted to signify and seal to our consciences the promises of saving grace in Christ and in turn to testify our faith and piety and obedience towards God." In this definition, the nature of the sacraments is made clearly known from their causes (concerning which something must be said didactically before we treat them argumentatively).

The matter of a sacrament is twofold: the sign.

X. The matter of a sacrament is twofold: one external and sensible, the other internal and intelligible; the former is called the sign, the latter the thing signified. That is perceived by the senses of the body and especially by the sight; but this by the mind, furnished with a fit instrument for it (to wit, faith). That is an element instituted by God in order to signify and seal grace; this is the grace of God in Christ or Christ with all his benefits. Now by the sign we understand whatever in the sacraments has the relation of signification, which is of a twofold kind. First, the external symbols belong here. Second, the ceremonial rites or acts, both of the minister standing in the place of God and of the believers perceiving. The actions of this kind in baptism are the sprinkling of water or immersion; in the Supper, the breaking, distribution and reception of the bread and wine, all of which have their signification. Still by way of eminence (*kat' exochēn*) the external elements themselves are called signs for a peculiar reason—because they are earthly things and substances about which such ceremonies and actions are performed.

And the thing signified.

XI. The other part of the sacramental matter is the thing signified, by which nomenclature is understood Christ himself with all that faith applies to itself

for salvation. Now it applies to itself Christ with all the benefits which flow from his passion and death, which Paul embraces when he says, "who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption" (1 Cor. 1:30). Thus Christ crucified (who is as it were the nucleus of the sacraments) is signified with all the saving benefits which he purchased for us by his death, for the commemoration of which these signs were instituted, to confirm both its truth and utility—signifying the truth, exhibiting and sealing the utility. As Christ is the same yesterday, today and for ever (Heb. 13:8), so he has always declared the same grace to his church and sealed it by the sacraments. This is the reason why with respect to the internal matter Paul ascribes the sacraments of the New Testament to believers under the Old (1 Cor. 10:1–3); and in turn the sacraments of the Old to believers under the New (Col. 2:11; 1 Cor. 5:7). Further, the thing signified differs from the sign in three particulars: (1) in nature and properties, for the sign is an earthly and visible thing; the thing of the sign is heavenly and invisible; (2) in object, for the sign tends to the body, the thing signified to the soul; (3) in the mode of communication, for the mode of the sign is bodily, of the thing signified spiritual.

The form.

XII. The form of the sacrament is placed in the analogy or relation (*schesei*) of the external matter to the internal, of the sign to the thing signified, by which the thing promised is so represented to our minds that it is caused also to be truly communicated. In this analogy consists the union of the sign with the thing signified, which consequently is neither natural by bodily contact, nor local by contiguity, nor even spiritual by a spiritual energy (*energeian*) by which the signs are immediately made alive, or the power to regenerate or justify given to them; but it is relative and sacramental, placed principally in three things—signification, sealing and exhibition. The signification depends on the similitude between the sign and the thing signified. The sealing, upon the institution of God by which these external symbols have not only the relation of a sign, but also of a seal; since to the promises are added the sacraments to induce greater confidence in the thing promised, still in such a way that our faith is supported by them and not the word of God, which is self-credible (*autopiston*). The exhibition of the truth

of God because God does not trifle by instituting bare and empty signs; but as by the vocal word he really performs what he promises, so in the sacrament (which is a palpable and visible word) he gives by the thing itself that which the signs represent, so that with the signs (in the legitimate use of the sacrament) is connected the true possession and fruition of the thing signified, as the French Confession, Article 38, teaches (Cochrane, p. 157). Still we do not recognize in the signs any implanted or inherent power by which they either act upon grace or on any quality of the soul, whether we call it a stamp or anything similar. For as the sound of the spoken word at length striking the ears and the air does not strike the heart by any power inherent in itself; so neither does the external sign possess any power to affect the soul, but only strikes the senses.

XIII. From this analogy and agreement, however, between the sign and the thing signified arises the sacramental phraseology; or those enunciations frequently used in the Scriptures (called by theologians "sacramental predications"), in which the names of the signs and things signified are interchanged with each other. The sign is predicated of the thing signified—Christ is called the Passover (1 Cor. 5:7); or, on the contrary, the thing signified is predicated of the sign—as circumcision is called the covenant, the body of Christ is called bread. The foundation of these predications is the sacramental union which by analogy (*kat' analogian*) joins the sign and thing signified, and consequently makes these predications true on account of the truth of the signification, sealing and conferring in the lawful use. As in the person of Christ the hypostatical union of the natures makes those predications true in which the properties of one nature are enunciated either of the whole person or also of either nature expressed by a concrete term, yet without any confounding of the natures, because they are united without being mixed (*asynchytōs*) and immutably (*atreptōs*).

The efficient.

XIV. The efficient of the sacraments is God alone. (1) He is the sole author of the promises and of the covenant of grace. Now it is his to promise and give grace, of whom also it is to seal it. (2) God is the sole author of the word; therefore of the sacraments also, which are the visible word. (3) They are parts of divine worship which can be instituted by God alone. Now God

effects the sacrament by the word of institution; for the word being added to the element, it becomes a sacrament not by the infusion of a new quality, but by a change of use. There are, however, two parts of the word which is called sacramental: the command and the promise. The command unfolds the dignity of the sacrament and the reason of the use of its lawful administration. The promise demonstrates the thing signified, the perspicuity and truth of the significations and so the whole efficacy of the sacrament; so that no more is to be sought in the external sacrament than is contained in the promise, lest it degenerate into an idol. The word of command is that by which God orders the sacraments to be rightly administered and perceived, by prescribing their formula and commanding their legitimate use. Hence the dignity and integrity of the sacrament ought to be estimated (which is lessened neither by the fault of the minister, nor by the unbelief of the partaker, although the unbeliever perceives the sign alone without the thing). The essence of a sacrament is from the divine institution. Therefore if the sacrament is administered according to it, whether the receiver believes or not, it is all the same. The truth of the promises does not depend on the faith of the believing; otherwise unbelievers could weaken the truth of God and from the infidelity of men God could be made a liar (which is absurd). Therefore, although faith is necessary to perceive the thing signified, still it is not necessary to constitute the essence and integrity of the sacrament.

The end.

XV. The end of the sacraments is either proper or accidental. The proper is either principal or primary, or secondary and less principal. The principal is the confirmation of the covenant of grace and the sealing on the part of God of our union with Christ (promised in the covenant) and of all his benefits; and on our part the testification of our deep gratitude to God and of love towards our neighbor. The less principal is that they may be badges of a public profession and of divine worship by which they who belong to the visible church are distinguished from other assemblies. Hence it is evident how great is the philanthropy (*philanthrōpia*) of God, who, letting himself down as it were to us creeping upon the ground, wishes to seize not only our minds but also our external senses with the haste and admiration of his

grace, inasmuch as he subjects it to the bodily senses, to the hearing in the spoken word, to the touch and sight in the sacraments. However, signs are wont to be employed in weightier things. For trivialities are not confirmed by signs, but when they are of great importance; as when princes are inaugurated, when marriages are entered into, when donations are made or other agreements, signs are wont to be employed to confirm these things which we wish to be best attested, that they may be known not only by reason, but also by sense. The accidental end is the just condemnation of the wicked and hypocrites abusing the sacraments, which end (accidental through the fault of men) does not overthrow the proper end. For Christ does not cease to be by himself the author of life and the bestower of it with respect to believers, although (by accident on account of the unbelief of men) he is the savor of death unto death and a stone of stumbling and of destruction with respect to hypocrites and unbelievers.

XVI. Now from what has been said it is easily gathered "What are the requisites of a sacrament properly so called." What are required and concur to constitute it intrinsically and extrinsically, whether as essential parts or as necessary conditions. They are principally these four. (1) The external and visible element with the rite, or the earthly and corporeal matter which holds the relation of sign. (2) The heavenly and spiritual thing contained in the promise of grace, which has the relation of the thing signified, which coheres with the sign in its lawful use, not substantially by composition, but sacramentally by a mystical relation. (3) The divine institution (and that immediate) that it may be a sacrament. (4) The stated and ordinary use of it in the church. For from these four a sacrament properly so called is intrinsically and extrinsically constituted and from them its truth appears and is known. Intrinsically, indeed, from the element with the rite and the word of the promise of grace as essential parts. But extrinsically from the divine institution as the efficient and immediate cause, and from the stated and ordinary use of the testification and sealing in the church as the proximate end.

XVII. This is clearly proved by an induction of the sacraments of the Old and New Testaments; for the divine institution was common to all, as is evident with respect to circumcision (Gen. 17:9–14), to the Passover (Ex. 12:3–20), baptism (Mt. 28:19), the Supper (Mt. 26:26–28). Common was the external sign with some rite annexed: in circumcision the cutting off of

the foreskin; in the Passover the lamb slain and eaten; in baptism the laver of water; in the Supper the bread broken and the wine poured out. Common was the word of promise of grace according to the covenant of God and the circumcision of the heart (Dt. 30:6); Christ, the Lamb slain (1 Cor. 5:7); the washing away of sins by the blood and spirit of Christ (Acts 2:38; 1 Cor. 6:11); and the body of Christ broken and his blood shed for us. Finally, the use of both classes of sacraments was stated and ordinary and common to the church.

Second Question: The Necessity of the Sacraments

Was it necessary that sacraments should be instituted in the church and is their use necessary? We distinguish

The necessity of the sacraments twofold: one of institution, the other of use.

I. A twofold question is here agitated about the necessity of the sacraments: one about the necessity of their institution (why God willed to add the sacraments to the word); the other about the necessity of their use (whether it is necessary to use the sacraments). We must treat distinctly of each.

II. As to the first, we say the necessity of the sacraments is not absolute and simple on the part of God, but hypothetical on the part of us; not that the word by itself has need of any confirmation (being divine and infallible), but to help our infirmity and confirm our faith. As by the word he insinuates his truth into our ears, so by the sacraments he exhibits it to be seen in some measure by our eyes, so that his word may become as it were visible. Hence not by one sense (to wit, hearing), but by many (namely, sight, touch and smell) he wishes to seal the certainty of his grace in our minds, so that we may be carried from sensible and earthly to intelligible and heavenly things. For as the senses are the windows of the soul by which sin and death have taken possession of it, so by the same it was fitting that the remedy of saving grace should be transmitted. What is offered to and apprehended by many senses at the same time is more certain to us than what is perceived by the hearing alone. Thus by the delivery of the key, the

possession of a house; by the laying hold of a clod, the field is gained; by the giving of a ring, the wife is betrothed.

(1) To assist our ignorance. (2) To meet our incredulity.

III. Thus (1) God "wished to help our ignorance and slowness, and to consult our weakness." "If you were an incorporeal (*asōmatos*) being," says Chrysostom, "God would have delivered his gifts to thee naked and incorporeal; but since thy soul is connected with a body, he has delivered things intellectual by sensible signs" (to wit, by clothing them with a covering of earthly and sensible things) (cf. 'Homilia LX,' "Ad populum," in *Opera* [1530], 4:481). (2) "To meet our incredulity and distrust" that faith may be more and more confirmed in us. For such is the weakness of the human mind and its proneness to distrust that unless it be sustained by every manner of support, it wavers and at length casts aside the hope of future things, especially when it falls upon those times in which any occasion of doubting occurs; for then particularly there is need of some pledge of the divine will, by whose assistance we can be secure (fear being removed). For what doubt can remain after so many arguments of truth which he furnishes us?

(3) To insinuate more clearly the efficacy of grace.

IV. (3) He wished that "the power and efficacy of grace might be more strongly implanted in our minds." The word is addressed indifferently and promiscuously to all, but the sacraments single out individuals and far more powerfully and efficaciously move the heart; not only because "a sign stimulates the soul thrust through the ear of that which, to the eyes, are subjects of faith"; but also because the special application of the sacraments shows that the blessing of grace belongs to each one using them well.

Origin of sacraments.

V. If we wish to seek further into the origin of sacraments, it must be sought from the origin of covenants, of which they are the seals. For as in the covenants contracted between men, it was the usual custom to fortify the record of the covenant by seals on both sides (whether they were public or private); so God, entering into covenant with man, willed to all certain sacraments as so many seals to confirm it; not, indeed, on his part but on our part. Now as that covenant is either absolute and one-sided (*monopleuron*), which consists in the promise of God alone (such as the covenant entered into with Noah, when he promised that the world should never again be destroyed by a flood); so a sign was added to this covenant which depends on God alone, to the institution or use of which no action of man intervenes (to wit, the rainbow or arch in the clouds). Or the covenant is two-sided (*dipleuron*) and conditioned, consisting in the promise of God and a restipulation on the part of man; he also added the sacraments, which demand the mutual action of God and man, of God sealing the grace promised by word and of man receiving by faith the offered grace and in turn consecrating his worship and obedience to God.

Their difference from the word.

VI. Hence a multiple relation of the word and sacraments arises by which they both agree with and differ from each other. They agree in their author, God; in their foundation, Christ; in their end (to wit, salvation); in the mode of reception, by faith; in the object, the saving grace of God. But they differ in other things. (1) With regard to their necessity, the word is absolutely necessary, the sacraments only hypothetically. (2) As to mode: the word is audible, the sacraments are visible; the word produces faith, the sacraments confirm it. (3) As to the object towards which they are directed: the word is extended promiscuously to all, believers and unbelievers; the sacraments pertain to the covenanted alone; the word offers the promises of God indiscriminately and in common; the sacraments seal them singly to each one partaking of them rightly. (4) As to their effects: to adults the word is profitable without the sacrament; the sacraments do not help without the word, but with it they more powerfully move on account of sensible images and the analogy they have with spiritual things.

Necessity of their use.

VII. As to the necessity of their use, we say that it is not of means, but of command; not from the nature of the thing (as if without them salvation could not be obtained at all), but from the command of God, because he willed to enjoin their use upon us for the confirmation of our faith. It is confirmed from this—that (as will be proved hereafter) they do not bestow or produce grace, but only seal it, according to the institution and command of God. Hence the grace of God is not tied down to signs, but can work either with or without them. Thus without them many are saved. Therefore not the privation but the contempt of them condemns, as will be proved more at length when we treat of the necessity of baptism.

VIII. Hence it appears that two extremes are to be carefully avoided here. (1) Of the Romanists, who urge the absolute necessity of the sacraments as if without them (or at least the wish for them) salvation cannot be obtained. (2) Of the Socinians, who even take away their hypothetical necessity, as if we can safely and without any prejudice of salvation be without them when it is in our power to use them. But as these pledges of the grace of God (which we are bound to receive from his hand and to confirm our faith by them) are not to be despised, so our salvation is not to be too closely bound to and connected with these signs, as if it was all over with the salvation of those who in any manner are deprived of them.

IX. Now although the sacraments are means unto salvation, instituted by God, they do not on this account have the necessity of means without which salvation cannot be obtained. God has not bound his grace to the sacraments, and although he uses various means attempered (*attemperata*) and accommodated to our understanding by which he promotes our salvation, still he can even without these external means perform his work in the elect. Therefore, all means do not forthwith have the necessity of means, so that without them salvation cannot be obtained. But only those which by themselves reach and work salvation itself, such as the word and the Spirit are.

X. Although God under the New Testament is to be worshipped in spirit and truth (Jn. 4:24), it does not follow that he cannot be worshipped in the use of the sacraments. This is said in comparison with the Old Testament, in

which the greatest part of worship consisted in the external rites of ceremonies; whereas now under the New, gospel worship is wholly spiritual and moral, consisting of very few external ceremonies. In this sense, the Spirit is opposed to the letter and the truth to figures.

Third Question: The Sacramental Sign

What is the nature of the sign required in a sacrament?

I. Since all agree that the sacraments are certain signs and with respect to them the sign has the relation of kind, it is deservedly inquired, What are signs? Concerning this, theologians differ.

What is a sign?

II. A sign in general, as Augustine well observes, is "a thing, which besides the appearance it presents to the senses, causes something else to come from itself into the thoughts" (CI 2.1 [FC 2:61; PL 34.35]). Therefore, in the sign is not so much considered what it is as what it signifies and what it shows, as Augustine adds in the same place. And: "The sacraments are things in which, not what they are, but what they show, is always attended to, since signs exist as one thing and signify another" (*Contra Maximinum Arianorum* 2*.22.3 [PL 42.794]). For although they are not without some material subject, the relation of it is not here considered, but the relation of signification only is attended to; as in matrimony, not the price of the ring or the worth of the material is regarded, but the use of the sealing.

And what in the sacraments? Not natural, but voluntary.

III. Now because signs are of many kinds, we must find out to what kind of signs the sacramental belong. And here, in the first place, we say (1) that they are not natural signs (which are such by nature [*physei*]), having from themselves the power of signifying, as smoke of fire, the aurora of the rising sun, the paleness of disease. For what they naturally signify, these they signify at all times and always, which cannot be said of the sacraments.

But they are voluntary signs (which are such by an imposition [*thesei*]) from the institution of God or of men, which Augustine calls "given."

Not from a human institution, but a divine with analogy.

IV. (2) They are not signs from a human but a divine institution, because it belongs to the same one to signify and seal grace to whom it belongs to promise and to give it. (3) They are not signs only by imposition (*thesei*), which depends upon the prescription of the institution alone (as the rainbow); but are such also by analogy (*kat' analogian*), when the relation of signifying arises either from fitness or on account of a similitude. They have the imposition (*thesin*) from the institution of God, but the analogy (*analogian*) from the similitude. Augustine: "If the sacraments did not have a certain similitude, they would not be sacraments" (Letter 98, "To Boniface" [FC 18:137; PL 33.364]). (4) They are not merely theoretical signs, which do nothing else than represent and signify the thing of which they are the signs, but practical, which not only signify, but also seal and really confer. For although the signs are theoretically significant both of a mystical profession and the efficacy of the grace of Christ in us and of his suffering for us (for the remembrance [*anamnēsin*] of which they were instituted), still they do not rest in this theoretical signification, but have besides a practical signification, both a sealing and exhibitive signification in their own manner and sense of the thing signified, as the handing over of a key has the practical signification of putting in possession and seals and confers it.

V. I confess that an external thing cannot confer grace physically, substantially and immediately, but nothing hinders it from doing this instrumentally and mediately, the Holy Spirit principally working this. Nor if it belongs to the Holy Spirit alone to confer upon us grace efficaciously, does it follow that the sacraments cannot seal and confer it morally; for subordinates do not clash with each other. Now although the sacraments in many are without effect on account of the accident of the depravity of the persons themselves, they do not cease to be practical signs per se and by the

institution of God; not in opposition to faith, but harmonizing with it. This will be seen more at length hereafter when we treat of their efficacy.

VI. (5) Not intelligible (*noēta*) signs (as images in the mind, the sign of Jonah and the like), but sensible (*aisthēta*), affecting the senses. This is evident by the very induction of the sacraments (all of which are constituted in a sensible thing) and is gathered from the nature of man (because we are so formed that nothing passes into our minds except by the help and ministry of the senses). (6) They are not audible, but visible signs. This we maintain against the Romanists, who hold that it is sufficient for the sacrament to be perceived by any sense and especially by hearing, in order to favor their spurious sacraments. The reasons are (a) every sacrament ought to consist of things (as the matter) and of the word (as the form); the word is added to the element and it becomes a sacrament. And yet no audible object consists of things and words. (b) Thus there would be no difference between the word and a sacrament (which is absurd). (c) If words were sacramental signs, then they would be such either as they sound or as they seal; not as they sound, because thus they would have no similitude; not as they seal, because a signification affects the mind, not the sense. (d) The fathers everywhere call them "visible" (*horata*), "visible symbols of invisibles" (*horata symbola tōn noumenōn*) and as Augustine says, "a visible word" (Tractate 80, *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:344; PL 35.1840]). As to the rest, this visible sign ought to be some substance and a thing, not the accident of a thing, because an analogy is drawn from the very nature of the thing and from its properties (which is evident in all the sacraments to which Augustine's rule quoted before has reference—"The word is added to the element, and it becomes a sacrament").

VII. (7) They are not only remembrances (*mnēmoneutika*) of past events (such as the pile of stones in the Jordan, the rod of Aaron in the tabernacle), but significant (*sēmantika*) of future events (as the rainbow, the fleece of Gideon, the burning bush) and sealing (*sphragistika*) or readily offering (*parektika*) present things, sealing and conferring, which demonstrate and seal that the thing which they indicate is really given, as far as that can be done. Thus the Supper is celebrated in commemoration of the past death of Christ as a seal of present grace or of union with his flesh and blood; also to signify future glory and the marriage feast which will be celebrated in heaven.

Not formal, but instrumental.

VIII. (8) They are not formal signs, which mark the species itself received by cognitive faculty, to which the sign is proposed. Rather they are instrumental, which represent themselves to the senses and a thing different from themselves to the intellect. In their own way, they make it present because God uses them as organs and instruments for offering and conferring grace upon us in their own way. But the formal of the sign ought not to be confounded with the formal sign; for another thing is opposed to the sign materially considered, as in the Supper the bread is the material of the sacramental sign; but if it is considered as a sign, it is of the body of Christ. This pertains to the formality of that, which is considered reduplicatively as a sign of the body of Christ. But the formal sign distinctly (not from the material, but from the instrumental) is the intelligible species itself excited by the sign in its formality in the mind.

IX. Here belongs the question agitated by the Lutherans, who maintain that the genus of a sacrament is rather an action than a sign because the sacraments beyond their use are not sacraments and because the effects of sacraments are effects of actions, not of signs. But far more truly is it said that a sacrament is a sign than an action. Thus the Scripture everywhere speaks (Gen. 17:11; Rom. 4:11; 1 Pet. 3:21) and the whole of antiquity votes with us, with whom the sacraments are everywhere called signs, symbols, types, antitypes, images.

X. Now although the sacraments are not signs out of their use and do not seal, unless an action mediates, it does not follow that they are rather an action than a sign, because this is common to all signs from their institution. By it they do not cease to be signs, as words do not cease to be the signs of things first and by themselves. On this account, they do not signify unless there is someone who acts and speaks.

XI. The sacraments can be considered either in the signified act and absolutely per se, or in the exercised act and as they are offered by the minister and received by the believer. The elements considered in the former manner have in their mystical and significative being the relation of sacramental signs without the circumstance of any action; as the bread and wine in the Eucharist, water in baptism. But in the latter manner, certain actions intervene; as the breaking of the bread to be distributed and the

distribution of it for union with the body of Christ. Nor do they accomplish this by their natural and physical, but mystical and significative being.

XII. Hence the question can be settled easily, if we say the sacraments are signs, but clothed and administered with certain rites, ceremonies and actions. Thus the sign materially considered (or in its material being) is not a sacrament, but formally and reduplicatively as a sign. This cannot be in the exercised act, unless with certain actions, for the substance itself simply is not the foundation of the relation, but the substance dispensed with certain rites.

XIII. As to the rest, we must observe concerning this sign that it is the material of the sacrament and the foundation of relation. First, because it is common to all communicants; second, because it is something ordinary and drawn from common usage that rites should also be most simple and most easy; that in this way the whole dignity and efficacy of the sacraments may be from God.

Fourth Question: The Sacramental Union

Is the essential and internal form of the sacraments placed in the relation of the sign to the thing signified and in their merely relative union (schetikē)? *We affirm against the Romanists*

I. As the matter of the sacraments is twofold (one external, having the relation of a sign; the other internal, which is the thing signified), so their form consists in the relation and habitude of the one to the other. It is about this that the question is instituted so that its true nature may be ascertained against the errors of the Romanists.

The form of the sacraments is placed in the practical signification.

II. Now it must be observed before all things that the form (concerning which we here inquire) is not external, which belongs to the sacraments in the exercised act or in the use itself, consisting in both the legitimate administration and the participation of them according to the command of God. Rather the form is internal, which belongs to them in the signified act

and which is placed in the analogy or habitude (*schesei*) and relation of the sign to the thing signified. This relation is in one word the "signification," since the whole relation of the sign consists in signifying. But this signification is not only theoretical (which is nothing else than a representation or declaration of the promise of grace and of the blessings of Christ founded on the analogy and similitude existing between the sign and thing signified), but also practical, by which the external thing (dispensed with certain rites) is a seal of the divine promises and so of the conferring and exhibition of the things promised. In one word, it is the sealing of the covenant of grace and of the gospel promises and of the things contained in them (from which use the sacraments are called "seals" [*sphragides*, Rom. 4:11]).

From this arises the sacramental union, which is relative and moral.

III. From this sealing arises the sacramental union of the sign with the thing signified. This is neither physical, such as is that of matter and form, of the subject and accident; nor local, by contact and contiguity; nor spiritual, so that by the signs the power of justifying and regenerating is immediately instilled. But it is wholly schetical (*schetikē*) and relative, or moral (such as between the rites of investiture and the office with which anyone is invested or between a pledge and the thing which the pledge signifies). Just as things signified are not joined by a natural position with those words by which they are signified and by the very substance, but only by a relation and schesis (*schesei*), inasmuch as those words (as the marks of things) make the things themselves as it were present to the understanding of those who perceive them. Thus also a sacrament (which moreover is said to be a certain visible word, bearing into the eyes that which words bring into the ears) demands no local presence or nonexistence (*inexistentiam*) of the sign with the thing signified, but implies the mere relation and habitude of the one to the other.

But also real.

IV. Still this union is so moral and relative as to be also in its own sense real in the legitimate use; not indeed by a contiguity of the sign and thing signified, but with respect to the communicant, who is made a partaker of both at the same time. Here belong the phrases “to be planted with Christ in baptism” (Rom. 6:4, 5); “to put on him” (Gal. 3:27*); “to eat Christ, and to drink his blood” (Jn. 6:53). And there are some divines who say that this union and participation of Christ in the Supper is made substantially and bodily; where these terms are partly opposed to unreality (*tō phantastikōs*) and, imaginarily, partly declare that believers become partakers of the very substance of Christ inasmuch as they ought to be really and truly united with him.

Hence the presence depends.

V. Further, from this reality of union flows the presence by which the things signified become also present together with the signs to those using them lawfully; not corporeally and locally as if the things signified cohered with the signs immediately (because such is a fictitious presence and has no foundation in the Scripture); but relatively and morally, inasmuch as the things signified are present by their signs, whose nature is to make another thing come into the mind and so place the thing before the senses or the mind; and really, by which the things signified become present to those lawfully using them (to wit, Christ gives himself wholly to be embraced to believers, which is the presence of faith).

VI. Now although this spiritual presence does not take place except faith mediates, it does not follow (as our opponents falsely charge upon us) that it is only imaginary and unreal (*phantastikēn*), by which not so much Christ as a phantasm (*phantasma*) of him or his image becomes present. Spiritual things are no less real and true than corporeal; nay, as they are more perfect, so their mode of presence ought to have perfection. I confess that by those to whom faith is only historical and consists in the bare knowledge of the object, that presence can be called less real (although not even so is a presence denied by philosophers by whom whatever is perceived by the intellect can be said to be truly present to it). But the Scriptures far otherwise describe faith and the presence which it works, while they designate it by sight, hearing and touch, by access, reception and

manducation: all of which prove not an unreal (*phantasticam*) presence (which is made only by phantasms or notions and imaginary ideas), but a true and real presence. Otherwise our union with Christ (which is made by faith, Eph. 3:17) would be merely imaginary. Even the thought of this is impious.

Proof that the union is merely relative.

VII. About this union it is inquired—Is it purely and merely schetical (*schetikē*) and relative or also physical and local? The Romanists and Lutherans affirm the latter; we assert the former. (1) As is the sacrament, so also ought to be the sacramental union which is its form. Now the sacrament is merely relative, since its formal relation consists in signification. (2) This union ought to be such as agrees with all the sacraments. Now no other than a relative union can agree with the sacraments of the Old Testament. Therefore, neither does any other agree with the sacraments of the New Testament. (3) If there was any other than the schetical (*schetikē*) union, ministers would exhibit the very thing signified also and those receiving the sign would receive also the thing signified, which is absurd. (4) A physical union cannot have place here, both because it is impossible and because it is useless.

Sources of explanation.

VIII. It is one thing only to signify and represent the things signified theoretically; another to signify them practically. In the former sense, they cannot be said to seal and confer the things signified; but in the latter (which is here to be attended to) they really seal and confer, not by a coexistence and inclusion in place, but by the institution of God.

IX. A schetical (*schetikē*) and relative union suffices for founding the sacramental phraseology concerning the commutation of names between the sign and thing signified. That relation is not only significative, but also sealing and applicative, which has place not only in the sacraments of the New, but also of the Old Testament; as circumcision is a covenant, Christ is a rock.

X. If the sacramental union is merely relative (*schetikē*), it does not follow that the hypostatic union ought to be such, because they differ widely from each other. Nor if the fathers sometimes compare them together (on account of a certain analogy), on this account do they wish to place them upon an equality.

XI. Although this union is not physical, it will not on that account be only verbal, but most real; both because it has a real foundation (to wit, a divine institution) and because the real and physical are not identified. There are many species of real union, the extremes of which are not at the same time by physical contact (such as the union of believers with Christ and with each other).

XII. Although the sacramental form is placed in a relative (*schetikē*) analogy, it does not follow that all water and all bread can be called a sacrament. We must distinguish between the fitness to signify and the actual signification. All bread has the former in reference to the body of Christ; but not the latter, except bread consecrated according to the institution of God.

Fifth Question

Are the sacraments only marks and badges of our profession? Or are they also signs and seals of the grace of God concerning the remission of sins and the regeneration of the Spirit? We affirm against the Socinians and Romanists

Opinion of the Socinians.

I. The question lies between us and the Socinians and Romanists. The Socinians confess that the sacraments are distinctive signs or badges and marks of profession by which we are distinguished from unbelievers; but they deny that they can be called seals of the grace of God concerning the remission of sins and regeneration. The Racovian Catechism says: “The baptism of water is an exterior rite, by which men coming either from Judaism or from Gentilism to the Christian religion, openly profess that they acknowledge Christ as their Lord” (*Catechesis ecclesiarum* 4 [1609], p. 195). This Socinus had asserted before (*De Baptismo aquae Disputatio*

[1613]). Volkelius denies that "the sacred Supper is well designated by the name of sacrament, since it neither gives nor seals any grace of God, but adumbrates the sealing of it already given and on this account it was instituted, that the kindness of God itself might be celebrated by a stated commemoration and giving of thanks" (*De vera Religione* 4.22 [1630], pp. 302–3).

Of the Romanists.

II. The Romanists also deny that the sacraments have a sealing power and that they are seals of the divine promises. Bellarmine labors to prove this. "The eighth article, that the sacrament seals the promise like a seal to excite and nourish faith, is false and is to be diligently refuted" ("De Sacramentis in Genere," 14 *Opera*, 3:39). This he endeavors to do in the following chapter, with whom Becanus agrees ("De Sacramentis," 1.4, 5 *Summa* [1651], pp. 901–3). However, Gregory of Valentia differs from them: "We confess that the sacraments of the new law are signs or seals in some measure of the divine promise" (*Commentariorum theologicorum*, Disp. III, Q. 3, Punct. 1 [1603–9], 4:552). Tirinus agrees with him, holding that "a sacrament is not only a distinctive sign of the Christian people, significative of righteousness, sealing the divine promises, but also causative and effective of righteousness" (*Theologicae elenchticae ... controversiarum fidei*, Cont. 18 ["De Sacramentis"] [1648], p. 452).

And of the orthodox.

III. The orthodox do not deny that they are signs distinctive of Christians and badges of profession. But they deny against the Socinians that they are to be restricted to this. Besides this less principal use, they think there is a primary use; not indeed that they are signs causative and effective of righteousness (concerning which we will hereafter treat with the Romanists), but that they are sealing and practical signs which are pledges of God's grace and exhibitive of the thing signified in its sense. For this end they are called "seals," the word being borrowed from human custom and intercourse, in which (to conciliate confidence) there is a great use of seals. Thus they are accustomed to be employed in agreements to confirm them,

in the diplomas of princes for their certification so that it may be evident that they are true and authentic. Thus God willed to employ the sacraments with the word of the promise of grace as seals of that heavenly diploma that no one might doubt concerning its truth and certainty.

Proof that the sacraments are seals: (1) from Rom. 4:11.

IV. (1) The first argument is drawn from the express words of Paul, in which he calls circumcision "a sign and seal of the righteousness of faith" (*sēmeion kai sphragida*, Rom. 4:11). He not only says it is a "sign" (which has a simple significative force), but also a "seal" (which has further a sealing force); and indeed of the covenant of which it was the sign (Gen. 17:11); and of the promise of grace concerning the righteousness of faith, which was included in the benediction by which all the nations of the earth were to be blessed in the blessed seed because, as Jehovah our righteousness, he ought to bring in an everlasting righteousness (as Paul explains it, Gal. 3:6–14*; 2 Cor. 5:21). Since there is the same relation of circumcision as of the other sacraments, we rightly argue from it to the others. For what is essential to one sacrament must necessarily belong to the others. For although they are not essential to the whole genus (which belong to one species), still what is essential to one undivided thing (of which kind is circumcision under the specific relation of the sacraments) ought to be ascribed to the whole species.

V. Nor can it be objected that this was indeed said of Abraham, but that it cannot with equal reason be transferred to others. It is so ascribed to Abraham as to pertain also to others, both because he is considered here as the father of the faithful (who is set forth as an example to us, so that what was fulfilled in him, the same is also fulfilled in others); and because the righteousness of faith and the promises of grace of which it is the seal are common to all, not peculiar to Abraham (Rom. 4:12; Gal. 3:9, 16). I confess that here also is included the promise concerning the paternity of Abraham —that he was to be the father of many nations. But circumcision was not the seal of this promise simply and properly, but of the righteousness of faith, which is common to all believers. Nor ought it to be added that Paul

distinguishes the seal from the sign and that circumcision is indeed a sign to all, but a seal to Abraham. For the seal is not distinguished from the sign except as an explanation from the thing explained (i.e., such a sign as to be also a seal) that it may be distinguished from other signs, which are indeed signs, but are not seals.

2. From the parity of other signs.

VI. (2) The sacraments stand related to the promises of grace, just as other signs and seals added to the promise which seal it and make it more certain, as the rainbow stands related to the promise not to flood the world again; not only to keep up the recollection of the past flood (as Bellarmine wishes), but to confirm our faith that there will not be another flood (Gen. 9:11, 12). The fleece of Gideon is related to the future deliverance of Israel (Jdg. 6:37). The live coal, laid upon the mouth of Isaiah, is related to the promise of the grace of God in the exercise of his calling (Is. 6:6). The washing of the feet (Jn. 13:4, 5) is related to the purgation of the apostles. Now all these signs and others of the same kind stood related to the promises of God not only significatively, but also confirmatively and as seals.

3. From the change of names.

VII. (3) To the signs are given the names, properties and effects of the thing signed; for which predication no other cause can be assigned except the relation of sealing: as to circumcision is given the name of covenant (Gen. 17:11); to the lamb, the name of Passover (Ex. 12:11); to the manna and water from the rock, the name of spiritual meat and drink and Christ (1 Cor. 10:4); to baptism, the name of the laver of regeneration and of the remission of sins (Tit. 3:5; Acts 22:16); to the bread, the name of the body of Christ (Mt. 26:26; 1 Cor. 10:16).

4. From this, that the sacraments are signs of a covenant.

VIII. (4) The sacraments are the signs of a covenant. Now they cannot be the signs of a covenant except for its confirmation and the ratification of the promises made on both sides, on the part of God as well as on the part of men. It is confirmed from this—that they have the relation of an oath by which God binds himself to fulfill the promises. But an oath is the seal of his promises (Heb. 6:16, 17).

Sources of explanation.

IX. Although the word and Holy Spirit testify of the grace of God and also seal it in their own way, it does not follow that this also does not belong to the sacraments. These are subordinates, not opposites. The effect is common to both causes, but the manner of effecting is diverse; there verbal, here symbolic; there by hearing, here by the sight and other senses. The Spirit is the internal seal, which seals from its own nature; but the sacraments are external seals, which seal only from their institution; the Spirit as the principal and efficacious cause who uses the word and sacraments as instruments.

X. Although nothing is greater and more efficacious than the word of God in itself, it does not follow that it can be confirmed with respect to us by the sacraments. They yield nothing to the objective certainty of the promises, since on the contrary the sacraments themselves draw all their power and efficacy from the word of God. But they add much in this way to the subjective certainty, inasmuch as our faith rests on and is upheld by this foundation as it were. The word in itself is not confirmed by the sacraments, but we in the use of them are assured of the promises which, although in themselves most certain, still are often called into doubt by us. They are therefore called seals, not because the certainty of the word depends upon them, but because God impressing more strongly the promises by them (not doubtful by themselves) affects the mind with a deeper sense.

XI. Although the sacraments are seals, it does not follow that their sealing is often false (to wit, with respect to hypocrites and unbelievers). No more than the preaching of the word is false, which is also addressed to them; for this is not so absolutely, but conditionally, the faith of the recipient and the lawful use being supposed. Otherwise there is no sealing, the condition being wanting. Therefore, it is one thing for the sacraments to

seal grace in the act sealed from the institution of God; another in the exercised act and with respect to the person receiving. The sacraments seal nothing to hypocrites and unbelievers on account of their lack of the required condition; but they do not fail to have such power according to the order of God in the sealed act. Therefore that hypocrites and the impious receive neither any promise nor seal of the promise in the use (or rather in the abuse of the sacraments), but contract thence greater guilt, this does not overthrow the proper and primary end of the sacraments. Otherwise neither would the gospel be a testimony of saving grace, nor would Christ himself have to be esteemed the author of life, since the former is to many the savor of death unto death and Christ is to many a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense.

XII. When the sacraments are said to seal the promises of God, it is not necessary that they should be better known and more certain than the promises themselves in themselves; but only with respect to us and inasmuch as they are considered, not in opposition to the word of promise, but in composition with it. Thus the meaning is, the word sealed by seals is better known and more certain with respect to us than the word alone; just as a diploma, to which a seal is affixed, is better known and more certain than one without it.

XIII. It is one thing to seal to us on our part our justification and calling; another to confirm it on the part of God. Good works can be seals and testimonies of our justification on our part; but the sacraments are seals on God's part. The former are the fruits of our faith; the latter, seals of the divine promises. However, here we do not treat of the testimonies of our faith (whether towards us or towards our neighbor); but concerning the testimony of the grace of God towards us. Nor are these to be opposed, but composed.

XIV. If the sacraments are said to confirm the promises, this is not either because they teach that there are divine promises or because we trust to the sacraments more than to the promises, but that we may trust more to both (namely, the promises and sacraments at the same time). As two chains are said to be stronger than one and two witnesses more certain than a solitary one, thus the obligation of a promise and the pledge of the sacraments avail far more to the confirmation of faith than either separately (namely, because

the intellect is moved by itself in the words and by the senses in the sacraments).

XV. It is one thing for the sacraments to be marks and badges of our profession (which we grant); another to be so only or principally and primarily (which we deny), since they have many other ends, as we have said before.

XVI. Although faith is prerequisite to the use of a sacrament, this does not hinder it from being confirmed by the sacrament; as sight is required for the use of a watchtower and yet it is confirmed by it. Thus faith which perceives the sacraments can increase and grow by them.

Sixth Question: The Sacramental Word

Is the sacramental word a declarative and concionative (concionale) *word or is it the consecratory which is operative? The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the Romanists*

What is the sacramental word?

I. We have said before that to the constitution of a sacrament is necessary the word of institution, consisting of a command and a promise. This we called the "sacramental word" or concionative and preached word, not so much because it is taught and preached before an assembly in order to show the becoming mode of administration, as because with a clear and loud voice it is proposed in the institution of the sacrament for the information of the believers present.

II. However, the Romanists are unwilling that the sacramental word should be concionative or preached, but consecratory and operative, inspiring and infusing into the elements a certain secret power that they may become sacraments, and destined rather for the dead element than for men and ought not to be spoken with a loud voice for the instruction of the bystanders, but muttered with a low breath. In this sense, we deservedly eject such a consecratory word as having been neither spoken by Christ, nor written by the apostles, but invented by human superstition. Although in another sense, we admit that the sacramental word of institution preached is

also consecratory with respect to the signs, inasmuch as by it they are transferred from a common and ordinary to a sacred use.

Statement of the question.

III. Hence the statement of the question is evident: not whether there may be granted any consecratory sacramental word (which we do not deny), but whether it is so consecratory as to also be operative (which we deny); not whether any word is to be uttered over the signs, but whether it is a word which should be uttered with a loud and intelligible voice, so as to be understood by those to whom the sacrament is to be administered or in a way which can be called concionative. Or whether it is placed in a certain particular formula which does not edify those about to commune, but consecrates the elements by a certain power contained in the words themselves, which words are to be murmured over the elements with an indistinct voice. The Romanists deny the former and affirm the latter; we hold the contrary.

Proof that the sacramental word is not operative: (1) because it is used in signifying.

IV. The reasons are: (1) the use of the sacramental word is in signifying, and therefore it should be pronounced with a loud voice. The antecedent is proved. First from this—that words are signs of things, while there is no use of words not signifying. Again, since the sacramental word is the word of institution of the sacrament itself (which consists of a command and a promise), it is evident that its use is placed in signifying; for the command enjoins the administration of the sacrament and the promise declares the dignity and efficacy of the same. Now no one can declare by words not signifying (such as they are), which are muttered without sense and meaning. The consequence is clear because the preaching of the word or the utterance of the same with an intelligible voice and the signification of the same are so connected that one is not without the other; for the word which is not uttered is unknown; what is unknown cannot signify, since what

signifies is the mark of the thing signified; a mark, however, cannot be unknown.

2. Because it belongs to all believers.

V. (2) The sacramental word belongs to all believers and is proposed to them all. Therefore, it is not to be mumbled secretly over the elements, but to be delivered audibly for the edification of all. For God on this account willed this to be committed to writing that it might belong to all and be proposed to all and not that it should be meaninglessly muttered.

3. Because signs ought to determine.

VI. (3) No instituted sign (such as the the sacraments are) can be without a spoken word. Instituted signs are of themselves indeterminate in signification, but are determined by the words with which they are instituted. Now words not understood determine nothing. Therefore, since the sacramental words determine and words signifying nothing determine nothing, they cannot be sacramental words which are not understood and thus not pronounced. It is confirmed by induction. No sacraments formerly had words mumbled without meaning, but all were uttered in a clear and intelligible voice; as appears from circumcision and the Passover and the others (which did not lack the spoken word declaring the end, on account of which they were instituted).

4. Because Christ pronounced the word.

VII. (4) The sacramental word was openly pronounced by Christ, since he directed his discourse to the apostles. Therefore it was to be spoken to all believers by the same. For what Christ did to his disciples, he means the same to be done by pastors towards believers. Hence Paul testifies that he had delivered to the Corinthians what he had received from the Lord (1 Cor. 11:23).

5. Because it is the word of faith.

VIII. (5) The sacramental word is the word of faith, which must be spoken, since faith comes from hearing. For the sacramental word contains a promise (which is a word of faith) to which believers hold themselves as a relative to its correlate.

Sources of explanation.

IX. The sacramental word is necessary: (1) on account of the officiator, because without it he would not administer the sacrament, and on account of the bystanders; otherwise they would not partake in that sacrament. (2) Although sometimes the recipient is not capable of instruction by speaking in the present act (as an infant), still he is capable by a future faculty without which he would undoubtedly not be admitted to the sacrament. And this last kind of capacity induces a necessity for the utterance; for if it was not uttered, no one would ever be capable, since in truth what is not uttered signifies nothing. (3) Although the recipient is in the highest degree instructed, still he needs the spoken word, which is necessary not only for the instruction of the recipient, but also for the institution of the sacrament.

X. Although in infants there is no understanding with respect to act, it suffices that there is with respect to habit that the sacramental word should be used in baptism. Utterance therefore is made in infant baptism both for the present instruction of the whole church (which actually hears) and the future of the infant itself (who is baptized). Nor is it absurd for a thing to be said in this or that time which is understood only some time afterwards; as the apostles heard many things profitably from Christ which they understood afterwards.

XI. Although the sacramental word of baptism prescribed by the Lord has the form of an invocation and benediction, it does not follow that it does not have the force of institution, because invocation and instruction are not opposed (since one and the same word has both forces). Besides, invocation does not consist in murmuring alone. Thus Paul wishes prayers to be made with understanding (1 Cor. 14:15), that is with edification and therefore with institution, without which there is no edification. Again, our opponents gratuitously suppose that the words of baptism have reference to the act of baptizing and not to the act of teaching. For they refer to both (to wit, the act of baptizing by teaching and the act of teaching by baptizing) that it may

at the same time appear both that the laver of water is used and for what end.

XII. Many arguments of our opponents err by an ignorance of the question; as if by the concionative word we understood the public discourse of the minister explaining some passage of Scripture in an ecclesiastical assembly, which commonly precedes the celebration of the sacraments; since it appears from what has already been said that we mean nothing else than the word of institution, which ought to be uttered by the minister with a loud voice to consecrate the signs. Thus we do not oppose the concionative word to the consecratory (as the Romanists do), but we rather subordinate it to it because every consecratory word is rightly called concionative, but not vice versa is every concionative word consecratory.

XIII. There is not the same relation of the word and of the sacrament (or sign) in the administration of baptism. The element of water beyond the present touch of the body can be of no use for the remaining age; hence it is necessary that it touch the infant. But there is a different relation of the word which has its use, not in him only by whom it is heard at present, but also in the future, by the instruction of the one baptized.

XIV. What is usually adduced in favor of the consecratory word in the popish sense (i.e., operative) will be discussed hereafter when we discuss the efficacy of the sacraments.

Seventh Question: The Intention of the Minister

Whether the intention of the minister (at least of doing what the church does) is necessary to the essence and efficacy of the sacrament. We deny against the Romanists

The opinion of the Romanists concerning the intention of the minister.

I. This important question was agitated in the Council of Trent and discussed with great earnestness of spirit. The decision is set forth in Session 7, Canon 11: “If anyone shall say that in the ministers, while they administer and confer the sacraments, the intention at least of doing what

the church does, is not required, let him be anathema" (Schroeder, p. 52). This was taken from the decrees of Eugenius IV to the Armenians in the Council of Florence, in which these are found: "All the sacraments are made up of three parts, to wit, of things as the matter, of words as the form, and the sacrament, with the intention of doing what the church does, if any one of which is absent, the sacrament will not be perfect" (Mansi, 31A:1054).

II. Now the meaning of these words is ambiguous (viz. "There is required an intention to do what the church does"), for they can be understood either "from the duty of the minister" or "from the necessity of the sacrament." The Romanists do not understand this in the former sense, which we easily allow. For every minister administering the sacrament ought to have the intention to do what the church does according to the appointment of Christ, of which intention if he is destitute, he grievously sins. Rather they understand it in the latter sense, by which the intention is held to be necessary to the integrity, efficacy and validity of the sacrament. This is evident: (1) because the Synod follows the preceding decision of Eugenius IV, which implies this; (2) because the anathema is directed against evangelicals, who impugn the latter and not the former sense; (3) because this is the received opinion among the Romanists.

III. However, the Romanists are strangely perplexed about the nature of this intention and are even mutually opposed to each other. Some require an actual, others only an habitual intention; others, maintaining that the first is unnecessary and the second insufficient, urge a third which they call virtual, "by which one does not indeed have the intention of baptizing actually at present (on account of absence of mind), but that he formerly had and is disposed to have it," as Bellarmine expresses it ("De Sacramentis," 1.27 *Opera* 3:76). Again they laboriously dispute concerning the material and formal intention—whether it is to be restricted to the will of effecting that act as if material. Or whether the will of making the sacrament is also required (Becanus, "De Sacramentis," 5.3 *Summa* [1651], pp. 922–23). Moreover they distinguish between a particular and general intention: "It is indeed better that one should have a particular intention, that is, of conferring the sacrament of baptism; in the meantime the general intention to do what the church does is sufficient." Bellarmine, in the cited book: "It is not necessary to intend what the Roman church does, but what the true

church does, whatever that is, either what Christ instituted, or what Christians do" (ibid.). Nay, Bellarmine goes so far as to maintain that "the intention to do what any particular and false church, which he believes to be true, as the Genevan, does, is sufficient; for he, who intends to do what the Genevan church does, intends to do what the universal church does" (ibid.). Thus (to wit, holding nothing certain), he openly destroys his own cause, while he maintains that then a transubstantiation is made by the priest when he does not intend to make it (as it is confessed that it is neither made nor intended by our church).

Statement of the question.

IV. Hence the statement of the question is gathered. (1) The question does not concern those things which are necessary to the minister that he may rightly discharge his duty—whether he ought to be intent upon those things which are to be done by him, lest by listlessness or profanity he may do or intend to do something different from what he ought. For this no one denies. Rather the question is whether this intention is required for the integrity and validity of the sacrament. This the Romanists hold. (2) The question is not whether a pastor who is without the legitimate intention is guilty of a grievous crime for which he is bound to give an account to God. This we confess. Rather the question is whether besides, the sacrament which he administers ceases to be a true and legitimate sacrament. This we deny. (3) The question is not whether an external intention is required (i.e., which regards the act itself of conferring the sacrament according to the form of institution and denotes the will of performing all the sacramental acts according to the order of Christ). Rather the question is whether there is required an internal intention which regards the end of the sacrament so that the pastor should have the mind and will of performing it for that end which Christ wishes to be regarded. Whether in the administration (it being posited that nothing is wanting besides the internal intention of the minister) the sacrament becomes void from the defect of this intention. The Romanists affirm; we deny it, relying upon these arguments.

Proof that the intention of the minister is not required to the essence of a sacrament: (1) because the want of it is a personal sin.

V. (1) The personal sin of one does not injure another who does not share in it. Now the defect of intention of the minister is the personal sin of that minister. Therefore it does not injure another not partaking of it—him, namely, who is the partaker of the sacrament rightly celebrated. However, it would injure him, if from the defect of that intention, the sacrament would be made void.

2. Because there is the same relation of the sacrament as of the word.

VI. (2) The relation of the sacrament is the same as of the preached word, since each is the instrument of God and the former indeed the visible word and the latter the audible. And yet the efficacy of the preached word does not depend upon the intention of the minister, but upon the virtue attending the word itself. Hence Paul shows that it makes little difference whether the gospel is preached from the mind or from contention (Phil. 1:16, 17), provided it be preached, intimating that these sins of the preacher do not affect the hearers embracing it with the obedience of faith. Bellarmine falsely wishes the word and sacrament to differ in that the former only signifies grace and so can excite faith with any intention, but the sacrament works grace (which it cannot do if it is not offered with the intention of working). It is gratuitously supposed that the sacrament is such a practical sign as effects the thing itself, as will be proved hereafter. The word of God is efficacious no less than the sacrament, but the efficacy of the word as well as of the sacrament depends upon the Holy Spirit, not on the instrumental cause, which dispenses only the external means.

3. Because the sacramental action would depend upon man.

VII. (3) The sacramental action would proceed not according to the intention of the principal agent (namely, God), but according to the intention of the inferior cause and thus the better parts would belong to the minister rather than to God; also the unbelief of man would make the truth and faith of God void, contrary to Paul (Rom. 3:3).

4. Because a want of honesty does not hinder the sacrament.

VIII. (4) A lack of honesty and mortal sin (as they say) in the minister does not hinder a true sacrament from being made up, according to Session 7, Canon 12 of the Council of Trent, where a curse is pronounced upon those who deny that "a minister being in mortal sin, provided he has preserved all the essentials which pertain to making the sacrament, makes or bestows the sacrament" (Schroeder, pp. 52–53). Therefore neither will a want of intention (which is the greatest dishonesty and a mortal sin) hinder it. For what is said of the genus that can also be affirmed of the species.

5. Because there would be no certainty of the effect of the sacraments.

IX. (5) If the truth and efficacy of the sacraments depended upon the intention of the minister, there would be no certainty of the saving effect of the sacraments. Thus all true consolation which is expected from their use would be taken away because that knowledge is inscrutable and no mortal can be infallibly certain of the truth of this intention. Thus no one can know whether he has been truly baptized without an extraordinary revelation. In vain is it here replied that a metaphysical certainty cannot indeed be gained (which is from divine revelation), but a moral certainty (founded upon human arguments), and that this is sufficient and can be most easily obtained. For since it is most easy to have the intention, there is no reason to doubt concerning it, unless the minister betrays it by some sign; also that we are compelled to acquiesce in him because when we are baptized in infancy, we cannot know that we have been baptized in any other way than from the report of parents and friends (which is a moral certainty). For since

that moral certainty is merely conjectural and is rather a presumption than a certainty, it no way suffices to tranquilize the conscience. However, there is a different relation of the certainty which we can have of our baptism because it is an external act striking upon the senses (of which an indubitable certainty can be acquired because it rests upon the sense and upon the surest human testimonies). But the intention of the minister is internal and hidden, concerning which none can testify as concerning a thing fully ascertained. “For what man knoweth the things of man, save the spirit of man which is in him?” (1 Cor. 2:11).

6. Because it renders the whole papacy doubtful.

X. (6) The same necessity of intention renders the whole papacy doubtful and ever exposes Christians to the danger of idolatry. For it being posited that in the priest was lacking the intention of baptizing or of consecrating even once, there will be no sacrament and so he will not have been baptized truly who was sprinkled with water. If afterwards he becomes a priest or a bishop, who administers the sacraments daily and ordains priests, these will not be sacraments because one not rightly baptized could not be ordained, nor could he consecrate others. Hence infinite nullities of sacraments would occur, which deservedly render the whole papacy uncertain and doubtful. Ambrose Catharinus pressed this in the Council. But no less disadvantage arises from the most imminent danger of idolatry (to wit, in the adoration of the host); since on account of a lack of intention, not only in the presbyter consecrating, but in the bishop who ordained him, it can be known neither by the priest, nor by any other that the bread either is transubstantiated into the body of Christ or could have been. Now if the sacrament is nothing, it will be the most manifest idolatry because that which neither will be God, nor will have anything divine about it, will be adored.

7. Because the fathers agree with us.

XI. (7) The fathers frequently confirm this, asserting the very same thing. “The truth of the sacraments does not depend upon the morals, faith and qualities of the minister, but on the institution of God; whatever the exterior minister may be, still God is the interior worker. A bad minister does not

injure where the good Lord is. The sacraments are completed not by the faith of the user or of the one administering, but by the words of their author." Augustine inquires whether baptism farcically administered is baptism; nor does he dare to settle it; therefore he did not know that the intention of the minister is required for its essence (*On Baptism, Against the Donatists* 7.53 [NPNF1, 4:512–13]). He opposes this rule to the error of the Donatists (concerning attending to the conscience of the giver): "The human conscience is often unknown to me, but I am certain of the mercy of Christ" (*The Letters of Petilian, the Donatist* 1.7 [NPNF1, 4:522; PL 43.249]). And: "If among those who were first initiated, on that account the religion of baptism is judged to be weak because they from whom it is received are reckoned as sinners, it will be necessary for the sacrament delivered to be renewed as often as the administrator of the conferred baptism shall be found unworthy, and our faith will depend not on the decision of our will, nor on the grace of the divine gift, but on the merits of the priests and the character of the clergy" (Letter 105, "To the Donatists" [FC 18:204–5; PL 33.400–401]). And afterwards: "That grace is always of God and the sacrament of God; the ministry, however, alone of man, who, if he is good, adheres to God, but if he is bad, God works through him the visible form of the sacrament, while he himself gives invisible grace" (ibid. [FC 18:205; PL 33.401]). What he says of the honesty of the minister, the same must be understood of the intention also. So far was antiquity from the Roman dogma that Alexander, the Bishop of Alexandria, wished the baptism of other boys by the boy Athanasius in sportive imitation of baptisms in the church to be considered valid for this reason alone—that the external rite had been administered according to the order in the church, as Sozomen (*Ecclesiastical History* 2.17* [NPNF2, 2:269]) and Nicephorus (*Ecclesiasticae Historiae* 8.44* [PG 146.174]) tell us. Now I do not say how rightly this was said, since the administration of a sportive baptism cannot be considered lawful, or performed by a lawful minister; but thence I gather only that he did not believe an intention was necessary.

Sources of explanation.

XII. Although ministers administering the sacraments are instruments using reason, it does not follow that there is required in them an intention related

to the effect concerning which it is done. (1) By the same reason, it could be proved that the preaching of the minister without his intention is useless to the hearer because they are not less instruments using reason in preaching the gospel than in administering the sacraments (which nevertheless our opponents do not allow). (2) Rational instruments are the servants of their master; nor does the master care with what mind and with what intention his commands are executed, provided it appears that his commands have been truly carried out. (3) The simile drawn from political judges constituted by a king is dissimilar. For the king confers some dominion concerning the actions to be performed by them, while ministers are only stewards of those things, the lordship of which is with Christ alone, who is perpetually and most intimately united to the church by his grace and Spirit. Therefore, the lack of intention of the minister does not diminish the intention of Christ, the Lord, who being present through the minister baptizes and confers the Eucharist. Therefore, as the negligence or hatred of a servant does not prejudice the liberality of a master, so neither the depraved intention of the minister administering according to the institution makes void the promise of Christ.

XIII. The words of the sacraments are not practical, effecting the thing itself; but they only signify and seal in their legitimate use what is effected, even if they are uttered without the intention of the minister. The persons acting must be distinguished: some are principal, which act and speak from themselves, and then is required the intention related to the execution of that which is commanded; or they are less principal, which speak from another, as when a herald or interpreter announces the orders of the prince, the words have their force from the prince even without the intention of the instrumental cause. An intention is required in the primary cause, not in the instrumental cause. Thus the practical force of the sacraments does not depend upon the intention of the speaker, but upon that of the institutor.

XIV. The intention causes a minister to wish to exercise the ministry, but not always to exercise it from the mind and for that end which he ought to have in view. Thus there is required in a minister the wish to exercise the external sacramental acts according to the prescription of Christ. But in order that the sacrament may be valid, there is not required in addition the intention to do what either the universal or a particular church does.

XV. Although the intention of the minister is not necessary to the integrity of a sacrament, it does not follow that a father washing his son in a bath (these words being added, "I wash you in the name of God, the Father …") or a priest reading the gospel over a table repeating the words, "This is my body," effects a true sacrament. Such a baptism and Eucharist is not a true sacrament, not because an operative intention of the administrators is wanting, but because the institution of Christ is not observed, according to which the sacraments ought to be administered by a minister rightly called, solemnly and with due reverence in a public assembly.

Eighth Question: The Efficacy of the Sacraments

Do the sacraments of the New Testament work grace so physically that they effect and contain it ex opere operato, *whether faith and devotion are present or not? Or are they rather efficacious signs and seals of grace? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists*

On this question the Socinians err by defect.

I. About the question concerning the efficacy of the sacraments, it is sinned in defect and in excess. The Socinians err in defect, maintaining that the sacraments are only external badges of profession by which we are distinguished from others (against whom we have already disputed). To them they approach who hold the sacraments to be bare signs and mere figures which only excite and nourish faith by a representation of the object and not by an efficacious sealing and conferring in the legitimate use. This opinion is falsely charged upon us by the Romanists and Lutherans because (as was observed before) we hold them to be efficacious and practical signs which truly seal and in their way confer upon us the thing signified.

In excess.

II. They all sin in excess who hold the sacraments to be vehicles and vessels containing grace or who make them real and less principal causes of grace. Such are they of the Lutherans who hold the sacraments to be *ochēmata* or channels of grace and physical means or real and instrumental causes by

which the benefits obtained by the death of Christ are exhibited and conferred. On this account, they rebuke us for saying that the sacraments are only seals signifying and sealing grace, as Gerhard does ("De Sacramentis," *Loci Theologici* [1866], 4:140). But especially the Romanists, who pretend that the sacraments of the New Testament are physical causes, true and proper, which effect and confer grace *ex opere operato*, as it was settled in the Council of Trent, Session 7, Canons 6, 7, 8 (Schroeder, p. 52), where three things are sanctioned. First, that they contain the grace which they signify. Second, that they always confer grace, and they confer it upon all who do not oppose an obstacle to it. Third, that it is conferred *ex opere operato* (i.e., by virtue of the external action) without any motion, devotion, piety or faith; or any other preparation on the part of the recipient. Canon 6: "If any man shall say that the sacraments of the new law do not contain the grace which they signify or do not confer grace upon those who do not oppose an obstacle to it, as if they were only external signs … let him be accursed" (ibid.). And Canon 8: "If any man shall say that grace is not conferred by the sacraments of the new law themselves *ex opere operato*, but that faith alone in the divine promise is sufficient to obtain grace; let him be accursed" (ibid.).

III. However, although there is a great diversity of opinion among the Romanists concerning that efficacy, some maintaining that the sacraments contain grace (as the effect in its instrumental and effective cause) which produces in the soul a disposition to receive it; others by an inherent created quality (as medicine is contained in a vase) according to which they are physical causes of grace; others by an assisting virtue because (being employed by God according to agreement) they produce and confer grace and thus are the conditions and causes *sine qua non;* others explain it in other ways, concerning which see Chamier (*Corpus theologicum* IV, 2.1 [1653], pp. 51–55) and Forbes (*Instructiones Historico-theologicae* 9.2 [1645], pp. 446–48). Still all agree in this—that the sacraments contain grace and are its vehicles and that is actually wrought when they are lawfully administered; and they assert that they confer it proximately and immediately and *ex opere operato*. And for this reason the Council remained satisfied with general expressions, asserting indeed that the sacraments contain and bestow grace, but defining nothing as to the manner, in order to conceal the diverse opinions of the Scholastics and so balance

words that no party could complain that prejudice was done to it (sporting after the manner of actors).

IV. Now by *opus operatum* the fathers of the Council mean the external celebration of the sacraments which is the cause and instrument of grace to those not offering the obstacle of mortal sin (although otherwise destitute of faith and piety). And they distinguish between those actions by which piety is excited and which produce grace from the work of the worker (*ex opere operantis*) (i.e., not from the work itself, but from the power and devotion of the worker) and those which procure grace *ex opere operato* (i.e., not from the devotion of the worker or of the receiver of the work, but in virtue of the work itself, of which kind they hold the sacraments to be). In this they follow the opinion of the old Scholastics who exclude the good motion of the receiver: as Biel, Paludanus, (John Duns) Scotus, Albertus (Magnus) and others. Biel (on John 6+): "*Opus operatum* is the performance of the external work without any internal motion." "A sacrament is said to confer grace *ex opere operato* because besides the exhibition and application of the sign, no good motion is necessary in the receiver" (Biel, q. 3+). The more modern (as Bellarmine, Conink, [Gregory of] Valentia) are unwilling that by this word should be excluded good motions, the disposition of faith, the exclusion of an obstacle, but only merit, so that it is the same thing to confer grace *ex opere operato* and to confer it from the force of the sacramental action itself instituted by God, not from the merit of the performer or of the receiver. But our opponents here raise a smoke, nor does their opinion differ from that of the Scholastics whatever difference they may seek. (1) Bellarmine's definition makes grace to be effected actively and proximately by the external sacramental action; nay, he disputes that this is done immediately against those who interpose the act of faith and excludes faith and internal motion from the efficacy of sacramental grace. (2) Again, he distinguishes the new from the old sacraments in this way—that the latter did not properly work grace, but either the faith and devotion of the receiver or of the whole synagogue proves that the motion of faith is not required because the sacrament administered to infants avails, even though they are without faith. (3) Finally, willing or unwilling, on these points they teach the same as those ancients whose opinion our men deservedly discarded because when they exclude all merit, by that very

thing they exclude every good motion and good thought which they hold to be meritorious.

Opinion of the orthodox.

V. Our opinion is that the sacraments do not work grace physically and *ex opere operato* as if they possessed a force implanted and inherent in them of conferring and effecting grace; but only morally and hyperphysically, inasmuch as they are signs and seals which in their lawful use hold forth and seal grace to believers (God by the power of the Holy Spirit truly performing and fulfilling in them whatever he promises and figures by the signs). Therefore a twofold efficacy is ascribed to the sacraments according to us: the one moral and objective, by which the sacraments make present to our mind that object, to signify and seal which they are destined (by which means, faith is either excited or confirmed and, it mediating, hope and sanctification are increased); the other covenantal, by which God (sealing by the sacraments his promise or covenant) confers the very things promised upon the believing soul or even a greater sense and perception of these already conferred and produces by both greater operations. Hence the sacraments are rightly called exhibitive, provided a physical exhibition is not understood by any real coherence or by a real conjunction or by any virtue really implanted in the elements; but a moral exhibition by which that grace is objectively exhibited to the mind and with it, at the same time, really to the believing soul.

VI. Therefore, the question here is not: (1) Are the sacraments efficacious? For this is granted on both sides. But how do they exert their efficacy? As physical causes which confer and effect grace by an implanted and inborn power? This they maintain; for although some deny that they are physical, but moral, still in fact while they defend *opus operatum*, they make this efficiency physical. Or as moral causes at whose presence God operates? This we favor. (2) The question is not whether faith and devotion are required in the use of a sacrament (which our opponents do not deny); but whether the external act of a sacrament (whether faith is present or not) confers grace *ex opere operato*. Or whether this depends solely upon the Holy Spirit attending the external sign in its lawful use. This we assert. Thus the question is reduced to these limits—whether the sacraments of the

New Testament are the true, proper and immediate causes of justification, which by an efficacy inherent in the signs themselves effect and confer holiness and righteousness upon all receiving the sole external action of a sacrament (although otherwise they are destitute of faith and piety) provided they do not oppose the obstacle of mortal sin. The Romanists affirm; we deny.

Proof that the sacraments are not physical causes: (1) because they are seals.

VII. First, the sacraments are nowhere called vehicles or receptacles of grace, but are expressly said to be signs and seals of the covenant of grace (Rom. 4:11; Gen. 17:10; Ex. 12:13). Now such is the nature of signs and seals that they contain nothing in themselves, nor confer anything by an inherent virtue; but signify the grace either already bestowed or to be bestowed afterwards and seal it to those to whom it belongs. As, however, efficiency differs in its whole kind from signification, so there is a diverse reason for instituting efficient and signifying instruments. It is evident by induction, in miraculous signs (such as were the rainbow, the fleece of Gideon, the sundial of Hezekiah, which contained or wrought nothing in themselves, but only signified and sealed) as in ordinary signs, to which signification and not efficiency is ascribed.

2. Because they suppose grace.

VIII. Second, the sacraments cannot operate, or confer by an inherent power, what according to the institution of God they presuppose or demand beforehand in the subject (such as is the grace of regeneration and of justification). For God does not will the sacraments to be administered promiscuously to adults, but to those who being instructed beforehand believe and by faith are partakers of grace; not to the infants of unbelievers promiscuously, but to the infants of believers. Thus Abraham receives the sign of circumcision, “a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised” (Rom. 4:11). The eunuch (Acts 8:37, 38), Paul (9:11, 17, 18), Cornelius (10:34, 35, 37) and others, since they had already

believed and by faith had received remission of sins (Acts 26:18), were baptized for the remission of sins (i.e., that they might obtain the divine testimony of it, Acts 2:38).

3. Because the word is not a physical cause.

IX. Third, the word does not confer grace by any power implanted in the sound or in the letters, but by the power alone of the Spirit who accompanies it. There is, however, the same relation here of the word and the sacraments and they confer grace in the same way, inasmuch as they are external means which God uses to bestow grace upon us. Again, there is the same relation of the sound in the word as of the external action in the sacrament. Now there is no power in the sound because it does not assist the word, unless tempered by faith, without which the sound affects the ears, not the heart. To no purpose is it said that the word and sacraments differ in that the word is the hand stretched out and the sacraments the hand applying. (a) The hand stretched out as well as the hand applying require a hand receiving (i.e., our faith). On this account, just as the vocal word does not justify unless faith mediates and not by the power of the external sound, so the sacraments (which are a visible word) do not justify except faith mediates and consequently not *ex opere operato* or by the power of the external action. (b) Every hand applying is also stretched out because that hand is called applying which is specially stretched out.

4. Because grace is not tied to the sacraments.

X. Fourth, if the sacraments physically contained grace in themselves and conferred it by an inherent force, grace would be tied to the sacraments. This cannot be said without absurdity. (a) God is a perfect free agent. (b) To confer grace by an inherent power belongs to God alone. (c) Many are saved without the sacraments, as the thief on the cross; and with them many are damned, as Judas, Simon Magus.

5. Because a corporeal thing cannot act upon the soul.

XI. Fifth, nothing corporeal can by its own power effect anything spiritual or act upon the soul. Now the *opus operatum* of the sacrament or the external action is a corporeal thing which by its own power cannot effect grace, which is spiritual. Nor can it be said that a corporeal thing cannot act of itself upon a spiritual thing, but from the power of God, which raises the instrumental cause when God uses it for this purpose. For that virtue ought to constitute some quality in the corporeal thing which is proportionate to the object on which it acts; and yet God infuses no virtue or quality in the signs themselves or the external action of the sacraments, which is proportionate to the object on which the sacraments ought to act (namely, on the soul). Otherwise we would have to say as the soul is spiritual, so in the sacramental signs or the work wrought (*opus operatum*), there is infused from the power of God a spiritual quality (which is absurd). And the sacraments are only instrumental causes, not physical; but objective and moral, at whose presence God works that spiritual grace.

6. Because faith is required for the efficacy of a sacrament.

XII. Sixth, for the efficacy of a sacrament faith is required, devotion and an internal motion of the mind, both because the Scriptures expressly assert it (Mk. 16:16; 1 Cor. 11:27; Acts 2:38) and because without faith it is impossible to please God (Heb. 11:6), and because the promise (which is contained in the sacraments) and faith are correlates, and because the Romanists themselves confess that for the efficacy of a sacrament in adults is required a state of grace and a conscience purged of mortal sin, which cannot be granted without faith and devotion. Nay, that very thing ("not to offer an obstacle") which they require is the effect of grace and faith, since a man destitute of grace and faith cannot help presenting an obstacle. Now although faith is not of the essence of a sacrament (just as it is not of the essence of the preaching of the word), still as the latter profits nothing without faith (Heb. 4:2), so there is no saving efficacy of the sacraments in unbelievers. Their bodies are washed by the water, but not their hearts by grace. They eat the bread of the Lord, but not the bread which is the Lord. On this account, it was formerly customary for faith and a confession of it

to be stipulated by those who were admitted for the first time to a sacrament (Acts 8:36, 37). And on this account, it served especially as a symbol of faith.

XIII. Seventh, since the sacraments cannot be efficacious except under the relation of signs and seals, all their efficacy ought to depend upon two things: first, from this that the sign be presented objectively to the mind; second, from the disposition of the faculty to which the sign is presented. For the sign effects nothing, nor is it adapted to move objectively, unless it meets a faculty well constituted. And this is the difference between physical and moral causes—the power of the former is such that they neither know themselves, nor need the intervention of knowledge in him on whom they act in order to unfold and exert themselves; while signs (as all other objective causes), although they are unknown of themselves, still accomplish nothing except when they are known and therefore because they are known. Now the sacraments can be said to act in us objectively in three ways. (a) They put us in mind of their author, which moves us to piety and reverence. (b) They recall to the mind the causes impelled by which God instituted the sacraments (which fills the mind with a deep feeling of gratitude). (c) They bring before the mind the thing itself for the sealing of which they are intended, inasmuch as it can be done by a sign which confirms faith, increases hope and promotes sanctification.

8. Because no effects can arise from signs.

XIV. Eighth, sacraments can have no effects which are from the signs themselves by an inherent efficacy or are made in us by us. Not the former, such as are adoption, love, reconciliation and the like. Both because the baptism of water is posterior to this kind of effect and because no cause can be assigned for them except God. Otherwise his grace would not be the first and only cause of our salvation. Not the latter, such as are the sense of justification and sanctification, because if (for example) the sense of justification could be produced physically by the sacraments, man would not be justified by faith (contrary to Paul). For according to the Romanists, the operation of the sacraments by faith is opposed to their physical operation. Not also sanctification, because it is produced by the Holy Spirit

and by faith. Now no instrument acting physically is applied to an effect already produced.

9. From 1 Pet. 3:21.

XV. Ninth, if the signs of the sacraments effected that which they signify by any force inhering in them, in baptism the washing away of the filth of the flesh would save the baptized (contrary to Peter). "The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God)" (1 Pet. 3*:21). Here a double reason is adduced: (a) when it is denied that salvation is from the washing away of filth; (b) when it is ascribed to the answer of a good conscience opposed to the external washing. And in whatever way the *eperōtēma* of a good conscience is understood, either for the answer of faith (which was made with words before baptism when the catechumen was asked concerning those things which pertained to the internal sense of faith, "Do you believe?" "I believe."); or concerning the pledge of eternal life; or of the cleansing of the mind unfolded by the effect—it is certain that the internal purification of the mind is thus designated, which is not effected by that external application of the visible element.

10. From the fathers.

XVI. Tenth, the fathers often teach this by distinguishing the efficiency of the Spirit and of the element. Cyprian (or whoever is the author of the sermon concerning the "Baptism of Christ"): "The remission of sins, whether granted by baptism or by other sacraments, is properly from the Holy Spirit and the privilege of this efficiency remains with him alone" ("De Baptismo Christi" [attributed to Cyprian] in Arnold Carnotensis, *Opera*, p. 30, in Cyprian, *Opera* [ed. John Oxoniensem, 1682]). Gregory of Nyssa: "This benefit the water does not bestow, for it is higher than any creature; rather the precept of God and the approach of the Spirit, who comes mystically to our deliverance, bestows it. But the water subserves to show the cleansing" (*On the Baptism of Christ* [NPNF2, 5:519; PG 46.582]). Augustine: "The water of the sacrament is one thing; the water which signifies the Spirit of God is another. The water of the sacrament is

visible; the water of the Spirit is invisible. The former washes the body and signifies what is done in the soul; by the Spirit the soul itself is cleansed and filled" (Homily 6, *The Epistle of St. John* [NPNF1, 7:498; PL 35.2026]). See the same writer in *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum* 84 (PL 34.712–13); Letter 98, To Boniface (FC 18:129–38); Tractate 80, *On the Gospel of John* (NPNF1, 7:343–45); cf. Bernard, In *Coena Domini Sermo* (PL 183.271–74), Gregory Nazianzus, Oration 40, *On Holy Baptism* (NPNF2, 7:360–77) and others in Chamier (*Panstratiae catholicae* 10, 21 [1626], 4:167–72, 208–11).

Sources of explanation.

XVII. If the sacraments are said to remit sins, to save and to regenerate (Acts 2:38; 22:16; Eph. 5:26; Tit. 3:5; 1 Pet. 3:21), they do not do this by a proper, immediate and internal force (as is evident from 1 Pet. 3:21). Rather they do it sacramentally and improperly because they are efficacious signs by which those benefits are signified and sealed and in their legitimate use conferred.

XVIII. The sacraments confer what is promised objectively and morally by exciting faith to embrace grace and by sealing it; not effectively by producing originally some quality, drawing out or impressing it. They are rightly called "practical signs," not because they truly and properly and immediately reach the effect by any inherent virtue, but because at their presence in the lawful use God certainly works to exhibit the thing itself; as the smiting of the rock with a rod (Ex. 17:6) was the practical sign which followed, although it did not exert it immediately and by its own power.

XIX. When remission of sins is ascribed to baptism (Acts 22:16), it is not ascribed to it except under the relation of a sign and seal and not under the relation of a true, proper and immediate physical cause, because remission consists in the sentence of God, the offended party, which on this account cannot be ascribed to an external and bodily thing except under the relation of a sign and seal signifying and sealing it. In fine, although that remission is ascribed to baptism, it does not belong to it by reason of the external action properly, but by reason of the internal grace and receiving faith, without which all the external ablution is in vain.

XX. It is one thing to speak of baptism; another to speak of the external action of baptism. Nor does it follow that a saving power is ascribed to baptism (Mk. 16:16). Therefore this power is in that external action, for whatever saving power is ascribed to baptism, this cannot belong to it unless faith mediates. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," which is evident from the opposite. For it is not said, he that believeth not and is not baptized shall be damned, but simply "he that believeth not." This teaches that a defect of faith alone and not of baptism damns. Thus the vivifying power is to be ascribed not to external baptism, but to the internal grace which works faith.

XXI. When John the Baptist says of himself, "I baptize you with water," and of Christ, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit" (Mt. 3:11), he does not compare baptism with baptism, but a person with a person in order to demonstrate the excellence of Christ above himself (to whom alone it pertains to administer internal baptism or to confer the thing signified, while John was only the administrator of the external sign). The same can be said of all ministers, who can indeed give water, but not the Spirit. But nothing can be inferred thence for the efficiency of the sacrament or of the external sign. Yea, the external baptism of water is opposed to the internal baptism of the Spirit to denote that to the former the bestowal of the Spirit does not belong, but only to the latter. This we will show hereafter when we treat of the baptism of John.

XXII. The water (of which we ought to be born again, Jn. 3:5) does not signify external baptism because without that salvation cannot be obtained. Rather it signifies the power of the Holy Spirit working after the manner of water in the purgation and renovation of the mind. On this account, after water the word Spirit is added exegetically (*exēgētikōs*) so that the word water may be made clear by the proper figure, by hendiadys (i.e., by spiritual water or the Spirit acting after the manner of water).

XXIII. When Paul says, "We being many are one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread" (1 Cor. 10:17), he does not mean that the participation of one bread is the cause of our being one body, because he does not say, we being many are one body because we partake of one bread, but "who partake of one bread." Therefore, the participation of one bread proves indeed that we are one body, but not by an argument taken from the cause of the one union, but only from the sign and testimony of it, which is

confirmed by the comparison. For in corporeal things we rightly prove the members to belong to the same body because they are nourished by the same food. But it is false that the same food effects the unity of members in a body, for they must be the members of one body before they can be nourished by the same food.

XXIV. Although Peter compares the ark, in which Noah was saved together with his family, with baptism (1 Pet. 3:21): (1) it does not follow that the similitude is in all things, but in some only (to wit, as the ark efficaciously saved Noah from the flood, so also does baptism). But as the ark did not preserve physically and without the divine institution, so also baptism. (2) The word *epanorthōsis* (added by Peter) expressly teaches that he does not speak of external baptism, but of internal. On this account, salvation is not to be ascribed to the former but to the latter when he says that the baptism which saves us is not "the putting away of the filth of the flesh" (i.e., the external baptism of water), but "the answer of a good conscience" (i.e., internal baptism or spiritual purgation), which he calls from its effect, "the answer of a good conscience toward God." For he who is internally pure and cleansed by the blood of Christ with a good conscience and filial boldness (*parrēsia*) responds to the Spirit interrogating and in turn interrogates God and seeks from him necessary things with the most certain confidence of being heard. But it is falsely said that Peter does not compare with one another internal and external baptism, but the Jewish baptisms and the baptism of Christians. For the design of the apostle was not to teach that Christians are not saved by Jewish baptisms, because there was no reason why he should inculcate that, since no one would either affirm or suspect that Christians are saved by Jewish washings. And since Bellarmine proves by no argument what he asserts, that by the putting away of the filth of the flesh Jewish washings are meant, it is rejected as easily as it is proposed.

XXV. Although the sacraments are applied to those not understanding (as to infants and idiots), it does not follow that they are not signs and seals, but true and proper causes which effect holiness. (1) This is evident from circumcision which was administered to infants, which nevertheless according to the opinion of the Romanists themselves could not confer grace *ex opere operato* because this is (according to themselves) the prerogative of the sacraments of the New Testament. (2) The intelligent are

of a double class: some in the first and second act at the same time (namely, who conceive the thing proposed by a present act); others are intelligent in the first act only (namely, who by a natural potency are capable of understanding). It is foolish to apply the sacraments to those who are not intelligent by the first act, but we affirm that they can be applied to those who, although they are capable of understanding, still do not understand by the second act. As to idiots and those asleep, we have no example of their having been baptized. As to the deaf, we say that they can use their eyes and touch and are not without a mind, so that the sacraments (which move the intellect through the sight and touch) can be applied to them.

XXVI. Although the preached word would excite faith better than the sacraments, it would not follow that the institution of them was to be neglected. With regard to knowledge, the vocal word certainly excites faith better than the sacraments; but not with regard to confidence or certainty. For a greater certainty inheres in pledges and seals than in a bare promise.

XXVII. It is absurd to say that the picture of baptism can effect the same as baptism and make the promise visible. A picture of baptism does not answer to the institution which commands water and the washing of water; yet no picture of washing is washing, nor does it wash anyone.

XXVIII. The certainty concerning the nature and truth of a sacrament differs from the certainty concerning its fruit. As to the latter, it undoubtedly depends upon the faith of the receiver no less than upon the institution of Christ; but the former arises only from the institution of Christ, according to which (if the sacrament is administered) it is certain that the thing itself in the legitimate use is sealed and conferred.

Ninth Question: The Difference Between the Sacraments of the Old and New Testaments

Does the difference between the sacraments of the Old and New Testaments consist in this—that the former adumbrate and the latter contain grace; that the former have the figure, the latter have the body itself? We deny

Statement of the question.

I. This question depends on the preceding. For in order to extol the more the efficacy of the sacraments of the New Testament and thus conciliate greater authority to their sacred ministry, the Romanists depress the sacraments of the Old, making these only shadows and figures of the grace which the sacraments of the New confer and effect. Hence Bellarmine maintains that the difference between the sacraments of the Old and New Testaments is abolished, unless the latter effect what the former signified.

II. However, that the statement of the question may be apprehended, we remark that it is not inquired whether there is any difference between the sacraments of the Old and New Testaments, but what and how great that difference is. For we acknowledge that there is a varied and manifold agreement and difference. In each, there is the same efficient cause and author (to wit, God); the same thing signified (Christ with his benefits); the same instrument of application (namely, faith); the same word of command and of promise, although not the same words in both; the same end and effect, and mode of operation (to wit, signification and sealing). They differ however in various particulars: (1) in external signs and rites; (2) in number, the old were more, ordinary and extraordinary; the new are fewer, more restricted and more excellent; (3) in the facility of using, in which the new surpass the old, as appears even from a comparison of baptism with circumcision; (4) in the mode of signifying, the former had respect to and shadowed forth Christ who was to come, the latter regard Christ as having come; (5) in the amplitude of object, the former bound the posterity of Abraham alone, the latter pertain to all the Gentiles; (6) in duration, the latter were to continue until the time of reformation (*diorthōseōs*) or the advent of Christ, the latter are to continue until the end of the world; (7) in clearness and perspicuity, not so much from the matter of the signs, as from the institution of the added word, which is far clearer in the New Testament than it was in the Old; (8) in the measure and degree of efficacy, which is far greater in the new sacraments than in the old; not in the bestowal and efficiency of the thing signified, but in the more certain sealing of it.

III. The Romanists extend this difference further, so that it is not only gradual with respect to the mode of signifying, but also essential with respect to the thing signified; that the old sacraments were only shadows which signified grace, while the new are true and real causes which effect it; that the former conveyed grace only *ex opere operantis* (i.e., according to

the faith, obedience and devotion of the recipients); while the latter conveyed it *ex opere operato*. The Council of Trent pronounces a "curse upon those, who teach that the sacraments of the new law do not differ from the sacraments of the old law, except that they are different ceremonies and different external rites" (Session 7, Canon 2*, Schroeder, pp. 51, 52). But Bellarmine acknowledges that this is said somewhat briefly and obscurely because he was not ignorant that other differences are laid down by us between the old and new sacraments. But the fathers, the determination of the true difference being neglected on account of the open disputes of the Scholastics on this head, stop in generals which do not reach the hinge of the question. But Eugenius IV, in the Council of Florence, had expressed the common opinion more clearly: "The sacraments of the ancient law did not cause grace, but only figured that it was to be given by the suffering of Christ; but our sacraments both contain grace and confer it upon the worthy recipients" (Mansi, 31A:1054). Bellarmine acknowledges that the Scholastics are not agreed about circumcision (to wit, that [John Duns] Scotus with his disciples held that circumcision conferred justification *ex opere operato* while Thomas [Aquinas] with his followers denies this and asserts that it justified not by its own power, but inasmuch as it was a protestation of faith). He agrees with the latter and this opinion is the more common among them ("De Effectu Sacramentorum," 2.13 *Opera* [1858], 3:108–9).

IV. Therefore, the question comes to this—Is the difference between the sacraments of the Old and New Testaments properly placed in this, that the former adumbrated grace, while the latter contain it? Is the efficacy as to the thing the same in the old and new sacraments, although diverse as to mode and degree? Or do they mutually differ in the thing signified and in the effect? The Romanists affirm the latter; we affirm the former.

Proof that the sacraments of the Old and New Testaments do not differ essentially: (1) from 1 Cor. 10:1, 2.

V. The reasons are: first, Paul ascribes to the ancients our baptism and Supper in their mode, not certainly with regard to the signs (which were

diverse), but with regard to the thing signified because the clouds and the passage through the sea signified and sealed to them what baptism does to us; and the manna and the water from the rock, what the Supper does to us (1 Cor. 10:1–4). Hence they are said "to have eaten the same spiritual meat, and to have drunk the same spiritual drink, for they drank of the Rock that followed them; and that Rock was Christ." So that in the thing signified and in their effect they evidently agree with ours; nor have ours any prerogative above them. Now although those sacraments were not ordinary, but extraordinary (which were to continue for a short time), the argument is no less strong; yea, it is stronger. For if the same efficacy is ascribed to them which were instituted for a time (as to the new), much more must it be ascribed to the ordinary, which were to continue as long as the economy of the ancient church. Nor can it be said that they were not sacraments because they were common to brutes. Thus the baptism of Christ and the baptism of the eunuch would not be a sacrament because brutes also could drink of the waters of the Jordan. But distinguish the common use of the signs, according to which they are things purely natural (which beasts can use); and the peculiar or sacred use, according to which these are sacraments. Thus the manna and water according to the common use could be common to the brutes, but not as to the sacred use (of which we speak here). Hence Paul does not say spiritual manna and spiritual water, but spiritual meat and drink because the manna as manna and the water as water were corporeal things in the way of all beasts also; but they are only called spiritual inasmuch as the meat and drink were such (i.e., spiritually) as our sacraments are spiritual.

VI. It is falsely added by Bellarmine that this "meat and drink" is called "spiritual," not on account of their effect, but on account of the cause because each was produced miraculously by the help of angels. Hence the manna is called the food of angels. As if he who discourses concerning the use or abuse of sacraments should consider it sufficient to indicate the efficient cause (about which there was no controversy), the end and effect being passed over (which is what the principal question is about). Again, it is gratuitously supposed that the meat is called spiritual from the cause, since it is evident from the following words that it is so called from the effect or the signification of Christ when he adds "the Rock was Christ." Not that Christ caused the streams to flow from the rock, but the rock itself

was Christ. This cannot be said otherwise than spiritually, nor be understood otherwise than significatively (which is the effect of all sacraments). Otherwise Paul could not have said that the Israelites drank of that rock, which was Christ, if Christ was not set forth in it to be drunk symbolically. Therefore it is called spiritual meat and drink because it was not only to be perceived bodily with the mouth, but also spiritually by faith. This end is so much more excellent than the familiar and low one of nourishing the body as divine things are more excellent than earthly. Because many of the Israelites regarded it no more than brutes, on this account God most severely punished their contempt. Nor is it to be replied —if it is called spiritual food because it is spiritually understood—that the righteous only were to eat it, contrary to Paul, who asserts that all the fathers, even those who were not approved of God, eat the same food. It is one thing for food to be understood spiritually; another that it should be spiritually understood. The food is indeed called spiritual because it was to be spiritually understood according to the institution of God, but not as if it was forthwith spiritually understood by all, so that it could be eaten promiscuously by the good and bad (but by the former indeed according to the understood institution of God and by the latter through an abuse not understood).

VII. Bellarmine frivolously objects that Paul does not say, "the Israelites eat the same spiritual food with us, but with and among themselves." (1) The design of the apostle is repugnant to it, which is to show that the Corinthians ought not to despise the judgments of God through confidence in external symbols by the example of the Israelites, who although they were equal to us as to the pledges of salvation and had the same sacraments with us as to the thing signified, could not escape the judgments of God (which would be plainly no argument at all, unless a comparison were instituted between the old and new sacraments). (2) The words cannot suffer this gloss, both because the name baptism is given to the passage through the sea (which would be done without reason, unless they agreed as to the thing signified and the effect) and the names manna and water from the rock to Christ (who is the signified thing of the Supper). Finally, no occasion was given to Paul for admonishing them so seriously that the fathers had eaten and drunk the same manna and the same water among themselves, since no one ever even in his dreams has thought that a varied

and manifold kind of manna and water was exhibited to the Israelites. The passage which Bellarmine adduces to establish his opinion (Jn. 6:58) does not overthrow ours, but distinguishes the external symbol or the sacrament from the thing of the sacrament. For Christ means this—that the fathers who rested in that external shell and regarded in the manna nothing else than corporeal food did not draw from it spiritual life, but were dead; in like manner, they (among the Corinthians) who did not discern the Lord's body and did not approach with greater reverence to the sacred than to a common table were punished by God and visited with diseases and death (1 Cor. 11:30). Nor can Christ thus speaking be said to have fostered the error of the Jews; rather he recalled them from the signs to the thing signified (i.e., to himself, in whom is life), teaching that a sacrament is nothing when (the spiritual food being secluded) the symbols alone are perceived.

2. From circumcision, which was a seal of the righteousness of faith.

VIII. Second, circumcision did not only figure grace, but in the lawful use conferred it (Gen. 17:11; Rom. 4:11, where it is called a seal of the righteousness of faith). Now a seal does not rudely figure, but puts into possession of the thing. Besides, circumcision is called a covenant of God in which he promises that he will be the God of Abraham and of his seed, which assuredly implies the communication of saving grace and embraces the special love of God with which he follows the elect. Now circumcision held the same relation with the other sacraments of the Old Testament. Nor can it be replied that the promise by which God promised Abraham that he would be his God was only temporal protection and did not extend beyond the boundaries of this life. For the nature of the covenant and the reasoning of Christ invincibly prove that this promise is extended even to the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body (i.e., to full felicity, to which therefore the patriarchs are said to have aspired as their heavenly country, Heb. 11:16). Here belongs God's promise to be Abraham's exceeding great reward (Gen. 15:1). Now who will say that he whose reward is God has nothing but an earthly reward? Finally, the righteousness of faith (of which circumcision was the seal) includes the remission of sins

and salvation. This is said to have been sealed to Abraham by circumcision as a part of believers to whom the same grace is promised and sealed in the sacraments of the New Testament (viz., to all those who follow the footsteps of faithful Abraham).

3. From the interchange of names.

IX. Third, there is an interchange of names between the sacraments of the Old and New Testaments, which are promiscuously ascribed to the believers of both Testaments. For as circumcision and the Passover are ascribed to us (1 Cor. 5:7; Col. 2:11), so baptism and the Lord's Supper are ascribed to the fathers (1 Cor. 10:2–4). This interchange could not have a place unless there is an essential parity and identity between the sacraments of both Testaments which (as not existing between the signs) ought to exist with respect to the thing signified and the effect.

4. From the word of promise.

X. Fourth, both sacraments agree with the word of promise (Gen. 3:15; 17:11; Acts 2:38, 39; Rom. 4:10, 11; Gal. 3:29). Therefore they also agree in the thing signified, which is included in that word.

5. From the kingdom of heaven promised to the fathers.

XI. Fifth, Christ promises to the believers of the New Testament no other kingdom of heaven than that in which they sit down with Abraham and the other patriarchs (Mt. 8:11). He exhibits and seals also not another, but entirely the same grace in the sacraments of both people because Christ is the same yesterday, today and for ever (Heb. 13:8), whose day Abraham saw and was glad, and who invites us in the Supper to the communion of his body and blood.

Sources of explanation.

XII. The sacraments of the Old Testament were so shadows and types of things to come (Heb. 10:1; Col. 2:17) in their legal relation (*schesei*) that they in their manner also exhibited and applied in the gospel relation (*schesei*) the body itself (to wit, Christ with his benefits). Again they are called shadows, not with respect to our sacraments, but with respect to Christ, who is the truth of all types (Jn. 1:17) and the body of the shadows (Col. 2:17). If they are called by Peter "figures" (*antitypa*, 1 Pet. 3:21), it is not because they are types of our sacraments, but because they are types similar to and corresponding to ours, which were put in their place.

XIII. If the expiation of sin is ascribed to the sacraments of the New Testament (Acts 2:38; 22:16), it is not a proper and real expiation, which belongs to the blood of Christ alone, but a moral and sacramental expiation which is no less ascribed to the sacraments of the Old Testament (Lev. 1:4; 4:26), although a proper and real expiation is withdrawn from them (Heb. 9:10).

XIV. The sacraments of the Old Testament are said to be nothing (1 Cor. 7:19), to avail nothing (Gal. 6:15), to be infirm and weak elements of the world, partly when they are regarded simply in themselves with respect to the signs in opposition to the thing sealed, just as is the case with ours when they are viewed in the external rite alone; or with respect to their abrogation after the rising of the sun of righteousness, who scattered those shadows; or with respect to the abuse of men who (contrary to the divine institution and their legitimate use, by a deadly error) bound grace to them per se, which ought to have been ascribed to the death of Christ and to the Holy Spirit.

XV. The promise of the grace annexed to the sacraments of the Old Testament was equally absolute with that which is added to the sacraments of the New because they were signs of the same covenant (Gen. 17). But the declaration that the new covenant was established upon better promises is not meant in regard to the thing promised (which was the same in both), but in regard to the mode of promising, which is both clearer and fuller and more efficacious. The passages (Jer. 31:31–34; Heb. 8:8–12) do not indicate any substantial difference between the old and new sacraments, but institute a comparison between the law and the gospel, between the righteousness of faith and of works. Now just as the pious Israelites were partakers of gospel grace by faith, so also they received in the sacraments the pledge and seal of the same grace.

XVI. In the sacraments, we must distinguish the material from the formal. The material is the sign with the external rites, which do not justify. But the formal is the very thing signified—Christ with his benefits, from whom alone is justification. The old sacraments were the same as ours; not materially, but formally.

XVII. Although the flesh of Christ did not as yet exist under the Old Testament, still the righteousness by the flesh obtained by the ancient fathers in their sacraments was no less truly sealed than the promises of God are true and certain (to whom all future things are present and who makes them even as it were present and existent to the faith of those who use the sacraments). Thus Christ wholly and the entire mystery of our salvation was always present not only to God, but also to the eyes of faith, according to their capacity and measure. This all believers of all times have firmly and efficaciously embraced both in the word and in sacraments and sacrifices, since faith is the same whether it regards Christ to be born (such as that of the fathers was) or already born (such as ours is).

XVIII. If the Scriptures in certain places lower the dignity of the old sacraments, it is not to exalt the new sacraments above the old; but that the efficacy of the death of Christ may be raised above the rites and sacrifices of the law. Nor is the efficacy of expiating sin or of regenerating taken away from the sacrifices that it may be claimed for baptism or the Supper; but that it may be ascribed to the death of Christ and to the Holy Spirit (Col. 2:11; Heb. 9:12, 14; 10:4, 5).

Tenth Question: The Mark

Is a mark (i.e., a spiritual and indelible sign) impressed upon the soul in the three sacraments, baptism, confirmation and order? We deny against the Romanists

Statement of the question.

I. The Romanists teach that a mark is a sign impressed whether upon the substance of the soul or upon its powers, by the force and efficacy of the three sacraments: baptism, confirmation and order. They hold this to be the

cause on account of which these three sacraments are not to be repeated because (namely) they impress an indelible mark.

II. Thus the Council of Trent has: “If anyone says that in the three sacraments, to wit, baptism, confirmation and order, a mark is not impressed upon the soul, that is, a certain spiritual and indelible sign, whence they cannot be repeated, let him be anathema” (Schroeder, p. 52). Here they cunningly cover up and are unwilling to settle the questions agitated by the Scholastics concerning this mark (namely, dissembling domestic diseases and the conflicting opinions of their own party). For they violently dispute among themselves whether this mark belongs to grace. Whether it is an absolute or a related entity. As to the subject, whether it is in the substance of the soul or in its faculties. And if in the faculties, whether in the intellect or in the will. Also to what species of quality it can be referred.

III. We (dismissing the fruitless contests of the Scholastics) profess that whatever this comment may be, it should be eliminated from the church and the school of sounder theology, since such a mark is neither delivered to us in the Scriptures nor can it be supported by any fit reason. We say that believers have a twofold seal: one internal (to wit, the Holy Spirit, by which they are sealed until the day of redemption, Eph. 4:30); the other external (to wit, baptism, by which we are distinguished from Turks, Jews and other unbelievers). But we recognize no other mark.

Proof that there is not an indelible mark in the sacraments.

IV. First, the whole efficacy of the sacraments is from their institution. Yet this indelible mark is not from the institution of the sacrament. For since the institution embraces only the external sign and the thing signified (while that mark belongs to neither), it follows that it does not depend upon the institution. Now it is evident that the mark belongs neither to the external sign, nor to the thing signified. Not to the sign because the sacramental sign is external, striking the senses; while that mark is invisible and is formed especially in the soul. Not to the thing signified because the thing signified is grace and the Romanists deny that that mark belongs to grace, because it

remains in the damned, since it is indelible. Grace, however, is not in the damned.

V. Second, that mark cannot distinguish us either with God or with men. Not with God because he (being a searcher of the heart [*kardiognōstēs*]) does not need such a mark; or with men because it does not do this either in the present life (because it is said to be spiritual, not affecting the senses), or in the future life (because in it, neither the damned, nor the glorified will need this distinction).

VI. Third, it is falsely supposed that confirmation and order are sacraments, as will be proved hereafter. And if baptism is a sacrament, it was not determined by God to that operation which our opponents attach to it.

VII. Fourth, whatever the operation of the sacraments, their efficacy is the same at least as to species. And yet the Supper (according to them) impresses or leaves no mark; as do neither of the sacraments of the Old Testament. Besides, there is no reason why sanctifying grace is said to be effected by all the sacraments and not the mark, which is a secondary effect produced even in the wicked.

VIII. Fifth, such a mark is of no utility. For whatever is ascribed to it belongs either to sanctifying grace (in order to make us fit for the worship of God and conform us to Christ) or to the external sacrament itself (to distinguish us from others who do not receive the sacrament). Besides, this belongs no less to the other sacraments. Finally, since that mark is found in the wicked, it cannot be said to conform us to Christ, unless we hold that the wicked are conformed to Christ.

IX. Sixth, for no other purpose was this mark introduced in more modern times after Gratian and Lombard than that the certainty of the sacrament might be built upon unstable sand and true consolation (which ought to be drawn from the sacraments) taken away.

X. Seventh, in the Council [of Trent] many called such a mark in question, because neither Gratian nor Lombard had mentioned it; yea, Scotus said, “Neither by the words of Scripture, nor of the fathers, was it to be necessarily established.” And Biel (after a long disputation) adds, “All that has been said concerning the mark is for the greater part voluntary and supported by slender reasoning; nor does the authority of Scripture, nor of the fathers compel us to lay down a mark understood in this manner.”

Sources of explanation.

XI. The anointing and sealing by the Holy Spirit, of which Paul speaks (2 Cor. 1:21, 22; Eph. 4:30) has nothing in common with a sacramental mark; either as to name, or as to thing. Not as to name because the name mark does not occur there; nor is he speaking there of sacraments; not as to thing because by that unction and sealing is metaphorically declared the communication of spiritual grace and the strengthening of hearts concerning our filial adoption and eternal salvation. Each is the property of believers and belongs no less to the Old than to the New Testament (which cannot be said of the fabricated mark of the Romanists). Nor do many of our opponents deny this; as Cajetan, Dionysius Carthusianus and Thomas Aquinas, who reject that mark altogether.

XII. Although circumcision left an external mark, it does not follow that any mark is impressed upon the soul in baptism. It is not necessary that this should answer to that in all respects. It is sufficient that there be a certain similitude. Nor does baptism answer to circumcision as the thing signified to the sign, but as a new type answering to the old. Again, Scripture does not teach that that scar had any signification; and if it signified anything, it signified not the mark of the Romanists, but rather the seal of the Spirit, by which believers are distinguished from unbelievers. Or it is simply the external rite of baptism, by which Christians are distinguished from those who are not.

XIII. The "seal" with which the servants of God are said to be sealed in their foreheads (Rev. 7:3) cannot be a sacramental mark which is common to the pious and the wicked, but it is partly an internal seal (to wit, the Spirit of adoption) which is given to the faithful servants of Christ alone, to seal them unto the day of redemption that their salvation may be placed beyond all peril; or an external seal (namely, the profession of the name of God, by which they are discerned from unbelievers). The Holy Spirit intended nothing else than to designate the certain protection of them by the providence of their God, alluding to the custom of men who impress a conspicuous mark upon those things which they desire to keep safe and separate from common things.

XIV. When Isaiah says, "The nations shall come and see his glory, and God will set a sign among them" (66:18*, 19), a mark impressed internally

upon the soul cannot be meant; rather the profession and preaching of the Christian faith is meant, which is like a standard to which men ought to run that they may be congregated under Christ. Nor does the mark placed upon the foreheads of believers (of which Ezk. 9:4 speaks) that they might be delivered from the imminent destruction of Jerusalem, belong here either, even in the judgment of Bellarmine himself, because that is a mark peculiar to believers and not common to the wicked.

XV. The reason why baptism is not repeated while the sacred Supper is often repeated is not because baptism impresses a mark and the Supper does not; but because baptism is the entrance into the church and the sign of admission to the covenant, which must not be repeated, while the Supper is a sacrament of spiritual nourishment to which we must often recur. Nor if a second baptism is not given to those who, after falling from the Christian faith, return to it is this because baptism leaves an indelible mark, but rather because the influence of the baptism once applied and the promise of God remains in him, whom God decreed to recall to repentance.

Eleventh Question: Baptism

What is baptism and of how many kinds is it?

I. The nature of sacraments in general having been explained, we must in accordance with our plan treat in particular of the sacraments of the New Testament, which we hold to be two only: baptism and the Lord's Supper, the five false ones added by the Romanists being rejected (of which we will speak hereafter).

The foundations of the binary number of the sacraments: (1) the institution of Christ; (2) the nature of the sacraments.

(3) The testimony of Paul.

(4) The analogy of the sacraments of the Old Testament.

II. The foundations of the binary number are: (1) the institution of Christ, because we read of no others having been instituted by him except baptism and the Supper. (2) The nature of the sacraments, because to them alone belong the attributes essential to the constitution of a sacrament as—that they be instituted by Christ to signify and seal saving grace; that in them occur material and visible signs adapted for signifying analogically the thing signified; that they be of common and perpetual use in the church. (3) The testimony of Paul, who mentions only these two, whether as compared with the Israelites in the desert (1 Cor. 10:1–3) or in relation to the thing signified (1 Cor. 12:13). (4) The analogy of the ordinary sacraments of the Old Testament, which were only two, circumcision and the Passover; the former answers to baptism, while the latter answers to the Supper.

(5) The necessity of grace.

(5) The necessity of the grace which is required to produce and perfect spiritual life in believers and which God wishes to seal to us by the sacraments. For it is evident that two things are specially necessary that life should be given to us; then that (when given) it should be conserved and supported: the nativity is adumbrated by baptism; the nutrition by the Supper. Hence the former is called "the sacrament of initiation" and the laver of regeneration; the latter "the sacrament of confirmation and of nutrition." By baptism, we are regenerated; by the Supper we are nourished unto eternal life; by that we are received into the covenant, and by this we are kept in it.

III. As however we must be born before we can be fed and be received into the covenant before we can be kept in it, baptism is prior in order as the front door (*propylaion*) and gate or antechamber (*prothyron*) of grace. Accordingly, it must be discussed first in order that we may ascertain the origin of the word, then its homonymy and manifold use, whether in the sacred or ecclesiastical writings.

Derivation of baptism.

IV. The word "baptism" is of Greek origin derived from the verb *baptō*, which means "to dip" and "to imbue"; *baptizein*, "to dip in" and "to

immerse." Plutarch: "plunge thyself into the sea" (*baptizon se eis thalassan, Superstition* 166 [Loeb, 2:460–61]). In the life of Theseus, he recites a verse of the Sibyl concerning Athens, which applies better to the church: "You may sink a bag into the water, but you can never submerge it" (*Askos baptizē, dynai de toi ou themis esti*, Plutarch, *Lives* [Loeb, 1:54–55]). Hence it is more than *epipolazein*, which means "to float lightly," and less than *dynein*, which means "to sink in" (i.e., to seek the bottom). But because almost anything is accustomed to be plunged and dipped that it may be washed, and they who are immersed are wont to be cleansed, hence just as among the Hebrews *tbhl*, which the Septuagint translates *baptizō* (2 K. 5:14), is also taken for *rchts*, which means to wash; so among the Greeks *baptizein* by metalepsy is used for the same. "The Jews, when they come from the market, eat not, except they wash" (*ean mē baptisōntai*, Mk. 7:4). Not otherwise are to be understood the baptisms of vessels, pitchers and beds (employed by the Jews) and the divers baptisms (*diaphoroi baptismoi*) prescribed to them (referred to in Heb. 9:10), and the superstitious washings received from the tradition of the elders (spoken of in Mk. 7:4). Hence the Pharisees are on this account called *baptistai* by Justin Martyr (*Dialogue with Trypho* 80 [FC 6:276; cf. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum* (1847), 2:280–81]); and the sect *tōn hēmerobaptistōn* (Hemerobaptists) who urged daily baptism, and contended that one thus washed "was cleansed and purified from all sin" (*apolouesthai kai hagnizesthai apo pasēs aitias*, Epiphanius, *Panarion* [PG 41.256]).

Homonymy.

V. From this twofold signification of dipping and washing two other metaphorical meanings are derived. The former, that baptism may be put for "affliction" and calamity, according to the style of Scripture, in which afflictions are compared to floods of water (Ps. 69:1, 14*, 15*; 18:16*; 32:6). It is taken in this sense in Mt. 20:22 and Lk. 12:52. And not a few wish "the baptism [*hyper nekrōn*] for the dead," about which Paul speaks in 1 Cor. 15:29, to be understood relative to the severe sufferings of the martyrs or confessors; "for the dead" or for the faith of the resurrection of the dead; or "on account of the dead"; or on account of a hope concerning the dead; or on account of him dead (namely Jesus) by an enallage of

number. Others prefer to take the word baptism properly and to refer it either to vicarious baptism or to the baptism of persons sick in bed, which prevailed among the ancients; as the illustrious Spanheim most accurately and learnedly after his manner follows out the whole argument in his celebrated dissertation on this difficult (*dysnoēton*) passage of Paul (cf. Charles M. de Veil, *A Literal explanation of the Acts of the holy apostles … To which is added a translation of a learned dissertation about Baptism for the dead, 1 Cor. 15.29 by Fridericus Spanhemius* [1685]). In the case of the latter, that it may be transferred to the miraculous effusion of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, because they are wont to be poured out upon the soul so as to imbue and cleanse it (Mt. 3:11; Acts 1:5; Tit. 3:5); as also from the Old Testament where the communication of the Spirit is usually adumbrated by the effusion of water (Is. 44:3; Joel 2:28).

VI. From this homonymy arises the distinction of a threefold baptism among the ancients: of river, flame and blood. The baptism of river designates the sacrament of water; of flame, the effusion of the Holy Spirit, either ordinary for conversion or extraordinary for miraculous gifts; of blood, the martyrdom of those who, having not as yet received baptism, contending for the faith of Christ, resisted even to the pouring out of their blood. Concerning these, Basil says, "They were baptized in their own blood" (*en tō idiō haimati ebaptisthēsan, Homilia in Quadraginta Martyres* [PG 31.521–22]). The distinction is to be allowed if it frees the equivocation; it is not to be endured if it divides baptism into species because it is not the division of a thing into its species, but only the distinction of an equivocal name into its equivocates. Some add a fourth species (to wit, the baptism of light) by which they wish to be denoted the doctrine preached by anyone, in which sense they understand the passages Mt. 21:25 and Acts 18:25, where the baptism of John is discussed. But less fitly, if it is taken exclusive of the baptism of river, which was called by the ancients *phōtismos* or "illumination"; nor do the passages adduced prove this, because in both is meant the baptism of river, under which (by a synecdoche of the part or of the adjunct) the doctrine of John or his whole ministry is comprehended.

VII. Baptism, however, is better distinguished into the external of water visible (which is performed by man) and the internal and invisible of the Spirit (performed by God), whatever the Lutherans oppose here. For this

distinction is made expressly by John the Baptist: "I indeed baptize you with water, but he will baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire" (Mt. 3:11), and it is confirmed by Christ (Acts 1:5). Thus Peter clearly distinguishes the baptism by which the filthiness of the flesh is washed away externally from that which consists internally in the answer of a good conscience (1 Pet. 3:21); just as Paul distinguishes a twofold circumcision (Rom. 2:28; Col. 2:11), one of the flesh and letter, the other of the Spirit in the heart. However, in this way we do not make a twofold sacrament, but we distinguish the earthly and heavenly things of the sacrament: the sign and the thing signified, which are designated synecdochically by the name of the whole. Or we designate a twofold operation in the same baptism: one of Christ, the other of the minister.

VIII. The ancients enumerate various kinds of baptism: some three, others six (as John of Damascus, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 4.9* [NPNF2, 9:78–79; PG 94.1123]). The first is of "the universal flood" destroying sinners, which Peter says was a figure of baptism (1 Pet. 3:21). Tertullian calls it "the baptism of the world" (*On Baptism* 8 [ANF 3:673; PL 1.1317]). The second is "the baptism by the sea and the cloud" referred to in 1 Cor. 10:1, 2, when Moses passed through the Red Sea, where the sea was the type of the water of baptism and the pillar of the cloud (which shone before them in the night) of the Holy Spirit (Cyprian, Letter 75, "To Magnus" [ANF 5:402] and Chrysostom, Homily 23, *Homilies on First Corinthians* [NPNF1, 12:133]). The third is "the legal baptism" by which the unclean washed themselves and their garments according to the Mosaic Law. The fourth is "the baptism of John," introducing (*eisagōgikon*) the baptized to repentance alone and not as yet wholly spiritual (*oupō de holon pneumatikon*). The fifth, the wholly spiritual baptism (*holon pneumatikon*) of our Lord Jesus Christ, either by which he (not needing baptism) was himself baptized for our sake by John or by which he baptizes us with water and with the Spirit. The sixth, the really painful (*ontōs epiponon*) baptism of "penitence and of tears." The seventh, "of blood and of martyrdom." The eighth, the not saving, but deadly baptism of eternal punishments, by which sinners are plunged into the glowing fires of the Tartarean flood to eternal destruction.

IX. Baptism is taken here by us properly and antonomastically (*antonomastice*) for "the first sacrament of the New Testament, by which,

through the external sprinkling and washing of water, is declared and sealed to believers their internal absolution and as much with respect to remission of sins as with respect to sanctification by the blood and spirit of Christ." Or more fully "the first sacrament of the Christian church, by which upon the covenanted, having been received into the family of God by the external sprinkling of water in the name of the Trinity, remission of sins and regeneration by the blood of Christ and the Holy Spirit are bestowed and sealed," as we gather from the passages Mt. 28:19; Rom. 6:3, 4; Tit. 3:5, 6; Acts 2:38.

The author of baptism.

X. The efficient and author of baptism is God because it is said to be from heaven (i.e., from God), not from men (Mt. 21:25). And God sent him to baptize who first baptized (Jn. 1:33). But since in the beginning it was instituted for the Jews alone, while it was administered by the ministry of John the Baptist, Christ (having renewed the institution) extended its use to all nations who were to be converted by the preaching of the gospel (Mt. 28:19). Still he is not said to have baptized (Jn. 4:2), as the one who was about to baptize with the Spirit and with fire (Mt. 3:11). The administrators of baptism are pastors and heralds of the gospel, whether ordinary or extraordinary; and they indeed alone because they are the ones to whom it belongs to administer the sacraments; nor under the pretence of any necessity is it lawful to depart from the command and order of Christ, who has joined by an indissoluble bond the public preaching of the gospel with the administration of baptism.

The external matter.

Sprinkling is rightly employed in baptism.

XI. The matter of baptism is twofold: external and sensible. This has the relation of a sign under which we understand all of that which is perceived by the external senses in the lawful administration of baptism. To this belong (1) the element; (2) the external ceremonies, which are usually practised according to the divine institution. Hence a sign can be

distinguished into elementary and ceremonial. The former is true and natural water, not oil, not salt, not spittle, not honey, or any other material of this kind foreign to the precept of Christ and the usage of the ancient church. The ceremonial is what consists in the rite (to wit, ablution), which is done by water (1 Pet. 3:21)—whether by sprinkling or by immersion (which was formerly employed in the warmer places, as the practice of John the Baptist teaches [Mt. 3:6, 16; Jn. 3:23], of the apostles of Christ [Jn. 3:22; 4:1, 2] and of Philip [Acts 8:38]). Now, however, in colder places especially, when the church began to extend itself towards the north, *katapontismos* was changed into *rhantismon* and sprinkling only was used. As by no means repugnant to the institution of Christ, so this can be confirmed by the examples of the apostolic church and the primitive church which followed it. For although immersion was the ordinary method, still that it was not so universally followed as to exclude sprinkling can be gathered from various arguments with respect to the apostolic church as well as to the primitive church. Thus where there was so great a multitude of believers, as when in one day three thousand were baptized (Acts 2:41), it can hardly be doubted that sprinkling was employed rather than immersion (which could scarcely and not even scarcely be fitly performed in so short a space of time). In like manner, when baptism was administered in the house, where there is not a quantity of water for immersion, especially if the thing should be done unexpectedly (Acts 16:27–33). In the primitive church, baptism was administered to patients sick in bed, which undoubtedly could not have been done by immersion. There are also various arguments in favor of sprinkling. (a) The word *baptismou* and the verb *baptizesthai* refer not only to immersion but also to sprinkling (Mk. 7:4; Lk. 11:38). (b) The thing signified by baptism is designated by sprinkling (1 Pet. 1:2; Heb. 10:22). (c) Sprinkling suffices for the analogy and the force of baptism depends not on the quantity, but on the quality of water. (d) Under the Old Testament, there were various washings and sprinklings (*rhantismoi*) of water as well as of blood, to which Christ referred in the institution of baptism. Hence the blood of Christ (which is the thing signified) is called the “blood of sprinkling” (*rhantismou*, Heb. 12:24). (e) Sprinkling is far better suited both with regard to the health of the baptized (which might suffer injury from immersion in the colder regions, especially in the case of tender infants) and that modesty may be

spared (which might arise in adults from the baring of the whole body). For this reason we read that formerly deaconesses were employed to prepare the women.

XII. Further, ablution (whether by sprinkling or by immersion) is either single or trine. It appears that the trine was formerly used to represent the Trinity of persons. Tertullian: "We plunge not once, but three times at each name of the three persons, Father, Son and Holy Spirit" (*Against Praxeas* 26* [ANF 3:623; PL 2.190]). And: "We plunge three times" (*Chaplet* 3 [FC 40:236; PL 2.79]). With whom agree Cyril (*Catechetical Lectures* 3* [NPNF2, 7:14–18]), Basil (*On the Spirit* 27 [NPNF2, 8:42]), Ambrose (*The Sacraments* 2.7 [20]* [FC 44:286; cf. also 2.5 (14), ibid., 283]) and others. Isidore of Spain asserts that either method can be used without prejudice to the faith. "Nor yet in one faith," says he, "is a diverse custom of the holy church injurious, for because there is one substance in three subsistences, it can be in no way reprehensible to plunge an infant three times or once in baptism, because both in three immersions the Trinity of persons, and in one the unity of the Godhead can be designated" (*de Vir. Illust*. 27+). At this time we retain a single sprinkling, nor do we think that we ought to quarrel with anyone about it, since the number is expressly sanctioned by no precept. Other extraneous rites usually added by the Romanists—such as exorcism, the consecration of the water, the sign of the cross on the forehead and breast of the baptized, the putting of a lighted taper in his hand—we reject as foreign to the institution of Christ and superstitious.

The internal matter.

XIII. The internal matter or thing signified is Christ with his benefits: "For as many of us as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ" (Gal. 3:27). And from that most close union between us and Christ flow the benefits of justification and regeneration, which are designated by the mystical washing by the blood of Christ and the Holy Spirit; this twofold washing is spoken of in 1 Cor. 6:11. The former is ablution from sins as to guilt by the blood of Christ (referred to in Acts 22:16; 1 Jn. 1:7; Acts 2:38; Mt. 26:28). The other is regeneration by the Holy Spirit (Tit. 3:5) to newness of life (Rom. 6:4). In this sense, Christ is said to have come with water and with blood (1 Jn. 5:6).

The form.

XIV. The form of baptism consists in the relation (*schesei*) and analogy between the sign and thing signified. This relation is placed in three things (to wit, signification, sealing and conferring of the internal matter by the external, of the thing sealed by the sign). First, in signification, because as water washes away the filthiness of the body (1 Pet. 3:21), so the blood and Spirit of Christ wash away the filthiness of the soul (1 Cor. 6:11; 1 Jn. 1:7). As formerly the subjects of baptism were immersed in the water, remained under the water and emerged from it (Mt. 3:16; Acts 8:38), so the old man died and was buried in them and the new arose (Rom. 6:4; Col. 2:12). As now they are sprinkled with water, so they are sprinkled with the blood and Spirit of Christ to wash away their sins (Acts 22:16; Eph. 5:25*–27; Heb. 9*:14). Second, in sealing, because baptism is no less a seal of the righteousness of faith than circumcision. Third, in bestowal, because God really furnishes in the lawful use what is represented by baptism; not *ex opere operato*, but from the most firm truth of the promise, by which we become inwardly certain that what is done in the body by the sprinkling of water is done in the soul spiritually to believers by the blood and Spirit of Christ. And the evidence of this signification and the certainty of the sealing and application (which arises in the lawful use) is the cause of the sacramental phraseology concerning baptism, when it is called the washing away of sins (Acts 22:16) and the washing of regeneration (Tit. 3:5) and the cause of salvation (1 Pet. 3:21). These expressions, Peter (a limitation being added) clearly teaches in the same place are not proper, but figurative, when he says, “Baptism, which saves us, is not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience.” Accordingly, this must be resolved into proper expressions according to the nature of the sacraments, so that baptism is said to be the sign and seal of the washing away of sins and of regeneration; also to save us, inasmuch as by it the Holy Spirit efficaciously confirms the faith in us.

The subject.

XV. The subjects of baptism are all the covenanted, whether they are truly such or are regarded as probably such on account of external calling and

profession of faith and communion with believers, without any distinction of sex, nation and age. Of nation, because although in the beginning it was administered to the Jews alone (Mt. 3); by the command of Christ it was to be administered to all nations (Mt. 28:19) to whom the gospel ought to be preached. Of sex, because it is common to both sexes; not proper only for males, as circumcision. Hence Philip is said to have baptized men and women (Acts 8:12), Paul baptized Lydia (Acts 16:15) and other women. Of age, because infants were to be baptized equally with adults; yet with this condition—that adult catechumens should confess their sins and profess faith in Christ beforehand (Mt. 3:6; Acts 2:41; 8:12, 37). However, the infants must belong to believing parents or at least to one such (Acts 2:38, 39; 1 Cor. 7:14) because the Scripture testifies that they are heirs of the kingdom of heaven (Mt. 19:14), partakers of the promise of grace (Acts 2:39) and holy (1 Cor. 7:14), who were no more to be excluded from baptism than they were formerly excluded from circumcision; yea, so much the less are they to be excluded as the posterior grace of the New Testament is greater than the former grace of the Old (as we will prove in its place against the Anabaptists).

The end.

XVI. The end of baptism is twofold: (1) to aid our faith with God; (2) to aid our confession among men. The primary is on the part of God; the sealing of the covenant of grace and its benefits; our union with Christ and what flows from it; remission of sins or justification and regeneration by the Holy Spirit. And on our part, the obligation to worship the true God, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit (into whose communion we are received as the children of our Father, members of Christ and temples of the Holy Spirit) and to love our neighbor, since in one baptism by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body (Eph. 4:4, 5; 1 Cor. 12:13). The secondary is: (a) the external testification of the obedience to be rendered by us to God. (b) The distinguishing of the church from profane nations by that badge by which we profess to follow Christ as our leader. (c) The symbol of the communion of saints with each other by which they are bound in offices of reciprocal charity as members of the same body.

XVII. If it is further inquired why Christ willed this sacrament of initiation to consist in baptism rather than any other sign, and whence this rite originated, the answer is easy—that it was drawn from the common use of the Jews, among whom we know various baptisms were employed and especially with respect to those who passed from Gentilism to Judaism or who applied to teachers for instruction. Hence the custom of consecrating proselytes "by circumcision, sacrifice and baptism." Rambam: "When any heathen wishes to be received into and associated with the Israelite covenant, and to shelter himself under the wings of the divine majesty, and to receive upon himself the yoke of the law, circumcision, baptism and oblation are required." Hence it was a trite axiom among them: "He is not a proselyte until he is circumcised and baptized" (*'yn ghr 'dh shymvl vytvl*). This is the reason why this ceremony of baptizing (instituted by John and Christ) seemed strange to no one, because nothing was better known and more customary among them.

Twelfth Question: The Necessity of Baptism

Was baptism only a temporary rite, distinguishing believers from unbelievers, which ought to continue only for a time? We deny against the Socinians

I. About the necessity of baptism, a double question is agitated. The first of the Socinians, who erring in defect, not only deny the necessity of the means, but do not wish to acknowledge even the necessity of the command. The other of the Romanists, who erring in excess, assert its absolute necessity. Concerning the former we now treat; hereafter we will treat of the latter.

Statement of the question.

II. As the Socinians deny that the sacraments are signs and seals of the covenant, but only badges of profession, so they hold that baptism was not commanded by Christ that it should be of perpetual use in the church, but only a temporary rite, distinguishing believers from unbelievers, which continued (or ought to continue) only for a time; not commanded by Christ,

but used by the apostles without a command (as Socinus, *De Baptismo aquae Disputatio* [1613] and the Racovian Catechism have it). On the contrary, we think that baptism is a divinely instituted sacrament and administered according to the command of Christ by the apostles, that it might be of perpetual use in the church to seal the remission of sins and regeneration.

Proof that baptism is of perpetual use: (1) from Mt. 28:19.

III. The reasons are: (1) we have the express command of Christ for it, who clearly instituted and commanded it to be preserved: "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them" (Mt. 28:19). Nor can it be replied "that this command respected the church only to be constituted, not when constituted." For the falsehood of this appears (a) from the promise which Christ adds in the same place concerning his presence, even unto the end of the world, with those who should teach and baptize. (b) The office of teaching all nations is not included in the person of the apostles, but is extended to all pastors, who were to perform the ministry of the gospel even unto the end. (c) The necessity of baptism is not temporal, but perpetual, in the church constituted as well as in it to be constituted (to wit, entrance into the church and the sealing of the covenant, which belong to all believers of all ages, Acts 2:38; Rom. 6:4; Tit. 3:5; Col. 2:12). Therefore since this command is universal with respect to persons (because all nations are to be taught and baptized) and with respect to places (because each was to be done through the whole world) as well as to times (because it was to be continued even to the end of the world), it would be falsely restricted to the believers alone, whether Jews or Gentiles, from whom the apostles especially gathered the primitive church.

2. From the end of the command.

IV. (2) It was ordained for the use of the church of all ages. (a) As the ordinary means of gathering and conserving the church. (b) It was enjoined upon the church collected not from one, but from all nations. (c) The unity

of the church is placed no less in baptism than in unity of faith (Eph. 4:4). (d) Baptism succeeded circumcision; therefore as that was to continue always among the people until the first advent of Christ, so also baptism ought to continue even until the second advent of Christ.

3. From the parity of the Supper and of baptism.

V. (3) There ought to be the same reason for both sacraments. Now the Supper is to continue even until the advent of Christ (1 Cor. 11:26*); therefore also baptism. Nor can any reason be assigned for a difference, because they equally testify and seal mystical grace (1 Cor. 12:13).

4. From the end and effects of baptism.

VI. (4) The end and effects of baptism according to the doctrine of the apostles belong not only to those converted from unbelievers, but also to those born of believers and to those who have always professed the same faith of Christ; as do communion with Christ (Rom. 6:3, 4; Gal. 3:27), remission of sins (Acts 22:16), regeneration of the Spirit (Tit. 3:5) and life eternal (Mk. 16:16).

Sources of explanation.

VII. Paul does not say absolutely that he was not sent to baptize, but to preach the gospel (1 Cor. 1:17), as appears from vv. 14, 16; rather he says this comparatively (i.e., first and principally to preach the gospel because this was above all things necessary for establishing the church).

VIII. Although the discipline of Christ is spiritual and directed to the inner man (Rom. 12:1), it does not follow that it does not admit external rites. (1) It is a reasonable (*logikos*) worship, not to the exclusion of all external rites, but relatively in opposition to the Levitical worship consisting in brute and unreasoning (*alogois*) victims. (2) The discipline of Christ is directed to the perfecting of the inner man, but in such a way that external means may also be employed to promote this work. (3) It is spiritual according to internal power and efficacy, but according to external

dispensation accommodated to the human understanding (Jn. 3:12; Rom. 6:19); nor does it reject words or similar human visible symbols and helps.

IX. The figures and types adumbrating the coming Messiah were abrogated by Christ; but not the rites and ceremonies which signify the dead Christ and seal his benefits.

X. Although the effect of salvation is taken away from the baptism of water (1 Pet. 3:21), it does not follow that it is not necessary by the necessity of command, because not all things commanded by Christ are immediately effective of salvation. For many things are enjoined which conduce only to being better, not simply to being. Again, the effect of salvation is not taken away from the water simply, but relatively because it does not work it principally, but instrumentally; not in opposition to, but in composition with the thing signified; not really, but morally.

XI. There cannot be the same reason for the institution of baptism and for the prohibition of things strangled and of blood because for the former we have the express command of Christ, not for the latter. Again, the reason of the prohibition was temporal (to wit, a scandal to the weak Jews); but the reason of baptism was perpetual, not only to distinguish the believer from the unbeliever, but that it might be the laver of regeneration with respect to believers in all ages. Therefore the apostles interpreted the decree concerning things strangled and blood in their epistles and (Christian liberty being fully confirmed) removed it as useless (1 Cor. 10:26–29; Col. 2:21, 22), which cannot be said of baptism.

XII. It cannot be said that Christ instituted a baptism of doctrine, not of water, because he expressly distinguished the doctrine from baptism —"teach and baptize" (Mt. 28:19)—to show that he does not include the latter under the former. Besides, he repeats, declares and confirms the institution of John's baptism as divinely delivered and employed up to his time in reference to the Jews alone. Now John's baptism was a baptism of water (Jn. 1:26); therefore here also Christ enjoined a baptism of water.

XIII. It is one thing to baptize as to words in the name of the Trinity; another as to the thing. The apostles, baptizing in the name of Christ as the meritorious and proximate cause of salvation, baptized in the name of the Trinity as to the thing because the Trinity is contained synecdochically under the name of one (Christ), since the Father is the anointer, the Holy Spirit the unction itself (Acts 10:38) and the Son the anointed.

XIV. There were two kinds of disciples of Christ: one of those who passed from the school of John to Christ, having been already baptized by John (Jn. 1:37; 3:23–36); the other of those whom Christ himself selected for his people, whom John at least in general testifies were baptized by his apostles (Jn. 4:1, 2).

XV. Although baptism according to the institution of Christ belongs to those who are to be taught, it does not follow that it was to be administered to unbelievers alone. Christ joined instruction with baptism in consideration of the condition of that time in which the gathering of the church was for the most part made from the Jews and unbelieving Gentiles. Again, unbelievers alone are not taught that they may become believers, but also believers, adults as well as the younger, in order that they may become proficient and persevere in the faith and declare themselves more and more by their works to be the disciples of Christ.

XVI. Although a greater part of those who are recorded to have been baptized by the apostles were unbelievers (because the Christian church was still to be constituted and was not as yet constituted), it does not follow either that there are no examples of believers being baptized (because all the pious covenanted Jews who were baptized ought not to be considered as unbelievers, but as believers), or that it cannot be administered immediately to the children of Christians who are in the covenant.

Thirteenth Question

Is baptism absolutely necessary to salvation? We deny against the Romanists

I. As the Socinians sin in defect about the necessity of baptism, so the Romanists (who sin in excess) contend for the absolute necessity of baptism, which they hold to be such and so great that they exclude from the kingdom of heaven all who are deprived of baptism, even if that has happened through no fault of their own, nor contempt of the divine command.

The opinion of the Romanists.

II. The Council of Trent sets forth its meaning in these words: “If anyone should say that baptism is free, that is, not necessary to salvation, let him be accursed” (Session 7, Canon 5, Schroeder, p. 53). That no one may suppose that this somewhat general expression is to be understood only of the necessity of the divine command against the Socinians, the Tridentine Catechism unfolds the sense of the curse, ambiguous in itself. “Nothing can seem more necessary,” it says, “than that it be taught that the law of baptism was prescribed by the Lord to all men, so that except they be born again to God by the grace of baptism, they will be procreated unto everlasting misery and destruction by their parents, whether they are believers or unbelievers” (*Catechism of the Council of Trent* [Trans. J.A. McHugh, 1923], p. 178). Hence the Scholastics (as Suarez and others) maintain that it is a conclusion concerning faith that baptism is the means necessary for remission of sins and for the attainment of grace and glory. And as one error grows out of another, the dogma concerning the necessity of baptism produced the figment concerning the limbo of infants, into which they maintain that infants who die without baptism descend. Still it must be confessed that others are not so rigid, but allow certain exceptions. First, that this necessity had a place only after the death of Christ and from the day of Pentecost. Again, the baptism of water could be supplied by the desire for it or by martyrdom. Hence the Council of Trent utters an anathema against those “who say that without the sacraments, or a desire for them, men receive the grace of justification by faith alone” (Session 7, Canon 4, Schroeder, p. 52). Thomas Aquinas says, “Baptism is necessary, either in itself, or in desire, or in figure” (*Commentary on the Gospel of John*, Pt. 1 [1980], p. 189). Lombard agrees with him. “It is evident,” says he, “that some are justified and saved without baptism” (*Sententiarum* 4, Dist. 4.4 [PL 192/2.848]). But the more common opinion, according to the meaning of the Catechism of Trent, is for its absolute necessity.

And of the orthodox.

III. Our opinion, however, is that baptism is indeed necessary according to the divine institution as an external means of salvation (by which God is efficacious in its legitimate use), so that he who despises it is guilty of a heinous crime and incurs eternal punishment. But we believe it is not so

absolutely necessary that he who is deprived of it by no fault of his own is to be forthwith excluded from the kingdom of heaven and that salvation cannot be obtained without it.

IV. Here a twofold necessity must be distinguished: the one absolute and simple from the nature of the thing, which is said to be of means, without which the end cannot be secured; the other relative from the ordination of God, which is said to be of precept because it is founded entirely on the command of God and not on the thing itself. Again, some means are internal, having of themselves a necessary connection with the end so that the end cannot be obtained without them (such as faith, repentance, justification and regeneration with respect to salvation); others, however, are external means, not by themselves connected with the end, but subserving it only from the ordination of God, still not of so great necessity as that the end cannot sometimes be secured without them. Such are the sacraments, which therefore are rightly said to be not absolutely necessary (as having the necessity of internal means and strictly so called), but only relatively from the force of the divine command and his institution.

Statement of the question.

V. Hence it is evident that the question does not concern any necessity of command (which we also do not deny, but contend for against the Socinians); but concerning the absolute necessity of means. Not whether a contempt of baptism condemns (which we do not deny); but whether the simple privation involves the guilt of eternal punishment and exclusion from the kingdom of heaven. This our opponents maintain; we deny.

Proof that baptism is is not absolutely necessary: (1) because many are saved without it, and many perish with it.

VI. First, without baptism not a few are saved and with baptism many perish. Therefore, it is not absolutely necessary for salvation. This appears from the converted thief, who was saved without baptism, and from the various martyrs converted to Christ in the very blaze of persecution, who,

illuminated by the power of Christ alone, had no knowledge of any of the sacraments. To say that baptism was supplied by a desire or by martyrdom is to desert their own hypothesis and to give up the absolute necessity of baptism. Thus no one can deny also that many baptized persons perish; as Simon Magus and all hypocrites and reprobates who are in the visible church.

2. Because the grace of God is not tied to signs.

VII. Second, if the absolute necessity of baptism were granted, the grace of God would be tied to the sacraments and God would not be a perfectly free agent. The falsehood of this both the nature of God teaches and the Scriptures often testify, and we have already proved.

3. Because there is a difference between the necessity of faith and of baptism.

VIII. Third, there is not an equal necessity for baptism to salvation and for faith. Without faith, indeed, absolutely no can be saved, but not so without baptism. This appears from Mk. 16:16: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." Why did he not say, "He that believeth not and is not baptized," but only "he that believeth not," unless there is a diverse relation of baptism and faith in the business of salvation? Without the latter there is no salvation, but most certain destruction; but not in like manner without baptism, without which (as we have just said, provided contempt is not present) as many as are furnished with faith can be saved as adults; or at least are in the covenant as infants.

4. Because circumcision was not absolutely necessary.

IX. Fourth, circumcision was not absolutely necessary; therefore neither is baptism. The condition of Christians ought not to be harder than that of the Jews, since they live under a milder economy. Now it is evident that circumcision was not absolutely necessary because for the forty years in

which the Israelites were in the wilderness, they were without circumcision; nor yet are they who died without it to be supposed to have perished. Thus circumcision was not to be performed before the eighth day, before which it cannot be doubted many died. Nor should it be replied that the uncircumcised were to be cut off according to God's command (Gen. 17:14). This is said of contempt, not of involuntary privation, because it refers to one who violates the covenant; not to an infant who is deprived of baptism by no fault of his own.

5. Because the thing signified belongs to infants.

X. Fifth, they to whom the thing signified in baptism belongs (viz., the promises of God) before baptism cannot be excluded from the kingdom of heaven on account of a privation of the sign. Now to the infants of believers belong the promises (according to Acts 2:39); therefore …

6. Because otherwise the son would bear the iniquity of the father.

XI. Sixth, if a son were to be condemned on account of the privation of baptism (happening without any fault of his), he would bear the personal guilt of his parent or of him by whose fault he was deprived of baptism (contrary to Ezk. 18:20).

7. Because the necessity is only from the command.

XII. Seventh, the entire necessity of the sacrament of baptism arises from a positive, not a natural divine precept. Therefore being destitute of it is not deadly, except to those who transgress that precept. Now children, to whom the divine institution is not made known and who by their natures are not capable of obedience or actual transgression (since this requires the use of reason and of free will), cannot be said to transgress a positive precept.

XIII. Eighth, if baptism were equally necessary to salvation, the certainty of election and salvation would be suspended on the will of the midwife, either Jew or pagan or priest. For if it pleases the midwife to bestow

baptism upon the dying infant, it will be saved; if not, the child will perish for ever.

XIV. Ninth, if no one has grace before baptism, no one is loved before baptism. Now the love of God not only precedes birth (Rom. 9:11), but also all time because it is from eternity. Now if no one whom God loves can perish, infants cannot be damned, whom God loved from eternity and from the womb, although they may die without baptism. Again, if baptism is absolutely necessary to salvation, no one can be sanctified before baptism because holiness is necessarily connected with salvation. Now we read of many having been sanctified from the womb; and concerning the children of Christians, Paul says that they are holy (1 Cor. 7:14). And if they are holy from their birth who will say that they lose holiness by death? Or who can believe that they are called holy from their birth who are destined to eternal destruction?

XV. Tenth, many Romanists agree with us here. Gerson denies that "God has so tied grace to the sacraments that he cannot without prejudice to his law inwardly sanctify children not yet born" ("Sermo de Nativitate … Virginis Mariae," Cons. 2 *Opera Omnia* [1987 repr.], 3:350). This was also the opinion of Biel, Cajetan, Soto, Cassander and others, whom on that account Vega charges with "being too merciful to infants" (*de Justifi. lib. 5. cap*. 16+). Lombard defends his opinion by the testimony of Augustine, who says: "The grace of God is invisibly fulfilled, in what manner is a mystery, not a contempt of religion, but the article of necessity has excluded" (*On Baptism, Against the Donatists* 4.22 [NPNF1, 4:460; PL 43.174]). Lombard concludes, "It is evident therefore that some are justified and saved without baptism" (*Sententiarum* 4, Dist. 4 [PL 192/2.848]).

XVI. More testimonies might be adduced here from the fathers. Tertullian: "Thy faith hath saved thee and thy sins are forgiven thee, certainly on thy believing, though not yet baptized" (*On Baptism* 12 [ANF 3:675; PL 1.1323]). Cyprian teaches the same (Letter 72, "To Jubaianus" [ANF 5:379–86]). Important above others is the example of the Emperor Valentinian, who, since there were many presbyters present by whom he might have been baptized as often as he pleased, still died without baptism. Yet notwithstanding, Ambrose says he was saved (*On the Death of Valentinian* 75 [FC 22:296; PL 16.1442]). Here belong two customs prevailing in the ancient church which prove that the ancients did not

believe in the absolute necessity of baptism. The first is that of not baptizing on other days than the Sabbaths just before Passover and Pentecost, concerning which we have various decrees of councils given in Gratian ("Decreti, Pt. III, De Consecratione," Dist. 4.9–15 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:1363–66). This law would have been cruel and wicked if no one could have been saved without the baptism of water. The other is that of deferring baptism until the severity of the penitential rules, to which the baptized were exposed or for other causes. This plainly indicates that they did not believe that no one was saved without baptism; otherwise they would have hastened baptism through fear of sudden death.

XVII. Still we must confess that many doctors of the church insisted too strenuously upon that necessity; among whom Ambrose seems to be the first who denies that eternal life is capable of being attained without the saving laver, excepting only martyrs and those dying with the desire for baptism, whom "their faith" and their blood poured out for Christ "washes and prayer consecrates," as he expresses it. Augustine followed him excluding unbaptized infants from salvation. Hence he is called the harsh father of infants, to which he was driven by the occasion of the Pelagian controversy. Hence (as has usually been the case) by the authority of so great a name that error readily spread, especially in the Latin church, which received Augustine as its principal teacher and professes to follow him, although it often recedes from him, as is evident even in the matter of little children, to whom Augustine wished the Eucharist to be administered (which is rejected by the Romanists).

Sources of explanation.

XVIII. That has the necessity of means which has the necessity of obedience as to precepts of natural right; but not as to precepts of positive right such as baptism. Again, what is commanded as a means absolutely necessary, without which the end or salvation is not reached, has the necessity of means granted; but what is commanded as an external means and relatively necessary, does not have the necessity of means strictly so called. Nor if the end of baptism (viz., remission of sins) is absolutely necessary to salvation, does it forthwith follow that baptism also is absolutely necessary, because it holds good only of the internal means

(without which the end is not given) and not of the external means and taken broadly (without which it can be secured).

XIX. The passage where Christ says, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (Jn. 3:5), does not favor the absolute necessity of baptism. Water cannot designate the baptism of water, but spiritual renovation, which is produced by the Holy Spirit. Thus by "water and spirit" is meant "the spiritual laver" or "spiritual water" or the spirit washing and cleansing the heart, so that the cause of that regeneration is denoted (to wit, the Spirit) and the manner of the effect (viz., by spiritual renovation or washing) by a figure frequently employed by profane and sacred writers. This is called by the Greeks *hen dia dyoin:* when of two substantives one is explained adjectively—"in the region and shadow of death" (as Mt. 4:16*), i.e., in the region of shadowy death. The priest of Jupiter brought "oxen and garlands" (Acts 14:13), i.e., "garlanded oxen." "The lake of fire and brimstone" (Rev. 20:10) is put for the lake of brimstone fire. And Mt. 3:11, which is most to the point in hand; John the Baptist says, "Christ will baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire," i.e., with a fiery spirit or inflaming the heart, which Toletus on this passage (*Commentarii in ... evangelium secundum Lucam* [1600], p. 253 on Lk. 3:16) and Stella have remarked. Or that the particle *kai* is not taken discretively, but declaratively; so that the sense is "water, which is the Spirit," as the Scripture is wont to explain an obscure by a clearer thing and a tropical and figurative by a proper. The foundation of this is that the Holy Spirit is constantly designated by water, especially as he was about to be dispensed under the New Testament (Is. 43:19; Ezk. 36:25, 27; Zech. 13:1; Jn. 4:14). Nor can it on that account be called a tautological locution in which one and the same thing is said twice. Although it is one and the same as to thing, still not as to the mode of the thing, because either the Spirit is there designated by his operation or an obscure word is explained by a clearer (as in Mt. 3:11). Augustine says, "Not always where the Scripture names water, does it mean that this visible sacrament of baptism should be understood, but sometimes it, sometimes another thing" (*Ad Catholicas Epistola Contra Donastistas: De Unitate Ecclesiae* 1.23*.65 [PL 43.439]). But many arguments prove that the baptism of water cannot be meant here. (1) The design of Christ, which was to take away from Nicodemus (who as a Pharisee was puffed up with an opinion of his own righteousness and

measured the worship of God by carnal ceremonies and washings) the pride and superstition with which he was fascinated by teaching him that he could not be saved, unless he was made entirely new, and declaring that the true means of obtaining salvation was no other than spiritual or supernatural grace. This comes not from the external element (from which he rather wished to turn Nicodemus away), but from the Holy Spirit alone, as appears from v. 3, where mention is made of birth alone from above (*anōthen*), and from vv. 6 and 7, where Christ makes mention in like manner of the Holy Spirit alone and explains "from above" (*to anōthen*) by "to be born of the Spirit." This is confirmed by v. 8, where that new birth is compared to the blowing of the wind. This simile is not fitted for expressing corporal ablution, because it refers to a secret operation and is not tied to the external element. But it is most suitable for expressing the secret power of the Holy Spirit breathing upon the heart. (2) It is not very likely that Christ, who instructed Nicodemus in the rudiments of religion, wished to begin with the sacrament of baptism, which he had not yet instituted. (3) He would not have accused Nicodemus of ignorance, which would not have been culpable, if he had spoken of baptism as being not yet instituted. (4) Christ would treat of present baptism, which, however, did not begin to be necessary except after his death, according to our adversaries. (5) It would follow that the Spirit and water are of the same necessity and so no one without baptism can be saved. The Romanists themselves deny this, holding that baptism can be supplied either by the desire for it or by martyrdom.

XX. Romanists themselves (who contend for its absolute necessity) are compelled to make various exceptions to this expression of Christ and wonderfully fatigue themselves in explaining this passage. Lombard: "This must be understood of those who can be baptized and refuse" (*Sententiarum* IV, Dist. 4.5 [PL 192/2.848]). Bonaventure: "It is meant in him who has the opportunity and is not prevented by necessity" ("Liber IV. Sententiarum," Dist. 4, Pt. 2, Art. 1, Q. 1, *Opera Theologica Selecta* [1949], 4:98). Barradas, on this passage, thus explains: "Except a man is born again of water and of the Spirit, if he really can, but if he cannot, in desire" (*Commentariorum in concordiam et historiam quatuor Evangelistarum* 4.1 [1622], 2:195). Villagudus, on this passage: "It is not necessary in itself, so that if water cannot be obtained, he must perish, who desires to be baptized." Salmeron manifestly restricts the law: "This law binds those only

under sin to receive baptism, who by preaching know its necessity, and have not been prevented from receiving it by perilous times, but have not received it through negligence or contempt" (*Commentarii in evangeliam historiam et in Acta Apostolorum*, Tract. IIII [1602–4], 8:31). Hence it appears (even according to their own confession) that there are different degrees of necessity according to the twofold matter of the sacrament; for the necessity is such as the efficacy of the thing and the concourse to its end and although commonly the same attribute is predicated of a twofold subject, still it is to be explained in different ways according to the nature and mode of each. The necessity of the Spirit, for instance, is absolute and simple, belonging to all times and for all men, whether adults or infants without any exception; but of water only relative and for certain persons who can endure it, and which can be supplied either by a desire or by martyrdom. Now if they confess that in adults it can be supplied in various cases and so that they can be exempted from that necessity, why should a harsher law be imposed upon infants than upon adults; thus because they can neither desire, nor wish for, nor seek baptism, they absolutely perish for the want of that which the adult can supply by his own desire and wish? Why will the words of Christ not be limited rather with respect to that tender age than the more advanced, on this account the less worthy of any indulgence because they have added to original sin many actual sins which are not found in infants?

XXI. If the heat of controversy and the confidence in a good cause so carried away Augustine (disputing against the Pelagians for the truth of original sin and the necessity of regeneration and baptism to be conferred even upon infants for the remission of original sin) that he spoke rather incautiously in various passages concerning the necessity of baptism, adjudging infants unbaptized and not removed by martyrdom from this life to eternal death; still elsewhere the same one, speaking more mildly, says, "Faith and the conversion of the heart is sufficient, if perchance recourse cannot be had to the celebration of the mystery of baptism in difficult times, since not a contempt of religion, but the article of necessity excludes the mystery of baptism" (*On Baptism, Against the Donatists* 4.22 [NPNF1, 4:460; PL 43.173]). He adds: "For the conversion of the heart can indeed take place without the reception of baptism, but it cannot if baptism be despised" (ibid., 4.25, p. 462; PL 43.176).

XXII. It is not absolutely true that every means employed by God to justify and save us is simply necessary to salvation. The Eucharist is a means which God employs to sanctify and save us, without which, however, many are saved. The same can be said of the miracles and persecutions of the church, which God often uses as helps to salvation. The same is true also of the baptism of water. It holds good, therefore, only of an internal means (which is such from the nature of the thing); not of an external and sacramental (which is from a command, as we have said). The passages adduced from Eph. 5:26 and Tit. 3:5 refer not so much to the external washing of water as to the internal washing of the Spirit. This is inferred even from this—that Paul places the latter in the word, not in the element of water.

XXIII. Although we deny the absolute necessity of baptism and do not believe that the perfectly free grace of God is bound down to any external signs; nor do we suppose that a simple privation of this sacrament excludes from the kingdom of heaven when anyone is deprived of baptism by some unavoidable necessity and the intervention of a legitimate obstacle (whether on account of the absence of a regular minister, or on account of disease in an infant, or for any other cause—which ought to be a consolation to those who cannot obtain either for themselves or for their children this seal of God's grace and badge of Christianity), still we think great care should be taken lest, falling into the other extreme, we neglect this sacrament which God intended to be an efficacious symbol and means of his grace when it can be used. So that we hold them to be guilty of a grievous sin who without any necessity defer the administration and reception of so salutary a sacrament, either in themselves, or in others entrusted to their care, as often as the opportunity of obtaining it is presented. For this cannot be done without a violation of the divine command and a contempt of grace which God is accustomed to dispense through such a symbol, the contemners of which he will undoubtedly visit with a severe punishment.

Fourteenth Question: The Lawful Ministry of Baptism

Is baptism by laymen or women lawful in any case? We deny against the Romanists

Statement of the question.

I. The question is necessary on account of the Romanists who defend baptism by laymen; yea, even by women. They do indeed teach that it is not lawful for laymen to baptize publicly and statedly; or even privately when a priest is present; or even when he is absent, except in a case of necessity. But they maintain that where there is danger of death, it is lawful for any layman (whether baptized or unbaptized) to baptize, provided he is acquainted with the rite. Yea, they grant this power even to women, an error flowing from that other concerning the absolute necessity of baptism.

II. On the other hand we contend that the baptism by laymen (of whatever sex they may be) is a nullity and think that it cannot be rightly administered by anyone except by a pastor lawfully called, whether in a case of necessity or not.

Proof that baptism by laymen and women is unlawful: (1) from the order of Christ.

III. The reasons are: (1) the right to baptize belongs only to those to whom was given by Christ the right of preaching the gospel. For these two attend each other as parts of the public ministry and are indissolubly joined together. Now Christ gave this right to the apostles alone and their lawful successors (Mt. 28:19, 20). And that it does not belong to others is evident from v. 16, where the eleven apostles are said to have departed into Galilee. But although many others had been present besides the apostles when Christ spoke, it does not follow that these words ("Go, teach all nations, baptizing them") do not belong to the apostles alone, because there was nothing to hinder the command of Christ being given to the apostles alone in the presence of many witnesses. It is certain that Christ here addresses the sacred ministers whom he was calling to the preaching of the gospel. Therefore, as no one ought to have preached by public authority unless he

was sent and had a peculiar call to it, so neither ought he to baptize. Therefore a woman ought not to teach in the church (1 Tim. 2:12).

2. Because they are seals of God.

IV. Second, no one can meddle with the seals of a king, except he who in a special manner obtains this office and performs the functions of a chancellor. Now the sacraments are the seals of the King of kings, whose custody and dispensation therefore belong to none except sacred ministers.

3. Because it is not lawful for the laity to administer the Lord's Supper.

V. Third, it is no more lawful for a private person or a woman to baptize than to administer the Lord's Supper. Nor ought it to be said that they hold dissimilar relations, because baptism is a sacrament of initiation by which we are ingrafted into the church (and therefore the more necessary than the sacrament of confirmation). Adults indeed are renewed when they cannot use the Supper by the desire for it and the promise of the gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation to everyone who believes. But to infants no other means of regeneration and salvation is left besides baptism. They both do hold the same relation; for if we are bound to enter into the church, we ought also to be nourished in it. And if we can be nourished by the word alone in case of necessity, why could we not be received into the internal communion of the invisible church without baptism through the grace of God?

4. Because it is founded on the absolute necessity of baptism.

VI. Fourth, because baptism by laymen and women is grounded upon the erroneous foundation of the absolute necessity of baptism. This being once overthrown, that must also necessarily be overthrown.

5. Because the ancients condemned this.

VII. Fifth, the ancients agree as to woman-baptism (*gynaikobaptismon*), that it is unlawful. Epiphanius gives it as one of the errors of the Marcionites (*Panarion* 42 [trans. F. Williams, 1987], p. 275; PG 41.699–700]). Tertullian says, "A woman is not permitted to speak in the church, nor to baptize, nor to offer" (*On the Veiling of Virgins* 9 [ANF 4:33; PL 2.901–2]). In the Clementine Constitution, the title of a chapter is: "Women ought not to baptize; for it is wicked and contrary to the teaching of Christ" (*Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* 3.9 [ANF 7:429]). Canon 100 of the Council of Carthage (IV) is: "Let not a woman presume to baptize" (Hefele, 2:417). False is the addition by Lombard (*Sententiarum* IV, Dist. 6*.1 [PL 192/2.852]) and Gratian, "unless necessity compels" ("Decreti," Pt. III, De Consecratione, Dist. IV. 20, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:1367) because this clause is found neither in the canons of the African Church, nor in Balsamo.

Sources of explanation.

VIII. The office of teaching is either public and from authority, or private from charity. The latter can be exercised by private persons, but not the former. Now the sacraments as seals of the king are acts of authority which cannot be dispensed by private persons, not even out of charity. Thus instruction and doctrine have a wider scope than baptism. For although no one but a baptized person teaches, still everyone teaching does not baptize. Besides there is one necessity of doctrine, which is absolute and of the means to salvation; another of the sacraments, which is hypothetical and of command.

IX. The example of Zipporah circumcising her son cannot render woman-baptism (*gynaikobaptismon*) lawful (Ex. 4:24–26). (1) We must live by laws, not by examples; and that example neither can nor ought to be imitated, not only because extraordinary and singular (to which nothing similar occurs), but also because drawn from a woman unwilling and intensely excited and hardly sane on account of her rage (v. 25). (2) There is a difference between circumcision and baptism. The former could be administered by private persons and nothing peculiar is ascribed to it; but the right to baptize is given to those alone who have the right to teach. (3) The consequence does not hold good from what was done before the

establishment of the Jewish polity to what was done afterwards; otherwise we would have to say that the intermission of circumcision in the wilderness ought to have been tolerated in Canaan (which is absurd). (4) The prophetess did this in the presence of her husband. Now the Romanists do not allow women to baptize when priests are present. (5) Nor if God was on this account reconciled to Moses does it follow forthwith that this act pleased God in all respects or that there was no sin in it, because God is appeased from his own mercy and not from the dignity and merit of our works. The thing could have been approved by God, but not the mode of the thing; as what the Scripture narrates of the humility of Ahab (1 K. 21:29), also how by the worship which the nations introduced from Assyria into Samaria exercised in worshipping the true God with false gods, they were delivered from the lions (2 K. 17:25–41).

X. They were neither private persons nor merely laymen who are said in Acts to have baptized. Philip was not only a deacon, but also an evangelist (Acts 21:8). Ananias was one of the seventy disciples, pastor of the church of Damascus, who did this by command of God, to whom, moreover; Paul was sent. It is not said that Cornelius and his friends were commanded to be baptized by the brethren who were with Peter (Acts 10:48); but only that they were commanded to be baptized or that Peter commanded them that they should be baptized. Hence it no more follows that they were baptized by the companions of Peter than by Peter himself. Otherwise it would follow that laymen can baptize in the presence of ministers, which the Romanists deny.

XI. The three thousand men who are said to have been baptized by the apostles might have been baptized conveniently by them by sprinkling, if not by immersion. Besides, there might have been many of the seventy disciples to whom this power belonged.

XII. They who administered baptism by the command and authority of the apostles are not to be considered as private persons, for a calling could not have been wanting to him who did anything by the authority of the apostles, especially since they did not seem to baptize as much as the apostles by them, even as Christ baptized only by the apostles (John 4:1, 2*).

XIII. As to baptism by laymen, nothing certain can be gathered from the fathers. For although it is not to be denied that many allowed it—Tertullian

(*On Baptism* 17 [ANF 3:677]), Jerome (*Dialogue Against the Luciferians* [NPNF2, 6:324]), Augustine (*Contra Epistolam Parmeniani* 2*.13 [PL 43.69–73]) and the Council of Elvira (Canon 38, Hefele, 1:152)—it is certain that others did not approve of it. Basil judges it "to be wrong for laymen to baptize" (*Letter 188 [1]*, "To Amphilochius," 1 [FC 28:10–11; PG 32.670]). Ignatius (Pseudo-Ignatius," Ad Heronem" 3.2, *Patres Apostilici* [ed. F.X. Funk, 1913], 2:311) and Epiphanius (*Panarion* 79.3 [PG 42.743]) are so averse to the administration of baptism by laymen that they do not allow even deacons to baptize.

XIV. Since a sacrament is a public act, it ought to be publicly administered in the church by public ministers and no necessity or sufficient reason can be given why a sacred and public act should be privately performed. The ordination of God is our highest law, the supreme necessity, which must be obeyed, rather than indulge popular ignorance and weakness.

Fifteenth Question

Is baptism administered by heretics lawful? We distinguish

Origin of the controversy among the ancients.

I. The question was long ago agitated in the time of Cyprian and Stephen, Bishop of Rome, with great spirit; some contending that baptism administered by a heretical minister was lawful and valid, others however denying it and maintaining that all such should be rebaptized. For Cyprian with his fellow African bishops decreed that baptism administered by heretics and schismatics was not true baptism and that on this account they should be rebaptized who approached the Catholic faith; as is evident from the various epistles of Cyprian to Januarius (Letter 69, "To Januarius" [ANF 5:375–77]), to Quintus (Letter 70, "To Quintus" [ANF 5:377–78]), to Stephen (Letter 71, "To Stephen" [ANF 5:378–79]), to Jubaianus* (Letter 72, "To Jubaianus" [ANF 5:379–86]) and others, and from the Acts of the Council of Carthage ("Seventh Council of Carthage" [ANF 5:565–72]) over which Cyprian presided. Still they so affirmed these things as not to conduct themselves harshly and obstinately with anyone in defending their opinion,

but preserved peace with their dissenting brethren and colleagues, judging no one, removing no one from the right of fellowship if he differed from them (as they themselves say in the opening of the Council, ibid., p. 565). In this respect, they differed much from the Donatists, who derived this error from them. They defended it with great zeal, deserting the communion of believers of those who disagreed with them. Hence the error merged into heresy and from a discord arose a schism, concerning which Augustine is to be consulted in his books, *On Baptism, Against the Donatists* (NPNF1, 4:411–514) and *De Haeresibus* 69 (PL 42.43–44).

II. Stephen, the Roman bishop, in accordance with the ancient custom of the Catholic church, affirmed that those baptized by heretics should be received without a new baptism; as appears from the epistolary discussion of Stephen and Cyprian, where he gives his opinion, the sum of which is: "If anyone comes to us from any heresy, nothing new should be done, except what is customary, that the hand be placed upon him for repentance." In the following century in the First Nicene Council, this question was decided when it was said of those who style themselves Cathari: "If at any time they come to the Catholic church, it pleased the holy and great Council that receiving the imposition of hands, they should thus continue among the clergy" (*hōste cheirothetēmenous autous menein houtōs en tō klērō*, Canon 8, Council of Nicea, cf. Tanner, 1:9). Hence it is evident that this great synod esteemed valid not only the baptism, but also the clerical ordination received under the ministry of heretics. Still the Paulianists or Samosatians are excepted by Canon 19, whom the synod determined should "be baptized over again" (*anabaptizesthai ex apantos*, Tanner, 1:15) because they did not acknowledge the Trinity. Hence it is evident that Cyprian and Stephen erred through an excess of counterpoise (*ametrian tēs antholkēs*): the former when he held that those baptized by any heretics should be rebaptized; the latter when he thought that no one of them ought to be rebaptized, but that all should be received without a new baptism. Both ran into extremes. But here the mean is the safest, regard being held to the distinction between heretics.

Statement of the question.

III. Here therefore we think the question can be solved by distinguishing between heretics. For there are some who corrupt the substance of baptism and omit or change the form of institution; such as were the ancient Arians, who denied a Trinity of persons in unity of essence, and the modern Socinians. Others, while they retain substantials and defend the true doctrine of the holy Trinity contained in the formula of baptism, "err on other heads of doctrine"; as the ancient Novatians and Donatists, and the modern Romanists and Arminians. As to the former, we judge that baptism administered by them is null, and so they are not properly to be rebaptized, but baptized, who have been baptized by such heretics, because they evidently corrupt the essential form of baptism, to which the invocation of the Trinity belongs. For this reason, the baptism of the Arians, who baptized "in the Father, the only true God, in Jesus Christ, the Savior and a creature, and in the Holy Spirit, the servant of both" (according to the testimony of Jerome, *Dialogue Against the Luciferians* 9 [NPNF2, 6:324; PL 23.172] and Athanasius, "Contra Arianos, Oratio tertia," *Opera omnia* [1627], 1:411–13), was formerly rejected in the Nicene Council (Canon 19, cf. Hefele, 1:430–31). Still a distinction must be made here again. For either the minister alone was infected with that heresy or the whole church with him. If the latter, we deny it to be true baptism. If the former (to wit, if the church thinks rightly, notwithstanding the error of the pastor, if he is a secret heretic), provided the formula of Christ be retained, we believe the baptism to be valid and that it is not necessary to rebaptize those who have been once baptized. The sacrament is the property of the church, which is administered in her name and in her faith. On this account, the hidden error of the minister detracts nothing from the integrity of the baptism, provided the essentials are observed and nothing is changed in the word or element. Hence it is evident what reply should be made to the question which can be put, whether the baptism administered in an orthodox church by a minister imbued with Antitrinitarian or Jewish errors (but not detected) is valid. Undoubtedly, the public faith of the church is here to be considered, into which he (who is baptized) is introduced and the promises made to him by Christ. Since these do not depend upon the minister, he (however deeply tainted with secret heresy) cannot render them useless and void.

IV. However, if heretics retain the fundamentals of baptism (which constitute its essence) and do not change or corrupt its form, we hold that

baptism administered by such is valid, although they may err on various articles of faith, and their baptism may be mixed up with various extraneous rites in accidentals.

V. The reasons are: (1) the essentials remain there as much as to form as to matter (to wit, the word with the element and the formula prescribed by Christ—that it be administered in the name of the Trinity). (2) Neither the prophets, nor Christ, nor the apostles ever reprehended circumcision as void which had been performed in the Jewish church by idolatrous and heretical priests, such as the Pharisees were. (3) The example of Zipporah teaches that an invalid circumcision as to men is valid with God. (4) We do not read of any who were baptized by heretics having been rebaptized by the apostles.

VI. Although heretics are not true members of the invisible church, that does not hinder them from administering true baptism provided they retain its essentials; for they accommodate the tongue and hand only in this act to God. It is God who baptized and who is efficacious through the minister; as God through a corrupt ministry can gather a church from adults, so through baptism administered by heretics from infants. For although they do not belong to the orthodox church, still they can belong to the external but impure church. In them, the infidelity of men does not make void the faith of God, because baptism is not of men, but of God, which he wishes sometimes to be conserved in an impure church; as we find that God still preserved a remnant under Ahab in the time of Elijah (1 K. 19:18), however much the church had been corrupted in other ways.

VII. Now if it is asked whether it is lawful in any case to seek or to receive baptism of this kind, the reply should be made with a distinction. From heretics of the first order, who tear away the foundations of Christianity and of baptism, it should be sought in no case because there can be no true baptism among them. But as to others who retain the essence of baptism, but err in other things fatally (whether as to doctrine or as to worship), although we think their baptism ought not to be repeated, still we do not judge that it can be sought or received without guilt. The reception of such baptism shows our communion with them and participation in their errors, from which the Scriptures command us to flee. Also we are a stumbling block to the weaker brethren contrary to the precept of the apostle. What has been said in general of the baptism of heretics ought to be

applied in particular to the baptism of the Romanists. Although we think it ought to be retained in those who come from them to us because the essentials of baptism remain with them; still we deny that it can rightly be sought or received from them, as will be proved more fully when we come to that subject.

Sixteenth Question

Was John's baptism essentially the same as Christ's baptism? We affirm against the Romanists

I. Although this question appears to be less necessary in our day, when no one is baptized except with that baptism which the apostles administered; yet because it is wont to be fiercely agitated by the Romanists, we must speak briefly concerning it, in order that the truth of the orthodox doctrine concerning baptism may be the better illustrated.

II. Now although the controversy concerning John's baptism is usually divided into many parts—the first is, Was it instituted by God? the second, Did it have the annexed promise of grace and was a dispensation of the grace of salvation made by it? the third, whether those baptized by John were to be rebaptized—it can be conveniently contracted into one general question concerning the essential identity of both baptisms. This we maintain; the Romanists deny.

Opinion of the Romanists.

III. The Council of Trent thus sets forth its view: "If anyone should say that the baptism of John had the same virtue as that of Christ, let him be accursed" (Session 7, Canon 1, Schroeder, p. 53). Bellarmine unfolds it in three propositions: (1) John's baptism was not the same as Christ's; (2) it did not have the same power; (3) after John's baptism Christ's was necessarily to be used ("De Sacramento Baptismi," 19, 20 *Opera* 3:194–96). In this he follows the opinion of the Scholastics. Lombard maintains that "John's baptism cleansed the body, but did not purify from sin" (*? Sententiarum* 4, Dist. 2.4 [PL 192/2.842]). Salmeron says that John's baptism differed from Christ's in form, words and the fruit of grace. Others

think it was only a prelude to grace and a rudimentary baptism leading to repentance.

And of the orthodox.

IV. We confess that some difference should be made between John's baptism and Christ's; but accidental with respect to circumstances and degrees, not substantial and specific with respect to essence; by reason of the mode of exhibition and measure of gifts and not by reason of the thing itself. First, as to the mode of exhibition because John's baptism neither signified Christ far absent (as the legal ceremonies of the old Testament), nor as already dead and risen (as our baptism), but as to come and to die. As to the measure of gifts, because John's baptism was not administered in such a fulness of light and spiritual gifts, the Holy Spirit (as long as Christ had not yet been manifested) being more sparingly communicated; or so great an abundance of gifts fecundating (if it is proper so to speak) its waters. These were richer in the baptism of the apostles, where there was a greater and often visible presence of the Holy Spirit and a greater abundance of gifts; nor confined only to the Jews, like John's baptism, but common to the Gentiles also. Now whatsoever that difference was, still we think the grace of the remission of sins and of regeneration was sealed equally by both and therefore as to essence they both had the same power.

The identity of John's baptism and of Christ's is proved: (1) from their causes.

V. The reasons are: (1) both baptisms agree in essentials and in all their causes; the efficient, God who instituted that baptism (Jn. 1:33; Lk. 3:2, 3; Mt. 21:25); the matter, both external (to wit, the element of water, Mt. 3:11; Jn. 1:33) and internal (viz., the promise of grace concerning the remission of sins and regeneration, Mt. 3:7, 8; Lk. 3:3; Acts 19:5); the form, which is both a testification and sealing of the promise by water and the rite of ablution and a joining of the promise itself with this element and its rite (Mk. 1:4; Lk. 3:3); the end, which is the confirmation of those who are baptized concerning the grace of God and their separation from unbelievers

and reception into the assembly of the church (Acts 2:38). Hence Tertullian properly says, "There was no difference between those whom John baptized in Jordan, and Peter in the Tiber" (*On Baptism* 4 [ANF 3:671; PL 1.1311–12]).

2. From their effects.

VI. (2) Identity of effect argues an identity of cause. Now the effects of John's baptism were the same as those of Christ's (to wit, repentance, Mk. 1:4; Acts 2:38; remission of sins, Lk. 3:3; Acts 22:16; faith in Christ, Acts 19:4; Mk. 16:15, 16; the Holy Spirit as to his ordinary gifts, Acts 18:25; 2:38, 39; separation from unbelievers, Mt. 3:6, 7; Lk. 3:7; Acts 2:38, 39).

3. From the identity of Christ's baptism and ours.

VII. (3) The baptism of Christ ought not to differ from the baptism of believers, because he is the head and believers are the members; and because he ought to sanctify the use and sacrament of our baptism in his own; and because baptism is the symbol of the unity of believers in one mystical body (Eph. 4:5), not only with each other, but also with Christ, the head (1 Cor. 12:13; Gal. 3:27); and because his circumcision was the same as that of the Jewish people. Nor are our opponents to be heard here who maintain that Christ cannot be said to have been baptized by his own baptism. First, because he was baptized in his own name. For nothing hindered Christ, a man with respect to his human nature, from being baptized in his own name as God. Second, that remission of sins and the washing of regeneration which is conferred in his baptism cannot without injury be ascribed to Christ. Although he did not receive baptism to seal remission of sins and regeneration for himself, he was bound to receive it as our surety, to consecrate baptism in himself that he might seal it to us. The same difficulty presses the baptism of John, in which each benefit is sealed. Although Christ had no need of regeneration, still there were other reasons why he received baptism after circumcision (to wit, to teach that the power of the old as well as of the new sacraments and sanctification depended upon himself alone, as the foundation of both covenants and the Savior of both people, the circumcised as well as the baptized). Bellarmine absurdly

affirms that it would be disgraceful to Christ if he is supposed to have received the same baptism with us because it is not becoming for a general to receive the mark of his service, but to impress it upon others. As if it were base for a leader to go before others not only in command, but also in example. As if it were more honorable for a general to bear the mark of a servant than his own, since that baptism was John's, not Christ's.

4. From the parity of the baptism of John and the word preached by him.

VIII. (4) The power and efficacy of John's baptism ought not to have been less than that of the word preached by him, since there is a perpetual relation (*schesis*) between the word and the sacraments. Now the word preached by John was the spiritual grace about to be conferred by Christ and the beginning of the gospel (Mk. 1:1; Mt. 3:2; Lk. 1:77). Therefore also his baptism. Nor can it be said (a) "From the doctrine to the sacraments the consequence does not hold good because heretics can have true sacraments who do not have true doctrine." The sacraments of heretics cannot be true except inasmuch as they retain the doctrine of baptism in essentials. (b) "John taught nothing about the resurrection of Christ, therefore he had not the same doctrine." Although he taught nothing expressly concerning it, still he sufficiently intimated it however obscurely when he calls Christ the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world (to wit, by a sacrificial offering, because he could not have accomplished this unless he had been raised again). Besides, since he acknowledges him to be the well-beloved Son of God (Mt. 3:17) who received the Spirit without measure and faith, in whom obtains eternal life (Jn. 3:36), by that very thing he was bound to believe that he was the source of life and the author of eternal salvation.

5. Because it is the baptism of the gospel.

IX. (5) John's baptism is the baptism of the gospel or of the New Testament; for the beginning of the gospel is expressly placed in the ministry of John (Mk. 1:1) and John's baptism testified of Christ as already manifested (Acts 19:4, 5). Also all the prophets and the law were to

continue even until John (Mt. 11:13) and to cease in him. Now the baptism of the New Testament is one according to Paul (Eph. 4:5).

Sources of explanation.

X. John's baptism is so called, not as if he was its primary author, since he is expressly said to have been sent by God for this (Jn. 1:33) and his baptism is said to be from God (Mt. 21:25), but inasmuch as he was its first administrator and relatively to the baptism of Christ administered by the apostles, inasmuch as he did not abound in the same visible gifts of the Holy Spirit as these. But this does not the less hinder its institution from having been divine. Hence Alexander of Hales says, "Baptism was indeed instituted by John as the minister, but by God in authority and command" (pag. 4, q. 6+).

XI. The words by which John distinguishes his baptism from Christ's, as when he is said "to baptize with water, and Christ with fire" (Mt. 3:11), do not derogate from its efficacy; or distinguish the baptisms, but the baptizers, making a distinction between the persons in the order of efficient causes, and denote Christ as the principal author of grace and John the ministerial, by whose ministry Christ in the bestowal of the Spirit was freely efficacious, just as Paul distinguishes the external ministry of the apostles from the internal virtue of the agent, God. "I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase" (1 Cor. 3:6). Besides, it is evident that the verb "to baptize" is used in different ways. It is properly ascribed indeed to John, but to Christ metaphorically concerning the visible effusion of the Holy Spirit made on the day of Pentecost; as Christ himself explains it, "Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence" (Acts 1:5), as it was by the event itself (Acts 2) and as Peter confirms (Acts 2:16).

XII. The baptism of John not only disposed repentance and remission of sins, but also sealed it. As in his ministry he preached the law and the gospel, so in his baptism he sealed the gospel promises. Nor if he is said "to have prepared the way of the Lord" by his ministry does it follow that he did not teach faith in Christ and remission of sins. This is expressly intimated in Acts 19:4, where he is said not only to have commanded those who came to him to believe that Christ was to come (as the Socinians hold), but to "believe in Christ which should come after him" (*eis ton erchomenon*

met' auton hina pisteusōsi). He invited to faith, not in the future, but in the present—although the object of it was future; just as the fathers believed with a present faith in Christ about to come.

XIII. If the invocation of the Trinity was not expressed in John's baptism, still it was implied in the faith in Christ which he taught, which necessarily involves the Trinity. And if when the heavens were opened the whole Trinity manifested itself in the baptism of Christ, according to this —"the Father, by the voice, the Son, by his body, the Spirit, by the bird"— the faith and worship of the Trinity cannot be said to have been absent from the baptism of John. Besides, if John's baptism was from God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, John must undoubtedly have baptized in the name (i.e., in the confession and invocation of the Trinity). For he could not have baptized in any other name than in that of him who sent him to baptize.

XIV. Acts 19:4, 5 does not prove that the Ephesian disciples, who had received John's baptism, were rebaptized by Paul. For the words "when they heard this, they were baptized" (*akousantes de ebaptisthēsan*, v. 5) are not the words of Luke narrating what followed Paul's discourse to them, but rather a confirmation of the Pauline oration to those Ephesians, by which he teaches that those who had received baptism from John, had been baptized in the name of Christ and so had no need of a new baptism. Thus Paul is introduced saying, "John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him [*akousantes de for hoi de akousantes*]; now they who heard him [to wit, John] were baptized in the name of Jesus" (viz., by John himself). Therefore this discourse of Paul instructed those to whom it is directed concerning the baptism which they had received, while in no way does it teach that they were rebaptized. Thus it is evident that the passage can be explained best from the force of the particles *men* and *de*, which, although they are often expletives and are used alone, still they never occur together in a composition without being adversatives. Unless, then, we wish to pull to pieces the discourse of Paul, we ought to confess that the words *akousantes de* are not the words of Luke, but of Paul addressing the Ephesians themselves. Luke continues the words of Paul in v. 6 and connects it with vv. 3 and 4 by the conjunction *kai* (viz., narrating that Paul, it being heard that they had been baptized by John, laid his hands upon them, as in Acts 8:14, 17).

XV. But although we should grant that the Ephesian disciples were baptized again, it would not follow that there was a difference between these baptisms as to species, but only as to degree (which was more perfect both by reason of knowledge and of efficacy after the institution of Christ than in the time of John the Baptist, by whom it began to be administered; so that they who had been baptized before by John in the coming Christ, after Jesus had been manifested and crucified and raised again, might have been baptized "in the express name of the Lord Jesus" who had already come). Thus although there is not a specific difference between these baptisms, still it is such a difference that a suitable reason can be assigned why they might have been rebaptized who had been baptized by John and not by the apostles. This is so both because apostolic baptism was accompanied by an abundance of spiritual gifts and because it was instituted immediately by Christ and was performed expressly and explicitly in the name of Christ; and because the sacrament of initiation could vary according to the different ages of believers. For some believers believed in Christ who was to come; others in him coming who was in the way; others in him who had come. Circumcision was appointed for the first, John's baptism for the second, the baptism of Christ for the last.

XVI. It is gratuitously supposed that the multitude of Jews baptized by the apostles on the day of Pentecost had been baptized before by John. (1) For not each and every one of the Jews had been baptized by John, but only many; and nothing else can be gathered from the hyperbolical expressions in Matthew and Mark. (2) Among the thousands baptized by the apostles (Acts 2:41), many flowed together from every nation under heaven: Medes, Parthians, Arabians, etc., whom no one would say had been baptized by John. (3) If the reasoning of our opponents has force, it could be proved that the baptism of Christ is capable of being repeated. For it is evident from Jn. 4:1, 2 that the disciples of Christ baptized far more than John. If therefore it is credible that some of those thousands of men whom the apostles baptized on the day of Pentecost had been baptized before by John, it is much more credible that of the same thousands some had been baptized by the disciples of Christ (which however the Romanists are unwilling to grant).

XVII. Although the ministry of John pertained to the first foundations of the church and the ministry of the apostles to the full constitution of the church, it does not follow that the ministry of John was not efficacious to

salvation. For according to the testimony of the angel (Lk. 1:16), he should turn the hearts of the children of Israel to the Lord their God; nor could he otherwise have preached the doctrine of repentance and remission of sins (which two include the whole gospel).

Seventeenth Question: The Formula of Baptism

Is the formula of baptism prescribed by Christ to be observed in its administration? And what does it imply?

I. The question is necessary both on account of the Romanists (who deny that a formula was prescribed by Christ, but that it is received only from tradition that a certain formula of words is employed; cf. Bellarmine, "De Sacramento Baptismi," 3 *Opera* 3:156–59) and on account of fanatics who are opposed to the ordinary formula because a certain magical power seems to be ascribed to it.

A formula of baptism was prescribed by Christ.

II. We maintain two things. First, that a formula was prescribed by Christ and delivered to the church. It is evident (a) from Mt. 28:19, where the design of Christ was to deliver the ceremony to be observed in this sacrament so that he not only taught what is to be done, but also how it is to be done (which is necessary in the prescription of a rite). (b) The church, which has used such a formula from antiquity, could not have employed it from herself because she could not constitute a sacrament, as our opponents confess. Therefore she received and employed it from the order of Christ and the practice of the apostles. (c) From parity, because in the institution of the other sacraments, of the Old as well as of the New Testament, God employed a solemn formula. This cannot therefore be denied to baptism.

And ought to be retained.

III. Second, that formula ought to be retained. (a) Because it contains the word of promise proper and essential to baptism, which makes the essential part of a sacrament. (b) Because the formula of the Supper delivered by

Christ is to be exactly observed; hence it is repeated by the evangelists and Paul in the same words. (c) From its object and end: the former is the Trinity distinctly proposed in baptism; the latter is the faith of the Trinity, to which we are bound by baptism. (d) From the practice, because it is evident that that formula was always in ancient times observed and thus the various corruptions of the Arians were met.

IV. Although the apostles are not found to have baptized with this formula expressly, it does not follow that they omitted it. It was sufficient that they baptized according to Christ's command, since it ought not to be doubted that they conducted themselves according to the prescription of Christ and it is not probable that they changed anything in the express words of their Master. The passages adduced to support the contrary, where the apostles are said to have baptized "in the name of Christ" (Acts 2:38; 8:16) or "into Christ" (Rom. 6:3), do not teach with what form they baptized; but are most properly referred either to the efficient cause (so that the sense is, they baptized by the command and authority of Christ, as they are said to have wrought miracles in the name of Christ); or to the final cause (i.e., into his faith and doctrine, as the Israelites are said to have been baptized into Moses, i.e., into his doctrine, 1 Cor. 10:2). Besides, "to baptize in the name of Christ" is a synechdochical expression and includes the whole Trinity, as Ambrose observes (*Of the Holy Spirit* 1.3 [NPNF2, 10:98; PL 16.741]) after Basil concerning the Holy Spirit: "The naming of Christ is the confession of the whole, for it is evident that the anointer is God and the one anointed, the Son, and the ointment, the Holy Spirit" (*hē tou Christou prosēgoria tou pantos estin homologia, dēloi gar ton te chrisanta theon, kai ton christhenta hyion, kai to chrisma to pneuma, On the Spirit* [NPNF2, 8:18; PG 32.116]). Or "in the name" of Christ is to baptize by his command and authority, and thus in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, as Christ commanded.

Which formula is preferable, that of the Greeks or Latins?

V. If it is inquired concerning the formulas of the Greeks and Latins, the former of which is expressed in the third person ("Let the servant of the

Lord be baptized"), but the latter in the first ("I baptize thee")—which is to be preferred? I answer, although this seems to be indifferent because in both the essence of the words is retained, still the latter appears to be the most suitable, both as to the minister baptizing and the baptized. As to him, because thus is more clearly shown the authority which has been granted to him by Christ, whose act he exerts in the administration of the sacrament. As to those, because the sacraments are to be applied to each one in particular (Acts 2:38, 39), which is illustrated from the parity in Jn. 20:22, where remission of sins is applied to each one individually.

What the formula of baptism implies.

VI. Further, that formula embraces all things in a few words which are sealed to us by this sacrament. These are referred to these three: (1) the institution of God; (2) the promise of grace; (3) the stipulation of duty of the believer. As the name of God is wont to be used in the Scriptures in three ways (either for his authority, or his power, or his command), therefore to be baptized in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit is (a) from his authority and order, that we may know that this rite was not devised by men and is not administered by the private authority and will of man, but from the institution of God himself, who is one in essence and trine in persons. (b) In the name (i.e., in the power and efficacy of the Trinity) and of that indeed by which the individual persons concur in the procurement of our salvation: thus in the love of the Father, destining and procuring the means to salvation; in the love of the Son, acquiring it for us by his merits; in the love of the Spirit, conferring and applying it by his grace. (c) In the name (i.e., by his command in the faith and doctrine of the Trinity) and in the confidence, worship and obedience of him, so that here both the grace of God promising and the duty of man stipulating obedience are joined together. Therefore, when the pastor says, "I baptize you," it is the same as if he said: In the name of God I declare that this water, with which I sprinkle you, is a symbol of your admission into the covenant of God and his church; that the Father receives you as a son; the Son as a member of his body and a brother, whom he has redeemed by his blood; and the Holy Spirit as a guest whom he regenerates by his grace and with whom he wishes to dwell for ever; and in turn of your stipulation of duty to the

Triune God that by worship and obedience you may adore the Father, Son and Holy Spirit and consecrate yourself wholly and for ever to the adorable Trinity. Thus to be baptized in the name or into the name of God is to be initiated into and consecrated to the religion and worship of God, that we may enjoy his grace and live according to his precepts. Further, baptism is not said to be administered in the names, but "in the name" that the unity in Trinity and Trinity in unity may be more clearly marked. For the essence, majesty and power of the three persons which is efficacious in baptism is one (as in works outwardly, which are terminated on creatures), and their characteristic is that they are common to the whole Trinity because they spring from essential, not from personal properties, in which the persons mutually regard themselves.

Eighteenth Question: The Truth and Rites of Roman Baptism

Is the true doctrine concerning baptism retained in the Roman church? We distinguish

I. The truth of the doctrine concerning baptism may be regarded either as to its essence, or as to its accidents, or the rites and ceremonies employed in it. In the former sense, we acknowledge that by the singular providence of God the true doctrine concerning baptism remains in the church of Rome because in it is retained the matter of true baptism (to wit, water and the formula prescribed by Christ, according to which it is administered in the name of the Trinity). For this reason, baptism performed in that church is considered valid and is not repeated. But in the latter sense, we deny it.

Roman baptism is corrupted in various particulars.

II. The reasons are: (1) it cherishes grievous errors which corrupt the true doctrine of baptism; in place of the moral and mysterious efficacy, it brings in the opinion of *opere operati* and physical efficiency and extends too much the force of baptism (as if it took away sin entirely), and restricts it too much to antebaptismal sins, while nevertheless the covenant sealed in baptism is perpetual. (2) In practice, it sins in many ways, both by the use of

a foreign tongue and by various rites partly superstitious, partly useless and impious, which it has added to the institution of Christ and makes a part of the sacrament; by which the primeval simplicity of the institution of Christ and the practice of the apostles are fastidiously rejected and the essential rites of baptism wonderfully obscured. Concerning these, there is a controversy between us and our opponents.

Opinion of the Romanists concerning the rites of baptism.

III. Bellarmine mentions many rites and ceremonies, going before, attending and following baptism. Six preceding are enumerated: (1) the sign of the cross on the forehead and the breast; (2) exorcism; (3) blowing upon the recipient; (4) touching the nostrils and ears with saliva; (5) tasting of salt; (6) anointing the breast and shoulder blades with oil. The concomitant is only one (to wit, the consecration of the baptismal water). The consequent are three: (1) anointing upon the head; (2) a lighted candle which is given to the neophyte to carry; (3) the putting on of a white garment. We dismiss many others which are also reckoned up by our opponents and obtruded as rites of baptism, but which are either preparations for the baptism of adults and not rites (such as profession of name, examination, profession of faith, renunciation of Satan and his works, the imposition of the name and the like) and which have now fallen into desuetude (such as the tasting beforehand of milk and honey, a kiss, washing of feet and the like). The question between us does not concern them. We treat only of the ten above mentioned, which, as alien to the institution of Christ, we think are falsely employed by the Romanists.

Proof that such rites are not to be admitted: (1) from the silence of Scripture.

IV. First, from the silence of Scripture because neither the slightest trace or vestige of all those occurs in Scripture, neither in the baptism of John, nor in the practice of the apostles. We find water indeed employed in each, but no other species; not salt, or oil, or balsam, nothing of the other elements

which were familiar under Moses in the sacred rites of that nation. Christ indeed commands to baptize; but to anoint with oil and balsam, or to touch the ears and nostrils with saliva, or to give salt to be tasted, or to do any of those things which are added over and above, Christ neither commanded, nor do we read of their ever being used by the apostles. Therefore, since all these things are beyond the institution of Christ, they cannot and ought not to be received with whatever smoke of antiquity that custom may be commended. For sacred things are to be brought to the test of truth, not of custom; nor are we to regard what anyone has done before us, but what Christ, who is before all, himself did and commanded others to do. Nor can it be said that Christ embraced these things under the word "baptize," as it is usual for the Romanists to signify all of them under the name of baptism. It is by far one reason for our time, in which the custom has already gained prevalency among our opponents, to administer baptism with such rites; but another for the time in which Christ lived, when no Jew could either say, or when said understand, *baptizein* of a sacred rite otherwise than of the act of washing, immersion or sprinkling. Nothing was either said or heard at that time of oil, balsam, spittle and other things which are now used. This being so, it is absurd to think either that Christ signified or the apostles understood anything else than the use of water when the command to baptize given by him was received by them. Nor is it right to suspect that Christ (especially in the most weighty affair of all Christianity) wished to signify in words those things which could be understood neither by the apostles whom he addressed, nor by any mortal from any of his discourses.

2. From the simplicity of Christianity.

V. Second, from the simplicity of Christianity. For since the worship of the Christian church is spiritual and as Paul says, a reasonable service (*logikē latreia*, Rom. 12:1), and in this especially differs from Judaism—that the latter was wholly occupied with signs and figures—everyone judges it to be absurd that the very entrance of the church should be hedged up and darkened by the forms and representations of so many corporeal and elementary things that you can scarcely find in the Mosaic system and rite involved in more figures. There is besides a multiplicity of things so inconsistent with each other, as seems greatly abhorrent to the genius of the

gospel. The latter pruned the redundant rites of Moses and contracted piety into a few (the mass being small, but the thing and power being immense). As Augustine says, “By sacraments the fewest in number, most easy of observation, most excellent in signification, he bound together a society of new people, as baptism is consecrated by the name of the Trinity” (Letter 54, “To Januarius” [FC 12:252; PL 33.200]). In this number, that mass of ceremonies piled up in baptism, which render the use of it troublesome and difficult, can hardly have place.

3. From the silence of the ancients.

VI. Third, from the silence of the most ancient writers because in the true and undoubted books of a purer antiquity, we find nothing of these things with which the Romanists anoint their neophytes before and after baptism and concerning other ceremonies of this kind which are wont to be used in administering this sacrament. Hence there is no reason why we should suppose they were practiced in those first times; yea, a firm argument is thence drawn that nothing such had as yet obtained. For it cannot be doubted that the fathers would have made some mention of it; as in the following centuries they were not silent concerning what had been added to the lawful and apostolic rite of baptism. This is especially evident from a famous passage of the *Apology* of Justin Martyr which he wrote in the year 150 for the Christian religion. That he might not be supposed to conceal treacherously anything of our mysteries, he gives an accurate account of the solemn rites of baptism and the Lord’s Supper in their entirety. “In what manner,” says he, “we renewed by Christ, dedicate ourselves also to God, we will now explain, lest if we pass over this, we may seem in this discourse to act spitefully and deceitfully. Whoever are persuaded and believe our doctrines to be true and profess that they can so live, fasting they are taught to pray, and to seek from God the remission of former sins, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us to a place where there is water and they are regenerated in that manner of regeneration in which we ourselves were regenerated. For they are then washed in water in the name of the Parent of all things, and of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit” (*First Apology** 61 [FC 6:99; PG 6.419]). And other things which in the same place he adds more fully, where he

mentions no other rite of baptism except the one—washing in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit—expressly commanded by Christ. He says not a word about oil, spittle, ointment and other things which are now used by the Romanists. Hence we infer with certainty that none of them as yet obtained at that time in the church.

4. From the testimony of our opponents.

VII. Fourth, not a few of our opponents have acknowledged the novelty of these rites: Erasmus, "Ad Iodoco Gavero," *Opus Epistolarum* (ed. P.S. and H.M. Allen, 1924), 5:241; Rigaltius*, *Sancta Caecilii Cypriani Opera* (1648) and others. Hence Catherine de Medici, Queen of France, mother of Charles IX and regent of the kingdom at that time (1561) in a letter sent to Pius IV, among other heads of reformation, requests that "in baptism, exorcisms, and certain formulas of prayers be omitted, which are beyond its institution, and that it be sufficient that water and the word be used according to the prescription of God, that the injection of spittle into the mouth of an infant seems to be not only unnecessary, but also dangerous," the illustrious de Thou being our authority (cf. *Historiarum sui temporis* 28 [1625], 1:563). The expurgatorial indexes command this letter to be destroyed.

VIII. At what time or in what century these rites and ceremonies were little by little introduced, the celebrated Daille relates fully and accurately; whom consult (*De Cultibus Religiosis Latinorum* 1.10–14 [1671], pp. 44–74).

Sources of explanation.

IX. Although the Scripture sometimes mentions oil and anointing (2 Cor. 1:21; 1 Jn. 2:20), breathing on persons (Jn. 20:22), white garments (Rev. 3:4), lamps (Mt. 25:1–3, where the virgins are furnished with lamps), it does not follow that the rites added by the Romanists in baptism are thence confirmed. These things are recounted not as pertaining to baptism or the celebration of baptism, but for another reason and for the most part to the working of miracles, the relation of which is most foreign to a sacrament. The anointing spoken of in 2 Cor. 1:21 and 1 Jn. 2:20 is not external and

material, but mystical and spiritual concerning the gifts of the Holy Spirit with which believers are adorned. If Christ used spittle in curing the blind man miraculously, if he promised white robes to the conqueror, if he commands us to have salt in us (i.e., to deal prudently with all), if virgins are furnished with lamps to denote their watchfulness and faith, the use of ointment, saliva, tapers and white garments in baptism cannot on that account be said to be necessary.

X. As exorcism (while the gift of miracles prevailed) was rightly applied to those possessed by evil spirits, so not without contumely is it applied to the infants of the covenanted, as if they were servants of the Devil, whom Christ receives into his covenant and follows with special benevolence (Mt. 19:14). And since they were called exorcists, not those who had power over unclean spirits, but those who drove them from possessed bodies. Although we should grant that the power to exorcise still remains with the church, it would not follow that it ought to go forth in baptism, as if all infants who are to be baptized are possessed by a devil, as far as regards the body. Hence Chemnitz and after him Gerhard confess that "it would not perhaps be useless to abrogate this indifferent ceremony on account of reasons not to be despised" (cf. Chemnitz, "De Baptismo," *Locorum Theologicorum*, Pt. Ill [1653], p. 148).

XI. So far are the rites added by the Romanists from throwing light upon the things contained in the sacrament itself and placing them in this way as it were before our eyes, so that they are administered with greater reverence and holiness, that on the contrary we believe the sacrament is obscured and corrupted. This is altogether the force and reason of signs, that the more simple they are and the freer from all extraneous parade, the better they are adapted to signify; and the things added beyond the institution, however great a show they may seem to make, are less fitted to signify.

XII. If in the administration of baptism, we add certain things about which neither a precept nor an example is given, they are not parts of the sacrament, nor is a mystery attached to them, or a signification of those effects (which belong to the water of baptism), but honest circumstances of celebration left to ecclesiastical prudence and liberty, which according to emergencies for the preservation of decorum can either be instituted or changed: such as bringing the infant into the temple on the Lord's day or upon another day of assembly; the questioning and answers of those who

undertake for the training of the infant; the imposition of a name and the like. But far different is the nature of the Roman rites, which have an admixture either of impiety or of superstition, which are obtruded under an opinion of necessity and worship, to which some power and efficacy beyond the word of God is attached; or because they contain idle pranks, not contributing to edification, but transforming this sacred act into a theatrical and histrionic spectacle.

XIII. The doctrine of the Romanists concerning baptism can be called true and false (*kat' allo kai allo*) in different respects. True, as to the essence of the institution, the visible element and the word of institution. False, as to the accidental opinions and rites. Nor because it is considered to be true baptism is the truth of the Roman religion on that account rightly proven, no more than the doctrine of the Pharisees and Sadducees was true because they lawfully administered the external rite of circumcision. The doctrines of faith do not always answer to the external correctness of administration. For it can happen by accident (through the fault of those administering) that he who administers lawfully the external sacrament, perverts the sacrament itself by distorted opinions and the faith by deadly errors.

XIV. Hence we properly gather that Roman baptism is not to be repeated. (1) The essence of baptism still remains entire in it. (2) The power and efficacy of baptism do not depend on an erring minister or heretic, but on Christ (Mt. 3:11; 1 Cor. 3:5). (3) There are still remains of the church in the papacy (Rev. 18:4) and God has not yet wholly left that church. Now baptism is proper to the church and is administered for him, although by very corrupt ministers.

XV. But although we do not think that the baptism once performed should be repeated, still we do not think that infant baptism can be sought or received from popish priests without sin. (1) Thus the errors of the Romanists seem to be approved concerning the absolute necessity of baptism and its efficacy *ex opere operato* and the superstitious rites added by men, by which the purity of this sacrament is foully polluted. (2) They who do this profess themselves willing to hold communion with a heretical and idolatrous church, since the end of baptism is no other than to introduce the baptized into the church in which they receive baptism. (3) An Antichristian ministry is thus approved.

XVI. I know that Melanchthon and Bucer think that in a certain case such a baptism can be received without sin on the basis of a certain condition (to wit, if the parents live in a place where an orthodox minister cannot be found; and again, if an express protestation is added against the Roman errors and corruptions at variance with the institution of Christ). But because this cannot be done in the papacy without danger to life, it is better to say simply that it is not lawful; nor ought parents to allow such baptism to be administered to their children; and on this account the more, when they know that for no other reason do Romanists wish to administer baptism to them than to tear them away from the Reformed communion and enroll them as Romanists. What else would it be than to consent voluntarily to the destruction of their infants by permitting them to pass over to an idolatrous communion in which salvation cannot be gained (which no father can allow without grievous sin).

Nineteenth Question: The Efficacy of Baptism

Does baptism take away sins in such a way as that they are not, or only that they do not reign and are not imputed? Does it take away past and present sins only and leave future sins to repentance? Or does it extend itself to sins committed not only before but also after baptism? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists

I. About the efficacy of baptism, two things most especially are questioned between us and the Romanists. These are pointed out by Bellarmine ("De Sacramento Baptismi," 12ff. *Opera* 3:183ff.). The first, concerning sins past and present—whether they are so taken away in baptism that they are not only not imputed, but also are not any more. The other, concerning future sins—whether the virtue of baptism extends also to future sins or whether they are separately destroyed by the sacrament of penitence.

Are sins wholly destroyed by baptism?

II. Concerning the former, the Romanists teach: "Sin is not only remitted, but also taken away in baptism, and whatever has the relation of sin in the

baptized." Concerning the latter, they hold this opinion: "The virtue of baptism does not reach to future sins, but the sacrament of penitence is necessary for their expiation." Thus the Council of Trent expresses it: "If anyone shall say that all the sins which are committed after baptism are either dismissed or made venial by the recollection and faith of the received baptism alone, let him be anathema" (Session 7, Canon 10, Schroeder, p. 54).

III. The opinion of the orthodox is far different. First, they admit no blotting out of sin in baptism, springing *ex opere operato* or from a virtue inherent in it (as was proved before when we considered the efficacy of the sacraments). Second, they say that the efficacy of baptism (taken oppositely for the element and its dispensation) is moral, as has already been set forth; but the efficacy of baptism considered compositely for the sign and thing signified is real with respect to the one receiving it, although it is not restricted to the moment of baptism. Third, they acknowledge in baptism the testification and sealing of the twofold grace promised in the gospel; both of justification (by which sin is taken away as to its guilt so that it is not imputed) and of sanctification (by which its pollution is lessened and corrected that it may no more rule in us in this life; not however that it is not absolutely or exists in us anymore). The grace of justification pardons all our sins: original, actual, past, present and future. However sanctification removes our inherent corruption; not at once, but successively. Since baptism is a sacrament of both, the effects also of both belong to it and in the Scriptures are sacramentally ascribed to it. Hence we gather that the efficacy of baptism is rightly extended to all sins universally, future as well as past and present; also that it in no other way declares and seals to us the removal of sin than that the genuine grace of God works it in us. The sacrament of penitence, however, they deny to be specially ordained for sins after baptism (as will be proved in the proper place).

Statement of the question.

IV. That we may speak distinctly of the twofold question proposed: the statement of the first is not whether the efficacy of baptism is extended only to the nonimputation of sin and not to its being truly taken away (as Bellarmine calumniously charges upon us, as if we maintained that by

baptism it happens only that sin is not imputed and that it is in no way removed, the falsity of which appears from the declaration of our opinion just made); but whether it is so fully and perfectly taken away as not only not to be imputed, but also not to be anymore (which they hold). We deny this and say that sin is taken away by baptism, that it is not imputed, nor does it reign; not also that it ceases to be. Therefore we hold that guilt indeed is fully taken away, but pollution only incipiently and partly.

Proof that sin is not wholly removed by baptism.

V. The reasons are: (1) baptism no otherwise sacramentally and sealingly takes away sin, than the justifying and sanctifying grace of which it is the symbol and seal; but justifying grace takes away sin so that it may not be imputed to us for punishment as to guilt, while sanctifying grace, not that it absolutely does not exist anymore, but only that it does not rule in us (as was seen in the proper place). Therefore baptism ought to take it away in no other way.

VI. (2) If baptism takes away sin altogether (with respect to guilt as well as with respect to pollution so that it ceases to be), every baptized person will be pure and free from all sin, original as well as actual. For what is totally abolished in a subject, remains in no part—the falsity of which is evident both from the Scripture describing to us the condition of the baptized in this life (Rom. 7:14) and from the universal experience of all the baptized, none of whom has been free from the taint of sin in this life (1 K. 8:46, 47; Jam. 3:2; 1 Jn. 1:8) and has not needed the continual desire for sanctification.

VII. (3) Concupiscence always remains in the baptized. This is sin, as has already been proved from Rom. 7:7. Therefore sin is not entirely taken away by baptism, so as not to be, but so as not to be imputed or so as not to rule. In this sense, sin is said to reign no longer in us (Rom. 6:14). And believers walk not after the flesh (i.e., so as to be under its dominion), but after the Spirit (Rom. 8:1).

Sources of explanation.

VIII. When Scripture says that sins are cleansed, purged, destroyed and washed away in baptism (Eph. 5:26; Tit. 3*:5*), this must be understood not physically, but sacramentally; not absolutely with respect to all the baptized, but only with respect to those who believe (Mk. 16:16). The cleansing and blotting out must be understood according to the nature of the thing (with respect indeed to guilt, full and perfect), while with respect to inherent pollution, inchoate and successive as to existence.

IX. Baptism stands related to sin in the same way as circumcision to circumcision of the heart, not of the flesh; for they are thus compared with each other (Col. 2:11, 12), not as sign and thing signified, but as diverse old and new signs, signifying by different figures and rites the same thing sealed. As therefore circumcision of the flesh could not take away sin, so neither does baptism except significatively.

X. Although there is still guilt or pollution in the baptized, it does not follow that it cannot be said not to be imputed, because the judgment of God is according to the truth. Imputation does not take away the internal desert of punishment, but only the external obligation to it. And God by not imputing does not judge the guilt not to be, but pardons what he knows to be guilt.

XI. The grace of sanctification sealed to us by baptism cannot continue with reigning sin, I grant. But nothing hinders it from remaining with indwelling sin, as contraries in a relaxed degree can subsist in the same subject. In this sense, Paul says, With the mind I serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin (Rom. 7:25*); and believers are said to be in the light, who nevertheless are not without sin (1 Jn. 1:7, 8).

Is baptism extended to future sins?

XII. The other question respects the virtue of baptism as to sins after baptism. Romanists are unwilling that baptism should be extended to these; rather they are left to be purged by the sacrament of penitence. However, we maintain that by baptism is sealed to us the remission not only of past and present, but also of future sins; still so that penitence (not a sacramental work and what they invent, but that which is commanded in the gospel) and especially saving faith is not excluded, but is coordinated with baptism as a divinely constituted means of our salvation.

It is proved: (1) from the covenant.

XIII. The reasons are: (1) baptism ought to be such as the gratuitous covenant is by whose grace baptism is efficacious, for baptism and the covenant are mutually related to each other as the sign and the thing signified. But the gratuitous covenant is perpetual, extending to remission of sins not only past and present, but also future (Gen. 17:7; Lev. 26:9; Is. 53:3; Jer. 32:39; Hos. 2:19). If the gratuitous covenant would not suffice for the remission of post-baptismal sins, it would be necessary that that covenant should be multiplied according to the number of sins.

2. Because it is not restricted to certain sins.

XIV. (2) Scripture nowhere restricts baptism to a certain species of sins, but universally and indefinitely refers to all (Mk. 1:4; Lk. 3:3; Acts 2:38; 22:16), past (Tit. 3:5; Gal. 3:27) as well as present (1 Pet. 3:21) and future (Mk. 16:16). Hence we are said to be baptized into the death of Christ (Rom. 6:3). Now the death of Christ expiates not only past, but future sins.

3. From the efficacy of grace.

XV. (3) The efficacy of the grace of God, of the merit of Christ and of baptism ought to be the same according to the condition of individuals. But the grace of God and the merit of Christ are efficacious for the blotting out of all sin, future as well as past and present (as is evident from Rom. 3:24, 25; Acts 13:38, 39; Mt. 1:21; 1 Jn. 1:3).

4. From circumcision.

XVI. (4) The virtue of baptism is not less than that of circumcision. Now circumcision availed also in the future, as is evident from Gen. 17:11, 13. Therefore baptism also can avail.

Sources of explanation.

XVII. When sins committed after baptism are said to be remitted by the memory alone of baptism, a bare and theoretical memory of baptism once received is not meant, but a practical memory partly of penitence, partly of faith. Of penitence, indeed renewed and repeated concerning sins committed after baptism. Of faith, concerning the remission of sins, excited and confirmed by the word of promise and its sacraments. For baptism is perpetual and remains a sacrament of repentance for the remission of sins (Acts 2:38, 39; Lk. 3:3).

XVIII. Although baptism is transient physically, still it remains morally and so can operate morally, inasmuch as its sealing power is not for a moment, but lasts for ever.

XIX. The confession exacted by John from believers (1 Jn. 1:9) is not the sacramental confession of the Romanists (which is whispered into the ears of the priest); but evangelical, which is opposed to neither the merit of Christ, nor to baptism, but subordinated to both. Hence in adults, it is evident that it was conjoined with baptism (Mt. 3:6).

XX. Remission of sins sealed by baptism (viewed definitely, determinately and formally) is only of sins past and present, but nothing prevents it from being also of future sins, indefinitely and virtually.

XXI. Paul, denying that those who were once enlightened, if they fall away, can be renewed again unto repentance (Heb. 6:4, 5), neither speaks properly of baptism, but of the "illumination" (*phōtismō*) which can occur before and after baptism; nor concerning any sin whatsoever committed after illumination, but of the sin unto death committed against the Holy Spirit (which is absolutely unpardonable). Therefore, such cannot be renewed again unto repentance; not because baptism is useless against future sins but because those sinning against the Holy Spirit have done despite to and wholly shaken off the Spirit of repentance and renovation.

XXII. Since remission of sins is no other than what is promised and sealed in baptism, founded on the blood of Christ; nor does the Holy Spirit recall those who have fallen before as well as after baptism to anything else than the satisfaction of Christ set forth on the altar of the cross; nor anywhere distinguishes between those who sin either before or after baptism; in vain is another way invented for obtaining that remission, except that which is sealed to us in baptism. Yea, since repentance is required even in adults with baptism for the remission of antebaptismal sins,

it cannot be called an easier way of reconciliation for them than for those which follow baptism.

XXIII. When the fathers call penitence another plank after the shipwreck, they do not understand this relative to baptism so as to receive penitence as a sacrament in addition to it. But they thus wished to teach the right of ecclesiastical communion and of the sacred Supper (which was lost by grievous and public sin after baptism), not otherwise than by public and canonical penitence to be recovered with respect to men in the church.

XXIV. It belongs to the beneficence of God to abolish sin altogether in man (as also death) and to clothe him with perfect righteousness and immortality; but at what time and by what degrees to accomplish this ought to be left to his wisdom. Nor if God bestows any blessing upon his elect, is that to be ascribed wholly to baptism or to be supposed to happen straightway after baptism or in baptism itself. For it is evident that in adults baptism is posterior to regeneration and many are saved without baptism. Nor on this account is anything taken away from the dignity of baptism, because it stands in the position in which it is placed in the Scriptures. But far more truly is it said that they derogate from the dignity of baptism who suspend its efficacy upon the intention of the minister and if this is absent, the baptism is invalid (also those who restrict its influence to sins before baptism).

XXV. "The death of sin" can be regarded in two ways: either in order to justification (and thus sin perfectly dies because it is perfectly remitted and in no way imputed), or in order to sanctification (and thus sin dies or rather is mortified by degrees). According to each of these relations (*schesin*), we are said in different ways to die with Christ in baptism (Rom. 6:3; Col. 2:11).

XXVI. The promises of cleansing and blotting out sins do not prove that to baptism belongs the power of taking away sins fully. (1) Scripture uses these in the Old Testament before baptism had been instituted. (2) They can be referred best to remission of sins because by it guilt is removed before God and the obligation of the sinner is blotted out of his book (Col. 2:14). (3) If they are referred to sanctification, their fulfillment ought not to take place at the same time and together, but gradually and successively. Otherwise it would follow that sinlessness (*anamartēsian*) is promised to the pious, which belongs to no one in this life.

XXVII. There ought not to be in all respects the same relation of the spiritual effects of baptism, as is the relation of the corporeal effects of the preceding antitype, such as circumcision, the Red Sea, and the like were. For a sign can be similar in certain things, not in everything; relatively, not absolutely. Therefore although circumcision truly cut off the foreskin and the Red Sea drowned the Egyptians, it does not follow that sins are wholly removed by baptism so that they are not. It suffices that they are wholly removed as to guilt and gradually as to stain.

Twentieth Question: Infant Baptism

Should the infants of covenanted believers be baptized? We affirm against the Anabaptists

The origin of the controversy.

I. A renewal of the controversy in a former age was occasioned by the Anabaptists, who began to oppose infant baptism. Hence they obtained the name of Anabaptists or Catabaptists on account of their repudiation of baptism received in infancy and repetition of the same in adult age. They are usually denominated Anabaptists from the repetition of baptism on those who have once been baptized, whether with respect to infants already baptized or with respect to adults. For they pass from one sect of their family to another (whom they rebaptize) that they may receive them into the communion of their assembly. However, they are called Catabaptists from their disapproval of baptism especially in infants. Under this name more generally come all the despisers of baptism, who consider its use in the church of Christ (which now is) either void or indifferent.

Statement of the question.

II. We remark, first, that the question does not concern all infants, even those of infidels and pagans; but only those of the covenanted and Christians. For as to the former, we acknowledge that they neither can nor ought to be baptized, except after previous instruction and in adult age (to wit, when they can give a reason for their faith). Second, that we do not

treat of the absolute necessity of baptism, such as the Romanists assert and we have refuted already. Rather we treat of the hypothetical necessity of the command, so that the question is, Are the infants of Christians (one or both of whose parents are Christians) to be baptized because Christ thus commanded and because by baptism graciously, yet freely, God is accustomed to be efficacious in testifying and sealing grace? The Anabaptists deny this; we affirm it resting upon the following arguments.

Infant baptism is proved: (1) from the command of Christ.

III. (1) From the command of Christ. This was commanded by Christ, if not in so many words (*kata to rhēton*), yet equivalently and as to the sense: "Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them" (Mt. 28:19, 20). It is evident (a) because he who commands all nations to be baptized also commands infants to be baptized; for a precept concerning a genus includes all its species. (b) The design of Christ is to teach the manner of collecting and conserving the church in the world until the end of time and to prescribe it to the apostles and their successors. Now as the church consists of infants as well as of adults, so that manner has reference to both, but according to the condition of each: that adults should be taught before they are baptized, while infants should first be baptized as covenanted and Christian, but afterwards be taught in their own time. (c) From the antithesis, for "all nations" are opposed to all the Jews and them alone, as the difference between the Old and New Testaments demands, where infants as well as adults were circumcised. Therefore by parity the relation of baptism ought to be the same. (d) From the custom of the apostles, by which they declare the meaning of the precept and approve it by their practice, while they baptized entire families (i.e., parents with their children, Acts 16:15, 33; 18:8; 1 Cor. 1:16).

IV. Nor ought it to be objected that Christ puts instruction before baptism and so speaks of adults, who can be instructed, and not of infants ("teach [*mathēteusate*]," he says). Although Christ placed teaching before baptism, this must be referred to the baptism of adults, of which first and especially he was speaking in reference to the state of the primeval church to be

constituted of adults. Therefore, here we must distinguish between the church to be constituted and constituted. In the former, adults were to be taught before they were baptized; but in the constituted, infants were to be baptized before they were taught. The predicates are such as they are permitted to be by their subjects; infants are not capable of instruction, therefore it does not pertain to them. In the meantime, the command of Christ is to be understood analogically of infants from the nature of the covenant and the perpetual use of the church from Abraham (Gen. 17:19*). The verb *mathēteuein* (used by Christ) properly is not so much to teach by preaching as "to make disciples." This is done also by the administration of baptism, which is a sacrament of initiation and the first entrance into the church and family of Christ. Thus *mathētas poiein* (Jn. 4:1) is not simply to teach, but to make disciples and to receive into a profession of discipline; as among the Jews disciples were often made, not who were already taught, but that they might be taught. Hence the heathen to Hillelm (?Hillel): "Make me a proselyte that you may teach me." That this is to be so understood is proved by the verb *didaskein* (which is added), which would seem to be tautological unless *to mathēteuein* is referred to something else than simple instruction and doctrine.

2. From the covenant.

V. (2) From the covenant. The seals of the covenant also pertain to those to whom the covenant of God pertains. Now it is evident that the covenant pertains to infants from the clause of the covenant: "I will be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee" (Gen. 17:7); "The promise is unto you, and to your children" (Acts 2:39). I confess indeed that the covenant of God has reference primarily and principally to adults because every such covenant consists of a reciprocal agreement which ought to be voluntary on both sides; and it teaches the wisdom of God that a covenant should be formed with perfect men who can exercise the operations of the moral faculties. But this does not prevent it from pertaining to infants also. (a) From the order of God, because he thus wished his grace to be extended from parents to their children. (b) From the nature of the thing, because children are a part of parents and of the same condition with them. (c) Among men pacts embrace the children of the contracting parties; therefore also in God's covenant. (d)

Because to infants belongs the thing signified (to wit, remission of sins, regeneration, the kingdom of heaven); therefore also the sign. For if what is greater is communicated to them, how can that which is less be denied to them? Thus Peter argues, "Can any man forbid water to these, to whom the Holy Spirit has been given?" (Acts 10:47).

VI. To no purpose is the reply: (1) "Hence it would follow that the Lord's Supper should also be administered to infants because the thing signified belongs to them." Although the same thing is signified in both, still there is a difference in the manner of signifying. In the Supper, the grace of Christ is sealed by way of solid food, which infants are not capable of receiving; but in baptism, it is signified by way of the washing of regeneration, which they are (Jn. 3:5). Again, the Supper demands a twofold condition: a preceding in examination; a concomitant in a commemoration of the death of Christ, both of which presuppose the use of reason. Neither is required in baptism; thus formerly the Passover was distinguished from circumcision—that the latter was administered to infants and the former to adults alone. (2) "It is added that infants are not capacious of the grace of regeneration, nor of the other blessings of the covenant which are accustomed to be conferred by the Spirit through the word." But it is gratuitously supposed that they are not capacious of the blessing of the covenant. For who denies that they are capacious of the remission of sins and of Christ's redemption, and of the other benefits which depend upon the covenant into which infants are received? Who can doubt that baptism (with respect to these) is able to be a distinctive sign (introducing into the visible church) and a seal both of the divine truth in the federal promises and of our obligation to mutual duty? For if they are not capable of obligation in the present, they can be in the future. As to regeneration, however, why should infants not be capable of regeneration as they are of sin (unless we say that guilt has more power than grace)? And as they are rational (although they do not put forth an act of reason), what hinders them from being called holy and believers by the Holy Spirit given to them, although they cannot as yet exert an act of faith?

3. From circumcision.

VII. (3) By parity, the necessity of baptism is the same as that of circumcision. Now circumcision was to be administered to infants according to the command of God. Therefore also infant baptism. The truth of the major is proved (a) because baptism is put in the place of circumcision and succeeds it in the New Testament (from Col. 2:12, where Paul discovers circumcision in baptism). (b) From the end of each—circumcision was a sacrament of initiation that they might be received into the covenant; baptism is the same. (c) From the thing signified by each, which is the internal circumcision of the heart and the grace of regeneration. (d) The grace of God is not diminished and restricted in the New Testament, but rather enlarged. If therefore the infantile age is an obstacle in baptism on account of the defect of reason, there was the same impediment in circumcision. For if the blessings of God were not even then fruitlessly offered by circumcision, why should the same not be thought of baptism? Nor is it to be said either that "the circumcision of infants was expressly commanded, but not infant baptism." It is one thing to be contained expressly; another implicitly in a general command (as we said before). Or that "the argument does not proceed rightly because there are various differences between circumcision and baptism." The analogy of both sacraments ought to be attended to not in all, but in the principal condition related to the confirmation of the gratuitous covenant and declared in the New Testament (to wit, that both sacraments were a sign of the covenant, a symbol of initiation and a badge of profession, by which anciently the Jews were distinguished from the Gentiles and now Christians are distinguished from unbelievers). The differences (usually adduced) are of another kind which do not touch the very essence of the sacrament and its end.

4. Because infants belong to the kingdom of heaven.

VIII. (4) Because to infants belongs the kingdom of heaven according to the declaration of Christ: "Little children were brought unto Christ, that he should put his hands on them and pray" (Mt. 19:13*). Since the disciples would repel them, Christ said, "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me for of such is the kingdom of heaven" (Mt. 19:14). It is

confirmed from this—that he is said "to have taken them up in his arms [*enankalisasthai*]," by his blessing and prayers commended them to God. Now if it was right for infants to be brought to Christ, why not also to be received to baptism, the symbol of our communion with Christ? Why should the church not receive into her bosom those whom Christ received into his? How unjust we should be to drive away those whom he willingly received. Nor are they to be heard who hold that "they are called little children on account of their humility, not age." For they are meant who were brought to Christ and whom he embraced in his arms; such were not called infants mystically as to humility, but properly as to age. It is true, when he called a little child unto him and set him in the midst of them saying, "Except ye become as this child, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Mt. 18:2, 3*), Christ refers to spiritual infancy or humility and innocence. But it is another story related in Mt. 19, where it refers to the presentation of little children (as also in Lk. 18:15); for there children pretty well grown up cannot be understood because they are called *brephē* (Lk. 18:15). However, *brephos* is an infant still in the cradle, somewhat delicate and for the most part sucking (Lk. 1:41, 44; Lk. 2:12; 1 Pet. 2:2). For they are said to have been brought to Christ (*prosepheron auto*) and Christ is said to have taken them up in his arms. Nor is it an objection that they are said "to come," because this is taken broadly for "to be admitted." Nor if Christ is said only to have prayed for and to have laid his hands on them and not formally to have baptized them, does it follow that it does not avail for their baptism. Because (by parity) if hands could be placed upon them by Christ, why could they not also have been baptized?

5. Because the children of believers are holy.

IX. (5) Because the children of believers are holy; therefore they ought to be baptized. For since they have the thing signified, they cannot and ought not to be deprived of the sign (Acts 10:47). "The unbelieving wife," says the apostle, "is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean; but now are they holy" (1 Cor. 7:14). They are called holy, however, not because they are legitimate (as some suppose), because he was not speaking of that and nothing would thus be ascribed to them above the children of unbelievers, who can also be legitimate. But they are said to be holy by a

federal holiness (i.e., Christians and belonging to the church). Therefore *akatharton* and *hagion* here designate heathen and Christian (in which sense the word *qdhvshh* is often used by the Talmudists). "Offspring" is said to be "begotten in holiness" or "out of holiness" (i.e., when the parents were made proselytes or while they were still heathen). The children (*tekna*) of the Gentiles were unclean (*akatharta*) to them (from Acts 10:28) and of the Jews holy (*hagia*), to which meaning (well known to the nation) allusion is made.

6. Because nothing prevents the baptism of infants.

X. (6) Because no impediment can be given, why baptism should not be conferred upon infants. Neither on the part of God, who does not wish to exclude infants, but calls them to him and declares that of such is the kingdom of heaven. Nor on the part of the sacrament, because all the essentials of baptism can be granted to them. Nor on the part of the minister, because he can sprinkle an infant no less than an adult. Nor on the part of the recipient, because it is a subject receptive (*dektikon*) of grace. The objections are solved in the sources of explanation.

7. From the fathers.

XI. (7) Because the fathers acknowledged the necessity of infant baptism and approved its propriety by their practice. Justin Martyr mentions it ("Quaestiones et Responiones ad Orthodoxos," Q. 56 in *Opera quae feruntur omnia* [ed. J.C.T. de Otto, 1881], v. 3, Pt. 2, p. 81); cf. Origen (*Commentariorum in Epistolam ... ad Romanos* 5.8 [PG 14.1037–42]), Cyprian (Letter 58, "To Fidus" [ANF 5:353–54]), Jerome (*Against the Pelagians* 3.18 [NPNF2, 6:482]), Cyril of Alexandria (*Glaphyrorum in Leviticum* [PG 69.558–62]). Augustine, often, where he relates that the Pelagians had not dared to deny the baptism of infants because they saw too clearly that this would place them in opposition to the whole church (*The Literal Meaning of Genesis* 10.23 [ACW 42:127]; *On Original Sin* 2.44 [40] [NPNF1, 5:253–54]; *On Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism* 1.35 [25*] [NPNF1, 5:30]). The same thing was confirmed also by many decrees of Synods: of Carthage, in the year 418* (Hefele, 2:458); of Mileve, in the

year 402* (cf. Canon 5, Hefele, 2:429); of Gerunda in the year 517* (cf. Canon 5, Hefele, 4:105) and of others which Pamelius in his notes to Cyprian notices ("Epistola LXIV," *Opera* [1682], pp. 158–60).

Sources of explanation.

XII. There was no need that a particular precept concerning the baptism of infants should be given because it was known to the disciples that infants were circumcised. It therefore sufficed that there was a general command to baptize all nations, under which the particular is contained.

XIII. The baptism of Christ (performed when he was in his thirtieth year) cannot overthrow infant baptism. All the acts of Christ (which do not pertain to doctrine) are not forthwith to be imitated; otherwise baptism would have to be received only in the thirtieth year (which however our opponents do not say). There was a peculiar reason for his waiting until that time; not only because only in the preceding year was the baptism of John instituted, but also on account of the type of the Levitical priests (who although received in their twenty-fifth year into the priestly college, before their thirtieth year were not admitted to the exercise of their office). Christ (not needing baptism) could safely put it off. But our case is different, we being conceived and born in sin.

XIV. John admitted no one to baptism unless he confessed his sins because he was dealing with the baptism of adults and those called to the Christian church. But it does not follow that the same should be done with infants who are already in the church.

XV. A sign whose virtue depends on the disposition of the receiving subject differs from one whose virtue depends on the promise of the institutor. The former sign is to no purpose applied to one not understanding it; but it is not so with the latter (such as baptism and circumcision). Again, a subject receptive of the sign differs from one perceptive of it also; infants can be the former, although not the latter. Third, a sign is useless applied to one not understanding, or about to understand (which cannot be said of an infant).

XVI. Baptism is called the sacrament of repentance; not because it requires that beforehand in everyone to be baptized, but because it binds the

baptized to the desire of it, whether in the present (when they are capable of it) or in the future.

XVII. Sacraments without faith in the user are said to be empty ceremonies with regard to adults; not with regard to infants, in whom (for a salutary use of baptism) the promise is sufficient and the grace of the covenant (which is sealed on the part of God), even though as yet there is not an answer and restipulation on the part of the baptized (as is evident in circumcision, Gen. 17:7).

XVIII. The cause of infant baptism is not the actual faith of infants, of which they are no more capable than of that instruction by which the disciples of Christ are taught (Mt. 28:19). But it is both the universal command to baptize all the members of the church and the promise of the covenant made to parents and to their children equally (Acts 2:38, 39; Gen. 17*:7). The same thing must be said of the faith of covenanted infants as of their reason. Each is in them in the first act, not in the second; in the sowing, not in the harvest; in the root, not in the fruit; in the internal power of the Spirit, not in the external demonstration of work.

XIX. The term "unbeliever" is used either negatively or positively. In the former sense, he is called an unbeliever who, although without the saving habit of acting faith, still is not infected with the contrary habit of unbelief. In the latter sense, he is an unbeliever who is not only devoid of true faith, but also labors under a habit of unbelief either because he does not actually believe or because he exerts an act of unbelief. Either antecedently and objectively or consequently and terminatively; either who is without the act of faith or who is also without its principle. The infants of believers can be called unbelievers negatively, not positively; antecedently and objectively from the thing before grace, but not consequently and terminatively as to act because they cannot believe; but not as to principle and root, because they can have the Holy Spirit, with which to believe in his own time. But since from the common use, unbelief is taken positively, infants are with less propriety said to be unbelievers.

XX. Infants cannot be capable of active sanctification or conversion (as to the sense and knowledge of the blessing); but they can be capacious of passive regeneration, as to the principle and the impression of the divine image, which ought to exert itself in its own time. And although it cannot be conceived by us how that grace operates in infants, its truth is not on that

account to be denied. No more than the fact that even though we cannot perceive how sin can be in the soul, still this is nonetheless true. The work of God (although not coming under our comprehension) is not on that account unreal. If infants who are to be saved bring with them from their mother's womb inborn corruption, they must be purged of it before they can be admitted into the kingdom of God, into which nothing polluted enters. The way is as easy and prompt to God as it is incomprehensible and wonderful to us.

XXI. Baptism (with respect to true believers) seals saving grace because it is connected with the internal baptism of the Spirit. But with respect to hypocrites, it does not have the accompanying grace of the Spirit, but is only a badge of profession by which they are distinguished from Jews, Turks and other unbelievers. And then it is administered, not from the force of election, but by reason of the general dispensation by which God determined by the word of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments to gather to himself a church, and by certain signs and marks to distinguish it from other and profane assemblies. Thus the doctrine of perseverance is not at all endangered here, which remains constant with respect to the elect.

XXII. No one is regenerated without his own act consequently. Thus the newborn does not elicit the act of regeneration (I grant it); with his own act antecedently (I deny it), because we are passive in the beginning of regeneration.

XXIII. Although the custom prevailed among many of the ancients of postponing baptism to a more advanced age (yea, even until death, deceived by the common error of that time, that after baptism a life free from all lapses was required and that no other expiation was afterwards left to delinquents), it does not follow that infant baptism was not practiced. The contrary appears from the continual practice of the church brought down from the age of the apostles. Nor ought the usage of certain churches or the decree of certain councils (such as Canon 7 of the Neocaesarean Council, in which it is determined that "the baptism of infants is not only unnecessary, but neither allowable nor lawful"+) to be opposed to the practice of all antiquity.

XXIV. It is absurd to wrest to infants what is said in the Scriptures concerning adults to be baptized. As if, since they are forbidden to eat who

do not work (2 Thess. 3:10), even infants are commanded to be destroyed because they can no more seek food by labor than baptism by a profession of faith. Thus also the infants of the Jews would have been prohibited from circumcision, since both are a sign of faith and repentance.

XXV. They who cry out that the perfect symbols of Christ ought to be given only to the perfect or to those capable of perfection, falsely restrict that perfection (which is sacramentally afforded in baptism) to that very moment (whose virtue extends itself through the whole course of life even up to death). And they foolishly seek on the first day, the perfection in man to which baptism invites us through our whole life by continual degrees.

XXVI. What is said by some ("Infants are baptized in the faith of their parents") does not mean that what is in adults is imputed to infants or answers for infants; both because each one lives by his own faith and because if the parents should be hypocrites, their infants would be excluded from salvation. But the faith of parents bears this relation—that they bring their children to be baptized from the faith by which they believe that the gospel promises belong to them and to their children; again, that by it they obtain the grace of God for their children (?Mk. 7:19).

Twenty-First Question: The Holy Supper

What is the holy Supper and by what names is it specially distinguished in the Scriptures as well as among the ancients?

The mystery of the holy Supper involved in various controversies.

I. The other sacrament of the New Testament is the holy Supper, in which, by the distribution and reception of broken bread and poured-out wine, is declared and sealed to believers the communion of the body of Christ broken for them on the cross and of his blood shed for them unto eternal life. The more illustrious and of greater moment to the consolation of believers this mystery of the Christian religion is, with so much the greater violence has Satan always endeavored to obscure and corrupt it in order to deprive the church of this inestimable treasure. Hence it has happened that

in no part of religion have such prolix and animated disputations been raised up, so that at length the Romanists seem to have constituted the sum of theology in this article, nor is there anything in theology or philosophy which they have not brought to bear upon this and compelled to serve their purpose.

Various names by which it is usually expressed: (1) the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 11:20).

II. It is denoted by various names both in the Scriptures and by ancient and more modern authors. First, the Scriptures call it the "Lord's Supper" (*deipnon kyriakon*, 1 Cor. 11:20). It is called a Supper, indeed, by reason of the time because it was first instituted and celebrated in the evening and substituted for the paschal supper. Hence the name was retained, although in later times it might be celebrated not in the evening but in the morning before any food was taken; as feasts in the sacred affairs of the Gentiles were called *deipna* rather than *arista*. It is called "the Lord's" from the Lord, who is its author, matter and end. For Christ immediately instituted it to celebrate the memory of his death and to give the communion of his body and blood to believers.

III. Falsely, however, do our opponents agitate a controversy with us here about this name, as if it is improperly referred by us to the Eucharist, since it belongs rather to the love feasts of the Christians, which were usually celebrated at that time. Maldonatus does this (*Commentary on the Holy Gospels: Matthew* [1888], 2:392 on Mt. 26*:26). He endeavors to prove that "this term for the sacrament, neither is found anywhere in the Scriptures, nor is ever used by the fathers." Yea, he affirms that "the fathers thought it wrong to call this sacrament a Supper, but Calvinists," says he, "without the authority of the Scriptures, without the example of ancient authors, without reason, injudiciously call it a supper." But with what bad faith he acts (through excess of opposition [*ametrian tēs antholkēs*]) is evident even from this—that the Catechism of Trent retains the word and acknowledges that it was employed by the fathers. "The most ancient fathers," says it, "having followed the authority of the apostles, sometimes called the holy Eucharist by the name of Supper also because it was

instituted by Christ, the Lord, at that mystery of the last Supper" (*Catechism of the Council of Trent* [trans. J.A. McHugh, 1923], p. 215). Baronius confesses "that the word was used by the ancients, but the more modern have abused it." Vasquez in like manner acknowledges that "the ancients employed it, but we must now abstain from it, lest terms may be held in common with heretics." How falsely, however, he asserts that the fathers never called the Eucharist thus, even Chrysostom alone can teach. The latter interprets *kyriakon deipnon* by *despotikon* ("master's Supper") and wishes tremendous mysteries (*taphrikta mystēria*) to be denoted by that name, thus designating the Supper of the Lord ("Homily 27," *Homilies on First Corinthians* [NPNF1, 12:159; PG 61.227] on 1 Cor. 11:20).

IV. Now although we do not deny that love feasts (by which Christians testified their mutual love) were added to the celebration of the holy Supper, it does not follow that the Eucharist was not properly designated by this name. For from a comparison with v. 25, it is evident that Christ celebrated the Eucharist while at Supper, for he is said to have taken the sacramental cup "while they were eating" (*meta to deipnēsai*). Nor, if the apostle rebukes the abuses which sprang up among the Corinthians at those feasts, which were added to the celebration of the Eucharist (such as were want of charity, contempt of the poor, intemperance and gluttony), can it be hence gathered that under the term Supper he wished to designate such feasts only and not also the Eucharist itself. For his design was no other than to prescribe to them the proper manner of celebrating this mystery.

2. Eucharistia *and* eulogia.

V. Second, it is called *eulogia* and *eucharistia* by Paul (1 Cor. 10:16), where he calls the sacramental cup "the cup of blessing which we bless" (*to potērion tēs eulogias ho eulogoumen*). For Christ, having taken the bread and wine, is said to "have blessed them and given thanks" (*eulogēsai kai eucharistēsai*). Hence the whole action is called *eulogia* and *eucharistia*. The "cup of blessing" (*eulogias*) answers to the paschal cup by which the feast was closed, which was called "the cup of praise" (*kvs chll; potērion hymnēseōs*). Hence in the Greek liturgies this is said to be "a sacrifice of praise" (*thysia aineseōs*). However, this *eulogia* or "blessing" refers to two things: God and the sacred symbols. (1) God is blessed and thanks are given

to him for the illustrious benefit by which he slew us in Christ. Chrysostom most excellently sets this forth on this passage: "When I say blessing, I unfold all the treasure of the beneficence of God and those great gifts and unspeakable benefits I recall to memory; for we are also commemorating at that cup the unspeakable benefits of God and whatever we have obtained, so keep ourselves in mind of it and communicate to each other, giving thanks because he has freed the race of men from error" ("Homily 24," *Homilies on First Corinthians* [NPNF1, 12:139; PG 61.199] on 1 Cor. 10:16). And Theophylact: "The cup of blessing (i.e., of the Eucharist) since holding it in our hands we praise him and give him thanks who poured out his blood for us and condescended to bestow unspeakable blessings on us" (*Expositio in Epistolam I ad Corinthios* [PG 124.683, 686] on 1 Cor. 10:16). (2) The symbols themselves are blessed (i.e., they are consecrated and sanctified to sacred uses). After "having blessed the bread," Christ "brake it." Therefore the blessing (*to eulogein*) and the consecrating (*to hagiazein*) under this notion are the same. Everywhere in the fathers *to hagiazein* is said of signs when they are consecrated for the use of a sacrament. Hence *to hagiasmata* are among the names of the Eucharist with them. *Eulogia* is sometimes taken for the whole action of the Eucharist; sometimes the single pieces or particles (which are handed to the communicants) are called *eulogiai*. Thus also they termed the parts of the consecrated bread which it was customary in the primitive church to send to other parishes (as to travellers) for the purpose of declaring their love and agreement in the faith. This was changed afterwards in the Council of Laodicea, Canon 14 (cf. Hefele, 2:308–9).

3. Trapeza.

VI. Third, it is called the "table of the Lord" (*trapeza kyriou*). "Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils" (1 Cor. 10:21). It is called the "table" by a metonymy of the container for the contents because it was celebrated on or upon a table, where the sacred symbols were placed. Hence it is gathered that altars were then unknown as yet. It is called "the table of the Lord" both because the Lord is its author who prepares it (Prov. 9:1, 2) and because he is the food itself, which is placed upon that table (to wit, the flesh itself of the Lord). It is opposed to "the table of devils" which

was strewed in an idol temple for the idolatrous feasts of the heathen, in which the flesh of victims immolated to idols and under the devils themselves was placed. He says believers cannot be partakers of both tables (i.e., rightly and with a good conscience, that it is not suitable or becoming on account of the utter repugnancy existing between Christ and devils, 2 Cor. 6:16). In this sense, he said they could not "drink the cup of the Lord" (i.e., instituted by the Lord and which is drunk in honor of the Lord) and the cup of devils (which is drunk in honor of devils). Moreover this sacred table is distinguished by the ancients with various epithets. "A fearful and mystical table," it is called by Chrysostom (*Homiliae in Genesin* 1 [PG 53.26]), "a royal table" (Homily 24, *Homilies on First Corinthians* [NPNF1, 12:141; PG 61.201]), "immortal and divine" (frequently); "a rational table" by Theodoret (*Sermo. 6. de Provid*.+), and also by others.

4. Koinōnia.

VII. Fourth, "the communion" (*koinōnia*) from Paul (1 Cor. 10:16). "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?" Here Paul does not properly give this name to the Supper, but explains the nature and end of this mystery by saying that the sacred symbols are the communion of the body and blood of Christ (i.e., that it was instituted to seal to us the communion of the body and blood of Christ). Hence the fathers everywhere signified the whole of this action by the name of Communion (*koinōnias*). In Dionysius the Areopagite, this title is prefixed to chapter 3 of his *Celestial Hierarchy:* "The Mystery of the Communion" (*Mystērion synaxeōs heitoun koinōnias;* cf. *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works* [trans. C. Luibheid, 1987], p. 210). Chrysostom calls it "the spiritual and fearful communion of mysteries" (Homily 10, *Homilies on John* [NPNF1, 14:37; PG 59.77] on Jn. 1:11). Now it is rightly so called: (a) on account of the union of believers with Christ and with each other, sealed in this sacrament; (b) on account of communion with his death and benefits; (c) because it was formerly set before all believers in common in their assemblies.

5. Breaking of bread, Acts 2:42.

VIII. Fifth, “the breaking of bread” (*klasis artou*, Acts 2:42). The disciples are said to have continued steadfastly in the apostles’ doctrine “and fellowship and in breaking of bread” (*tē koinōnia kai tē klasei tou artou*) (i.e., in the communion of broken bread or in the communion which is made by the breaking of bread). That not common but sacred and eucharistical bread is thus denoted appears both from the Syrian interpreter (who translates it in “the breaking of the Eucharist”) and from a comparison with Acts 20:7, where the disciples are said to have come together “to break bread” (*tou klasai arton*) (i.e., to the celebration of the Lord’s Supper). It is so called from the rite of Christ, who “broke the bread”; not because it should be administered in one species only (as the Romanists of our day maintain, the falsity of which can be proved by many arguments, as will be done in the proper place), but synecdochically, according to the Hebrew style, which by a common locution is accustomed to denote a feast by the breaking of bread. “To break bread with anyone” is to take a meal (*syndeipnein*) with him, as the Greeks are accustomed to designate the whole action of a feast from the other part (viz., drinking [*to symposion*]). Further “the bread” is said “to be broken” rather than to be cut because the Hebrews used little cakes which were broken rather than cut with a knife. This appellation occurs frequently in the fathers.

6. Synaxis.

7. Leitourgia.

IX. Besides these appellations drawn from the Scriptures, many others are found in the fathers and ecclesiastical writers; such as *synaxis*, because this sacrament was ordinarily administered in the public assemblies of the church; *leitourgia*, because it is not the last part of the public sacred ministry. *Leitourgia* in general is any public work even publicly done. *Leitourgein* is to perform public duties. Thence, according to the usage of the church, the common word is transferred to divine things and has: (a) at one time a broader and improper signification concerning any religious duty —“to minister in carnal things” (*leitourgein en tois sarkikois*, Rom. 15:27), i.e., to help the poor (also 2 Cor. 9:12, where it denotes beneficence towards the poor); (b) a narrower and a proper signification in general for

performing a sacred function in the church—as it is taken in Heb. 10:11 concerning the priests of the Old Testament, who are said *leitourgein* ("to minister"). Thus Christ is called a "minister of the sanctuary" (*leitourgos tōn hagiōn*, Heb. 8:2). In this sense, the preaching of the gospel is said by Paul to be *a leitourgia* (Rom. 15:16). Hence *leitourgiai* among the ancients denoted certain descriptions of the order to be observed in celebrating sacred things: such as those which in our day are carried around under the titles of Peter, James, Andrew, etc. In particular, the word was afterwards used to denote all service performed in connection with the holy Supper Hence Justinian, describing the sacred service (*hieran leitourgian*), enumerates two parts of it: recitation of the holy Supper and communion (*Corpus Iuris Civilis, III: Novellae* 7.11 [Kroll, 1988], p. 61). But although this word is sometimes referred by the ancients to the Supper, yet falsely do our opponents seek an argument hence for the sacrifice of the Mass, as if it occurred in the Scriptures (Acts 13:2). Coton urges this and after him Veronus and other missionary sophists, [i] Nowhere in the Scriptures is the word *leitourgia* restricted to the celebration of the Supper, but it refers in general to sacred service, [ii] The words of Luke do not treat of a sacrifice, but of the ministry of the gospel to which they called Barnabas and Paul, and of the fasting and prayers by which they consecrated them to it. [iii] The Vulgate version has *ministrantibus illis Domino*. Lyra explains it: "in good works according to their degrees and office" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria* [1617], 6:1124 on Acts 13:2). Biblia Salmanti: "since they would work for the Lord, which is explained in the notes by preaching the gospel." Cajetan: "A species of ministry is not unfolded, but from this, that he had said there were in that church prophets and teachers, it is insinuated that they ministered to the Lord by prophesying and teaching" (*Opera omnia quotquot in Sacrae Scripturae* [1639], 4:456 on Acts 13:3). Justiniani, on this passage: "I cannot approve what I see greatly pleases many—that the Greek word *leitourgein* put absolutely in the holy writings, should be understood of a sacred ministry and sacrifice" ("De Apostolatu," *In omnes B. Pauli epistolas explanationum* [1612–13], 1:8).

8. Thysia.

X. It is also often called *thysia*, a "sacrifice." And with various epithets, "a holy sacrifice" (*hagia thysia*), "a fearful and mystical sacrifice" (*phriktē kai mystikē thysia*), "a bloodless sacrifice" (*anaimaktos thysia*), "a reasonable sacrifice" (*logikē thysia*). The reasons are not because they thought it was properly called a propitiatory (*hilastikon*) sacrifice (which was farthest from their mind, as will be proved in the appropriate place); but principally on these four grounds: (a) in it there was a gathering and offering of alms, of bread and wine, etc., which are a spiritual sacrifice, from which the very symbols in the communion of the Eucharist were taken and alms collected for the poor. (b) It is a representation and commemoration of the sacrifice offered on the cross, which therefore they call a bloodless sacrifice (*anaimakton thysian*) because it represents a bloody sacrifice; cf. Eusebius, *Proof of the Gospel* 1.10 (trans. W.J. Ferrar, 1920), 1:54–62; and Theodoret, *Interpretatio Epistolae ad Hebraeos* (PG 82.734–38) on Heb. 8. (c) It is a eucharistic sacrifice of praise and blessing which we offer to God in token of gratitude for the work of redemption. (d) According to the ancient style, every religious action by which we consecrate anything to God for his glory and our salvation is called a sacrifice. Augustine: "A true sacrifice is every work which we do in order that we may remain united to God, that we may be perfectly happy" (CG 10.6 [FC 14:125; PL 41.283]).

9. Agapē.

XI. The name of "love feast" is also given to it. Tertullian: "Our Supper shows the reason for itself from the name, for it is called *Agapē*, which with the Greeks means love" (*Apology* 39 [FC 10:101; PL 1.538]). The *Agapae* were the brotherly feasts of ecclesiastical assemblies, concerning which Jude says of profane seducers, "these are spots in your feasts of charity" (*en tais agapais hymōn spilades*, Jd. 12). On this passage Oecumenius says, "There were still at that time tables spread in the churches, which they also called love feasts" (*Commentariorum in Epistolam Judae* 2 [PG 119.715] on Jd. 12). The design was either general, that mutual love among Christians might be cherished by them (as the name itself proves); or special, that the poor might be helped by that refreshment (as Chrysostom observes on this passage+). Because the celebration of the holy Supper was connected with them, on this account the name love feast was given to it. At

first, indeed, they preceded the use of the holy Supper, as appears from 1 Cor. 11:20, where Paul rebukes the abuse which prevailed among the Corinthians. For these feasts were not common, but each one ate by himself what he had brought from home, the rich despising the poor. However, Paul wishes all to eat in common, so that the rich may assist the poor with their abundance; otherwise he teaches that they would sin grievously against the command of Christ, nor celebrate the Lord's Supper rightly and justly. But in the following times, the love feasts were celebrated after the holy Supper. This seems to be gathered from the Council of Carthage, held in the time of Aurelius, which decreed that "the sacraments of the altar should be celebrated only by fasting men" (Canon 29*, cf. Lauchert, p. 167; also Chrysostom, "Homily 27," *Homilies on First Corinthians* [NPNF1, 12:162]). But on account of various abuses, these public love feasts having been removed from the temples (as Canon 28 of the Council of Laodicea indicates: "It is not right to hold love feasts so-called in the basilicas or churches, nor to eat in the house of God," Hefele 2:315), the name remained in ecclesiastical use. Thus the feasts prepared for refreshing the poor and strangers were called *agapai*. The Greeks of this day are said to preserve traces of this custom. On the sacred day of the Lord's resurrection, after the sacred communion of the mysteries, viands having been brought into the church, they partake of them in common and sing a solemn song almost in these words, *Christos haneste ek nekrōn, thanatō thanaton patēsas, kai tēn en tois mnēmasi zōēn charisamenos* ("Christ arose from the dead, trampling death by death, and bestowed life upon those who were in the grave"), as we gather from the liturgies of Cassander. This use of love feasts among the modern Greeks, the celebrated Antony Leger (now in heaven [*ho makaritēs*], before a most faithful pastor in this church and a most meritorious professor in the Theological School, our closely attached colleague), while he was living in Constantinople with the Belgian ambassador reported that he had often observed, especially "in the distribution *tōn eulogiōn*, that is, of the blessed bread and wine."

10. Mystery.

XII. "Mystery" (*mystērion*) is also most frequently employed to designate this sacrament. For although in general it may be applied to all the heads of

the Christian religion and in particular to the sacraments, which thereupon are set forth by "holy and pure mysteries" (*hagia kai achranta mystēria*); yet for a peculiar reason it is said of the Supper on account of the mystical participation of the body and blood of Christ, which far surpasses our highest comprehension. Hence *metalambanein* and *metechein mystēriōn* with them mean to partake of the holy Supper; nor are they called only mysteries, but with various epithets—"divine" (*theia*), "wonderful" (*thaumastika*), "vivifying" (*zōopoia*), "holy" (*hagia*), "perfective" (*telestika*), "fearful" (*phrikta phrikōdestata*), "hidden" (*aporrēta*) and the like.

XIII. Many other words were used by the Greeks to designate this sacrament; such as *ta hagiasmata* in the liturgy of Basil; *metechein tōn hagiasmatōn* means "to become a partaker of the sacrament"; *hai hagiai merides*, "sacred particles," into which the bread to be distributed was broken; *ta dōra*, "gifts," because offerings of bread and wine for the sacred Communion were usually made in the ancient church, that from these might be taken what would be sufficient for consecration to eucharistical use; *e'phodion*, "supplies for the way"—in various liturgies God is besought, "that the participation of sanctified things might furnish supplies for eternal life" (*genētai hē metalēpsis tōn hagiasmatōn eis ephodion zōēs aiōniou*); and others of this kind, which we omit in our enumeration, as also other epithets with which the Holy Supper was accustomed to be distinguished among them, of which kind are "medicine of immortality" (*pharmakon athanasias*), "an evil-expelling cathartic" (*kathartērion alexikakon*), "the feast of feasts" (*teletē teletōn*), "the warder off of all kinds of harm" (*blabēs pantodapous amynterion*) and the like.

Missas.

Its derivation.

XIV. Among the names by which the Latins have designated this sacrament, the principal is *Missas*, which Baronius with great confidence (but most falsely) asserts to be the most ancient of all. He holds that James, the brother of the Lord, delivered this nomenclature to the Jerusalemites and Paul to the Romans. There are various opinions as to its derivation. Some,

who desire to conciliate greater authority to it from antiquity, maintain that it is of Hebrew origin; as if it came from the word ms, which signifies "tribute" (hence *msth nbhdhvth*, Dt. 16:10) or from *mshthy*, which means a feast (from Is. 25:6, where it is said, "In the mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people [*mshthy*] a feast"). Others think it is Greek, derived from the word *myēsis*, which denotes initiation. But it was long ago decided by learned men among our opponents themselves to be Latin. Yet concerning the reason and cause they are not agreed among themselves. Hugo of St. Victor maintains that it is called *Missas* because in it an offering and prayers are sent to God. The Master of Sentences (Lombard), because an angel is sent by God who assists in the sacrifice and carries it to God. But this is less probable to Bellarmine. Others from the gifts sent by which the Supper could be prepared and the love feasts, which could be shared with the poor. But far more certain is the opinion of those who wish *Missas* to be derived from the "dismission" or sending away of the people; as *remissa* is often used for *remissione* by Tertullian and Cyprian, a custom derived from the heathen themselves among whom in certain sacrifices the custom had grown up of exclaiming by a Lictor—"Enemies, slaves, women, virgins, depart" (as Festus tells us). Thus in the initiation of the Eleusinian mysteries the impious and wicked were removed by the voice of a crier, as Suetonius on Nero informs us (*Lives of the Caesars: Nero* 6.34.4 [Loeb, 2:146–47]). This custom was brought to bear against Christians themselves, who, in the beginning of the mysteries, with the Epicureans were ordered to leave the temple. The ancient Christians, imitating this practice (as also many other things), had their dismissals or sending away of the people. Polydore Virgil observes that the heathen priests, when the sacred rites were ended, cried out, "Dismission to the people" (*tois laois aphesis*) (*De rerum inventoribus* 5.12 [1671], p. 354). The same custom therefore was preserved by our men also so that when the sacred services were finished, the deacon announced, *Ite, missa est* (which is the same as *I, licet* ["Go, it is allowed"], i.e., *Ire licet* ["You are allowed to go"]). In the trials of the Romans, a crier proclaimed, *I, licet*, and thus it was understood that power was given to the judges to depart.

Twofold mass, of catechumens and of believers.

XV. Further, a twofold Mass is distinguished by the ancients: one of catechumens; the other of believers. By the first, catechumens were dismissed before the celebration of the mysteries with the *energumen* and the uninitiated after the reading of the Scriptures because it was lawful for none but the baptized to be present. Augustine: "Behold after the sermon, let the catechumens be dismissed, believers will remain" (Sermon 49, "De Tempore [237]" [PL 38.324]). Isidore: "The dismissal is at the time of the sacrifice, when the catechumens are dismissed, the Levite crying out, if any catechumen remains, let him go out; and thence *Missa* because they, who are known not to be as yet regenerated, cannot be present at the sacraments of the altar" (*Etymologiarum* 6.19.4 [PL 82.252]). By the other, however, believers were dismissed when the sacred rites were over; for then after the Eucharist had been finished, after a parting prayer (*euchēn apolytikēn*), the deacon said, "Go, you are dismissed" (*Ite, missa est*), and thus liberty to depart was given to the people. Pseudo-Alcuin: "All being ended, the people are allowed to depart, the deacon exclaiming, 'Go, you are dismissed' (*Ite, missa est*)" (*De diviniis officiis liber* 40 [PL 101.1271]). By *Missa*, therefore, nothing else is meant than dismissal, i.e., the freedom which, all things having been celebrated, the deacon then pronounces to exist when the people are dismissed from the solemn observance. The dismissal of catechumens therefore took place before the celebration of the sacraments; the dismissal of believers after the preparation and participation of the same sacraments. Thence it happened that to the whole action the name "Mass" was given. Hence the expressions, "to hear Mass," "to be present at the Mass." And as words imperceptibly in the progress of time are drawn to a different signification, the word *Missa* began to be used for the discourses which were delivered either before or after the dismissal of the catechumen. At length, after many steps had been rolled down, the word *Missa* stopped with the signification of a propitiatory sacrifice of the body of Christ for the living and the dead under the species of bread and wine. Thus this word (unheard-of in the ancient church) did not gain prevalence until the purity of the Latin style and the simplicity of the Christian religion passing away, barbarism fastened upon the tongues and superstition upon the minds of men.

XVI. Now from all this it is easily gathered how unreasonably they obstinately contend for retaining that name and think it should be preferred

to all others. For it is the most unfit to designate this sacrament, taken from no part of this mystery, neither from the matter, nor from the form, nor from the rites added to both, nor from the efficient, nor from the effects, but from a thing the most accidental of all things—the dismissal of the people. How much more justly we use words handed down from the Scriptures themselves; such as, the Lord's Supper, Eucharist, Communion and others of this kind.

Twenty-Second Question

Why was the holy Supper instituted by our Lord and of how many parts does it consist?

I. Because the nature and use of this sacrament cannot be rightly understood unless we know for what purpose it was instituted by Christ and what it exhibits to our minds, before taking up the numerous controversies which are wont to be agitated concerning it, we must treat briefly of the end of this sacred institution and of its various parts in order that the idea of this whole mystery may be clearly presented.

Why the Supper was instituted.

II. After God has received us once into his own family (that he may have us in the place not only of servants, but of sons that he may fulfill the parts of our best Father, solicitous about his offspring), he also immediately receives us to be nourished in the course of life that he may from time to time conserve and renew the life which he once gave until we reach heavenly immortality. And not content with this (a pledge having been given), he wished to assure us of this liberality. For this purpose he gave another sacrament to his church through his only begotten Son, for a spiritual feast, where Christ testifies that he is the living bread by which our souls are fed unto a true and blessed immortality. Because this mystery of the secret communion of Christ with us is incomprehensible to our minds, he exhibits its figure and image in visible signs best adopted to our capacity; yea, by giving pledges and marks he makes it as certain to us as if we saw it with our eyes. Therefore, as by baptism, the sacrament of our initiation and

entrance into the church, he wished to adumbrate our regeneration, so the holy Supper seals our spiritual nourishment and support by Christ, in memory of his death, in which he prepared for us the food of life by which we are sustained.

Threefold end: (1) the commemoration of the death of Christ.

III. Therefore, the end of this whole institution can be threefold. (1) A commemoration of Christ and of his death: "This do in remembrance of me" (Lk. 22:19); "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come" (1 Cor. 11*:26). This commemoration is not only theoretical, but also practical—of things which Christ did and suffered for us, to celebrate with grateful minds the immense love of Christ, who did not refuse to suffer a dreadful death for us and to pour out his blood, as in the old Passover (which was a memorial of deliverance from Egyptian bondage) they celebrated the wonderful blessing received from God. He wished to give the most appropriate symbol of this in the broken bread and the poured-out wine; and not only broken and poured out, but distributed to us that even from this it might be evident that all this was designed and obtained for us and that Christ offered himself as a victim for the expiation of our sins for no other end than that he might afterwards give himself to us for food, upon which we may feed and be supported unto eternal life.

2. Our union with Christ and participation in his benefits.

(2) Our union with Christ and communion in his benefits, which are represented to us best by eating and drinking, as the food eaten by us is most intimately united with our nature and coalesces into one with it. Hence the partaking of the symbols is called the "communion of the body and blood of Christ" (1 Cor. 10:16) and Christ is said "to dwell in us, and we in him" (Jn. 6:56). And he thus dwells and is united with us that we can call ours whatever is his.

3. The certainty of remission of sins and eternal salvation.

(3) Hence follows the certainty of remission of sins (Mt. 26:28) and of eternal salvation obtained for us by the death of Christ. This can no more fail us than the merit of his death and the efficacy of his Spirit can be void and fruitless.

The matter are the two symbols. Why instituted?

IV. Now all of this is most aptly exhibited to us in this sacrament as can easily be seen by attentively considering its particular parts, whether we regard the symbols instituted by Christ, or the rites and ceremonies employed with them, or the mystery hidden under them and the thing signified with its various effects. As to the symbols which hold the place of the external matter with the actions performed about them, two were instituted by Christ which hold the place of elements (the bread and wine), neither more nor fewer. He wished these to be so conjoined that they cannot be separated without sacrilege. For although in baptism Christ instituted only one elementary sign (because water is sufficient to wash off the filth of the body), still he wished to use a twofold element in the Supper, for the clearer representation of both the death of Christ and of the separation of the body and blood in it; and for signifying the perfect nourishment which requires drink no less than meat, that it may be evident that we have in Christ whatever is required for full nutrition, for life and support. On this account, he wished to institute two signs, not that they might make a twofold sacrament (although the ancients here frequently speak in the plural as if of two sacraments); but only one because there is only one formal reason for both (to wit, the signification of full nutrition by Christ, who died and was crucified for us). Hence although he is proposed to us in the word under various other ideas (under that of the foundation by which we are supported, of the head by which we are governed, of the garment with which we are clothed, of the light which illuminates us and of others of this kind), in the Supper he is exhibited to us under the idea and symbol of food

alone because it refers to the sustentation and renewal of life (which was given to us by regeneration adumbrated in baptism).

The bread ought not to be unleavened.

V. Christ used bread because with the divine blessing it is of all the elements the most efficacious for nourishing and strengthening the body; the most common, the most familiar and to be found everywhere, easily prepared and the most pleasant. However, the bread he used was unleavened; not from the necessity of the thing, but from an accidental circumstance of time, on account of the feast of the Passover, in which it was lawful neither to use nor to have any other (Ex. 12:19). Otherwise it was always fermented in Judea (whenever the Supper was celebrated outside of that time, Acts 2:42) as well as among the Gentiles (who used common and not unleavened bread). Hence it was called simply the "breaking of bread" (Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 10:16; 11:26, 27). So that here so fierce a dispute on this subject falsely sprang up between the Greeks and Latins; the Greeks pressing the necessity of leavened, the latter of unleavened bread. The former were called "fermentarians" and the latter "azymites." The thing is in itself indifferent (as many of the Romanists acknowledge); on account of which the peace of the church ought not to be disturbed, but it should be left to their freedom (as it is evident that both the ancient and also the modern uses vary). We do not deny that the use of fermented bread seems to us the more suitable, both because it is more in accordance with the design of Christ (which was to use common and ordinary bread, which is everywhere to be found); and because it is more appropriate to sustain the sacramental analogy (which consists in signifying our communion with Christ by the similitude of bodily nourishment); and because the necessity of unleavened bread belongs to the Jewish ceremonies (which are abrogated and cannot be retained without a certain affectation [*kakozēlia*] of Judaism); and because in the whole ancient church no traces appear of the common use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist before the ninth or tenth century. Yea, it is evident that the Eucharistic symbols were formerly taken from the offerings of bread and wine made by believers, which were undoubtedly of ordinary and fermented bread (as the Jesuit James Sirmondus, "Disquisitio de Azymo," *Opera Varia* [1696], 4:513–30,

candidly acknowledges and solidly confirms by many arguments). The example of Christ neither can nor ought to be made an objection here, because as we have said there was a peculiar reason which impelled him to the use of unleavened bread (which no longer exists). Therefore, his example binds us as to the essence of the thing itself, that we should do whatever he did (take, bless, and break the bread and other acts of this kind mentioned by the sacred writers); but not forthwith as to the particular circumstances, which do not belong to the thing. Suarez remarks: "An act of Christ alone is not sufficient to form a command; for although he consecrated in white wine, or at night, for example, he did not on that account command us so to consecrate" (3. *Thom. de Sacra*.+). Nor if unleavened cakes have a mystical signification, are they immediately of divine institution, since it is evident that the cause of the institution was the memory of the hasty departure from Egypt.

The wine is common, not diluted with water.

VI. Common "wine" is instituted, of indifferent color, undiluted with water because it is called simply the "fruit of the vine" (Mt. 26:29; Mk. 14:25). Thus the Romanists here without reason urge the mixture of water with the wine, which although according to them is not of the integrity of the sacrament, still is of its congruity, nor can it be omitted without mortal sin (as Bellarmine holds). For although it may seem to be indifferent (which may be equally omitted or retained, provided the order of the church is not disturbed; and it is clear that by the ancients water was mixed with the wine because the use of pure wine is rare among the orientals); still they are deservedly to be censured because (without authority from the word) they invent mortal sins and condemn the liberty of others.

The rites connected with the symbols are either the acts or the words of Christ. The acts are the taking of the bread and blessing it.

VII. The rites which were used with these symbols in the institution are either the actions or the words of Christ. The acts contain the rule and

example of administration. The words contain the doctrine of the administration and of the use. The acts are (1) the taking of the bread and the blessing of it, for he is said to have taken the bread and to have blessed or given thanks (Mt. 26:26, *labōn ton arton kai eulogēsas eklase*, whom Mark follows [Mk. 14:22]; Lk. 22:19*, *kai labōn arton eucharistēsas eklase*, whom Paul follows [1 Cor. 11:24]). This shows that these two verbs *eulogein* and *eucharistein* mean the same thing (as appears from Mt. 14:19 and Mk. 6:41). Thus is denoted the consecration of the bread and wine or the preparation of them for a sacred use by prayer and the giving of thanks. This was drawn from a rite common to the Jews, who, in the taking of food, first gave thanks, eating nothing which they had not previously consecrated by prayer and benediction, whether for common or sacred use; as is evident from the Jewish rituals, as Christ did in the miracle of the loaves (Mt. 14:19; Mk. 6:41; Jn. 6:11). Referring to this Paul says, "Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer" (1 Tim. 4:4, 5*)—by the word on God's part, who grants us the use of it and gives it the power of nourishing; by prayers on our part, inasmuch as blessing God through them and seeking his favor, we obtain a blessing on the food placed before us and the right to use it. But this rite practiced in the ordinary use of food is far more necessary in the sacred use and was more diligently observed in sacred feasts by the Jews. As in the eating of the Passover there was a peculiar formula of blessing or of giving thanks in the consecration of the unleavened cakes: "Blessed is the Lord our God, the King of the world, who redeemed us and our fathers from Egypt and commanded us to eat unleavened bread." And in the consecration of the cup: "Blessed be the Lord our God, King of the world, who redeemed us and our fathers from Egypt and commanded us to eat unleavened bread." And in the consecration of the cup: "Blessed be the Lord our God, king of the world, who created the fruit of the vine." And it is altogether probable that Christ drew from this the expression "the fruit of the vine," which he gives to the wine (speaking of the cup). Therefore, Christ, who readily accommodated himself to the custom of the Jews as often as there was nothing repugnant to truth and piety, appositely employed this mode of consecration as altogether necessary to the institution of the sacrament that the symbols might be drawn from their common and everyday use to a sacred and mystical use.

Hence Oecumenius excellently paraphrases *ho eulogoumen* by *ho eulogountes kataskeuazomen* (cf. *Pauluskommentare aus der Griechischen Kirche* [ed. K. Staab, 1984], p. 440 on 1 Cor. 10:16). Now "the change," which was made by that consecration was not a real change of substance, but a moral change only and as to use, that it might be a sacrament of his body and blood. Moreover, that blessing so respected God primarily (to whom the blessing and giving of thanks is rendered on account of the benefit of redemption) as to be extended also to the symbols themselves, over which the blessing of God is caused to come by such prayers; as we bless the symbols by the prayers which we offer to God at their consecration and thus the symbols themselves can rightly be said to be blessed. Now although the evangelists recite no express formula used by Christ (that from this might be evident the difference between this consecration and pagan or magical consecrations which consist of a number of certain words; and that it should be left to the liberty of the church to employ whatever formula she pleased, provided it be suitable to the mystery), still there is no doubt that he used words best adapted to the nature of the thing.

2. The breaking of the bread.

VIII. The second rite was the breaking of that bread after being blessed, for "Christ broke the bread after he had blessed it" (*eulogēsas arton eklase*). Now although this rite was also derived from the Jews (where the father of the family, having asked a blessing, broke the bread and distributed it to his guests), still there was undoubtedly something singular and mysterious (*mystēriōdes*) here. For Christ, after the Supper had been finished, meant to break the bread, when the guests not only did not need any more food, but this was also forbidden them according to the custom prevailing at the Passover. On this account, this rite of breaking bread is carefully noticed by all the evangelists and by Paul; yea, the whole action of the sacred Supper is denominated from that ceremony by the breaking of bread. Thus even from this it appears that the rite was not free and indifferent, but essential and necessary, which, although not belonging properly to the essence of the sacrament itself, still belongs to its integrity; not only from the example of Christ (Mt. 26:26, 27) and of the apostles (1 Cor. 10:16), but also from the

mystery of the signification as it belongs to the very matter and form of the Supper. To the matter because as a part, it makes it whole; to the form because it represents the crucifixion of Christ and the laceration of his body and the mystical communication of believers from one body. Therefore, it is not to be supposed that this breaking has reference simply to the necessity of distribution, because the bread of the Jews (which was broad little cakes, not thick) was accustomed to be broken, not cut. Rather it contained further a mystical signification of the body broken and the blood shed, as it was explained by Christ himself.

3. The distribution.

IX. The third rite is the distribution of the broken bread and poured-out wine, by which believers are taught that Christ with his own hand delivers himself with all his benefits for their use or enjoyment. Of this distribution in the first Supper, no other minister is to be sought than Christ himself, who was the only dispenser of this mystery and who first established and sanctified its dispensation by his own example. Now although among the ancients the rite of distribution varied, that is undoubtedly to be considered the best mode which Christ employed—that the people may receive the sacred signs from the hand of the one presiding.

The words of Christ.

They are: (1) of command.

X. These then were the acts of Christ with regard to the symbols. To these are to be added the words or expressions accompanying the acts, which are threefold. Some contain a precept, others a promise and others again an explanation of this mystery. The command is either concerning the administration or concerning the use and participation of this sacrament; the former belongs to the dispensers, the latter to the communicants. For as he imposes upon the ministers of this sacrament the necessity of dispensing, so he imposes upon all the necessity of receiving it (the rule and form being added to be observed by both in the celebration). To the former part of the command belong these words: “Do this,” i.e., what Christ by his example

proposed for imitation, that is, take the bread and wine, sanctify them by giving thanks and by prayer, break the bread, pour out the wine, administer both. Thus the rule and necessity of the administration are prescribed to the dispensers.

XI. To the latter belong these: "Take, eat and drink." In these he gives two commands to communicants, while he wishes that they should do this (viz., what Christ had commanded): that "they should take"; again that "they should eat and drink." The verb "to receive" (to be understood properly of the hand), which is the force of the word *lambanō* used by Christ. Hence it is inferred that Christ offered the bread to be taken in the hand, and that he did not place morsels of it in the mouth, as is the custom of the Romanists. Second, he commanded them to "eat" and "drink," where the communion of the sacrament is denoted, and its use to signify our communion with Christ, in virtue of which we are made partakers of his benefits. For as there is no closer union than that which exists between food and the body nourished by it; so our communion with Christ could not have been more appropriately designated than by eating, by which Christ, the food of our souls, apprehended by faith, is made one with us. Nevertheless with this difference, that corporeal food is converted into our substance, while spiritual food, because more powerful and perfect, changes us in some way into his substance, so that we become conformed to Christ and live the life of Christ and are made partakers of the divine nature (2 Pet. 1:4). Now just as the food is twofold, to wit, corporeal and spiritual; so a twofold eating is to be understood here, corporal of the corporeal signs, and spiritual of the thing signified, or of the body and blood of Christ. Christ, therefore, wishes believers to eat this sacrament in both ways, in the former as to the sign with the mouth of the body; in the latter as to the thing signified with the mouth of the mind (to wit, with faith); that they may eat this bread not only "as it is bread" (orally), but also "as it is a sacrament" (spiritually meditating upon and applying to themselves all the mysteries represented under these symbols). What is said of the bread ought also to be understood of the cup, which is the other symbol—the participation of which is enjoined upon all equally (as will be shown in the proper place).

2. Of promise.

XII. The word of promise is what declares the thing signified. “This is my body, which is broken for you. This is my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sin.” In which (for the sake of explanation) we briefly distinguish three things: (1) the subject; (2) the predicate; (3) the mode of predication, which the copula “is” makes. The subject in both cases (in the words concerning the bread and the cup) is the demonstrative pronoun “this,” taken not adjectivally, but substantively. However, since a pronoun is not for itself, but for another noun either expressed or understood, it is evident that the pronoun “this” refers to some noun expressed or understood in the text. This can be nothing else than the bread and wine because it can demonstrate nothing else than that which Christ had taken and broken (viz., bread). The attribute is the true and natural body of Christ, which was delivered for us not simply as the body and blood of Christ. For thus they neither are exhibited to us, nor do they profit us (Jn. 6:63); but the body, inasmuch as it was given to death for us and broken on the cross, and the blood, inasmuch as it was poured out for the remission of sins. For thus only are they made to us the meat and drink of life according to this: “the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world” (Jn. 6:51). The mode of predication, which the copula indicates, is not proper and substantial, because the bread and wine are not properly the body and blood of Christ; nor is the substance of the body and blood of Christ, the substance of the bread and wine; nor synecdochical as if the body was contained in the bread and the blood in the wine; for Christ does not teach where his body and blood are and in what receptacles they are contained, but their uses and offices in the Supper. Rather it is sacramental and metonymical (used in all the sacraments), by which the name of the thing signified is predicated of the sign. Thus these figurative words are to be resolved into proper. The bread and wine are signs and seals of the body and blood of Christ, according to the exposition of Paul, who calls the bread the communion of the body of Christ and the cup the communion of his blood (1 Cor. 10:16). In this manner, a trope is determined neither in the subject nor in the predicate, but in the copula “is,” where it is understood to be mystically and sacramentally (in which is not regarded what the thing is in itself, but what it signifies).

Form of the Supper.

XIII. Hence we gather that the true form of the holy Supper is placed in the conjunction of the signs and the thing signified, by which the sign and thing signified are a certain one thing from the divine ordination declared by the word sacrament. Now they are one not in genus or species and number, but by analogy. Hence it follows that this union is not natural (formed by a physical contact), or local (by lack of nearness and nonexistence, or the coexistence of one in the other), or hypostatical; but analogical, relative and sacramental. This consists principally in three things: (1) in signification, by which the external symbols are as representative and commemorative signs, but the internal things as represented and commemorated signs; (2) in the sealing of the thing signified, by which the elements are as a seal, pledge and token; the body and blood of Christ, as the thing sealed; (3) in the exhibition of the thing signified and sealed, inasmuch as the external thing is the moral instrument by and with which God wishes to be efficacious and to communicate really the internal thing to the believer. The signification is placed in the similitude of properties and effects of the sign and thing sealed (which have a close connection with each other). As the bread and wine are the most sufficient and efficacious means of sustaining and conserving the life of the body, so the body and blood of Christ afford nourishment to the soul and are the most sufficient and efficacious means of cherishing and supporting the spiritual life. As the bread and wine are separated in the Supper, so the body and blood of Christ were separated on the cross. As the bread is broken and the wine poured out, so the body of Christ was broken on the cross by pains and torments; when his heart was lacerated by a sense of the wrath of God and his hands and feet were transfixed by nails; his side was pierced with a spear and his blood poured out there. As the bread and wine do not nourish unless they are received into the mouth, so the body and blood of Christ do not nourish the mind when they are only considered speculatively, but when they are practically received by faith and applied to us. Finally, as the communicants are all partakers of one bread, so believers partake of one Christ and with him and in turn with each other coalesce into one body by faith and love (1 Cor. 10:16, 17).

XIV. Second, it is placed in the sealing, by which God not only represents these mysteries by the similitude of the sign with the thing

sealed, but also seals them in virtue of the institution of God that believers may be assured of their possession by the application of this divine seal to the communicants; as Christ gave the bread to be eaten and the wine to be drunk to his disciples singly, that they might have the divine testimony of the remission of their sins and of salvation, acquired by the crucifixion of the body and the shedding of the blood of Christ. Third, in the exhibition (or bestowal) of the thing signified and sealed; for these symbols neither represent the things nakedly, nor only seal them, but also confer them in their own manner; as by the breath of his mouth Christ not only signified, but also furnished and communicated his Spirit to his disciples (Jn. 20:22). However, this bestowal is not made by the power of the signs, but according to the order of God; not to the teeth, but to the mind; not to the mouth, but to faith. Therefore, faith being posited, the spiritual bestowal is conjoined with the oral reception of the bread and wine. Hence follows the presence of Christ in the Supper, which is indeed true and real, not fictitious and imaginary; but not corporeal, as if Christ was included in the substance of the bread and wine or in their accidents. For although the body and blood of Christ are received by believers *hama* (i.e., "at the same time"), yet they are not proposed *homou* (i.e., "together as to place"). Therefore the body and blood of Christ offered and exhibited are present in the adjoined promise of grace received by faith. Still faith does not effect this presence, but the divine institution and promise of grace; so that properly speaking the truth of the presence of the body and blood of Christ is from the promise of grace, while the reception is from faith. Thus the presence of Christ in the Supper can be fourfold: relative in the signs; objective in the mind; of union in the heart; of efficacy in the entire soul (as will be more fully unfolded in the proper place).

3. Of the institution or explanation.

XV. Third, we said that in the words of Christ the institution or explanation of this mystery should be attended to, which he adds to the word of command and of promise; so that he sets forth the design of the whole of this sacred action when he says, "This do in remembrance of me." The apostle explains this by "ye do show the Lord's death till he come" (1 Cor. 11:26). Here not a naked and merely historical remembrance is meant, but a

living and efficacious practical application of the merit of Christ and the apprehension of it by faith. The announcement of the death of Christ also does not signify a simple narration of it, but a public and stated giving of thanks for this great benefit, which is performed when with a grateful mind we reflect upon the obedience and benefits of Christ. Hence it is evident that the Supper was not instituted that it might be a real and propitiatory sacrifice for our sins, but rather that it might be a spiritual and eucharistic sacrifice; consisting in the solemn giving of thanks for the incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ and for all the blessings acquired by him for us (as will be shown in the proper place).

XVI. From all this we gather that the holy Supper is to be viewed in two aspects: either simply and separately for the external symbols and rites employed about it (as the sacrament is said to have been instituted by Christ in commemoration of his body delivered up to death, and his blood shed, and for the confirmation of our faith); or compositely and conjointly, for the embrace of the signs and the thing signified. Thus it is called the other sacrament of the New Testament, in which, by the eating of the broken bread and the drinking of the wine poured out, is signified and sealed to believers the communion of the body and blood of Christ and of all his benefits for the commemoration of his death and the confirmation and increase of faith.

Twenty-Third Question: The Consecration

Is a consecration made in the Eucharist by the utterance of the words Hoc est enim corpus meum? *And ought they to be secretly uttered? We deny against the Romanists*

Statement of the question concerning consecration.

I. The first question concerning the Eucharistic symbols and the rites connected with them has respect to their consecration. The Council of Trent (although incidentally) drew this up on account of the dissent of the schools, when it says: “This faith was always in the church, that immediately after the consecration, the true body of our Lord and the true blood exist under the species of bread and wine, together with his soul and

divinity; but the body, indeed, under the species of bread and the blood under the species of wine from the force of the words" (Session 13, chap. 3, Schroeder, p. 75). But although the opinions of their doctors are very diverse, some holding that Christ did not consecrate by any words, but by his absolute power and will, or touch, or by some external sign (as Innocent III, Biel, Catharinus and some others); others by different words than those in the gospel; others by the same words indeed, but uttered twice—at first openly at the institution, afterwards secretly at the consecration; the best received and most common opinion in our day among them is that by the pronunciation only of those words (which are called formals or sacred mentals), the consecration is made and thus far these words are operative and conversive. "True instruments of consecration, so that they have power as instruments of God," as Bellarmine expressed it (cf. "De Missa," 2*.4* *Disputationes de controversiis christianae* [1599], 5:737). This is the opinion of Suarez, Vasquez, Valentia and others.

II. On the other hand, we deny that consecration is to be attached to the pronunciation of the sacramental words; but that it is to be considered as depending upon the whole action of Christ, especially upon the blessing, by which the elements are transferred from a common and natural use and brought over to a sacred and mystical use. For Christ is said by the evangelists to have blessed and given thanks when he took the bread.

III. That the whole of this mystery may be the more clearly understood, it is to be observed that that blessing is threefold: for the Creator blesses the creature, or the creature the Creator, or the creature a creature. (1) The Creator blesses the creature when he presents him with any good and affects him with any blessing; thus the blessing of God is operative and insinuates his beneficence and when he blesses he does what he says (as Augustine aptly remarks, *In Psalmum CVIII Enarratio* [PL 37.1444]). (2) The creature blesses the Creator when he piously celebrates his blessings and him, on account of the same. Hence those formulas to be found everywhere in the psalms: "Bless the Lord, O my soul" (Pss. 103:1; 104:1, 35). Thus the divine blessing always anticipates the human and God is blessed because he has blessed us (Eph. 1:3). (3) The creature blesses a creature when he desires good things for it and wishes it well. This blessing is proposed in the words, now of one asking (when the speech is directed to God, as in Dt. 33:11), now of one wishing (where it is directed to the creature, as in Num.

6:24), now of one promising (which occurs in prophecies, as in Gen. 49:8, 16), then of one commanding from the power furnished by God (as in Gen. 27:27). Again that blessing has reference either to persons, by wish (when we wish them well); or to things, by sanctification. This is either to a common use (for example, with respect to ordinary food) that the power and efficacy to nourish us may be given to it by God (referred to in 1 Tim. 4:4); or to a sacred and religious use (such as the blessing of the unleavened cakes and of the paschal cup practiced among the Jews).

IV. In this sacramental blessing, however, a twofold relation (*schesis*) must be attended to: the first to God, the second to the symbols themselves. To God, that thanks may be given to him for the wonderful blessing of the whole work of redemption because he sent Christ into the world and delivered him to death and because he gives him to us for vivifying food. To the symbols, that a blessing may be obtained upon the creatures spread before us (and soon to be extended to believers) in virtue of which they (otherwise of themselves incapable of it) may be rendered efficacious to the spiritual use and benefit of the recipients. Thus in this blessing is contained both the giving of thanks for blessings already received and a supplication for the consecration of the symbols. This is rightly referred to the symbols, not immediately, but because faith excited towards God (the author of sanctification) brings back from him the power of use to the celebration of the sacrament. Thus Christ is well said to have blessed the symbols, not by directing his speech to them, but by invoking God himself to obtain his blessing upon them (of which they have need that they may be an efficacious sacrament of the body and blood of Christ).

V. But for a twofold reason Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpos*), blessed the bread and the cup in the Last Supper, asking a blessing as man and conferring it as God. On this account, it was not only vocal, but also real; by which he imparted to those elements efficacy for sacred uses and effects and now also obtains it. For he who then blessed even now blesses at the wish of the minister blessing in his name, affording efficacy in the use of participating believers, by which he may both yield a blessing to them and affect them blessed with the bestowed blessing. Here belong the words of Chrysostom concerning the betrayal by Judas: “Christ is present now also, spreading this table, the very same one who spread that table; now spreads this also, for neither does any man make the body and blood of Christ to

become the proposed elements, but Christ himself who was nailed to the cross for us" (cf. "De proditione ludae," *Opera* [1530], 2:107). From which we conclude that the true consecration of the symbols is made by the blessing, distinct from the sacramental words.

Proof that the consecration is made by the blessing.

VI. The reasons are: first, because a blessing is the sanctification of the things over which it is offered, which is made for no other end than that the things which are blessed should be destined to and separated for a sacred use. And since Christ in blessing the bread and cup was undoubtedly distinctly heard, it is necessary that by that blessing the bread and cup should have been blessed and sanctified before such words could be pronounced. This is confirmed from what the Scriptures relate, that Christ before the utterance of those words had already blessed and given thanks, for he is said to have uttered other words before having blessed (*eulogēsas*) and given thanks (*eucharistēsas*) (i.e., according to Erasmus, Catharinus, Sanctesius and other Romanists, "after he had blessed and given thanks"). Hence Justin calls the bread *eucharistēthenta* (i.e., bread over which thanks had been given, *First Apology** 66 [FC 6:105–6; PG 6.428–29]).

VII. Second, consecration cannot be made without prayer; nay, it consists in prayer, by which the favor of God is invoked upon the symbols for their sanctification. Now the words *hoc est corpus meum* have not the form of a prayer and entreat nothing and are addressed to the apostles, not to God. Nor are they the words of one asking and wishing, or commanding something to be done (which is not yet); nor of one promising something that will be; but of one indicating and narrating the very thing concerning which he is treating.

VIII. Third, the blessing of which Paul speaks (1 Cor. 10:16) is the same as the blessing of which the evangelists speak. And yet the blessing with the apostle is the blessing of consecration because from the force of that blessing the apostle infers that the cup "is the communion of the blood of Christ" and the bread "the communion of the body of Christ."

IX. Fourth, the consecration of the symbols to a sacred use ought to be made in no other way than the consecration of food every day for common use, since in both there is a sanctification of things which are appointed for

human uses, although in different degrees. Now this consecration and sanctification are made in no other way than by prayers and by the word (according to Paul, 1 Tim. 4:4). This even common sense itself dictates. Thus the Gentiles consecrated the statues of their deities, the Jews consecrated the vases of the temple by prayer, and Solomon consecrated the temple by a magnificent prayer (given in 1 K. 8). Thus Christ by blessing consecrated the bread in the miracle of the loaves. Therefore, when Christ is said to have taken the bread and blessed, no one can doubt that he wished by his prayers to bring down the blessing of God upon the symbols, which was necessary that they might be adapted to the sacred use to which they were destined (to wit, that they might be the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ). For it is of indispensable necessity to seek that blessing from God, who alone can give it.

X. Fifth, a conversion and consecration, by which the body of Christ is present under the species of bread and wine, cannot be supposed to be made, because those words are historically narrative and declarative of the thing which existed already. On this account the particle *enim* is inserted by them in the canon of the Mass, in order that it might appear that a reason was given by them why that bread is to be taken and eaten (because, to wit, it is the body of Christ); not, however, practically effective of a thing which did not as yet exist. Hence it is not enunciated in the imperative, as in the creation of light, "Let there be light"; but in the indicative, as when it is said, "In the beginning was the Word." Nor do we ever read of God having said of things which are not, that they are in order that he may make them to be. To Lazarus lying in the sepulcher, he said, "Lazarus, come forth," imperatively. By commanding, he gave him life and strength to come forth; but he did not say in the indicative, "Thou art alive, Lazarus, and thou comest out."

XI. Sixth, if consecration were contained exactly in these words, there would be no variety of words with the sacred writers because when words, syllables and parts of syllables are to be numbered (as the Romanists wish) there ought to be no variety. However, this does occur in these memorable words. Let the words of Matthew, Luke and Paul be compared. One has, "This is my blood"; while the others have, "This cup is the new testament in my blood."

XII. Seventh, this was the opinion of the ancient church, as can be proved from their liturgies: of Clement (cf. *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* 8.2.12 [ANF 7:489]), of Basil, Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, James, Mark. And from the testimonies of Justin, Origen, Irenaeus, Basil, Ambrose, Augustine and others (as the celebrated Daille has fully and solidly demonstrated, *De Cultibus Religiosis Latinorum* 3.13–15 [1671], pp. 355–66). And he proves from Nicholas Cabasilla, and Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus, that it was the usage of all the most ancient Christians (of the Armenians, of the Greeks), because even in our day they so conduct this sacrament and contend against the Romanists that it should be so conducted (ibid., 3.17, pp. 375–76).

XIII. Eighth, many Romanists acknowledge this. Christopher (a Capite Fontium), Archbishop of Caesarea, asserts that the Scriptures, the councils and the whole of antiquity are with him, maintaining that the words *Hoc est corpus meum* are not consecratory; nay, that they would not be true unless the body of Christ had already existed there by the blessing (cf. ibid., 3.18, pp. 377–78; Christophe de Cheffontaines, *Varii tractatus et disputationes de necessaria correctione theologiae scholasticae* [1586]). Durand held that Christ then accomplished it when he blessed it (*Rationale divinorum officorum* 4 [I486], fol. 52*). Odo of Cambrai says, “It is evident that the bread taken was made by the blessing the body of Christ, for he would not have said after the blessing, this is my body, unless in the blessing it had become the body of Christ” (*Expositio in canonem missae*, Dist. 3 [PL 160.1062]). This is the opinion of Cajetan, Cassander, Calarinnus, Titelmann and others.

Sources of explanation.

XIV. The prayers, to which a promise is made, are always accepted of God. Now such are the prayers and the blessing by which the symbols are consecrated, since the words of Christ (by which he commands to do this and so also to bless) include a tacit promise of the future effect after it. Hence it cannot be doubted that the consecration which is made by blessing and prayer is certain from the order and promise of God. It is one thing for consecration to depend upon human prayers; another for it to be made by the prayers and the word of institution. The latter we acknowledge, but not

the former; as we rightly say that the blessings of God are obtained by prayer, but still that they do not depend upon prayer. If consecration cannot be certain because it depends upon human prayer, much less can there be any certainty of the effect of the words pronounced by the priest, since we have nothing to prove to us the certainty of his intention.

XV. Although the prayers and the benediction are not the principal cause accomplishing the sacrament, but the divine power alone (or the invisible operation of the Holy Spirit); still the prayers and the blessing are rightly said to make the consecration because it is accomplished by their intervention; as food is rightly said to be sanctified by prayer, although that is primarily and principally done by the word and Spirit of God.

Consecration ought to be made with a loud voice.

XVI. Christ does what he says when (that he may do something) he speaks and commands, not when he simply enunciates and narrates how the thing is. Nor can it be said that these words are not enunciative of that which was before, but practical of that which was not. For if these words are practical, how could the pronoun "this" signify the body, which was effected only when these words had been pronounced?

XVII. Here belongs the other question concerning the pronunciation of the words, which they call consecratory. The Romanists teach that these words are to be pronounced in a low tone that they may not be heard by the people. The Council of Trent hurls an anathema against those "who shall say, that the rite of the Roman Church, by which a part of the canon and the words of consecration are uttered with a subdued voice, is to be condemned" (Session 22, Canon 9, Schroeder, p. 150). Also under the dreadful punishment of a curse, the Council enjoins that rite which the Roman Missal commands: "that the priest with his elbows placed upon the altar, standing with head bent down, distinctly, reverently and secretly utter the words of consecration over the host" (cf. *Missale Romanum* [1925], p. 92). On the other hand, we say that these words and the entire institution of the sacrament ought to be pronounced with a loud and intelligible voice that the bystanders may be taught and instructed.

It is proved: (1) by the example of Christ.

XVIII. The reasons are: (1) Christ, whose actions ought to be our polar star, thus celebrated the Eucharist that everything might be heard by all those present, even these words which they call consecratory. For he orders them to take, to eat and to drink, undoubtedly with such a pronunciation that they could be understood. For no one orders another to do a thing when he is unwilling that he should hear and understand the thing itself which he orders. Now if these commanding words were clearly pronounced and heard and understood, those also which follow ("This is my body, this is my blood," etc.), placed in immediate connection, must have been heard and understood. Otherwise the apostles could not have described them, unless they had heard them. Besides, it was the duty of the apostles to discern the Lord's body and yet there was no way of discerning unless an admonition had preceded; but to be an admonition, it must have been heard.

2. From the end of the sacrament.

XIX. (2) Christ did not so institute the sacrament that it might be only a visible and public action; while the word, which is the principal part of the sacraments, should be hidden and buried in silence. To no purpose does Bellarmine distinguish "the Eucharist, either as it is a sacrament, or as it is a sacrifice; as a sacrifice, it is not necessary that the words by which it is effected should be heard, because a sacrifice does not consist in words, but in an oblation, and it is so taken in this place. Again, neither in the sacraments is it necessary that the words should be heard by the recipients, as when infants are baptized, they do not hear the words of baptism." For, as will be proved in its place, he takes for granted that the Supper is a sacrifice properly so called. As to baptism, if the infant does not hear, it does not thence happen that the words are not pronounced in a loud voice, but from its infirmity. From that, however, which is done accidentally, it is not concluded that a thing ought to be done by itself. Besides, they who approach the Supper are bound to examine themselves and to discern the Lord's body, which is not demanded of infants to be baptized.

3. From the certainty of consecration.

XX. Third, the certainty of the change of the symbols, according to our opponents, depends upon the certainty of the consecration and of the pronunciation of the words *Hoc est corpus meum*. Now in a secret murmur how few can be certain and sure that these words have either been pronounced or pronounced correctly. Therefore, the communicants are bound to doubt concerning the presence of Christ and so cannot commune in faith.

4. From the practice of the ancient church.

XXI. Fourth, many things prove that in the ancient church this secret murmur was unknown and that all was pronounced clearly. Bellarmine himself confesses that the Greeks constantly even up to this day speak in a clear and intelligible voice in the pronunciation of the words. Why the Latins departed from them in this particular, the ancients do not conceal (who have marked the difference of both nations in other even lighter things). For it is well known from Dionysius of Alexandria, Justin, Tertullian and others that the people formerly responded "Amen" to the priest reciting the words. But how could anyone sincerely and truly say "Amen" to what he not only did not understand, but had not even heard? But the Emperor Justinian also orders "that the prayer, which is said in the sacred oblation, and the other expressions, should be pronounced, not in secret but with such a voice as would be heard by the most faithful people" (*meta phōnēs tō pistotatō laō exakoumenēs*, Novell. 123+). Cassander confirms by various arguments that the canonical prayer (and especially the consecration of the Lord's body and the blood of Christ) was so read by the ancients that it could be understood by the people and Amen responded ("Liturgica de ritu et ordine Dominicae," 28 *Georgii Cassandri ... Opera* [1616], p. 63).

Sources of explanation.

XXII. Falsely is it boasted that the secret pronunciation of the words of consecration tends to secure greater reverence for the sacrament. The things

which are made public are not lowered; otherwise the gospel will be made cheap, which God commanded to be preached to all nations; baptism would be lowered in estimation, whose words are wont to be pronounced with a loud voice. It belonged to the Gentiles to conceal their mysteries, lest their turpitude might be discovered; but Christ wished to make his known to all because he has nothing which is not glorious and divine. Christ and the apostles (who had the greatest reverence for sacred things) did not on that account abstain from a clear pronunciation.

XXIII. Since the minister ought to have a regard not only for himself, but for his people (for whose sake especially the sacrament is publicly celebrated), he should not have a regard for himself alone in praying, but for the people for whose good he prays. This he indicates by these words, "We suppliants ask and seek from thee, our Lord." But how can the people hope that they will be heard to whom the priest begrudges prayer?

XXIV. There is no danger in the clear pronunciation of the words, but there is great danger in the secret mumbling of them. For thus the people hearing nothing of them could not direct the mind. Why, then, is "Lift up your hearts" invoked? Why did the Greeks of old in the liturgy of Mark exclaim, "Give your attention!" (*ekteinate*) (cf. "The Liturgy of St. Mark," in F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* [1896], p. 132)? For how could the people attend if they heard nothing?

XXV. Whoever wishes more on this subject should consult Daille, where that illustrious man refutes all that is brought forward to confirm this error (*De Cultibus Religiosis Latinorum* 8.5 [1671], pp. 1031–41). In particular, he refutes the story of the pastors pronouncing the words of consecration over the bread and wine, which were suddenly changed into flesh and blood, while they (consumed by fire from heaven on account of their crime) straightway perished. This Pseudo-Alcuin (more recent than the tenth century) first related adding: "Thence arose the custom in the church that this consecration should afterwards be silently recited by the priests" (*De Divinis Officiis Liber* 40 ["De Celebratione Missae"] [PL 101.1256]). See also Chamier, who confutes all the arguments and fables brought forward by the Romanists to support this error (*Corpus theologicum* 6.8, 9 [1653], 4:330–41).

Twenty-Fourth Question: The Breaking of Bread

Is the rite of breaking bread necessary in the administration of the Supper? We affirm

Opinion of Romanists concerning the breaking of bread.

I. The second question agitated about the symbols pertains to the breaking of bread; concerning which there is a disagreement between us and the Romanists and Lutherans. The Romanists indeed do not deny that Christ broke the bread and ordered it to be broken; and that the breaking of the bread is necessary, not indeed as to the substance, but to the integrity of the sacrament or (as they love to express it) to the integrity of the sacrifice, so that without the breaking of the bread the action and Mass is imperfect (as Bellarmine says, "De Missa," 27 *Opera* 3:522). But they retain that breaking in appearance and for the sake of form; for they are wont to consecrate each host to be distributed to individuals (but whole) so that in this part indeed no breaking is employed, but each one takes his own bread for the sake of communion. Still for the sake of sacrifice, the priest selects from the whole number one host which he breaks into three parts: the first he puts into the cup, by which, they say, is signified the body of Christ after the resurrection; the second he eats dry and signifies the body of Christ which walked on earth; the third is left on the altar until the end of the Mass, which designates the body of Christ in the sepulcher. But no one of these parts is distributed to the communicants, and they confess that the breaking they employ is not that which Christ employed. Bellarmine: "The breaking, which is the fourth part of the Mass, does not have the authority of our Lord" (ibid.).

And of the Lutherans.

II. As to the Lutherans, it is certain that Luther in his book confesses that the breaking no less than the distribution of the bread depends upon the institution of Christ, without which the sacrament cannot be properly

celebrated ("The Misuse of the Mass," *Works* [1955], 36:171). But afterwards in his books, speaking differently, he says, to break in Hebrew phraseology signifies the same as to distribute; nor is it necessary that the bread be broken by the fingers in the distribution. It is sufficient if many pieces or hosts be distributed ("Against the Heavenly Prophets," *Works* [1955], 40:178 and "Confession Concerning Christ's Supper," *Works* [1961], 37:268). This latter opinion is followed by the Lutherans of our day. They maintain that to break means nothing else than to distribute the bread and give it to another; although they do not deny that Christ properly broke the bread. But this ceremony is merely free and indifferent, lacking a command, which the church can at pleasure observe or omit. Nay, others speak more harshly, calling it a perversion of the sacrament and the sport of Satan.

What the orthodox think.

III. The orthodox retain the breaking which was employed by the Lord and which divides as many loaves as suffice for the people to commune into various particles to be distributed to many. They think it is not an accidental and indifferent ceremony, but according to the institution of Christ, no less necessary than taking it in the hand, delivering and communing. Nor yet do they wish to contend so rigidly about it that no fellowship can be retained with those who omit it. They think this want of a thing not unimportant should neither be left unnoticed, nor tolerated if it can be corrected. Thus they are to be rebuked who hold this opinion, although they are not to be absolutely condemned.

Statement of the question.

IV. Hence arises the statement of the question. (1) It is not inquired whether Christ broke the bread in the Supper. For this they with whom we argue do not deny. Rather the question is Ought we to retain that breaking as a ceremony necessary to the integrity of the sacrament, and did Christ sanction it by his example and word? Or is it indifferent and free? This our opponents maintain; we assert the former. (2) Again the question is not whether any breaking of the bread whatsoever is sufficient here. For the

Romanists, as we have said, break the host into various parts. Rather the question is whether it ought to be broken for distribution that the particles of that broken bread may be distributed to each communicant. This they deny; we affirm.

The breaking of the bread is proved: (1) from the institution and the example of Christ.

V. The reasons are: (1) from the institution and the example of Christ. Christ broke the bread and all the evangelists, and Paul, who individually relate this, agree that he did. Now who would affirm that the Son of God in so sacred an action did anything superfluous, or that all the apostles would have related this with so great carefulness, if the thing was merely indifferent and free? Who, on the other hand, does not see that Christ wished to prescribe the sacramental rites and ceremonies by his example and command when he ordered his disciples "to do this" (i.e., with respect to those administering, to take the bread, to bless, to break and give it to the communicants)? Again, there ought to be the same reason for the breaking as the giving of thanks and for the distribution because it is placed between them. Now no one denies that these latter ceremonies are necessary, belonging to the instituted rite and not merely indifferent. To no purpose is the reply: (a) many other circumstances and actions are studiously related by the evangelists and were observed by Christ, which ought not to be imitated; as that he celebrated the Supper in the evening and in an upper room, reclining, not standing and the like. Yet everyone sees the dissimilarity. The breaking of bread pertains to the Supper of itself; the circumstances of time, place and posture concur with it by accident. The breaking was divinely enjoined; these are not. The breaking has a spiritual significance; these do not in like manner. (b) With no better right is it added: "The command, This do, should be referred specially to those things which the apostles themselves did in that action, namely that, the Lord commanding, they ate and drank; if however it is transferred to what Christ did, we must distinguish between the things necessary and indifferent; and the breaking taken for distribution is necessary, but for breaking is merely indifferent. Thus in those things which Christ did, a certain genus is

necessary—as that the Supper be celebrated with bread and wine; but the form, mode, rite, ceremonies and circumstances consist in the gospel liberty, which, as circumstances arise, can arrange them as edification demands." For it is gratuitously supposed that the command of Christ ("This do") is to be referred only or principally to those things which the disciples (as communicants) were bound to do, since it is evident that on this command rests the institution and celebration of the whole sacrament, on the part of the administrators as much as the communicants. Yea, the actions of the communicants necessarily suppose the actions of the administrators; so this command (to do) ought to have reference to both equally. We confess that the disposition of external circumstances (of place, time and the like) was left to the liberty of the church. But we deny that this is to be extended to the essential and necessary rites and ceremonies, such as we maintain the breaking of the bread to be.

2. From the mystical signification of the rite.

VI. (2) From the mystical signification of this rite. For a ceremony instituted by Christ, which has an evident and divinely expressed signification of the grace and blessings of God cannot be considered indifferent, but must be said to be necessary. Now it is evident that this is the case with the breaking of bread. Christ commanded the disciples to eat bread; not any kind, but what they saw was broken by him; and to eat it in remembrance of his death, represented by the breaking of the bread. And no one can deny that this breaking had an evident signification of the grace of God and of his blessings (to wit, the breaking of the body of Christ on the cross and the saving fruits which flow thence to us, which the apostle testifies when, relating the words of institution, he says that the body of Christ is broken, "which is broken for you" [*to hyper ymōn klōmenon*, 1 Cor. 11:24], in order to show more clearly the analogy of the breaking of bread to the breaking of his body). However, that Paul calls the passion of Christ the breaking of his body does not mean that his body and bones were broken properly on the cross, as the bones of the two thieves, which the evangelists expressly deny from the old prophecy, "A bone of him shall not be broken." Rather it is said on this account—the bread, which is the sacrament of the body of Christ, is properly broken sacramentally,

attributing to the thing signified what properly belongs to the sign. Nor can it be said that the analogy of breaking does not hold good because the bones of Christ were not to be broken according to the analogy of the paschal lamb. It is one thing for the bones to be broken; another for the body to be lacerated by various wounds through a breaking of continuity and by the separation of the soul from the body. Again, a breaking may be real or mystical. The bones of Christ were not to be really broken, and in fact were not broken, but still no less was his heart mystically lacerated and broken by the griefs and torments which he endured on the cross, most of all from the sense of the wrath and curse of God resting upon him on account of our sins. Hence it is said, "Reproach has broken [his] heart" (Ps. 69:20*); his soul is said to have been full of heaviness (*perilypos*); and agony and amazement (*ekthambēsis*) are ascribed to him by the evangelists to designate the intense suffering of his mind.

3. From 1 Cor. 10:16.

VII. (3) From the passage of Paul: "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we being many are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread" (1 Cor. 10:16, 17*). Here he clearly shows that he retains the breaking of bread in the use of the Eucharist and that in it is contained the mystery of the union of believers with Christ and with each other, as from one bread we all partake and one bread is made up of many grains. And since Paul professes that he delivered nothing in the celebration of this mystery which he had not received from the Lord, who can doubt that the breaking of bread, which he retains, was according to the command of Christ? And they who take away that breaking, how can they say, "The bread which we break, we are one bread, one body, because we are partakers of one bread." For among them neither is one bread broken, nor is it distributed among many. The mystery full of consolation concerning our union with Christ and with each other by the participation of one bread is also lost to them. Nor can it be said that this breaking is to be taken for the distribution, because breaking without distribution cannot be held for the communion of the body of Christ. For although the breaking ought not to be made without the distribution, nor can it be considered as the communion of the body, it does not follow that it

ought to be considered as the same. For things mutually connected with each other (so that one is not without the other) are thereupon the same. If he had wished to intimate nothing else by the breaking than distribution, why did he not say "the bread which we distribute"? Yet he says "which we break." But the command and example of Christ and the mystery of the unity of believers demanded the other.

4. From the practice of the apostles.

VIII. (4) From the practice of the apostolic church, which constantly retained the breaking of bread. Hence the disciples are said to have "continued in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers" (Acts 2:42). Christians are said to have come together upon the first day of the week to break bread (Acts 20:7), i.e., to celebrate the holy Supper, which was customarily done on the Lord's day when they assembled to hear preaching and to perform the other public exercises of piety. Hence the whole action is wont to be described by the breaking of bread. To say that this rite was indeed used here, but not as necessary, is to beg the question and to take for granted what is to be proved. For on the contrary, we solidly gather the necessity of this rite from that practice because the church could do nothing here, nor prescribe it to others, except what she had received from the Lord and to which she felt herself bound by the command of Christ.

5. From the practice of the ancient church.

IX. (5) From the practice of the ancient church. It can be readily shown that the rite of breaking was constantly retained from the apostolic age even up to the twelfth century, as appears from the monuments of the ancients, which everywhere mention this rite. Ignatius: "The flesh of the Lord Jesus is one, his blood is one, which was poured out for us; one also the bread broken for all" (Pseudo-Ignatius, *Ad Philadelphenses* 4 [PG 5.822]). Irenaeus: "When the mixed cup and the broken bread receives the word of God, it becomes the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ" (*Against Heresies* 5.2 [ANF 1:528; PG 7.1125]). Theophylact: "When he had blessed and given thanks, he broke the bread, which we also do, accompanying it

with prayers" (*Ennaratio in Evangelium Marci* [PG 123.650] on Mk. 14:22–25). See more testimonies in Daille, *De Cultibus Religiosis Latinorum* 3.25 (1671), pp. 423–31.

6. From the Romanists.

X. (6) Many Romanists acknowledge this. Lorinus (on Acts 2) observes, "This rite and custom of the primitive church, which was accustomed to take one loaf, and to break it, consecrated, into as many pieces as there were communicants, as Christ also did in the Supper." Justiniani confirms the same (cf. *In omnes B. Pauli epistolas explanationum* [1612–13], 1:536–38 on 1 Cor. 10:16). Sirmond acknowledges that it was the ancient custom to break the bread into many pieces ("Disquisitio de Azymo," *Opera Varia* [1696], 4:521–25). Hence the sacred symbols came under the name of "particles" (*meridōn*) or "sacred particles" (*hagiōn meridōn*) because they were made of the broken bread. This locution was so familiar to the ancient Latin church that, the thing being abolished, the name could not be abolished and still remains; for as he remarks, "Although the whole offerings are consecrated together and are given whole to individuals, still from the ancient custom they have obtained the name particles."

Sources of explanation.

XI. Although the breaking of the bread was derived by Christ from the custom prevailing among the Jews (equally as well as the distribution, taking and eating of the bread), this does not prevent it from being peculiar from an ordained cause and from having its own signification by itself. For subordinates do not clash.

XII. Although sometimes "the breaking of bread" designates its distribution (as in Is. 58:7 and elsewhere), it does not follow that it is equally so in this sacrament. For this would be to argue from a particular to a particular. (1) They are openly distinguished by the evangelists: "He broke the bread, and gave it." Therefore the breaking and distribution are distinct actions. Thus elsewhere these two are often conjoined (Mt. 14:19; Mk. 8:6). (2) Many are made partakers of one bread in the sacrament (1 Cor. 10:17). Therefore one bread is necessarily broken that it may be distributed among

many. And the reason why Paul does not mention distribution when he speaks of the broken bread is not because he takes these two for one and the same thing, but because the command to take is immediately subjoined, which supposes a giving.

XIII. Because they lack the breaking of bread, they cannot be said to have the Supper entire as to all its parts, but defective and mutilated—if not as to the symbols, at least as to the rites instituted and commanded by Christ.

Twenty-Fifth Question: Communion Under Both Kinds

Ought both symbols of the Eucharist to be administered according to the command of God to each and every adult believer? Or is the use of the cup to be forbidden to the people? The former we affirm; the latter we deny against the Romanists

Concerning communion under one species.

Whence it arose.

I. The third question concerning the symbols and their use concerns communion under one species. The Romanists press this with great urgency as the sequel of transubstantiation (which is best adopted to confirm more and more this comment). For from the time that this portentous opinion began to take firm root in the mind, a dreadful fear of spilling the sacred wine took possession of the Latins; nor did it seem to them to be sufficient for the avoidance of this danger to touch the bread with the sacred wine and to administer it thus sopped; but they judged it to be far better if they should wholly and entirely omit the communion of the cup, especially since they determined that the entire body and blood of Christ are truly contained under the species of bread. In order to satisfy themselves in this particular, with rash temerity they proceeded to change the administration of the holy Eucharist and to introduce a new rite—that the sacrament itself consists in both elements of bread and wine. Indeed, the priest who has effected it takes

both parts of it, but to all the rest (as many of the laity or clergy who may communicate) he distributes the bread alone and supplies no one with the cup. Thus the two symbols which Christ joined by divine authority, our opponents with sacrilegious boldness have torn asunder. And what Christ instituted for all believers, this they (his command being despised and his testament corrupted) claim has been taken away from the greatest part of Christians by their petty sacrifices alone.

II. How much this huge change (casting reproach upon Christ and the apostles, the ancient church and modern Christians) excited the Christian world, history clearly teaches, so that there is no need to dwell upon it. Also, how much the Bohemians in the beginning of the fifteenth century opposed themselves to this error and among them John Hus and Jerome of Prague (men of undying fame) is known to the merest novice. Let it suffice to quote the decree of the Council of Constance, held in the year 1405, in order that it may appear what the opinion of the Romanists is.

Decree of the Council of Constance.

III. Thus the Council speaks: "Since in some parts of the world certain persons presume rashly to assert that Christian people ought to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist under both species of bread and wine and everywhere impart it to the laity not only under the species of bread, but also under that of the wine, even after a meal or otherwise not fasting; and obstinately assert that it should be communicated, against the praiseworthy custom of the church, reasonably approved (which they endeavor to reprobate as a sacrilege damnably approved), hence it is that this present general Council of Constance lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit, striving to provide for the safety of believers from this error, the mature judgment of many doctors, of divine as well as of human law, having been obtained, declares, decrees and determines, that although Christ instituted it after a Supper, and administered it to his disciples under both species of bread and wine; still notwithstanding this, the authority of the sacred canons, the laudable and approved custom of the church has preserved and preserves that a sacrament of this kind ought not to be effected after a meal, nor received by believers not fasting, except in case of weakness or of another necessity from a right either granted or admitted by the church. And

as this custom was reasonably introduced to prevent any dangers or scandals, because although in the primitive church this sacrament was received by believers under both species, it was afterwards received by the effecters under both, and by the laity only under the species of bread, since it is to be most firmly believed, and in no way to be doubted that the entire body and blood of Christ are truly contained as much under the species of bread as under the species of wine. Hence since this custom was reasonably introduced by the church and the holy fathers, and has been for a very long time observed, it is to be regarded as a law, which it is not permitted to reprobate, or to change by his own authority at pleasure" (Session 13, Mansi, 27:727–28). They sanctioned this law by a barbarous example (viz., by the dreadful and cruel burning alive of John Hus at first, then Jerome of Prague his disciple, wasted away by imprisonment, in the year after the death of his preceptor).

Confirmed by the Council of Trent.

IV. This error, established by the fathers of the Council of Constance, the Council of Trent confirmed in the sixteenth century and supported by its own terrible anathemas. "It declares and teaches that the laity and the clergy, when not officiating, are not bound by any divine precept to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist under both kinds; nor can it in any way be doubted that the communion of one kind suffices for their salvation. For although Christ, our Lord, in the last Supper, instituted this Supper in two kinds and so delivered it to the apostles, still that institution and delivery do not tend to this, that all the believers in Christ are bound by a statute of the Lord to receive both kinds" (Session 21, Chap. 1, Schroeder, pp. 132–33). And it is added: "Wherefore, our holy mother, the church, acknowledging this her authority in the administration of the sacraments, although, from the beginning of the Christian religion, the use of both kinds was not infrequent, being induced by weighty and just causes, in consequence of the extensive change of practice in the progress of time, has approved this practice of communicating under one kind and decreed that it should be a law, which it is not lawful to change at pleasure without the authority of the church herself, nor to reprobate" (Session 21, Chap. 2, ibid., pp. 133–34). And that no one may dare to murmur against these canons, the Council

strikes them with an anathema: “Whoever shall say that from the command of God each and all believers ought to take both kinds of the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, let him be anathema” (Canon 1, ibid., pp. 134–35). And in addition: “Those, who shall say that the Catholic church was not influenced by just causes and reasons to give the sacrament to the laity and also to the clergy when not officiating under the one species of bread alone, or that she has erred in this, let him be anathema” (Canon 2, ibid., p. 135).

V. From this the opinion of the Romanists is evident without any further investigation. Ours is wholly contrary. In fact, we think that the communion under both kinds instituted by Christ should necessarily be retained; so that it is not only free to each one to use it, but from the command of Christ they are individually bound to it, unless they are prevented by some insuperable hindrance. Not without the highest sacrilege can the cup be taken away from the people against the express law of God. The state of the question therefore (1) is not Was communion under both kinds instituted by Christ? (which our opponents do not dispute); but Ought it to be instituted in like manner by believers, so that it is not only a thing indifferent and accidental, but necessary and essential to the perfection of the sacrament? (2) The question is not Is the believer so bound to communion under both kinds that he cannot in any case without sin commune under one kind only? For we confess if any unavoidable impediment interposes, either internal (arising from the disposition of the receiver) or external from other causes, by which he is prohibited from taking one kind, such an one is worthy of commiseration rather than of reprehension. Rather the question is whether the use of the cup can rightly be interdicted to the people. Or whether the minister is bound to give each one the symbols of bread and wine. And whether the believer, hindered by no necessity, ought to partake of both kinds. The Romanists deny it, who hold as a law the interdiction of the cup to all the laity, certain ones being excepted to whom they grant this privilege; as to Caesar, to kings and cardinals, not to priests (as they are able to take the blood with all propriety and caution). On the contrary, we affirm that the cup can be taken away from no one, but must be given to all. Hence it is evident that they pervert the state of the question who put it thus —Did Christ in the institution of the sacrament so command the taking of both species to all that it is lawful for no one without sin to commune under

one species only (to wit, that thus there might be a place for the objection concerning the abstemious)? Rather it should be said Did Christ in the institution of the sacrament so command this taking of both species that without sin one species can be interdicted to anyone, much less to all. This they deny; we assert. The reasons are various.

The use of the cup is proved: (1) from the institution of Christ (Mt. 26).

VI. The first argument is drawn from the institution of Christ. What Christ instituted for the perpetual use of his church ought not to be violated by anyone; nor can it be without criminality. And yet Christ instituted the Eucharist under both symbols, having given to the apostles not only bread, but also the cup, and commanded all to drink of it (as is related with entire unanimity by all the evangelists and by Paul, "Drink ye all of it"). This we read was immediately practiced by them according to the order of Christ. "They all drank of it," as Mark says (14:23). Here various arguments lie concealed. (a) From the object of the command, which is not particular, belonging to certain persons, but universal, belonging to all: "Drink ye all of it." (b) From the conjunction of the bread and wine, for there is the same necessity of drinking the cup as of taking the bread because Christ is said "in like manner" (*hōsautōs*) to have taken the cup and to have commanded its use (i.e., for the same end, and that it might be received by the same persons). (c) From the command added: "This do" (to wit, administer and distribute both symbols to all, which Christ had done and commanded his apostles to do).

VII. In vain is it objected: (1) "Many things were instituted by God which yet are not enjoined upon all; as marriage, the preaching of the gospel, and the like." For who does not see the disparity between those things which are instituted which are of the necessity at least of precept and which are of liberty; which are instituted for the common use of all and which only for the particular use of some? The latter can be instituted to prescribe their legitimate mode and yet not be imposed upon all; but this is not the case with the others, which as they are instituted for all, so they ought to be observed by all, such as the Eucharist is. (2) "An institution is

not forthwith a command." For besides the fact that an express command is extant (when Christ orders his people to do this), it is evident that the institution includes a command from the end of the institution; for whatever is proposed with this end that it be done, by that very thing it obliges to the performance and has the force of a command. Again, we must here distinguish the institution of a state or ordination to some office or kind of life, from the institution of a rite, which is the ordination of a certain thing to be done by men. The former does not bind each and all, but only those who wish to live in that state (for example, in matrimony); but the latter is always obligatory upon all those who are bound to observe that rite; nor can it be performed otherwise than by the employment of those things which he who instituted the rite is either himself found to have employed or ordered to be employed. (3) "The divine sanction can sometimes be omitted in things of this kind, which neither from themselves nor from the prescription of the law of nature are necessarily to be observed, weighty reasons demanding it; thus David ate the showbread, the Maccabees fought on the Sabbath, the church baptizes infants who are not instructed, and has judged that sprinkling in baptism is sufficient." Here things plainly discordant are joined together. (a) In the examples adduced weighty reasons are assigned: the hunger of David was a weighty reason, as was the extermination of the people; but here are no weighty or extraordinary causes. Yea, there are the most weighty reasons why the command of Christ should not be violated. (b) Those deeds were singular, not of an institution or custom; while we treat here of the strict prohibition of the cup made by a solemn decree. (c) It is falsely supposed that to baptize infants not instructed is contrary to the command of Christ; for as Maldonatus well remarks, "Christ does not forbid those to be baptized who cannot be taught, but only commands that all, who had been before taught, should be baptized" (*Commentary on the Holy Gospels: Matthew* [1888], 2:639 on Mt. 28:19). (d) It has been proved already that sprinkling is sufficient for baptism, as that is designated by *baptizein*; but it is one thing to convert immersion into sprinkling, which can answer the end of baptism (viz., for washing); but another thing to prohibit the use of the cup, which Christ instituted.

VIII. (4) "The words, 'Drink ye all of it,' spoken to the apostles alone, cannot be extended to all men because it would follow that the sacrament ought to be given to Turks, Jews and the heathen; nor to all Christians, for

thus infants would be included; nor to all adult believers, because the apostles alone were present." Although the apostles alone were then present, yet this is not said to them alone, but in their person to all who were about to approach the communion. (a) Christ directs his words to those to whom he said, 'This do'; and yet according to the majority of Romanists these words are directed to all believers. (b) The same thing ought to be said of the bread because he also said to the apostles alone 'Take, eat.' (c) These were said to the apostles alone, but not as apostles and administrators, because Christ alone was then the minister and thus all of another grade and order than the apostles would be excluded; but it was said to them as communicants, in which way it ought similarly to be common to all other believers and to the whole church, which the apostles then represented. (d) Paul, who is a faithful interpreter of the words of Christ, refers this to all communicants: "Whoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup." (e) It is absurd to speak of Turks, heathen and infants, who from the order of Christ are removed from this sacrament, both because they are not capable of the examination (which is required here, as infants) and because they are not Christians and in the covenant (as Turks and the heathen, to whom, therefore, the seals of the covenant do not belong). (5) "Luke says that this command was given after they had supped (*meta to deipnēsai;* i.e., after the Supper was finished) to which therefore the institution of the cup did not properly belong." For here the Supper (*to deipnon*) means the paschal feast in which he had already taken the paschal cup, and not the Eucharist (as appears from Mt. 26:26 which says "as they were eating" [*esthiontōn autōn*]). The bread and the cup were taken by Christ (i.e., at the end of the paschal supper, Christ instituted the sacrament by taking the bread and the cup). These two are conjoined as integral parts of the same sacrament. The Council of Constance confesses this, acknowledging that Christ gave the sacrament after the Supper under both kinds to his disciples.

2. From 1 Cor. 11:26.

IX. (2) From the words of Paul where, reciting the institution of Christ and the subsequent command, he obliges the Corinthian church to take both kinds: "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come" (1 Cor. 11:26). And afterwards: "Let a man

examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup" (v. 28). And: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. 10:16). Where eating and drinking (as two essential parts of one and the same mystery) are joined together by the particle *hōsautōs* and united as if inseparable. But how could this have been done by the apostle, if they can without criminality be disjoined? Why does he determine that the annunciation of the Lord's death, which should be made in the Eucharist by the use of bread and the cup, ought to be made conjointly, not only of either separately, if one species could have been sufficient? Why is no distinction drawn here between the people and the clergy, which however is the very greatest in the use of the sacrament according to the mind of the Romanists. But he speaks of all in general "whoever" and addresses all believers indiscriminately. These things, in truth, show more clearly than the midday sun that according to Paul the use of the cup no less than of the bread was common to all.

X. Frivolously is it objected: (1) "Paul uses a disjunctive in v. 27*, 'Whosoever shall eat this bread or [ē] drink this cup.' Hence it is evident that this bread was taken by some or could be taken without the cup." For (a) if such were the force of the disjunctive, it would equally prove that some drank without the bread and ate without drinking (which however the Romanists do not wish). (b) Paul uses the disjunctive because sin can be committed not only in the unworthy reception of both, but also in either. (3) The disjunctive very frequently has the force of a copulative with profane as well as with the sacred writers. "For the promise was not to Abraham, or to his seed, through the law" (Rom. 4:13), i.e., as much to Abraham as to his seed, as Paul has it: "To Abraham and his seed were the promises made" (Gal. 3:16). "Whether prophecies, or tongues" (1 Cor. 13:8), they shall cease (i.e., both prophecies and tongues). "I am not come to destroy the law or the prophets" (Mt. 5:17). "Whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free" (Eph. 6:8), i.e., "both the slave and the master." Therefore, there is nothing in the common use to hinder us from understanding that particle copulatively, especially since Paul, handling the same thing, uses it only once, but the copulative four times. There is no doubt that when he used the particle more often, he understood it properly rather than that which is more rarely used

by him. (d) The most ancient codex preserved in the Royal Library in England, presented by Cyril (Lukar) to James I, thus reads, *hōste hos an esthin ton arton kai pinē* (cf. *The Codex Alexandrinus* [1909], p. 122 on 1 Cor. 11:26). The Syriac renders it by a copulative and most copies of the Vulgate before the Sixtine with Anselm and Thomas. (2) "It treats of officiating clergymen and not of the laity." For who does not see that the whole discourse of Paul is directed to the Corinthian church (i.e., to believers of both classes, the laity as well as the clergy, and to the laity more than the clergy because by the former that sin had been specially committed, to the correction of which the dissertation of Paul is directed). Hence, he denies that the Corinthians can drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils (1 Cor. 10:21), which could not be said unless the laity had been allowed to use the cup; as Salmeron (*Commentarii un evangeliam historiam et in Acta Apostolorum*, Tract. XVII* [1602–4], 14:138f. on 1 Cor. 10), Becanus, Costerus, Toletus (*In sacrosanctum Joannis Evangelium commentarii* [1588] 1:614–15 on Jn. 6:53) acknowledge. (3) "The apostle did not command believers to eat and drink absolutely, but prescribed the mode which they ought to use, if they wished to eat and drink profitably." For it is clear that both are here intimated, so that it might not only be free for each one to eat and drink at pleasure, but also necessary from duty. This appears even from the fact not only that Paul recalls believers to the institution of Christ (where the express command is found), but also because all those are ordered to eat and drink who are ordered to examine themselves (which is the duty not of some only, but of all). (4) "Thence it can be gathered only that communion under both kinds is allowed, but not forthwith that it is necessary." For if it is allowed, why then do they prohibit it? Nay, what is proposed to the Corinthians as accepted by the Lord, binds all; and the custom in that church ought to be retained on account of the relationship in doctrine.

3. From the command of Christ, "This do."

XI. (3) From the command of Christ, "This do in remembrance of me." This must be referred to the entire action; not only to the consecration, but also to the taking of the bread and the wine, as both communicants and administrators are regarded here, who are ordered to do the very thing

which Christ commanded. The latter to take up, bless, and break, and give; and the former to eat the bread and drink the wine received. Hence Paul with Luke adds these words not only to the distribution of the bread, but also to the handing of the cup because there is the same reason. Thus in the Liturgies of Mark, Peter and James these words are referred to both kinds (cf. "The Liturgy of James," in F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* [1896], pp. 64, 65, 104; "The Liturgy of Mark," ibid., pp. 140, 186; "Liturgy of St. Peter," in *Greek Liturgies* [ed. C.A. Swainson, 1971], p. 198). Again, it is evident that a double work was performed by Christ: to consecrate and to deliver. Afterwards he said, "This do." Hence I thus infer that by the words "This do" is denoted either both works or only either one of the two. Not one or the other, because it would be uncertain which; or if it were certain, it must be referred to the nearest (viz., to the distribution). Therefore these words denote both.

XII. It helps them nothing to reply: (1) "Luke put 'this do' after the distribution of the bread, and did not put it after the cup had been given, in order that we might understand that the Lord commanded the distribution to all under the species of bread, not in like manner under the species of the wine." As Soto well remarks (*Commentarium in quartum sententiarum* 4, Dis. 12, Q. 1 [1575], 2:527–84) and Vasquez, "He who commands the commemoration of a benefit received to be made by any work, from the mode itself of commanding, commands also that the work itself be done" ("Disputatio 213.2," *Commentariorum ac Disputationum in Tertiam Partem ... Thomae* [1631], 2:342). Now although Luke did not add (after the giving of the cup) the same words, the same thing ought to be gathered from the parity, as Paul explains. Nor if he adds "as often as ye drink" can it be thence inferred that he did not command the use of the cup absolutely as necessary, not otherwise than of the bread, but only if at any time they should use it. Thus it is not a command to drink, but if they do drink they should so do. The same thing is said of the bread and of the cup: "As often as ye eat this bread" (1 Cor. 11:26). Therefore, either one or the other is not said absolutely of the bread or also absolutely of the cup. Nor is command as to the manner of using only involved, but also the use itself. (2) "The precept is affirmative, which therefore certainly binds always; yet not to all times, but for the time of necessity." It is gratuitously supposed that there is not always a necessity of communion under both kinds. Yet the contrary is

evident from Christ's command, "Drink ye all of it." I confess that it does not bind to always, because there is a time in which the Supper is not celebrated. But as often as it is celebrated, it is necessary that the communion should be made under both kinds. But how will this affirmative precept be reconciled with the negative precept of the prohibition of the cup, which ought to bind always and to always? (3) "These words are directed to the priests alone, to whom alone it belongs to do what Christ did in the Supper." For (a) if these words belong to the priests alone, to them alone will belong the whole institution of the Eucharist which is contained in these words. Jansen (cap. 131, *Concord*.+) and Vasquez (*Commentariorum ac Disputationum in Tertiam Partem ... Thomae*, Disp. 193.2 [1631], 3:206–9) confess that there is something in the meaning of their words which belongs to individual believers. (b) If "this do" is referred to the consecration and distribution of the symbols, it can be said to belong to priests or ministers alone. But if it is extended to the taking and eating and drinking (as it must necessarily be extended), it does not regard the administrators alone, but also every communicant. (4) "The command here can be said to relate to the use of the cup for the whole church, but not for individuals. For there are many things commanded which suit the whole church, but are to be fulfilled by certain persons, not by everyone, such as is the ministry." The case is different with precepts common to all and those which are peculiar to certain orders. Both are indeed given to the church, but the former to everyone (as to believe in Christ, to love our neighbor); the latter, however, only to individuals of a certain class (as all are bound to honor their parents, who have parents, but not others who have lost them). The use of the cup is not of particular commands respecting a certain class (such as the ministry), but of general, extending to each and every adult. Thus it is not only considered to be given to the whole church but to individuals and by individuals (who are capable) to be fulfilled.

4. From the end of the sacrament.

XIII. (4) From the end of the sacrament. This mutilation of the sacrament impugns the twofold end on account of which the sacrament was instituted: that it may be a commemoration of the death of Christ, which cannot be done under one kind, but necessarily demands two, the one of which is

separated from the other to designate the separation of the body from the blood; and the Bishop of Meaux (Briconnet) does not deny that the commemoration of the death of Christ in the two kinds is more express and that it may be a symbol of our entire and full nutrition by Christ, which is effected not only by meat but also by drink (*par*. 2+). As therefore the end of the instituted cup is enjoined upon the people, upon the same the use of the cup is also enjoined. This appears from the equal example of the bread, which all are commanded to eat. Without reason, however, is it replied: (a) "This express commemoration is not necessary in the sacrament, but it is sufficient if it be done in the sacrifice." For besides the fact that it is falsely pretended that there is a sacrifice here (as will be proved in its place), there is no reason why (if in a sacrifice) the blood separated from the body and poured out ought to be offered, it ought not to be received in the sacrament as poured out, especially as the showing of the death of Christ is assigned in Paul to the communion (which is done by the meat and drink) and not to an offering upon the altar. (b) "It is evident from the apostle that one kind is sufficient for the commemoration because he said as much concerning the bread as concerning the wine and of both separately, 'This do in remembrance of me.' " This does not prove that either of the two is sufficient. Paul indeed said that in the eating of the bread a commemoration is made, but he did not say that this was sufficient. Is it the same thing for the body to live by the eating of bread and for bread alone to suffice in order that the body may live? Otherwise the same thing could be said of the sacrifice, which however they do not wish. (c) "God sometimes used bread and wine to sustain the bodily life, sometimes one of the two; as he supported Israel for a long time with the eating of manna alone without drink." For with equal right I could prove that there is no need of using either kind, neither the bread nor the wine, because God is able in an extraordinary manner to nourish and sustain men without bread and wine (as Moses for forty days). But we are not treating here of what God can do, but what he wishes according to his institution. We are not speaking of an extraordinary mode of sustentation, but of an ordinary mode, because the Eucharist is not derived from that, but from this (to wit, the accustomed order of nature). Finally, it is falsely asserted that Israel was supported by manna alone; they also had water from the rock.

5. Because the people are capable of the cup.

XIV. (5) Because a sign instituted by Christ must not be denied to those who are capable of the thing signified. For since the sacraments were instituted to signify a thing, to whom the end or thing signified is not denied, to them the means to that end are not to be denied. Now all believers are capacious of the blood, which is the thing signified by the cup; therefore to them also ought to belong the use of the cup. In vain is it objected, "In corporeal matters to eat and drink are different; but in spiritual matters they are the same, and thus he who eats Christ under one kind, although to eat spiritual food only is signified, still is most fully refreshed no differently than if he drank of the cup." Although to eat and to drink are the same spiritually, it does not follow that one of the two elements should be prohibited to him who eats and drinks spiritually; otherwise one of the elements should be prohibited to the priest, to whom to drink and to eat are no less the same thing. Nay, both would have to be taken away from all since he who spiritually eats and drinks can fully eat and drink without the bread and the cup. Again, it is not treated here of the participation of the thing signified, but of the use of the sign. Indeed, Christ knew that the thing signified would be entire under each kind singly and yet he wished it to be taken under both. He had a regard therefore not only to the thing, but also to the signs for a more manifest representation of his passion. Therefore, as Christ conjoined both symbols, no one can or ought to separate them, much less prohibit what he commanded.

6. From the practice of the ancient church.

XV. (6) From the practice of the ancient church and of the whole purer antiquity from the age of the apostles, our opponents not disputing it. The Council of Constance (as has been seen) ingenuously acknowledges that "Christ instituted this venerable sacrament under both kinds and in the primitive church the sacrament of this kind was received by believers under both kinds; still notwithstanding this it declares, decrees and determines that a different custom introduced by the church is to be considered as a law, which it is not lawful to reprobate" (Session 13, cf. Mansi, 27:727). What could be said more expressly to prove to all impiety and sacrilege and a

violation of the order instituted by Christ? Christian ears cannot hear this without horror. Cassander frequently confesses the same thing, especially in Letter 19*: "The writings of all the ancients so manifestly testify this custom of joining to the communication of the Lord's body in the stated and ordinary ministration the communication of his blood also, that I do not think anyone would be so impudent as to deny it" (*Georgi Cassandri ... Opera* [1616], p. 1105). And: "Concerning the administration of the holy sacrament of the Eucharist it is well known that the universal church of Christ up to our day, the western and Roman for more than a thousand years after Christ, especially in the solemn ordinary dispensation of this sacrament, exhibited both the species of bread and wine to all the members of Christ, a fact gathered plainly from the innumerable testimonies of ancient writers Greek as well as Latin" ("De Articularis Religionis … consultatio," Art. 22 ["De Utraque Specie Sacramenti"] *Opera* [1616], p. 981). Dionysius Petavius, a writer of great reputation among the Romanists, disputing with Arnauld concerning the public penitence of the ancients: "What will Arnauld reply to these things? Will he deny that this use of the Eucharistical communion under both kinds prevailed in the apostolic times and was continued by the church for many centuries afterwards? And yet he cannot deny or tamper with this, unless he wishes to be reckoned in the last class of the unlearned or certainly in the first class of impudent men" (cap. 5+). It would be easy to adduce passages of the fathers through different ages by which it is proved that even up to the tenth century and beyond, the communion of both kinds was retained; but for the sake of brevity, we refer the reader to Chamier, Calixtus and especially Daille (who most accurately follows up this subject, *De Cultibus Religiosis Latinorum* 5.7–13 [1671], pp. 608–57), the testimonies of the ancient liturgies, which bear the names of Basil, Chrysostom, Peter, James, Mark, etc., in which mention is constantly made of the communion in both kinds.

XVI. It will be sufficient for us to quote two testimonies from the Romanists themselves: Leo and Gelasius, who agree with us. The former, where speaking of the avoidance of the poison of the Manicheans, and their foolish and profane superstitions, addressing a Roman assembly, relates the following concerning those heretics. "Since in order to cover their own infidelity, they dare to meddle with our mysteries in the communion of the sacrament they so order themselves as sometimes, in order to conceal

themselves more safely, to receive with unworthy mouth the body of Christ, while they altogether refuse to drink the blood of our redemption. On this account, we wish your holiness to know that men of this kind who are manifested by these signs and whose sacrilegious deceit has been found out, being marked and discovered, may be authoritatively driven away from the priestly society of the saints" (Sermon 42*, "On Lent, IV" [NPNF2, 12:158; PL 54.279–80]). From this it clearly appears that at Rome the sacrament was administered at that time in no other way than under both kinds; for if the modern custom had been in vogue, they would be absurdly said to decline the cup which was extended by the priest neither to themselves nor to the Catholics communicating there. But a clearer testimony is drawn from the law proposed by Pope Gelasius at the end of the fifth century. The law is found in Gratian, long ago referred to by the ancient canonists, Anselm, Polycarp, Ivo and others. "We have discovered," it says, "that certain ones, a portion only of the sacred body being taken, abstain from the cup of sacred blood, who undoubtedly, since I know not with what superstition they are taught to be bound, either may receive the entire sacrament, or be kept away from the whole, because the division of one and the same mystery cannot be made without great sacrilege" ('Decreti,' Pt. III, "De Consecratione," Dist. 2.12 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1959], 1:1318). Than these words nothing could be more expressly said to prove the necessity of both kinds to all without exception. Nor can it be said that this refers to the officiating priests, upon whom Gelasius imposes this law, as the title of the canon prefixed by Gelasius reads: "A priest ought not to receive the body of Christ without the blood" (ibid.). There is nothing in the contents of the law peculiar to the priest, but it is common to all communicants, as Baronius himself acknowledges. "For in reality," says he, "no mention is there made of the priest communicating, so that it can be sufficiently understood that what plainly appears to have been said generally ought by no means to be restricted to priests. We reject, therefore, a cold solution of such a kind" (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, Annus 496, 21* [1867], 8:568). And so the truer title should be restored to the canon, which Ivo had already prefixed to it: "The body of the Lord is not to be taken without the cup" (Ivo, "Decreti," Pt. 2.89 *Decretum* [PL 161.182]). With this agree the manuscript copies of Cassander. "The title of that Gelasian Canon," says he, "is found in the ancient manuscripts which we still have;

that it is lawful for no one to receive the communion of the body alone without partaking of the blood" (Letter 19, *Georgii Cassandri ... Opera* [1616], p. 1106). Hence it is evident how great is the agreement of modern Romanists with their ancestors. What the latter condemn not only of error, but (what is incomparably more grievous) of sacrilege (nay, of great sacrilege), this the former (by a law now passed) and indeed in two general councils, enjoin upon all their people and curse those who think differently.

7. From the consent of the rest of Christians.

XVII. (7) The consent of the rest of Christians also is of no little value here, who, the Latins alone excepted, all distribute the Eucharist under both kinds to the communicants. For while many things have been changed or revolutionized everywhere in all parts of Christendom, the custom of giving the Eucharist under both kinds to every communicant drawn even from the apostolic times continues up to this very day among all other Christians with the exception of the Latins alone. No one can doubt that this was the common and universal practice of the ancient church. Concerning the Greeks, the thing is well known and appears even from the letter of Jeremiah II: "You say, therefore, that at first both kinds were received in the holy Supper and you say rightly. For thus we also do, when we receive the venerated mysteries" ("First Answer of Patriarch Jeremiah II … 1576," *Augsburg and Constantinople* [trans. G. Mastrantonis, 1982], p. 91). Critopoulos Metrophanes confirms this ("Metrophanis Critopuli Confessio," 9 *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiae Orientalis* [ed. E.J. Kimmel, 1850], Pt. II, pp. 115–32). It is gathered that the Muscovites and Russians, Syrians and Georgians, Jacobites and Armenians, Ethiopians or Abyssinians and the Nestorians followed the same law, from the various accounts of those who adorned those places; such as Osorio, Alvaresius, Gouveanus, Godigno and the like.

8. From the demand for the cup.

XVIII. (8) Nor must we omit here the complaints of princes concerning the removal of the cup and the demands for its restitution. How zealously in the Council of Trent the Germans, French, Bohemians and others labored for

this—that communion under both kinds might be restored to the church—is sufficiently evident from history, even from the letter of Catharine de Medici to the pope, written A.D. 1561, where treating of the reformation of the church reference is made to what would be the wishes of the king, the clergy and the people about this head of religion by name. "The entire use of the sacred communion," she says, "that is, under both kinds, without a distinction of persons ought to be restored; nor ought the authority of the Council of Constance, which should weigh nothing against the command of God, to hinder this from being done" (cf. de Thou, *Historiarum sui temporis* 28* [1625], 1:563). In de Thou, there are extant also letters of King Charles IX, the son of Catharine, dated in the same year to Insulanus, his orator with the pope, in which he teaches that "he had been requested by the common prayers and entreaties of the bishops and doctors of his kingdom to intercede with the pope, that with his pardon and concession it might be allowed them, all his subjects for his sacred office, to communicate the holy Supper under both kinds of bread and wine, a rite discovered to have prevailed formerly in the primitive church." Insulanus, in reply to this letter, relates that the pope when he had set before him this request of the king had said: "This had always been his opinion concerning the communion of the cup, and the marriage of the clergy. That Caesar had demanded the same things of him at first for his son, the King of Bohemia, afterwards also for his subjects of the patrimonial sway." But the thing with the usual arts of the court of the Romish church having been spun out at length, in the end came to nothing, most of the cardinals heartily resisting Insulanus pressing the request of the king, especially Cardinal St. Angelus, who said (Insulanus reporting in his letter to the king) that "he would never assent to it, that only poison should be proposed to the French people instead of medicine, and that it seemed far better to him that they should permit those laboring under this disease to perish than grant such a remedy to them seeking it." How many and how great were the labors also of the Germans and their attempts from the beginning of the Council even to the end and even after its close; what the offices of Ferdinand, and of Maximilian (II), the Emperor, and of Albert (V), Duke of Bavaria, and others to obtain communion under both kinds, but with defeated attempts and useless labor, the very celebrated Calixtus relates in full (cf. *Georgi Cassandri De communione sub utraque specie dialogus ... Georgius Calixtus ... collegit et edidit* [1642], pp. 13ff.).

Sources of explanation.

XIX. The bread which Christ gave to his disciples at Emmaus (Lk. 24:30) was bread not of a sacred, but of a common table; prepared for supping, not for celebrating the sacrament, as all things persuade us—the hour, the thing, the custom of Christ (even Lyranus and Dionysius Carthusianus consenting). We read of no consecration having been made there, which however ought to precede the distribution; no mention there of the cup, or of its being distributed, or consecrated, which consecration, however, is necessary to the Eucharist according to the Romanists. Yea, with equal right it can be gathered that the Roman priests can offer without wine because Christ, who according to them was performing the functions of a priest, did not employ wine.

XX. Although the passages treat of the Eucharist, still they do not favor communion under one kind (Acts 2:42; 20:7). Synecdoche is a locution familiar to the Hebrews, by which the whole is designated from a part; as when it is said concerning Joseph that "he ate bread with his brethren" (Gen. 43:31*), i.e., entertained them; hence it would be falsely inferred that meat only had been placed before them and not drink also. Thus when the celebration of the Passover is expressed by "to eat the Passover," there is denoted not only the eating of the lamb, but also the use of the cup accustomed to be afforded. Otherwise, if the phrase is pressed, it would follow that the apostles consecrated and ate the bread alone (which our opponents do not grant). To have recourse here (as Bellarmine does) to the Nazarites, who abstained from wine, is a sheer illusion; both because there is no reference made to them (but is feigned by the Cardinal) and because they were few and rare (not only as to life, but also as to act)—to whom regard was not to be paid in preference to the great multitude. Besides in vain are the Nazarites brought up, since the Romanists maintain that not wine, but its empty appearance only remains in the cup.

XXI. Although in baptism we have changed immersion for sprinkling, it does not follow that in equal manner the cup can be taken away. (1) It is quite probable (as was said before) that the apostles sometimes used sprinkling, especially when a great multitude was to be baptized; as on the day of Pentecost when three thousand were baptized. And yet nothing such can be said about the taking away of the cup. (2) The church by changing

the custom of immersing, substituted sprinkling, which is equivalent to immersion in this particular—as denoting no less the effusion and application of Christ's blood. It is also of the same efficacy. Hence the blood of Christ is called "the blood of sprinkling" (Heb. 12:24). But what substitute did the Roman church give for the cup taken away? Nothing at all. (3) Immersion in baptism is not essential, but accidental. But the use of the cup is essential, not accidental to the Eucharist, as we have already said.

XXII. The figment of concomitance, by which it is believed that the whole Christ is contained under one of the species and can be received equally under one as under both, does not help the cause of the Romanists. (1) It is founded upon the false hypothesis of the transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Christ. (2) It confounds "the concomitance of the signs" with "the concomitance of the thing signified." We acknowledge indeed a concomitance of the body and blood in the thing signified, inasmuch as these are connected both by a natural and a personal union. But we deny that therefore it has place in the signifying signs, because since they are from an institution, the conjunction ought to be such as was instituted by Christ; but Christ wished that there should be two signs and two relations of signifying, so that the body might be taken with the bread, the blood with the wine, and not both with the bread by concomitance. Therefore, although the whole Christ should be taken under one of the species, the communion ought not on that account to be made under one species, because a command of Christ ought not to be violated under any pretext and in whatever manner the thing signified may be perceived; the sign instituted by Christ ought always to be retained; otherwise Christ would be convicted of ignorance as if he had multiplied unnecessary ceremonies. Therefore, it is one thing to speak of the whole Christ; another of both species. For this belongs to the signs, that to the thing signified. Nor is it true, if the whole thing signified is in one species, that on this account both species are in one. However, the question is Are not the people injured by the withdrawal of the cup? Innocent III acknowledges it. "Although," says he, "the blood may be taken with the body under the species of bread and the body with the blood under the species of wine, still neither the blood under the species of bread, nor the body under the species of wine is drunk or eaten; because as neither the blood is eaten, nor the body drunk, so neither is drunk under the species of bread, or eaten under the species of

wine" (*De sacro altaris mysterio* 4.21* [PL 217.872]). (3) It is one thing to take Christ spiritually, but another sacramentally. He who takes the body of Christ spiritually, takes also the blood (I grant); but not he who receives it sacramentally, of which reception we treat here. (4) It is one thing to represent the living body of Christ; another to represent it dead. As to the former, where the living body of Christ is signified, there his blood ought to be; but not as to the latter. And yet in the Supper (as is known) Christ is exhibited not as alive, but as dead and his body as broken and his blood as poured out and separated from the body. Therefore, although Christ cannot in absolute being be divided, still in his relative and sacramental being he can be set before us as divided and dead, as the body was separated from the blood. (5) The reasoning militates against the clergy equally as well as against the laity. For if the bread by concomitance draws with it the blood, not even the priest will have need of the cup. For there is no reason why the priest should be held to both kinds and the communicants to one. (6) These predications would be just—"The bread is the blood; the wine is the body." However, no one would say this.

XXIII. It is falsely supposed that the cup does not belong to the essence of the sacrament, for nothing is more of the essence of the sacrament than its parts; and yet the cup is a part of the sacrament. Nor is it to be said here that it is treated only of an article of discipline which the church can freely change. To no one is given the right to change what Christ instituted, especially in those things which belong to the essence of worship and are prescribed as necessary to all. Otherwise the church might take away from us the bread equally with the cup, since there is an equal necessity of both according to the command of Christ.

XXIV. The passage used by our opponents does not help their cause (Jn. 6:50, 51) because it does not refer to sacramental communion (as will be proved hereafter), but to spiritual; whether in the sacrament or out of it. Thus is so urged by Christ as to eating, as not to exclude drinking; but either tacitly includes it by synecdoche or expressly adds it to the other (vv. 35, 53–56).

XXV. Although, in order to distinguish that which belongs to the substance of the sacrament from what does not, the essential effect of the sacrament is to be looked to, it cannot thence be inferred that communion under one kind is sufficient. Nay, it ought rather to be concluded that the

two kinds are necessary because the essential effect of the sacrament is to commemorate the death of Christ and to signify to us the perfect nutrition which we have from Christ (which cannot be done by the sole species of bread).

XXVI. Although we do not deny that in many things which law has not determined, the church was free to settle what seemed to be more suitable; we deny that she had any right to take away from the people the cup which Christ instituted, because this was expressly sanctioned by Christ by a perpetual law to be observed by all.

XXVII. The arguments (or rather the suspicions) which our opponents bring up for a dry communion under one kind cannot prove what they intend. (1) The one institution ought to preponderate over all the particular examples because that has the force of a law and a rule; this does not according to the same principle. And yet according to them it is to be judged by laws, not by examples. (2) The particular actions of certain persons in certain places ought not to be opposed to the consent of all the churches dispersed throughout the world and to a custom received from the beginning and observed continually and uninterruptedly in the public use of the church up to the tenth and eleventh centuries. (3) The custom which the Romanists plead is neither universal, nor of divine right, nor from a precept, nor with a prohibition and condemnation of the opposed custom: all of which are met with in our communion.

XXVIII. The particular examples adduced do not help them. Not the communion of the dying. (1) The question is not how a few persons, compelled either by weakness of the body or some other necessity, may have received the Eucharist in private houses; but whether ministers extended and distributed to communicating believers in the sacred assembly, according to the common right and custom, only one or both kinds. (2) We confess that the Eucharist was given to the weak and dying in the fifth and following centuries, but we deny that it was given under one kind. Nay, from various examples it appears that the dying used both kinds because it is related of Valentine of Padua in the fifth century "that before his death he received with his own hands the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood"; also of Remaclus, Bishop of Utrecht, in the seventh century; of Audomarus*, Bishop of Morini, and of various others mentioned by the celebrated Daille (*De Cultibus Religiosis Latinorum* 5.11 [1671], pp. 640–

46). Here belongs the Canon of the Council of Tours, recorded by Burchard in his decrees, in which reference is made to the provision of the offering given to believers departing from the world. It is commanded that "the sacred offering be dipped in the blood of Christ, in order that the priest may truly say to the sick person may the body and blood of the Lord profit thee" (Burchard, *Decretorum* 5.9 [PL 140.754]). What is brought forward concerning Serapion is not conclusive, both because it is a solitary example, which cannot be set against innumerable others (yea, against the constant practice of the church); and because it is evident that he, from a child sent by a priest, received a morsel of bread not dry but soaked in wine, sent undoubtedly by the priest for this end, because bread unless soaked could not have been masticated by an old man exhausted in strength. "The presbyter," says Dionysius of Alexandria, "delivered to the boy, sent to bring him, a small portion of the Eucharist, in order that he might introduce it soaked into the mouth of the old man" (*apobrexai keleusas*, as the Greek words are) (cf. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 6.44 [FC 29:87; PG 20.631, 632, 634]). Of no greater weight is the example of the dying Ambrose, who (by Paulinus of Nola; cf. *Vita Sanctii Ambrosii* 47* [PL 14.46]) is said to have immediately given up the ghost, after having swallowed the morsel of bread. Therefore, if he did not receive the cup, it was not because it was prohibited, but because it could not be given to a dead man.

XXIX. Not the domestic communion of those who ate the particles of the Eucharist carried home and preserved dry. For besides the fact that it is one thing to speak of a private use, another of the public (of which we treat here); if they could carry the bread home, why not also wine? As Albaspinaeus, Bishop of Orleans, well remarks (cf. *Observationum libri duo*, Bk. 1, Observ. 4 [1631], p. 11), which he proves by the celebrated example of Gregory Nazianzus, who, speaking of Gorgonia, his sister, teaches most clearly that both kinds of the sacrament were accustomed to be preserved by believers: "If the hand at any time had closed upon any of the antitypes of the precious body or blood, she mixed it with tears, by which she said it pervaded the whole body as if it were a medicine" (Oration 11 [8].18, "On his Sister Gorgonia" [NPNF2, 7:243; PG 35.810–11]).

XXX. Not the communion of infants, because although it is true that infants constantly communicated even from the times of Cyprian to the twelfth century in the Latin church (as at this day is certainly the case

among the Greeks and Ethiopians), it cannot be shown that they communicated under one kind; nay, from Cyprian it is gathered that the communion of infants was full, not halved, for he introduces infants saying, "We did nothing; nor, the meat and drink of the Lord having been left, have we voluntarily hastened to profane companionship" (*On the Lapsed* [ANF 5:439; PL 4.487]). The same is gathered from Augustine (Letter 217, "To Valentine" [FC 32:87]).

XXXI. Not the laical communion, to which the clergy were condemned. It did not formerly signify what it does now (to wit, communion under one kind), but meant nothing else than the order and degree of communing (as Cassander remarks; cf. "De Sacra Communione … utraque, panis et vini specie," *Opera* [1616], p. 1029). He confesses that the most learned men in his day acknowledge "that what we read in the ancients concerning laical communion ought not to be understood of another kind of communing, but of the degree, order and place of the communicants because by another form of speech it was said to commune among laymen with laymen, as a layman." Albaspinaeus solidly proves the same thing and thus explains the true reason of this laical communion hidden in the monuments of the ancients, that no reason for doubt concerning it any longer remains (*Observationum libri duo*, Bk. 1, Observ. 4 [1631], pp. 10–19). These Morinus (*Exercitationis ecclesiasticae et Biblicae* 1.9 [1669], pp. 26–28) and Rigaltius, on the passage of Cyprian concerning Trophimus, have followed here. Thus we do not deny that there was a laical communion, but it did not make a new kind of communion, but only a new order as to person; so that he who was before a clergyman, or in the nomenclature of clergymen would then be in the order of laymen and would commune with laymen. This had the relation of a certain punishment or at least of diminished dignity and ministry, so that being deprived of administering the Eucharist, he must be content with communing only. Others hold that it was called lay communion from the place because the laity prayed and communed outside of the chancel by the ministry of the archdeacon (i.e., outside of the choir as they now term it, as Pamelius remarks in *Epistola 10 [52]*, "Ad Antonianum" [PL 3.788]). But neither in this way can it be proved that this lay communion was under one kind; cf. Chamier *Corpus theologicum* 9.3 [1653], 4:482–89).

XXXII. Not the communion of the "before-sanctified," so called because they partook of the Eucharist not on that very day in which it had been finished or consecrated, but either on the day before or even a more remote day of the week. The Greeks in Lent certainly do not offer except on the Lord's day and the Sabbath; on the remaining days they use *proēgiasmenois*. These are so called because that had before been sanctified. But nothing is thence elicited for the cause of our opponents, as if the communion was made only under one kind. Yea, the word itself proves the contrary for *ta proēgiasmena* are not said congruously concerning one or the other kind only, but of both, and it is evident that the plural number is ascribed to both. The liturgy of the previously sanctified makes mention of the participation of the body and blood of Christ. And from the Roman Ordinary of the day of preparation, it appears that the pope and the people on the day of preparation were sanctified or consecrated even under the species of the wine (the bread having been put into it) and therefore they communed under both kinds (cf. Daille, *De Cultibus Religiosis Latinorum* 5.22 [1671], p. 691). But whatever may be the case with that rite, it is certain that it is sufficiently recent and was not in use among the Latins before the seventh century; nor have we among the Greeks any witness more ancient than the Council of Trullan, as Daille teaches (ibid., p. 690).

XXXIII. The power to change the rites of the sacraments instituted by Christ no more belongs to the church than that of changing the word and the law. For as this contains an audible, so that contains the visible sign of the divine will. And yet Christ instituted the communion under both kinds, and the cup belongs to the external matter of the sacrament and so to its essence. Another reason relates to the external good order (*eutaxias*), concerning which the passage of the apostle must be understood (1 Cor. 11:34). But if this power is given to the church, what is to hinder us from saying that she has the power to abolish the whole sacrament of the Supper? Nor have the causes usually adduced for mutilating the Supper been just or weighty; either the scarcity of wine, or the danger of spilling it, or reverence for the sacrament, or the impossibility of the distribution of the cup in those places where the people are very numerous and there is only one priest. Christ also foresaw the same inconveniences and yet did not refrain from commanding the apostles to drink and do this in remembrance of him; nor did the old

church think so much of these inconveniences as to determine that on account of them the communion should be mutilated. Again, these circumstances neither always nor for the most part occur; nor can they hinder the entire sacrament from being administered. The scarcity of wine in certain places can no more cause the wine to be taken away from other people in the sacred than the scarcity in common use; but that defect can be supplied by some other liquor, its counterpart (*antiballomenō*) (if I may so speak), as was done by the Ethiopians with raisin wine. The danger of spilling and the reverence for the sacrament rest upon the false hypothesis of transubstantiation, the confirmation of which (no less than of the sacrifice of the Mass and the elevation of the clergy above the people) the Romanists have the most special regard to here.

XXXIV. It cannot be said that the same benefit is received from either kind as from both. This receiving of benefit is to be measured from the efficacy which is in the signifying. Now the bread does not signify the blood, nor the wine the body. Therefore neither does the bread effect (i.e., represent and seal) the blood nor the wine the body. Therefore, he who received only one of the two, according to this peculiar kind of efficacy, cannot be said to have received the thing signified by the other. Hence the adversaries themselves confess that the sacrament is of a more perfect signification under both kinds than under one; therefore the benefit is greater also under both. Finally, the institution of Christ alone ought to be above everything to us in retaining the common use of the cup for all.

XXXV. The argument drawn from "the abstemious," who commune only under one kind, cannot favor our opponents. The insuperable exception of a few ought not to overthrow a general rule. Their abstaining from the cup is not voluntary and free (which would be altogether culpable), but involuntary and invincible on account of a natural and unavoidable inability. Therefore, if they do not use the cup, they are not on that account to be considered as violators of the divine command, because the precept has reference only to those who can use wine and not to those in whom God has placed such an invincible impediment (and whom on that account he wished to dispense [*dispensare*] from this precept). But so far is this from infringing the command of Christ that it rather strengthens it the more, as an exception added to a rule is wont to bind it more strongly. For since they only are excused from taking the cup who have a disgust for wine, by that

very thing all others are determined to be bound to receive it. This is illustrated by the example of the deaf; for although the command to hear the word is given to all, it binds only those who can hear and not the deaf. And if the deaf are excepted from it, falsely would anyone infer from this that it was also lawful for others to be excepted.

XXXVI. The article of discipline of our churches by which the abstemious are excused from the use of the cup, provided they show reverence only by the movement of the cup to the mouth (by which they follow the institution of Christ and do not abstain from it through contempt but from inability), cannot help the Romanists (cf. "The Discipline of the Reformed Churches of France," 12, Canon 7 in Quick, *Synodicon* [1692], 1:xlviii). (1) Our practice differs widely from the Roman. It is one thing to bear with the weakness of those who cannot use wine; another to take away from and prohibit the cup to those who are without such weakness. The former is done by us; the latter by Romanists. (2) The article of discipline is a work of charity and accommodation (*synkatabaseōs*) towards a few out of unavoidable necessity. But the dogma of the Romanists is an absolute and simple interdiction towards all without necessity and against the express command of Christ. (3) The discipline does not intend that the species of the sacrament should be divided; nay, it intends that the sacrament should be retained entire and be conjointly extended and distributed to the people by the ministers (although both species cannot be received by the abstemious, but only one). But the Roman doctrine and practice wishes the sacrament to be divided and the communion mutilated by the priests. According to us the abstemious ought not only to desire the cup, but also to do everything to overcome their weakness; but the Romanists so take away the cup from the people that it is wrong for them to ask for it or to touch it. In one word, while according to our opinion nobody is kept from the use of the cup; nay, pastors are commanded to offer both kinds and believers to do all they can for its reception; by the Romanists the use of the cup is expressly forbidden to the people. It is evident that there is a great and wide difference between our opinion and theirs.

XXXVII. Now although the abstemious receive the sacrament only under one kind, their communion is not on that account to be considered wholly profitless (*illusoria*). (1) The entire sacrament is extended to them by the minister and if they are compelled to abstain from one kind, it is not

done spontaneously and contemptuously, but from sheer weakness and unavoidable necessity. (2) Although the species in the sacrament are indivisible by the ordination of God, this has respect to those only who can use them and not to others (whom he himself dispenses by the obstacle placed in their way). For as he made the law, so he alone can dispense from it whom he pleases; and separate the species in certain cases, who joined them and willed them to be joined. (3) The defect of use (or of either species through the taste) can in some measure be supplied both by the wish and from the sight, touch, smell and other sensations. (4) Although both signs are not received, they do not cease to be made partakers of the whole thing signified, which is indivisible.

XXXVIII. The Eucharistical cup was instituted by Christ as a symbol of the threefold mystical cup which is represented to us in the sacrament: (1) of the cup of the sufferings of Christ (cf. Mt. 26:39), of which it is a memorial in the wine which is poured out; (2) of the cup of grace and consolation, of which it is a seal in the cup which is extended to be drunk (cf. Ps. 16:5; 23:5); (3) of the cup of praise and of the giving of thanks, of which it is a testimony in the use of the cup, which we take with praise and thanksgiving (cf. Ps. 116:13) and which on that account, like the Passover cup, is rightly called "the cup of praise." Not without great sacrilege and a dangerous diminishing of the consolation of the pious is the communion of it taken away from the Christian people against the express command of Christ. And they make themselves ridiculous who pretend that such a communion is merely disciplinary and indifferent.

Twenty-Sixth Question: The Meaning of the Sacramental Words

Are the words of the Supper to be understood properly and literally (kata to rhēton), *or figuratively and sacramentally? The former we deny; the latter we affirm against the Romanists and Lutherans*

I. As this question lies as a basis under the other controversies of this topic (which depend on the understanding of it, such as the controversies concerning the bodily presence and the oral manducation of Christ in the Supper, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, the carrying around

and the adoration of this sacrament and other things of the same kind), it stands in need of closer examination and ought to be more attentively considered.

Statement of the question.

II. On the statement of the question it must be remarked: (1) that the words of the Supper are twofold: some of command, others of promise. Of command, by which the observance and the design of this sacrament are decreed: "Take, eat, drink, this do in remembrance of me." Of promise, which is added to the element to declare its office and use that it may become a sacrament: "This is my body, which is delivered or broken for you. This is my blood of the New Testament, or, this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins." The question here does not properly concern the words of the command, but of the promise and their sense—In what manner are they to be understood according to the mind of Christ?

III. (2) The meaning of the Scriptures is twofold: proper or literal and tropical or figurative. The proper is what the words give when taken in their proper and natural signification and inasmuch as they are naturally predicated of themselves in turn. The tropical is when the words are changed from their native signification into another and by some trope joined are predicated of themselves in turn. This sense is called by some also literal, not immediately, but mediately, inasmuch as it is recalled to the proper words and resolved into them from the intention of the speaker and according to the nature of the subject. The former is usually called "the thing spoken" (*to rhēton*), the latter "the thought" (*hē dianoia*). It is certain that one of the two belongs and must be given to the words of promise in the Supper; but this is disputed. The Romanists and with them the Lutherans maintain that the thing spoken (*to rhēton*) or the proper and literal sense strictly so called ought to be retained; but as to what that literal sense is they are not agreed. The orthodox affirm that the thought (*tēn dianoian*) or tropical and figurative sense ought to be followed. Again, since a proper and figurative enunciation is understood either as to all parts or as to some only, the Romanists (who wish the literal sense to be held fast to here) are bound to prove that all the parts of the enunciation ("This is my

body") are to be explained in a proper and literal sense; but for us, who urge the figurative enunciation here in part only, it is sufficient to show that even one of its parts is tropical. Thus the question is reduced to these limits —"Are the sacramental words of promise 'This is my body,' 'This is my blood,' etc., to be understood properly and according to the thing spoken (*kata to rhēton*); or tropically and according to the thought (*kata tēn dianoian*)"? The Romanists affirm the former; we the latter, relying upon various arguments.

The tropical sense is proved: (1) from the words themselves.

IV. The first is drawn from the very words of the promise because these cannot bear a proper sense, but necessarily require a tropical and figurative sense. To make this plain, before all things we must explain the particular parts of the enunciation: the subject, the predicate and the copula and what is signified by them. For this having once been done, it will be easily perceived what must be judged concerning the whole enunciation—whether it is tropical or proper. In the first place, here occurs the subject, expressed by the demonstrative pronoun "this," which we maintain can be referred to nothing else than the bread. The proposition must be resolved thus: This is my body (i.e., This bread is my body). The reasons are various. (a) It is a demonstrative pronoun, which demonstrates a thing present and therefore actually existing (Bellarmine himself being witness, "De Missa," 27 *Opera*, 3:522–25). Yet nothing was as yet present except the substance of the bread, nor could it have displayed anything else. (b) The series of the discourse proves that it can designate nothing else than what Christ had taken and after giving thanks had broken and when broken visibly gave to his disciples to eat. This was nothing else than bread. "Jesus took bread and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body." Who does not see that the pronoun here is put in place of the noun which preceded and designates nothing else than bread? So that the meaning is, "The bread which I took and broke, which I gave you to eat, this bread is my body." Now although Christ gave the blessed and not common bread, it does not follow that it was anything else than real bread,

because the change made by the blessing is not a change of substance, but of use. (c) The pronoun "this" in the first symbol ought to be explained in the same way as in the second, since there is the same reason for both. And yet in the second, reference is manifestly made to the cup as Luke and Paul expound it. They interpret "This is my blood" (*touto esti to haima mou*, as it is in Matthew and Mark) of the cup—"This cup is the New Testament in my blood" (*touto to potērion hē kainē diathēkē en tō haimati mou*). (d) Paul interprets the "this" of the bread: "The bread which we break" (1 Cor. 10:16). Here he manifestly refers to the history of the institution and what the evangelists had said (Jesus took bread, and after blessing broke, gave, and said, take, eat) he contracts into these words, "The bread which we break"; as also the following words ("is my body"), he explains by this periphrasis: "is the communion of the body of Christ." It is confirmed from the preceding words concerning the cup, "the cup which we bless." For he means the cup, not of blood, but of wine, because we do not bless and consecrate the Lord's blood, but wine. Nor ought it to be said here either that "bread" is put for the accidents of the bread, because besides this being a gratuitous supposition that the accidents of bread can be separated from the substance of bread (the utter falsity of which will be proved in its place), it would not be the genuine, but an abusive acceptation of this word. For the accidents of bread are not bread, nor will it ever be proved that the Scriptures so speak. Or that it is taken for "the body of Christ," both because it would thus be a tropical locution (which they are unwilling to admit); and because the body of Christ is not broken; and because the enunciation would not only be made indicative, or operative, but it would also become absurd—the body, which we break, is the communion of the body of Christ. (e) Christ by "this" either meant his own body or some other different from his own body. If the former, it follows that the transubstantiation had already been made when he said this and consequently that it was not made by these words, "This is my body" (as they wish). It will follow also that the words are not operative and practical according to their opinion, but speculative. However, if he did not mean his own body, but one differing from himself, the sense of the proposition of Christ would be: This, which is not my body, is my body; that which cannot be true properly and literally, but only sacramentally and figuratively—in this sense, this bread (which is not my body) is my body (to wit, inasmuch

as it is the sacrament of it). (f) This proposition (conversive and consecrative on the hypothesis of our opponents) ought necessarily to contain both terms of the conversion and their order. For in every conversion there are the two terms: from which and to which. Now the term to which is contained in the predicate of the proposition by "my body." Therefore the term from which ought to be contained in the subject, which is the pronoun "this." The term from which, however, is the bread; therefore "this" demonstrates the bread. (g) If by the pronoun "this" the bread is not demonstrated, it is changed into the body of Christ and therefore the transubstantiation is false. But if it is the bread whose substance is converted, then our exposition is true by which we say the bread is demonstrated by "this." (h) Not a few Romanists acknowledge with us that "this" designates the bread. Gerson: "The pronoun 'this' demonstrates the substance of the bread" (libr. 4, *contr. Florent*+); cf. Bonaventure, "Liber IV. Sententiarum," Dist. 8, Q. 1 *Opera Theologica Selecta* (1949), 4:172–73. Bellarmine: "Our Lord took bread in his hands and blessed it and said of it, this is my body" ("De Sacramento Eucharistiae*," 3.19 *Opera* [1858], 3:378). Arnauld himself confesses frequently that "this" signifies the bread (*La Perpetuite de la Foy de l'Eglise Catholique* 2.2 [1672], 2:162). Now our opponents are perplexed here. In order to define what is to be understood by the pronoun "this," there are almost as many opinions as there are heads (as will be seen hereafter and the worthlessness of the figments which they have invented here will be shown).

V. Second, the predicate of the enunciation is the body of Christ. Not his mystical body, which is the church (Col. 1:24; 1 Cor. 12:27), but the natural and proper, which he assumed from the blessed virgin. Nor that simply as such, nor as alive and glorious in heaven, but as dead or shortly about to die; for here the past is put for the future perfect tense (as often elsewhere), under which idea the Scriptures speak of the body of Christ. Nor is mention anywhere made of it under another relation (*schesei*) without something being added to signify this; as Philippians, where Paul speaks of "the glorious body of Christ" (Phil. 3:21). It would not be difficult to prove this from innumerable passages of Scripture in which the body of Christ is spoken of under this relation (Mt. 27:58; Mk. 15:43; Lk. 23:52; Jn. 19:40; Rom. 7:4; Col. 1:22; Heb. 10:5, 10), while many things prove that in this place the body of Christ must necessarily be thus understood. (a) It treats of

the body of Christ apart as if divided and separated, which can have no other reference than to the state of death. (b) The distinct institution and distribution of the symbols teach the same thing (to wit, that these two parts which they represent are to be considered here not as united in a living man, but separated and torn asunder from each other by death). Otherwise the symbols which represent them to us as separated would deceive us; yea, Christ himself, who willed thus to institute them (the very thought of which is impious). (c) The words following confirm this, when the body is said to be that which was given (i.e., exposed or for a short time to be exposed to death for us, according to the ordinary style of the Scriptures and, as it is explained by Christ himself, "broken" [to wit, on the cross]; also the blood, not which was still in his veins, but as shed and poured out of the body). (d) The body and blood are proposed here as the efficacious means of redemption and remission of sins as well as of spiritual nutrition. This cannot be said except of Christ dead, since nowhere else than in his death (which was the price of our redemption) did he purchase for us remission of sins and salvation (Eph. 1:7; Rom. 5:10; Col. 1:20) and was he made to us the bread and food of life (Jn. 6:51).

VI. Third, the copula "is," which connects the subject with the predicate, but in that way in which they can be connected: properly, if they can be mutually predicated of each other; but tropically, if the proper attribution cannot have place as in disparates. Thus this substantive verb is taken either self-subsistingly (*hyparktikōs*) and essentially (*ousiōdōs*) in its proper and native signification: when the identity of the thing itself or of the subject is granted—when the genus is predicated of the species, or the species of an individual, or the property of its subject; or semantically (*sēmantikōs*) or significatively and figuratively, when the things cannot properly be predicated of each other, but only by analogy and similitude. Thus a trope is rightly determined to be in the copula, not inasmuch as it is a copula simply, but inasmuch as it is a verb having its own peculiar signification, from which the power of copulating results. For as a sign has a twofold being: one primitive and absolute (which is nothing else than the substance of the thing itself); the other relative and significative, by which that substance is made a sign and puts on in a measure a relative nature (as a stone, which is made a limit and boundary, has absolute being in that it is a stone; and a significative and relative being as a landmark; and the water in baptism has

an absolute being, as water, and a relative as a sacrament). Thus the substantive verb which joins the sign with the thing signified ought to copulate that not as to its absolute being, but as to its relative and sacramental being. And so far is this relative being from destroying the natural and absolute being of the thing, that on the contrary it necessarily supposes it. For if the thing were not to have its natural being, it could not have its relative, since in no way could the water of baptism be the sacrament of the blood of Christ, except as having the substance of water and the power to cleanse from filth.

VII. Hence arises that most familiar mode of speaking in all languages by which the thing signified is predicated of the sign and the name of that given to this (which Augustine observes). "The thing which signifies," says he, "is accustomed to be called by the name of the thing which it signifies; as it is written, the seven ears are seven years, etc., and (what is said) the rock was Christ; for he did not say, the rock signifies Christ, but as if it was this which assuredly was not this by substance, but by signification" (*Quaestionum in Heptateuchum* 3.57 [PL 34.703]). Nothing is more common in ordinary discourse; nothing occurs more frequently in the Scriptures of the Old as well as of the New Testament. Hence "the seven cows" are said to be "seven years" (Gen. 41:26); "bones" are said to be "the house of Israel" (Ezk. 37:11); "the four beasts are four kings" and "the ten horns are ten kings" (Dan. 7:17, 23, 24; 8:20, 21) and frequently elsewhere. Now although the substantive verb is not used in these and similar passages because the Hebrews were without it, still interpreters acknowledge that it must necessarily be supplied; and so in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate it is in almost every instance supplied. In the New Testament, the same thing very frequently occurs. Christ in the parables employs no other mode of speech ("The field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; the enemy is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels," Mt. 13:38, 39) to intimate that they are the signs of the things or persons which they represent and on account of this analogy are mutually predicated of each other. Thus, "The seven stars are seven angels, and the seven candlesticks are the seven churches" (Rev. 1:20); "The seven heads are seven mountains, the ten horns are ten kings" (Rev. 17:9, 12); "The woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth" (Rev. 17:18) and thus in innumerable places.

But this is the case in particular, and far better, where there is a reference to the sacraments. For these are not simple signs, but seals which seal to believers on God's part the truth of the things they represent; nay, which in the legitimate use most certainly confer them in their own measure (as will be seen hereafter).

VIII. Now from these things thus established as to the particular parts of the enunciation, it follows necessarily that the enunciation itself is not proper, but figurative. (1) A disparate cannot be predicated of a disparate properly, but figuratively, as philosophers constantly teach and Bellarmine himself does not deny ("De sacramento Eucharistiae," 3.19 *Opera* 3:378–81). For one thing cannot be said to be another also except by a trope. And yet it is evident that the bread (which is demonstrated by "this" as we have said) and the body of Christ are disparates, since neither the substance of the bread is, or can be said to be, the substance of the body of Christ; nor is the substance of the cup the substance of the blood of Christ; but they truly differ from each other in number, definition, essence and adjuncts. Many of the Romanists acknowledge this. Salmeron says, "If Christ had said this bread is my body, we would be compelled to have recourse to a figure" (*Commentarii in evangeliam historiam et in Acta Apostolorum*, Tract. XX [1602–4], 9:138). Bellarmine: "This proposition, the bread is my body, is altogether absurd and impossible, unless it be taken figuratively, i.e., that the bread signifies the body" (lib. 1 *de Eucha*. cap. 7+). In vain do some here oppose the predication concerning Christ, the God-man (*theanthrōpō*), "God is man" and "man is God" (which no one doubts are proper and natural, although deity and humanity are disparate substances). Although deity and humanity in the abstract and out of the hypostatic union are disparate natures and cannot be mutually predicated of each other so that it may be said that the deity is humanity or vice versa that the humanity is deity, still in the concrete, God and man are not disparates because they do not denote two hypostases (*supposita*) or two persons, but one and the same, which, as subsisting in two natures, so may be denominated in different ways from them. Thus when it is said that "God is man," nothing else is meant than that the person who is called God from his divine nature, is also and can rightly be called man from his human nature, which is hypostatically united with the divine. But here the case is plainly different because the bread and the body of Christ are very diverse substances which

on this account cannot be predicated of each other except figuratively. (2) This is also the more strongly confirmed from the fact that the body (as we have said) does not here mean the living and glorious body, but the dead and crucified one. However, it is beyond all doubt impossible and plainly contradictory that the bread or any other substance is properly and without a figure the dead body of Christ, at the very time that Christ is not dead and cannot die. For it would follow that the body of Christ is at the same time dead and alive (i.e., is and is not) which everyone sees is absurd (*asystaton*). Again, the body of Christ is not only set forth as dead, but also as the mystical aliment of our soul. This it cannot be by a real conversion of the bread into the body or of wine into the blood, but by the efficacious representation of it, inasmuch as it is set forth to us as the object of our faith, which borrows the idea of corporeal food and aliment which we receive in the sacrament on account of the conformity which it has with that (for which reason he says that the bread is his body). (3) Every predication is proper when the genus, species, property or accident is predicated of the subject; for nothing can be enunciated properly of another thing which does not belong to it in some one of these modes. And yet the body of Christ is neither the genus, nor species, nor property, nor accident of the bread. (4) If the bread is said to be properly the body of Christ, it will follow: (a) that all the attributes of the body of Christ properly belong to the bread (as to be born, to die, to rise again, etc.) and all the attributes of the bread to the body (as to be sown, to be reaped, to be ground, to be baked, etc.); (b) that Christ when he took the bread from the table and broke it, took and broke his own body and poured out his blood before he had been crucified, and that we now break the body of Christ and pour out his blood today after he has risen and is in the state of glory, where he can no more die; (c) that the bread is broken and the wine poured out for us for the remission of sins; (d) that no predication of the thing signified concerning the sign can be proper, but ought to be tropical because it is not made according to its absolute and proper being, but according to its respective and significative being. But such is the predication concerning the Supper because the bread and wine (all agreeing) are signs. The body and blood, however, are the things signified. Nay, unless that enunciation is so explained, it will not be sacramental and the nature of the sacraments will be overthrown because the signs would be signs no longer.

2. The second class, from the design of Christ and the circumstances of the institution.

IX. The second class of arguments is drawn from the design of Christ, the state of the disciples and the circumstances of the entire institution, which so draw us to the tropical and sacramental sense, as to be at variance with the proper and literal. The design of Christ was twofold: general, to institute a sacrament of the New Testament, as it is said, "This is the New Testament in my blood"; special, to substitute a new rite for the old, the holy Supper for the paschal lamb. Hence arises a twofold argument: (1) the words are to be taken according to the mind and scope of the speaker; but the design of Christ in the institution was to ordain a sacrament of the New Testament. Therefore the words also must be understood sacramentally and tropically. (2) If the Supper was to be substituted for the Passover, the same tropical mode of speech (which evidently had a place in it) ought to be retained here also. The circumstances prove the same thing, whether antecedent or consequent. (a) The body of Christ reclined at the table in the first Supper, so therefore it could not have been handed to the disciples; rather the bread which was set before them on the table was handed to them. (b) Christ separated the bread and wine in the Supper, but no separation was then made of his body and blood. (c) He took bread from the table, blessed, broke and gave it to his disciples. He did and said nothing of this about his own body. (d) Christ himself eats of that bread and drinks of the cup: "I will drink no more of the fruit of this vine." But who will say that he ate and drank his own body and blood? The consequent circumstances have the same bearing. (a) The Supper was instituted as a memorial of an absent Christ; therefore the bread and wine ought to be symbols and memorials of his body and blood and thus they cannot (except tropically) be called the body and blood of Christ. (b) By the celebration of the holy Supper, Christ wished that his death be shown until he come, and yet neither can his death be announced in the Supper except symbolically, nor can he (who will come only on the last day) be properly said to be present in the symbols, but only sacramentally.

X. Here belongs the consideration of the disciples whom Christ addressed. He could not have given to these words any other sense than the

tropical. (1) They saw at the same time the body of the Lord reclining at the table and the bread which he took, as things separated from each other, both as to nature and as to place, so that they must have conceived the most diverse ideas concerning them. (2) They had often heard the Lord speaking figuratively (who had accustomed them by the frequency of his parables to this mode of speaking), which could be understood only tropically and by analogy (as in Mt. 13 and elsewhere). And if at any time such locutions were received properly by them, they knew that they had been corrected by Christ; as when he spoke of the leaven of the Pharisees (Mt. 16:11), of the food which was to be eaten by him in doing the will of his Father (Jn. 4:34). (3) The time in which they lived, the business about which they were engaged, was mystical and full of various figures. For in the sacrament of the Passover, which Christ was celebrating, this tropical locution was constantly occurring. As we have already said, this idea so impressed the mind that they would readily understand that the words of Christ in the sacrament (which he wished to substitute in the place of the Passover) ought not to be understood differently. Not only because frequently the lamb was called the Passover and the very roasted body of the lamb was said to be *shl phsh ghvphv* ("the body of the Passover"), as the celebrated Buxtorf observes ("De Coenae Dominicae," *Dissertationes Philologico-Theologicae* [1662], p. 301), by which it is altogether likely that Christ was alluded to; but also because the unleavened bread, which was furnished by the head of the family, was expressed by the name of the bread of misery which had been eaten in Egypt: "This is the bread of misery, which our fathers ate in Egypt." This could certainly be understood in no other way than figuratively because it was the symbol and memorial of that unleavened bread which they had eaten in Egypt. From all this it is clear that the apostles could have given to these words no other sense than a figurative. Nay, unless this had come into their minds that the bread was figuratively called a body, how could they have helped being disturbed by a thing so monstrous? They, who in the least difficulties were perplexed, who dispute among themselves how Christ was about to go to the Father; and moved the question how he would go out of the world; who understood nothing of what he had said concerning his heavenly Father, how could they have been so ready to believe what all reason repudiates—that Christ was reclining at the table in their sight and that he was invisibly included under the bread?

Therefore it appears that by eating the bread without doubting, they testify their consent to have received the words of Christ in the same sense as we do because in them occurs what ought not to seem unusual in mysteries—the name of the thing signified transferred to the sign.

3. The third class, from the nature and analogy of the sacraments.

XI. The third class is drawn from the nature and analogy of all the sacraments in the Old and New Testaments. Both the nature of a sacrament demands a tropical sense and the analogy of all sacraments constantly retains it. First, as to the nature of a sacrament; since its formal reason consists in signifying, while every signification is of things to their relation (*ek tōn pros ti*) and indicates relative being, on that very account it involves a figurative and not a proper locution, as we have already said. This is confirmed by an induction of all the sacraments, whence its universality depends. And, as to the sacraments of the Old Testament (whether they were ordinary or extraordinary), in all this tropical predication is found. Circumcision is called "the covenant of God" (Gen. 17:10), i.e., the sign of the covenant, God himself being the interpreter (v. 11) and Paul (Rom. 4:11). The paschal lamb is called "the Lord's passover" (Ex. 12:11), i.e., a memorial of the passing over of the angel and of the people, according to God's own declaration (13:9). The rock in the desert is said to be "Christ" (1 Cor. 10:4), because (according to the apostle) it spiritually signified Christ, and on this account he calls it spiritual. The legal sacrifices and purifications are called ablutions and expiations of sin (Lev. 4:31; 14:7, 8), i.e., types, shadows and signs of that true expiation and ablution to be made by Christ, the Holy Spirit thus interpreting (Heb. 8:5; 10:1). The Sabbath is said to be "a covenant of the Lord" (i.e., a sign of the covenant) as God himself explains it (Ex. 31:13, 17). Baptism is called "the laver of regeneration" (Tit. 3:5) and a washing away of sins because it is the antitype of these blessings of Christ according to the declaration of Peter (1 Pet. 3:21). From all these we collect by parity of reasoning (since there cannot and ought not to be a different method of predication in another sacrament) that there is also a tropical and not a proper sense.

XII. Nor can it be replied as to circumcision, either that *"bryth* here does not properly mean a covenant, but a visible seal and mark confirmative of the covenant, made by a cutting of the flesh, as in olden times covenants were confirmed by the cutting into pieces of animals." The proper signification of the word will not admit of this, being everywhere used for a covenant, nowhere for such a cutting. The very words of the text are repugnant to it, where it is called "the sign of the covenant" (Gen. 17:11). Or "that it is said to be a covenant because it was the condition of the covenant which God required from Abraham and his posterity." Although God demanded circumcision as the duty of Abraham, with whom he had entered into covenant, he did not demand it as the proper condition of the covenant, which was faith and repentance (Gen. 12:4; 17:1), but as a sign confirmative of the covenant on the part of God as well as on the part of Abraham, as it is expressly said by God, "Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you" (17:11). Or "that it is called properly a covenant or testament inasmuch as the word testament denotes the instrument of a testament and the sign of a testament, inasmuch as a testament denotes the wish of the testator." It is plain that circumcision is called that covenant of which it is afterwards called a sign. Now it could not be called the sign of the instrument of the testament, but of testament or covenant itself. Again, it is gratuitously supposed that what is the instrument of a testament is called a testament properly and without a trope. For who does not see that it is called the instrument of the covenant metonymically because it contains the wish of the testator, by which it is the custom for a will to be signified? In the same sense, circumcision is a covenant, not because it contains that, but because it signifies that.

XIII. As to "the rock," it is not more rightly said that "it was Christ himself" and did not signify him sacramentally; so that the sense is by an inversion of the locution, "Christ was the rock." Both because it is called a "spiritual rock" and because it is said to have followed the Israelites (which cannot be said of a material rock, but can be said most fitly of Christ). For the words themselves prove the opposite (to wit, that reference is made to the material rock in the desert from which flowed water to be drunk by the Israelites). (1) The relative article *hē de petra* indicates no other rock than that of which mention had just been made from Moses (Ex. 17:6; Num.

20:8–11), which was altogether a rock in the desert. (2) From that rock all are said to have drunk (1 Cor. 10:4), even those whom God had not accepted and whom he destroyed. This cannot be said of Christ—he who eats and drinks from him cannot perish. (3) The manna holds the same relation here as the rock. And yet the manna is understood not spiritually and properly of Christ, but sacramentally and figuratively of the material food by which they were supported in the desert. Nor is it an objection that this rock is said to be "spiritual," because this is not said from the truth of the thing, but by a signifying mystery and "on account of the intelligible signification of both" (as Augustine frequently says, ?cf. Tractate 45.9, *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:252; PL 35.1723]), inasmuch as it prefigured the pouring out of Christ's blood on the cross. In this way Lyranus, Carthusianus, and Gagnae explain it: "The rock was Christ" (i.e., signified him). That it "followed" the Israelites is not meant properly and by itself, as if the rock actually followed them; but improperly and by effect (to wit, by the water gushing out of the rock, which was at hand for the Israelites, as Emanuel Sa and Menochius remark); or because it gave itself up to them, so that the word *akoloutheisēs* should be translated "obeying" and the sense is, they drank of the rock, obeying the desire of the Israelites by pouring out waters (as Salmeron and Justiniani hold after Photius). An inversion of the proposition cannot have place here, making Christ the subject and the rock the predicate. For the design of the apostle is not to teach what Christ was, but what that rock smitten in the desert was, in order to show that a prerogative was not given to Christians above the Israelites which can exempt them from the judgments of God, since they also had sacraments similar to and corresponding with ours, by which Christ and his benefits were signified (which is the scope of the apostle).

XIV. Third, as to the paschal lamb, it is falsely replied, "This phrase, the lamb is the Passover, does not occur in the Scriptures; nor are the words, this is the Passover of the Lord, enunciated of the lamb slain and eaten, but either of the ceremony, or of the feast, or of the sacrifice of the Passover" (Ex. 12:11). (1) The very words of the text prove the contrary, *psch hv' lyhvh* ("It is the passover of Jehovah," v. 11), where the pronoun *hv'* necessarily refers to the lamb which was described in the preceding verses and was designated by the noun *s'* in the masculine gender, where it is called *s' thmym* (v. 5). Hence the Passover is repeatedly said to be slain and

to be eaten, which evidently can be said only of the lamb. God himself thus explains it: "I will pass through the land of Egypt this night; and the blood shall be to you for a token upon the house where ye are" (vv. 12*, 13), inasmuch as the blood of the lamb ought to be a sign to the Israelites that God would pass over their houses untouched, while he smote the houses of the Egyptians. (2) If the ceremony or feast itself were designated by this name, it would always be a tropical locution because such a ceremony differs widely from the passing of the Lord over Egypt, which happened once and afterwards ceased. (3) What is said of "the sacrifice of the passover" (v. 27) is not an explanation of "it is the Lord's passover" (v. 11). (a) God himself explains it differently (v. 13). (b) It does not refer to the same lamb, for in v. 11 the lamb which should be immolated in Egypt is spoken of; but in v. 27 those which ought to be immolated in Canaan, as it is expressly explained in vv. 25, 26. This could not be called the sacrifice of the Passover properly, but only tropically because they were the sign and memorial of it. In vain is it also added that a lamb cannot be called a sign because there was no similarity between a lamb and the passing over. Although in natural signs there ought to be a similitude between the sign and the thing signified, it is not necessary that it should always exist in signs from the institution; as is evident in the rainbow, in the ring (which is given as a sign of marriage not because it is similar to it, but because it is a pledge of it). Bellarmine acknowledges this: "Certain signs have no similarity to the thing signified and on this account they depend entirely on the institution" ("De Sacramentis in Genere," 9 *Opera*, 3:31). Finally, some resemblance was not wanting here, for with the blood of the lamb they marked the lintels of the door in each house as a sign of safety.

4. From parallel passages.

XV. The fourth class is the parallel passages which demand a figurative and sacramental sense. The first passage is in Paul: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. 10:16). Here Paul (explaining Christ's words) for the body and blood of Christ substitutes the communion (*koinōnian*) of both. This evidently cannot be understood properly and literally (*kata to rhēton*), but only figuratively and

sacramentally. Then by parity (as the victims are called the communion of the altar, v. 18), they who eat of the sacrifices are said to be communicants (*koinōnoi*) or partakers of the altar; and the sacrifices to idols are called the communion of devils, and those who eat things sacrificed to idols are said to have fellowship (*koinōnoi*) with devils (vv. 20, 21), not otherwise than tropically and sacramentally, to signify the mystical fellowship of those eating the victims and idol sacrifices with the altar and devils. Therefore in no other sense is the bread and cup called the communion of the body and blood of Christ. Both from the effect of this communion noticed in v. 17, which is that all partaking of that one bread are made one body (which can be understood only sacramentally); and from the adjunct. For the manner of that communion with Christ is not corporal, but spiritual, which accordingly can be attributed to the sacred symbols only figuratively. Second from 1 Cor. 12:13, where believers are said "by one Spirit to be baptized into one body, and to have been made to drink into one Spirit." Here Paul joins together baptism and the Supper as equals. And yet in baptism, the washing by water is not the washing from sins by the blood of Christ properly and literally, but tropically only and sacramentally. Therefore, the same should be the reason of this drinking. Again, the effect of both (of baptism and of the Supper) is union with the mystical body of Christ, which is the church. But this union is improper and spiritual as proceeding from the Spirit. Finally, that drinking ought to be common to all believers under the Old as well as under the New Testament. But the drinking properly so called could not be common to the believers of the Old Testament. Third from Jn. 6, where he opens up the mystery of the eating of Christ, not in a proper and literal sense, which Christ himself rejects and condemns (vv. 62, 63), but in a spiritual and tropical sense when he shows that his flesh and blood are received for eternal life in no other way than by faith (vv. 35, 47, 54), as will be more fully proved hereafter when we treat of the manducation of Christ. Finally, the same thing is especially gathered from the institution of the cup; for as is this locution, "This cup is the New Testament in my blood," such ought to be the other, "This is my body, this cup is my blood." And yet that it is improper and sacramental our opponents do not deny and the thing itself exclaims.

5. From the analogy of the articles of faith.

XVI. The fifth class is drawn from the analogy of the articles of faith. The tropical sense alone is analogous to faith, while the proper is opposed to various articles of faith. (1) To the article concerning the truth of Christ's human nature because a manifold body formed of bread or lying concealed under it without circumscription and indivisibly, cannot be the body which Christ assumed from the blessed virgin through the Holy Spirit. (2) It is opposed to the article concerning the one and only death and crucifixion of Christ because if the bread broken and the wine poured out is properly and literally the body of Christ broken and the blood shed for us, Christ must necessarily die as often as the Supper is celebrated. (3) It is opposed to his ascension because if he left the earth with his body and was translated to heaven, his body cannot be bread, or be under the bread, or under the species of bread. (4) It is at variance with his return to judgment. For if Christ is the bread of the Supper and lies concealed under its substance and species, he ought to be expected no more; while nevertheless the use of the Supper is enjoined upon us even until Christ comes. (5) It is opposed to the communion of saints, which should be extended to the believers of both Testaments. This, however, cannot be done if the communion of Christ's body is carnal and proper.

6. From the rules of discourse.

XVII. The sixth class is drawn from the rules of discourse, which in this argument do not allow a proper sense, but necessarily demand a figurative. The first is: "When a literal interpretation involves an absurdity and a contradiction, we must necessarily have recourse to the figurative sense." Since the human intellect cannot comprehend how a thing can be and not be at the same time, it is forced to recur to a figure. Now it is evident that the sacramental words, taken properly and literally (*kata to rhēton*), involve a thousand absurdities and contradictions (as was seen before and will be further demonstrated hereafter when we come to treat of transubstantiation). The second: "When the words command a disgraceful act or crime," they must be figurative. The rule is Augustine's: "A locution which seems to command a disgraceful act or a crime is figurative" (CI 3.16 [FC 2:136; PL

34.74]). Applying this afterwards to the sacramental words, he says, “Christ said, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you; he seems to command a crime; it is therefore figurative” (ibid.; PL 34.74–75). Therefore, since the words “This is my body” joined to the preceding “Take, eat” enjoin a crime, they must be understood figuratively. The third is: “When the literal sense ascribes things to God and Christ unworthy of them, we must have recourse to a figure.” The word of God cannot prescribe anything which is injurious to his supreme majesty; nay, which does not tend to his glory. Therefore, when the body of Christ is said to be what is seen by the eyes, touched by the hands, eaten indiscriminately by the bad as well as by the good, exposed to innumerable accidents (which are by no means worthy of the glory and majesty of the body of the Son of God), a figurative locution is thence inferred because piety and reverence for divine majesty are opposed to the literal sense. The fourth is: “When the subject not only readily admits of a figure, but also necessarily demands it.” Words ought to follow the nature of the things. Thus when the name of the thing sealed is given to the sign, the name of the thing which it confirms to the pledge, the name of the effect to the cause, the name of the thing which it communicates to us to the means, no one doubts that the locutions are figurative, because signs are naturally intended to represent to the mind the idea of another thing, pledges to confirm the fruition of the things we desire, causes to produce their effects, means to communicate the things of which they are the means. For no one regarding them in this use in any way confounds them with the things of which they are the signs, pledges, causes and means, and then the more easily when there is a similarity between them. Now the sacrament of the Eucharist is not only a sign which represents the body of Christ, not only an external and visible pledge, which confirms its spiritual and invisible fruition, the means which communicates it to us and renders its efficacy sensible to us; but conjointly a sign, pledge and means which has a resemblance to the body of Christ; it is a subject, therefore, in which a figure ought necessarily to have a place. The fifth is: “When the design of the speaker, the cause and occasion of the discourse, the state and disposition of the hearers, the place and time lead us spontaneously to a figure and trope.” That these, however, are found in this discourse of Christ, we have already shown. The sixth is from Augustine: “Wherever as it were something is said that another thing

may be understood, although the name of trope is not found in the art of speaking, it is a tropical locution" (CI 3.37 [FC 2:166; PL 34.88]). And yet here one thing is in fact said that another may be understood. The bread is said to be the body of Christ in order that we may understand the sacrament of the body of Christ. It is said to be the body that we may understand it to signify the body. From these we conclude that this enunciation can not only best and most fitly be understood figuratively, but also that it ought necessarily to be so taken; nay, that it cannot be otherwise explained without the greatest absurdity because it would give an impossible and contradictory sense, unworthy of Christ and repugnant to the nature of the thing, and the scope and intention of the speaker.

XVIII. The rule obtruded here by our opponents (by which they will not allow the name of the thing signified to be given to the sign, unless after the mind has been prepared to receive the locution, that it may readily understand that the thing treated is a sign, whether by actions or by words, leading to this) helps our cause. For who does not see that Christ had sufficiently prepared the minds of the disciples to understand the figurative locution; both from what he had done and said in the celebration of the Passover (in which this very figure more than once occurs) and in what he did and said in the institution of the Supper. For when he took bread, blessed, broke and distributed it saying, "This is my body," he sufficiently indicated that it could not be understood in any other way than figuratively. And if the breaking and distribution of bread are common and ordinary actions, having nothing mystical per se, it does not follow that in this place and time they are to be taken simply. For all that was accustomed to be done in this sacred rite was mystical. It was familiar to the Jews to take figuratively whatever was either done or said in this feast. They knew that the paschal lamb was a sign and that the words which the head of the family pronounced over the unleavened cakes, "This is the bread of misery …," were figurative. Again, the acts of Christ are not to be separated from his words. Although the actions of taking, breaking and distributing the bread would not have sufficed to dispose the minds of the disciples to believe that Christ wished to institute a sign, the words which he immediately added sufficiently and more than sufficiently intimated this, since they admit of no other sense except one most absurd and false. Nor can what he said concerning the cup ("This cup is the new testament") be understood in any

other way. Besides, if the minds of the disciples were not sufficiently prepared to receive the figurative sense, which is easy and plain, how could they have been disposed to receive the sense of transubstantiation, opposed to the senses, reason and faith and abounding in a thousand contradictions and absurdities?

7. From the fathers.

XIX. The seventh class contains the testimonies of the fathers who acknowledged a tropical sense here. We select only a few from the many as specimens according to the series of the centuries in which they lived. Justin Martyr, who was converted to the faith in A.D. 96, and who, in *Epistle to Diognetus* 11 (ANF 1:29), glories that he was a disciple of the apostles, describing the rite of the Eucharist says, "After the presiding officer had given thanks, they, who among us are called deacons, distribute the bread, wine, and water to each one present and carry them to the absent. And this aliment is called among us the Eucharist" (*First Apology** 65–66 [FC 6:105; PG 6.427]). And afterwards: "For we take these not as common bread or common drink; but as by the word of God, Jesus Christ, our Savior, made flesh, had both flesh and blood for our salvation; so also we are taught that by the prayers of the word which is from him, both the flesh and blood of the incarnated Jesus are made food, from which by a change our blood and flesh are nourished" (ibid., 66 [FC 6:105–6; PG 6.427, 430]). Here he speaks of the bread and wine after consecration and of the nourishment of the flesh resulting from them. Hence it follows according to him that the bread and wine are not common as to use, but still remain as to substance and are not converted substantially into the body and blood of Christ. Thus it is not a change of nature, but of use by the signification, which he wishes however to attach to the incarnation of Christ by the hypostatical union, although a memorable distinction occurs between them. Irenaeus, the disciple of Polycarp, a disciple of John, who was made Bishop of Lyons, A.D. 140: "Just as what is the bread of earth, receiving the blessing of God, is not now common bread, but Eucharistical, consisting of two things, an earthly and a heavenly, so also our bodies receiving the Eucharist, are not now corruptible and have the hope of resurrection" (*Against Heresies* 4.18* [ANF 1:486; PG 7.1028–29]). And: "That cup which is a

creature, his own blood which was shed, from which he increases our blood; and that bread, which is from a creature, confirmed his own body from which he increases our bodies" (*Against Heresies* 5.2 [ANF 1:528; PG 7.1125]). Clement of Alexandria, of the same century: "Christ blessed the wine and said, take, drink, this is my blood, a useful fruit, for it allegorically signifies the sacred fluent of the church, the Word shed for many for the remission of sins" (*Instructor* 2.2 [ANF 2:246; PG 8.430]). Tertullian, who lived near the end of the second century: "The bread taken and distributed to the disciples, he made his own body, saying, this is my body, that is, the figure of my body" (*Against Marcion* 4.40 [ANF 3:418; PL 2.460]). Origen, who flourished about the year 225, explaining the words "Not that which enters into the man defiles a man" (Mt. 15:11), thus speaks of the Eucharistical bread: "Not the matter of the bread, but the word pronounced over it, is what profits the one eating not unworthily of the Lord. And this indeed of a typical and symbolical body. Moreover many things could be said also of the word itself, that it was made flesh, and true food, which he who eats, shall live forever, which no wicked person can eat" (*Commentary on Matthew* 11.14 [ANF 10:443; PG 13.951] on Mt. 15:11). Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who flourished about the year 240: "When the Lord calls his body the bread composed of the union of many grains, he indicates our united people whom he bore; and when he calls his blood the wine pressed out of many clusters and grapes and gathered into one, in like manner he signifies our flock joined together by the commixture of a united multitude" (Letter 75, "To Magnus" [ANF 5:398; PL 3.1189]). Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, who lived in the year 320: "Christ himself delivered to his disciples the symbols of the divine economy, ordering them to make the image of his own body. For since he wished no longer to attend to bloody sacrifices, nor to those which with Moses had been decreed by the law in the slaughter of different animals, he enjoined the use of bread as a symbol of his own body, he fittingly signified the splendor and purity of this food" (*Proof of the Gospel* 8.1 [trans. W. J. Ferrar, 1920], 2:115 [PG 22.595]). Athanasius, made bishop in the year 326, on these words of the gospel, "Whoever shall say a word against the Son of man," says: "For how many bodies of him would be sufficient for eating, that there might be food for the whole world? But on this account he made mention of his ascension into heaven that he might draw them away from a corporal understanding and

they might understand that the flesh of which he had spoken was the heavenly food and the spiritual nourishment to be given by him from above" ("In illud evangelii," *Opera omnia* [1627], 1:979). Macarius, an Egyptian, in the same century says: "In the church bread and wine were offered, the antitypes of his flesh and blood, and those partaking of this visible bread ate spiritually the flesh of the Lord" (Homily 27 [PG 34.706]). Chrysostom, who lived near the end of the fourth century: "As before the bread is sanctified, we call it bread, but the divine grace sanctifying it through the mediation of the priest, it is indeed freed from the appellation of bread, and is considered worthy of the appellation of the Lord's body, although the nature of the bread remains in it" (*Epistolam ad Caesarium Monachum* [PG 52.758]).

XX. But no one has spoken more clearly than Augustine, where, treating of figurative locution, he lays down this rule: "Whatever in a divine discourse can not be properly referred to honesty of morals, nor to truth of faith, you should acknowledge to be figurative" (CI 3.10 [FC 2:129; PL 34.71]). And, giving a further explanation of the rule: "If the locution is preceptive either forbidding a flagitious or criminal act or commanding a kind one, it is not figurative. However, if it seems to command a base act or crime or to forbid usefulness or beneficence, it is figurative" (ibid., 3.16 [FC 2:136; PL 34.74]). And referring to the words of Christ: " 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you,' seems to command a crime or a baseness; it is, therefore, a figure commanding us to share in the suffering of the Lord, and to lay up in our memory sweetly and profitably, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us" (ibid.). Thus, "The Lord did not hesitate to say, this is my body, since he would give a sign of his body" (*Contra Adimantum* 12 [PL 42.144]). And: "If the sacraments did not have a certain resemblance to those things of which they are sacraments they would not be sacraments. Now from this similitude they often also take the names of the things themselves. As, therefore, according to a certain measure the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ, so the sacrament of faith is faith" (Letter 98 [23*], "To Boniface" [FC 18:137; PL 33.364]). Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus A.D. 423: "For who called what is by nature a body, grain and bread, he honored visible symbols with the appellation of his body and blood, not changing

the nature, but adding grace to nature" (*Dialogues* I [NPNF2, 3:168; PG 83.55]). And where Eranistes, the Eutychian, urging the conversion of Christ's body into the divinity itself by the example of the symbols of the Eucharist: "As the symbols before the sacerdotal invocation are not the same as the Lord's body and blood, but after the invocation are changed, and are made another thing, so also the Lord's body was changed after its assumption into the divine nature" (*Dialogues* II [NPNF2, 3:200; PG 83.167])—the orthodox author replies, "You are caught in the nets, which you have yourself spread, for neither do the mystical symbols after sanctification depart from their own nature; for they remain in the former substance, and figure, and form, and are visible and palpable, just as they were before" (ibid., 200–201). Gelasius, a Roman bishop about the year 490: "Surely the sacrament we take of the Lord's body and blood is a divine thing, on account of which, and by the same we are made partakers of the divine nature; and yet the substance of the bread and wine does not cease to be. And certainly the image and similitude of Christ's body and blood are celebrated in the action of the mysteries" (*Tractatus de duabus naturis* 14 [PL Sup.-III. 773]). To this we can add Facundus, Bishop of Hermia about A.D. 552, who, wishing to excuse Theodore of Mopsuestia for saying that Christ had received the adoption of sons, as if he thought he was the adopted Son of God, says: "The sacrament of adoption can be called adoption, as the sacrament of his body and blood, which is in the consecrated bread and cup, we say is his body and blood: not that the bread is properly his body, and the cup his blood, but that they contain in themselves the mystery of his body and blood. Hence also the Lord himself called the blessed bread and cup, which he gave to his disciples, his body and blood" (*Pro Defensione ... Concilii Chalcedonensis* 9.5 [PL 67.762–63]).

XXI. Many other testimonies might be adduced from Isidore of Spain, Rabanus the Moor, Charlemagne, Christianus Drutmarus, Amalcario Fortunato and others who lived in the ninth century. But here it will be sufficient to hear Bertram or Ratram, a very learned presbyter and monk, who flourished about the year 880, who, having been consulted by Charles the Bald, King of France, on the questions then agitated—Are the bread and wine in the Eucharist substantially the body and blood of Christ, or are they the figure of them? and Is the body of Christ taken in the mouth of believers

or in a mystery?—answers in his erudite treatise on the body and blood of Christ, altogether according to our view and often inculcates that these words are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally and that the bread and wine become figuratively the body and blood of Christ. Having quoted from Augustine's epistle to Boniface, he thus reasons: "As, therefore, according to a certain manner, the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ; so the sacrament of faith is faith. We perceive that Augustine says the sacraments differ from the things of which they are the sacraments" (*De corpore et sanguine Domini* 35–36 [PL 121.142]). And afterwards: "And since the Lord's body in which he once suffered is one and the blood which he poured out for the salvation of the world is one, still the sacraments took the names of these things themselves so that they are said to be the body and blood of Christ on account of the similitude of the things which they intimate" (ibid., 37 [PL 121.143]). And: "Let your wisdom, most illustrious prince, notice what by the positive testimonies of the Holy Scriptures and the teachings of the fathers, is most evidently shown, that there is a great difference between the body which exists by a mystery and the body which suffered, because this is the proper body of the Savior, nor is there any figure in it. But in that which is carried in the mystery, it is not only a figure of Christ's proper body, but also of the people believing in him" (ibid., 97–98 [PL 121.169]). That he holds the same faith concerning the Eucharist that we defend, many of our opponents do not deny: Bellarmine, Maldonatus, Gregory de Valentia, Vasquez, Gamacheus and others. And although after that the purer doctrine was in different ways corrupted by the errors of Paschasius Radbertus and his followers, still there were not wanting many who from time to time opposed them. This was done especially by Berengar, Archdeacon of the church at Anjou, as Platina testifies, a man remarkable for his holiness and learning, about the middle of the eleventh century, who after Bruno, Bishop of the church of Anjou, solidly opposed the error of Paschasius Radbertus with his voice as well as by his writings, teaching that "by the consecration the bread and wine do not cease to be substantially what they were, nor properly become the Lord's body and blood, but only the sacrament of his body and blood." And although through fear of torments and death he was compelled to retract by subscribing to the formula of faith composed by Cardinal Humbert (quoted

by Gratian, which begins, "I, Berengar …"), still he acknowledges that this was extorted from him by force, Lanfranc, his adversary, being witness, and in a published writing recalled his retraction, testifying that it had been violently wrested from him, and on that account the Roman see was not holy, but a church of malignants, a council of vanity (cf. 'Decreti,' Pt. Ill, "De Consecratione," Dist. 2.42 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1955], 1:1328). Whoever desires more from the fathers on this argument, let him consult our very celebrated men, John Mestrezat (*De la Communion a Iesus Christ* [1625]), Chamier, Albertinus, Whitaker, Claude, Larroque and others, who following Peter Martyr, Calvin and other Reformers, have entered fully into this, where the exceptions and objections of opponents are stated and refuted.

8. Eighth class from our opponents.

XXII. The eighth class contains the testimonies of the opponents who favor us. In the Decree of Gratian, not a few things are found which clearly bear out our view. After quoting the words of Prosper ("This is. As, therefore, the heavenly bread, which is Christ's flesh, is in its manner called the body of Christ, since it is truly the sacrament of that body," 'Decreti,' Pt. III, "De Consecratione," Dist. 2.48 *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [1955], 1:1331–32), the gloss there reads, "The heavenly bread, that is, the heavenly sacrament, which truly represents the flesh of Christ, is said to be the body of Christ, but improperly; hence it is said in its manner, to wit, not by the truth of the things, but by a signifying mystery, so that the sense is, is called the body of Christ, that is, signifies it" (*Decretum Gratiani emendatum* (1601), p. 2388). And on the Canon *Panis est*, the gloss says, "It has a resemblance, that is, only signifies it" (ibid., p. 2394) and so elsewhere. Also on the Canon *Qui manducant:* "The species of bread and wine are called the body and blood of Christ, to wit, the mystery signifying it" (ibid., p. 2396). So Cajetan confesses that there is nothing in the gospel which compels us to take the sacramental words "This is my body" properly, but that this is only taught by the church. "There does not appear," says he, "in the gospel, anything to compel us to understand these words properly" (cf. *Thomae Aquinatis ... opera omnia ... cum commentarius Thomae de Vito Caietani* [1906], 12:157 on ST, III, Q. 75, Art. 1). This ingenuous confession so displeased Pius V

that he ordered it to be erased in the Roman edition. Hence Perronius impudently says that he reads nothing like this in Cajetan. Bellarmine ("De Sacramento Eucharistiae," 3.23 *Opera*, 3:388) testifies that Duns Scotus was of the same opinion ("Quaestiones in Quartum Librum Sententiarum," Dist. 11, Q. 1 *Opera omnia* [1891–95], 17:314–35). Also agreeing with him are Durand, Occam, Peter d'Ailly and others on Book 4 of the *Sentences*, Dist. 11. Emanuel Sa on these words, "This is the New Testament," expressly says, "The word 'is' is put for 'contains' or 'signifies.' " Stapleton: "The cup is the New Testament inasmuch as it confirms it, as circumcision is called the covenant because it was the confirmation of it" ("Antidota … in Lucae Cap. XXII," *Opera* [1620], 3:175 on Lk. 22:20). Thomas Aquinas: "This is the cup of my blood, is a figurative locution" (ST, III, Q. 78, Art. 3, p. 2475). Bellarmine: "We do not deny that there is a trope in the word 'cup' " ("De Sacramento Eucharistiae," 1.11 *Opera* 3:276). Also: "Our Lord took the bread in his hands and blessed it and gave it to his disciples and said of it 'this is my body'; and thus he took bread, blessed bread, gave bread and said of the bread, 'this is my body' " ("De Sacramento Eucharistiae," 3.19 *Opera*, 3:378).

9. From the hypothesis of our opponents.

XXIII. The last class is drawn from the hypothesis of our opponents themselves who, while opposing the tropical locution, still often fall into it according to their own opinion. This is easily demonstrated in the sentiments of the Romanists as well as the Lutherans. As to the Romanists, it is clear that they do not retain the letter or the thing spoken (*to rhēton*). For in whatsoever way they explain this enunciation, it is necessary that they admit a figure here; whether the "this" is referred to what is under these species; or to what is not as yet, but presently will be when the utterance is finished; or to the substance in general; or to the species alone; or to the body itself; or to a vague and indeterminate individual (*individuum*). For since the "this" from the series of the context truly and properly demonstrates nothing except the bread which the Lord broke and gave, it is certain that all these expositions cannot be understood properly, but only tropically. The same must be said of the copula "is," which with some means the same as "contains"; with others the same as "will be," with

others “becomes” or “is converted” and “transubstantiated into.” And concerning “the body,” which with some signifies the body of Christ without quantity; with others having quantity, but not extent; with others as having quantity and extent, but not situated in a place (such as no human body was or will be, nor can it be said to have been delivered for us). Many other tropes also can be adduced which the Romanists are compelled to admit here. As in the word “eat,” which Bellarmine brings forward as preceptive, and so proper in his opinion. On this, however, Maldonatus says, “If we wish to speak properly, this proposition is false, the body of Christ is eaten” (“Tractatus de Sacramentis: De Eucharistia Sacramento,” *Opera Varia Theologica* [1677/1965], p. 98). Salmeron gives the reason: “Because a real manducation requires that the thing be divided into parts and yet the flesh of Christ is incapable of division; nor is it properly eaten in the sacrament. It is therefore figuratively said to be eaten, its symbol (i.e., the species of bread) being properly eaten. And the blood is figuratively said to be drunk” (to wit, in its sign, the species of wine) (*tom. 9. tr. 10*+). In the verb “is broken,” concerning which Suarez says, “This word is not proper but metaphorical because proper breaking properly signifies a division and separation of parts” (*in 3, Tho. disp. 47, artic*. 1+). On the word “cup” (“This is the cup of the New Testament”), about which Salmeron says, “The cup is taken for what is contained in the cup by metonomy” (*Commentarii in evangeliam historiam et in Acta Apostolorum*, Tract. XV* [1602–4], 9:98–99). And if it is taken for the blood contained in the cup, then it is synecdochical, as Jansen wishes (*Concord. Evang*., p. 910+). In the word “testament,” concerning which Jansen, in the place just referred to, says, “It is not a proper locution because the gospel law is said to be the New Testament in the epistle to the Hebrews.” And Salmeron: “At the same time there is in these words the figure metonymy by which it is called the New Testament, since it is a symbol of it.” In the word “is shed,” which includes a double trope: (1) As to the thing, Vasquez says, “I think the verb ‘is given’ or ‘is broken’ and ‘shed’ are much better referred to the passion and cross, than to the breaking and pouring out of the Eucharist” (*Commentariorum ac Disputationum in Tertiam Partem ... Thomae*, III, Disp. 199.1 [1631], p. 254). He adds various reasons and this among others: “Because there is not a shedding of blood in the Eucharist after the manner of a sacrifice, but a representation and figure of it; for in the cup of the Lord the blood is not

separated from the body of Christ and therefore is not really shed" (ibid., p. 255). (2) As to time, "is shed" is put for "will be shed" by an enallage of time, concerning which Jansen with Salmeron and Sa, "because it was to be shed shortly after." Many others might be added, but these are sufficient to demonstrate that the Romanists falsely boast that they retain the literal sense (*to rhēton*), while they are forced to give a place to so many figures.

XXIV. That the Lutherans also do not retain the literal sense (*to rhēton*) appears from the declaration of their opinion. For in the native sense, the "this" or the subject denotes the bread, not the body; the copula "is" denotes the true substance (*hyparxin*) or being substantially (*hyparktikōs*); the predicate, the "body," denotes the true, natural and quantitative body of Christ delivered for us. And yet they recede far from this sense whether the words are considered separately or unitedly: separately, for the pronoun "this" demonstrates to them the bread and body in, with and under it; the wine and blood in, under and with it; "is" is explained by some "contains," by others "is contained" or "is exhibited," by others, "has united sacramentally to itself." The body and blood are understood without quantity, invisible, illocal, glorious also in accordance with the present state of Christ. Unitedly also both as to the order and disposition of the words in the enunciation, which is so perverted by their gloss that a predicate is made of the subject and on the other hand a subject of the predicate. For when it is said in the bread or under the bread is the body of Christ and in the wine is the blood, it is equivalent to saying—the body of Christ is in the bread and his blood is in the wine. This is so also as to substance and signification, for according to their hypothesis, the enunciation does not so much declare what the bread and the wine is in the Supper and in its use, as where the body of Christ is and his blood.

Sources of explanation.

XXV. We must not depart from the literalness of words, where the subject matter, the scope of the speaker, the antecedents and consequents require or bear it. Yet no one of these allows it in the words of the Supper, as we have shown. So far is the literalness of the words from being capable of retention in the sacraments that their nature necessarily demands a figurative locution because their formal reason is entirely in signification. We are compelled to

depart from the letter by many articles and the analogy of faith, by the express words of Christ's discourse in Jn. 6:62, 63, by the nature and analogy of all sacraments and the clear interpretation of Christ himself.

XXVI. It is not always necessary that a literalness of words be retained in articles of faith. It is sufficient that the words be clear and perspicuous. Whether they are proper or figurative makes little difference. This is evident even from the articles of the descent of Christ to hell and of his sitting at the right hand of the Father. Thus the authority of the church is designated by the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the mystery of our union with Christ is everywhere set forth in figurative style.

XXVII. It is one thing to be proper; another to be perspicuous. One thing to be figurative; another to be obscure. So far are figures and tropes from introducing obscurity into a composition that they are the rather employed to illustrate it. Hence they are called "lights of style." We acknowledge that Christ ought in the institution of this sacrament to have spoken perspicuously and according to the nature of the thing; but not on that account ought he to have spoken properly so that his words should be understood literally (*kata to rhēton*). Now although he could, if he had wished, have spoken properly concerning the Supper, saying, the bread is the sign of my body (as he said concerning circumcision, it is the sign of the covenant and the seal of the righteousness of faith); still he was unwilling, partly because it was customary to speak of a sacrament sacramentally and it was usual in the church; partly because all the circumstances sufficiently and more than sufficiently declared the tropical sense, so that they must be blind who cannot perceive and obstinate who are unwilling to admit it.

XXVIII. It is gratuitously supposed that the words of a testament ought always to be proper and not figurative. (1) For in almost all the testaments which are recited in the Scriptures, very many figurative locutions are found. In the testaments of Jacob (Gen. 49), of Moses (Dt. 33:17, 20), of David (2 S. 23:6; 1 K. 2:6). In the testament of Christ, "I appoint unto you a kingdom, that ye may eat and drink at my table" (Lk. 22:29, 30*), which cannot be understood literally. The words in Gal. 3:15 teach anything else than that the words of a testament are to be taken literally and without a trope. For besides the fact that *diathēkē* there does not signify a testament so much as a pact (such as was the covenant of God with Abraham, Gen. 15:18), the words *athetein* and *epidiatattein* condemn indeed its abolition or

change, but not the declaration of a covenant suitable to it, whether proper or figurative. (2) The Supper is not a testament properly, but its seal. In it Christ does not declare his supreme will, but seals and confirms what had been declared in the word before.

XXIX. Although our theologians differ in opinion as to the place of the trope, whether it is in the copula or verb "is" or in the predicate, it is a difference not in the thing itself but only in the manner of explanation. It amounts to the same thing whether it is placed in the predicate with the meaning "This is the sign of my body," or in the copula "This represents my body." Thus the reconciliation is easy because the copula is related to the predicate as its part, under which it is contained either actually (when the enunciation is binary and consists of a noun and verb) or potentially (when it is referred to that as the syncategorema). If the copula is taken properly and literally (*hyparētikōs*), the predicate will be taken figuratively; if the predicate is taken properly, the copula will have to be taken figuratively for it signifies. This opinion appears to us simpler and safer for the reason that it is added concerning the body that it is broken, which evidently is meant of the body itself and not of its sign. Although the copula is the link of the parts of the enunciation, a trope can no less exist in it because it is the link in that way in which it can be; either properly (if things are involved which are mutually identified) or tropically (if disparates, such as are a sign and the thing signified). Now although the copula signifies nothing logically, it cannot be denied that it signifies something grammatically according to the twofold being which can signify, either absolutely and properly or relatively and tropically. Thus it always joins the subject with the predicate, but in that way in which they can be joined together. It has indeed a simple and most common signification; but that signification can admit of a certain variety when it denotes an essential union (as the bread is a body) or an accidental and relative (as the bread is the body of Christ).

XXX. The argument from the personal to the sacramental union does not hold good. The latter differs from the former more than in kind, since this consists only in the state and relation (*schesei*) of the sign to the thing signified (as was said before) and not (as is pretended) in the copulation of both or in the conclusion of one with the other. We readily grant that "propositions concerning personal union" are not badly said to be "unusual," as the Lutherans maintain. For no example of them occurs either

in the Scriptures or out of them and that too, both on account of the subject matter (to wit, the person) and on account of the hypostatical union of both natures. But as to sacramental propositions, we deny that they can be said to be unusual on account of the mode of predication because nothing is more usual, both in and out of the Scriptures, than for the thing signified to be affirmed of the sign; not indeed properly as a disparate of a disparate, but improperly and tropically, seeing that the thing which is a sign is the thing signified only representatively.

XXXI. The sacramental proposition "This is my body" cannot be synecdochical, as the Lutherans pretend; as if "this" does not refer only to the bread, but to "the whole complex thing" and thus the body with the bread, which is contained in, with and under the bread. The reasons are various. (1) From the series of the context, because Christ took bread alone, broke, gave it and said, "This is my body." Therefore the particle "this" demonstrates also the bread alone; nor does anything else precede to which it can be referred. (2) By parity, because Christ in the enunciation concerning the other symbol adds expressly, "This cup is the New Testament." Therefore, as by the pronoun "this" the wine alone must necessarily be understood, so also by the same the bread alone ought to be understood. (3) The authority of Paul: "The bread, which we break, is the communion of the body of Christ" (1 Cor. 10:16). Of what the communion of the body of Christ is predicated, of the same also is the body of Christ predicated. But that is said concerning the broken bread alone. (4) The predicate which follows ("is my body, which is delivered for you") is enunciated synonymously (*synonymōs*) concerning this. It is impossible, however, for this to be enunciated synonymously (*synonymōs*) at the same time concerning two disparates, as are bread and the body of Christ. (5) The synecdoche is at variance with the truth of the history, which testifies that the body of Christ which said "This is my body" was not then in the bread, but without the bread near the table; and that it was not invisible, but visible to all who were reclining at it. If therefore it was not in the bread, it could not be demonstrated to be in the bread by the particle "this." Otherwise we would have to say either that Christ had two bodies—one visible near the table, the other lying invisible in the bread—or that the one and same body of Christ was then at the same time visible and invisible, both of which are in the highest degree absurd.

XXXII. The objections here adduced concerning the grammatical construction (because it is not said "this the bread" [*ioutos ho artos*], as he must have said if he had referred to the bread alone, but "this" [*touto*]) have no force. Everybody sees that the pronoun "this" (*touto*) is used not adjectivally but substantively and is to be taken *deiktikōs* ("pointing with the finger") to signify a present thing. Examples of this are to be met with everywhere both in the Scriptures and in common use. It is no more to the purpose when it is added concerning the ordinary manner of speaking when two things conjoined in a certain way are demonstrated and exhibited—one of which is obvious to the sense, the other less conspicuous—that then the demonstrative is put (*deiktikon*) substantively and in the place of the subject to designate both of the united things. It holds good indeed when the discourse concerns vases or receptacles or when the demonstrated existence of the thing named in the thing is certain and manifest. But the bread is not the vase or receptacle of Christ's body; nor can it be proved that the body of Christ exists in and under the bread. Therefore, the examples which are brought forward to prove a synecdoche in the words of Christ are wide of the mark. For by all of them species of such a union are expressed as suppose the coexistence of two things in the same place by which one is or is contained in the other. Concerning this there is [no] evidence either from divine revelation or from the senses. On this account, when the thing contained is designated or shown by the name of the container, or by the pronoun "this," the synecdoche is clear and acknowledged; as when in Christ is said to dwell all the fulness of the Godhead (Col. 2:9), or the presence of the Holy Spirit was said to be in the form of a dove (Mt. 3:16). Thus because from the sense it is evident that wine is contained in a vase, ointment in a box and an infant in a cradle, we rightly say, "This is wine, this is ointment, this is an infant." But in the Eucharist the case is wholly different. For this union or coexistence of two things and the inclusion of one in the other is not only not clear, but is expressly denied and controverted. Also it cannot be proved by any argument or passage of Scripture. Therefore, unless they can show that the body of Christ is in and under the bread as certainly as it is certain that wine is in the cup, the infant in the cradle, ointment in the box—the examples prove nothing. For the pretended synecdoche does not effect the coexistence of the things; rather on the other hand, the coexistence of the things ought to effect the true

synecdoche of the words and from that, this ought to be proved, not the opposite.

XXXIII. The words "which is shed" (*to ekchynomenon*, found in Lk. 22:20) cannot be referred to the cup or to that which is contained in it (to wit, the blood) because the sense would be absurd—"This cup" (i.e., "This my blood, which is in this cup") is "the New Testament in my blood," which is shed for you. Again, it would thus follow that there is a real effusion of blood in the Eucharist, which nevertheless they themselves deny with whom the Mass is a bloodless sacrifice. Third, Thomas Aquinas, Cajetan, Gorranus, Vasquez, Suarez, Ferus, Sa, Jansen, Barradas and many others acknowledge that the particle "this" is not said of the cup, but of the blood and the real shedding of it on the cross. In this way, the past or present is put for the future perfect, as often elsewhere "is shed" is put for "will be shed" (as in the Vulgate). Nor does the difference of case prevent it from being referred to the word "blood" (*haimati*), because the Scripture of the New Testament is full of such enallages both of gender and of case. "Teach all nations baptizing them" (*mathēteusate panta ta ethnē baptizontes autous*) for *auta* (Mt. 28:19). "His face was as though he would go to Jerusalem" (*prosōpon autou ēn proeuomenon*) for *proeuomenou* (Lk. 9:53). "He was astonished … at the draught of fishes which they had taken" (*epi tē agra tōn ichtyōn hē synelabon*) for *hous synelabon* (Lk. 5:9). "Grace be unto you … from him which is, and which was, and which is to come" (*apo ho ōn, kai ho ēn, kai ho erchomenos*) for *apo tou* (Rev. 1:4). Thus the "is shed" (*to ekchynomenon*) can rightly be referred to the word "blood" (*haima*). That this was the meaning of Luke is evident from Matthew and Mark, who expressly refer it to "blood" (*haima*), joining together these two things —"This is my blood, of the new testament, which is shed for many" (*touto esti to haima mou, to tēs kainēs diathēkēs, to peri pollōn ekchynomenon*).

XXXIV. When we say that the literal sense (*to rhēton*) is not to be retained here, we wish this to be understood of the grammatical (*tō rhētō*) and immediate word, and of the literal sense strictly so called arising from the first and natural signification of the words and as opposed to the figurative and tropical; not, however, of the rhetorical (*tō rhētō*) and mediate word or the literal sense more broadly so called, relative to the intention of the speaker and to the nature of the thing treated. For in this respect, the literal sense is said to be not only that which arises from the

proper words, but which is also derived from figurative words (as we have already remarked, Volume I, Topic II, Question 19, on The Sense of the Scriptures). And thus it can rightly be said that the literal sense is here retained while we urge the figurative because it is intended by the Holy Spirit and answers to the nature of the thing. For since the nature of a sign, as a sign, consists in signifying, the verb "is" can be taken in no other sense than significatively. Bellarmine acknowledges this: "The essence of a sign is signification. Therefore in these sentences 'is' signifies 'to be' because to be itself is to signify" ("De Sacramento Eucharistiae," 1.10 *Opera*, 3:268). But the Romanists urge here the grammatical word (*to rhēton*) and the strictly literal sense as it is opposed to the figurative, in which way it is rejected by us.

XXXV. It is one thing for Christ to have "abrogated the figures of things" by his advent (which we grant); another to have taken away "the figures of words" or rhetorical tropes (which we deny). For we see that Christ frequently employed tropes and the apostles after Christ; nay, all Christians also because speech can scarcely be without them. Now the figure which occurs in the sacramental words is not of things, but of words (as is known).

XXXVI. Although the figure which occurs in the words of the Supper is unusual as to species (because bread was never said to be the body of Christ before this sacrament was instituted), yet it cannot be said to be unusual as to genus; yea, it is most familiar and of frequent use among men (as we have already proved).

XXXVII. From figurative locutions cannot be built up solid proofs, if they are obscure and merely figurative, not explained elsewhere by proper words. But if they are trite and used as well in common as in sacred discourse, if they are elsewhere given properly, they furnish firm proofs equally as well as even the most proper locutions. Now we say that the sacramental locutions are of this latter kind.

XXXVIII. The locution "This is my beloved Son" has nothing in common with the sacramental locution "This is my body." (1) From the sense of our opponents, because the former is merely indicative and speculative, which demonstrates a thing already existing and present; to wit, it denotes what Christ was, not what he should be made by these words. But the latter according to the Romanists ought to be practical and operative,

which produces the thing by the pronunciation. (2) According to us, because since in this proposition it is treated of a sacrament, it is also treated of a sacramental and relative being, which cannot be understood properly. But as in the other proposition it is treated of the proper person of the Son of God, it is treated of a real being, which on that account ought to be understood properly and not figuratively.

XXXIX. Although the Romanists agree in pressing the proper and not the figurative sense, still they so differ from each other concerning the genuine exposition of that sense that they have nothing certain on which to stand together and involve themselves in innumerable inextricable absurdities, but they are vanquished even by their own weapons. Hence Catharinus says, "The reader will consider the labor and trouble, I might almost say to death of almost all writers when being asked, what the pronoun 'this' signifies, they write so many and so great and so various things as are enough to drive the too considerate reader crazy" ("Tractatio secunda illius quaestionis: Quibus verbis Christus Eucharistiae sacramentum confecerit," *Enarrationes alii Tractatus* [1552], p. 366). Nor is it difficult to show this from a consideration of the principal opinions prevailing among them. Some maintain with Innocent III that the pronoun "this" demonstrates nothing because it is uttered by the priest recitatively and not formally and significatively. But they are refuted by Thomas Aquinas, Suarez, Vasquez and others. For there is nothing to hinder the same words from being uttered narratively and significatively. For in whatever manner they are uttered, they are always the signs of things of our conceptions and thus signs owe something. Besides, this could not have been the case in their first utterance by Christ, which must have been significative. Others by the "this" understand "a vague *individuum*" and an indeterminate substance which is contained under the species of bread and wine (with Thomas Aquinas, Durand, Cajetan, Bellarmine and others), but they are opposed by Vasquez, Maldonatus, Holcot, Catarinus and others. The demonstrative pronoun "this" always designates a certain and determinate thing. Others wish "this" to be understood of "the species or accidents of bread and wine," but they are refuted by Suarez, Vasquez, Gamacheus and others. For neither in the direct can it be said that the accidents or species of the bread and wine are the body of Christ; nor in the oblique, because thus there is a departure from the proper signification of

the word. It is one thing to say "this is my body"; another to say "my body is contained under these species." Others maintain that "the bread" is designated and that the verb "is" is to be taken transitively for "is made" and "is converted into," with Bonaventure, Bessarion and others; but Salmeron, Vasquez, Suarez and de Valentia oppose them both because thus the signification of the verb "is" is corrupted (which is explained by "passes over" or "will be") and because a figure would have to be admitted and there would be no place for transubstantiation. Others understand the very body of Christ, either as actually present or as about to be present after the pronunciation of the words (which is the opinion of Vasquez, Maldonatus, Alensis, Sanctesius and others); but they are refuted by Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Durand, Bellarmine and others. For the pronoun "this" properly demonstrates that which is, not that which is made; for what is not as yet, cannot be seen and demonstrated. And yet before the words are pronounced the conversion cannot be said to be made and so "this" cannot be said to have demonstrated the body of Christ because it could not as yet have been there. The other matters which belong here will be examined in the following question.

Twenty-Seventh Question: Transubstantiation

In the Eucharist, is there an entire conversion of the substance of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ; or are the bread and wine, in virtue of the words of consecration, truly transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ, the external species only of the bread and wine remaining? We deny against the Romanists

I. Although from the discussion of the preceding question, the decision of this can easily be made (for if it is once certain and indubitable that the sacramental words are figurative and tropical, as has been proved, the dogma of transubstantiation falls by that very thing, being founded solely upon the literalness of the words by which they maintain that a real conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ is made); yet because our opponents are desperately in love with this figment (as their Helen) and fiercely contend for it (as if for their altars and firesides), the treatment of this controversy must not be omitted.

II. However, here above all things we must listen to the words of the Tridentines by which they decree this fabrication: “In the beginning the holy Council teaches and openly and simply professes, that in the adorable sacrament of the Eucharist, after the consecration of the bread and wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and man, is truly, really and substantially contained under the species of these sensible things” (Session 13, Chapter 1, Schroeder, p. 73). And chapter 4: “Since Christ our Redeemer has said that that was truly his own body which he offered under the appearance of bread, it has therefore always been believed in the church of God and it is now again declared by this holy Council, that by the consecration of the bread and wine, there is effected a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of Christ our Lord, and the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood, which conversion is fitly termed by the holy Catholic church, transubstantiation” (ibid., p. 75). And in Canon 2, they hurl an anathema against those who think differently (ibid., p. 79). The Tridentines artfully employ this brevity to conceal the immense mass of questions and the various conflicting opinions about the mode of this conversion, by which the Roman doctors mutually weaken each other and which they are unwilling or are unable to settle.

Statement of the question.

III. Hence the statement of the question is easily gathered. First, the question does not simply concern the presence of Christ in the Supper; for this belongs to another controversy which will be taken up after this. Rather the question concerns the presence of Christ effected by way of conversion. Again, the question does not concern the mode of that conversion, concerning which the Romanists fight among themselves with adverse opinions: some preferring to maintain the annihilation of the bread; others its conversion into the body of Christ, its external species still remaining; others maintain the succession of the body into the place of the bread. These conflicts we leave them to settle. But the question concerns the conversion and transubstantiation itself—Is it anywhere granted? Finally, the question is not whether any change takes place in the bread and wine by the consecration. For we confess that there is a memorable change, but a moral and as to use or signification, inasmuch as these symbols are removed from

their common and ordinary to a sacred and mystical use. Thus they are no longer the aliment of the body, but seals of grace, pledges of justification and earnests of salvation; not by a destruction of nature, but by the addition of grace so that they are what they were and are changed into another thing, as when a seal is made of wax and a landmark of a stone. But the question concerns a change as to substance—whether a real conversion is made of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ. Or whether the true body of Christ and his true blood are substantially present under the species or accidents of the bread and wine by a transubstantiation effected by the power of the sacramental words; so that they cease to be bread and wine and are really the body and blood of Christ. This the Romanists hold. We deny it and maintain that the bread and wine, although they are changed as to use according to the institution of God, yet they always retain their own substance, and that no real change or conversion takes place in reference to them. This we demonstrate by a threefold class of arguments: (1) from the senses; (2) from reason; (3) from faith. For as these are the three modes by which we arrive at the knowledge of things, if it is once proved that transubstantiation is taught in none of these modes (nay, is opposed and rejected by them), by that very fact it will be invincibly demonstrated to be a nullity.

Proof that there is no transubstantiation: (1) from the senses.

IV. First, as to the senses. What many senses properly disposed and furnished with all the requisites for action, uniformly always and everywhere testify—that is necessarily true. Now the senses with one accord (*homothymadon*) testify that after the consecration, the symbols are properly bread and wine, not body and blood. Therefore, this is necessarily true. Otherwise we would have to say that there is nothing certain in the nature of things and the testimony of all the senses would have to be condemned with the academicians (which the thing itself proclaims to be most absurd). Tertullian solidly refutes this delirium. “What are you doing,” says he, “you most impudent academician? You are overturning the whole state of life, you disturb the entire order of nature, you make blind the very

providence of God, who placed the senses as false and lying masters over all his works, to understand, cultivate, dispense and enjoy them" (*Treatise on the Soul* 17 [ANF 3:196–97; PL 2.676]). However, this testimony by the senses here, is on this account the stronger in that it is not only negative (to the exclusion of the corporeal presence of Christ because they neither see nor feel the body), but also positive (to prove the substance of the true bread, which they gather from the color, figure, quantity, taste and its other accidents). And here not one or another sense testifies this, but four (the sight, touch, taste and smell) mutually agree, not about a common, but a proper object; not precipitately, but attentively employed; not in one man, but in all; not from some one accident only of the bread and wine, but from all joined together; not once and for a moment, but perpetually and always.

V. In vain is it objected: (1) "The senses cannot give a judgment concerning mysteries, which are the object of faith, far surpassing the senses." For although it is certain that the senses cannot judge of spiritual things as such (which occur in the mysteries of faith and transcend the senses), it does not follow that they cannot be consulted about sensible, visible things (which can occur in the mysteries). Undoubtedly two classes of mysteries are especially to be distinguished here. The one, wholly removed from corporeal things and as to all their parts mysteries, concealing themselves from us and far transcending the sphere both of reason and of the senses. These we hold are the object of faith alone, not of reason or of the senses. They are to be judged by the revelation of the word alone, not by the decision of reason or the testimony of the senses. However, the other involved and connected with corporeal and sensible things (as the mystery of the incarnation, of the resurrection of Christ, and the various miracles brought by him), which have sensible things annexed to spiritual. Concerning the truth and certainty of these, the senses and reason can give their testimony. We maintain that the sacraments are such mysteries in which, accordingly, the senses of which they are the proper object are not to be excluded, but listened to. If the Trinity were under consideration, I confess that the senses ought not to be heard, because this is a mystery placed very high above their sphere. But when we treat of the bread and wine, which fall under the senses and are their proper object, who can doubt that they can give a lawful judgment concerning their nature? See Volume I, Topic I, Question 11.

VI. (2) “The senses are sometimes deceived, and on this account they are not to be trusted.” For besides the fact that they do not deceive (where the conditions requisite for sensation are found), if from this (that the senses sometimes are deceived and deceive) it follows that we are not to believe their testimony in this argument, it will follow that faith should never be put in them, and that Christ in vain appealed to their testimony to prove the truth of his resurrection (“Ye see and feel me”). Nay, it will follow that God, who gave us such deceitful senses, is the cause of error, and that he has failed in his purpose (which in the sacraments was to assist our faith by the ministry of the senses, since by fallacious senses this cannot be done). Whatever it is, it is certain that the senses cannot be deceived in this matter. For they are not deceived except when the organ is vitiated, or the medium not properly disposed, or the object too remotely obscure to be clearly perceived, or the senses themselves are at variance with each other, as when Isaac judged by the touch and smell that he who sought the blessing was Esau, but his ears said it was Jacob; or when the signs are equivocal, as when brass, having the color of gold, is mistaken for it. But nothing like this occurs here. We suppose a sound man, the organs of sense unimpaired, a proper object and in the legitimate nearness, the means rightly disposed, all the senses unanimously testifying the same thing, the signs or accidents of true bread not ambiguous, or equivocal, but clear and certain, having no resemblance to the accidents of the body of Christ. Thus it is impossible for the senses to be deceived by taking for bread what would be the true body of Christ. Nay, on the contrary, we ought not to doubt that there is the highest certainty and truth in them, since (all the requisites for action being supposed) they always with so great uniformity maintain that it is true bread and wine. (3) It is no more rightly said, “The senses cannot judge in this matter because the reference is to an internal change in the substance of the bread, which does not strike the senses, because they stop with the external accidents.” This rests upon a false hypothesis—that the accidents are really distinguished from the substance and can be separated from it and subsist separately. On the contrary, while it is certain that they are inseparable from the substance (nay, are really identified with it), whoever sees the accidents of a substance, by that very thing sees the substance itself, which can be seen in no other way than by its accidents.

2. From reason.

VII. Second, reason must be heard here, with which transubstantiation conflicts in many ways. Sound reason teaches that only one body occupies one place and cannot be at the same time in more places than one because it would be one and not one, standing apart from itself and exposed to various and contrary motions, which everyone sees to be absurd (*asystaton*). It teaches that it belongs to the nature of body to have parts outside of parts which differ from each other in situation and are impenetrable. A body cannot be granted which does not have quantity and extension, since quantity and extension do not differ really from the material substance, but are identified with it. It teaches that accidents cannot exist without a subject because as it is the property of substance to subsist by itself, so the formal reason of an accident is to be in another thing or to inhere in it. And so great is their communion with and dependency upon substance that they cannot exist even for a moment without a substance, nor can bodies be without their own accidents and essential properties. Finally, it teaches that a conversion of one thing into another cannot be made except with the change of the substance. Its accidents also are changed (the subject of the change yet remaining unchanged) unless the thing into which the other is converted is produced anew. But here all opposites occur. They maintain that in the Eucharist the body of Christ is at the same time in many of the most remote places (such as heaven and earth) while the intermediate spaces are unoccupied; that it is in heaven glorious, on earth exposed to a thousand accidents; in heaven it occupies a certain place, while in the host no place, but is in a point after the manner of spirits; it is moved in one place, at rest in another; in one is raised up, let down in another; that a body is granted which is not extended, and is without its dimensions, which has not parts outside of parts, but whose parts mutually penetrate each other in a point; that there is length, breadth and thickness, without any long, broad and thick matter, as if there could be matter which is not extended, since it consists in extension; that there is a change without change (to wit, the conversion of a thing, which ceases to be and is annihilated, into another which already preexisted and which cannot be produced anew). They affirm that the accidents of the bread and wine exist under the subject in which they inhere and by a contrary prodigy the body of Christ exists without its

accidents and essential properties; that accidents are without a substance (i.e., are no longer accidents), but are changed into the substance because they subsist by themselves, produce the same effects with the substance and are exposed to the same chances; are heavy and solid, subject to corruption and putrefaction, can generate worms out of itself and be converted into ashes; nourish the body itself like bread and be changed into our substance. All these and many other monstrosities of the same kind (which we desist from enumerating) are not so much prodigies of nature, as most absurd and inconsistent (*asystata*) creations of the human imagination, bringing the Christian religion into disgrace with infidels. They are the monstrous consectaries of the dogma of transubstantiation, which right reason not only does not receive, but is constantly opposed to.

VIII. Nor is it to be replied here: (1) "Reason is not to be heard in matters of faith, but to be made captive." For although we do not deny that the mysteries of faith are above reason, still we do not think that they are contrary to it; so that if their truth cannot be proved from reason, still their credibility may be sufficiently established by faith. Again, there are some mysteries which are the object of faith alone, depending solely upon revelation; others which have various things annexed to them, which depend upon the testimony of the senses and of reason and which can be the object of them; such as the sacraments, which since they consist of two parts (the sign, which is visible, and the thing signified, which is invisible) can and ought to be subjected to the senses and to the reason in reference to the former, although faith alone can judge of the latter. In the former class, we grant that faith alone is to be listened to and reason made captive, but not equally in the latter class. Third, reason may be blind and corrupted, repugnant to revelation and rising up against it; or it may be sound and well constituted, consenting to it and subordinated to it. The former is to be wholly denied; but it is not only lawful to listen to the latter, but also just because grace does not destroy nature, but makes it perfect; nor does faith exclude, but supposes reason. Finally, some mysteries of faith are true and genuine, clearly revealed in the Scriptures; others are false and spurious, not the streams and rays of divine revelation, but the offspring of human ignorance and blindness. Although reason is not sufficient to demonstrate the latter, still she is sufficient to strip off their deceitfulness and falsity. We maintain that the figment of transubstantiation is such.

IX. (2) “The contradictions which are opposed are not true and real, but only apparent because they are not attributed to the subject in the same, but in a different respect.” For example, the same body must be considered in two respects, as it is natural, and as it is sacramental; the same body situated apart from itself existing in other places, not entitatively with respect to the body, but locally because it is in more places than one. However, the unity of a thing is not to be sought from place. But whatever is brought forward to raise a smoke cannot remove the truth of the contradiction. Different respects cannot have place, except when two things are compared with each other, or the same thing according to the various relations (*scheseis*) which it can put on. But here we treat of the one body of Christ, which can put on only one relation (*schesin*) here. What is said of natural being and of sacramental being could be admitted, if by sacramental being is meant the symbolic and significative being of the bread (inasmuch as it is the sacrament of the body of Christ), but not with regard to his natural body (concerning which we speak). For as there is one only substance belonging to each first and undivided substance, on this account two opposite modes of subsistence cannot be attributed to the body of Christ, unless that body is maintained to be twofold. What is added concerning local and not entitative division is nothing more to the purpose. Although the unity of a thing does not depend upon place as a cause, still it does depend upon it as a necessary condition of existence; and local division necessarily involves an entitative division because what is circumscribed by place is so in that place that it cannot be in any other place. Therefore if the body of Christ is in heaven and on earth, it ought to be situated apart from itself, on account of the remote places which it occupies.

X. If it is added, “This only implies a contradiction, which says a thing is and is not. And yet what says the same body is in this place and at the same time in another, does not say the body is and is not, because it is not an affirmation and a negation, as ought to be in a contradiction, but a twofold affirmation.” The answer is easy. (a) It is not a sufficient enumeration. For a contradiction is not concerned only with the essence of the subject, but also with its accidents. Thus it is as much a contradiction to say a man is at the same time white and not white, as that he is and is not. (b) Although in the proposition referred to there seems to be a simple affirmation, still it is implicitly and virtually an affirmation with a negation. For a body to be in a

place is for it to be within the limits of that place. “A limit, however, is that beyond which it is not possible to receive any part of the thing,” as the Philosopher (Aristotle) says (*Metaphysics* 5*.17 [Loeb, 17:269]). Hence when the same body is said to be at the same time in another place, it is determined to be out of this place and consequently is denied to be within the limits of that.

XI. (3) “The accidents stand related to the subject in the same manner as the subsistence to the substance. Therefore, as the substance could have been separated from the human nature of Christ, so there is nothing to hinder the accidents from being deprived of their inherence in the subject and existing by themselves.” But here is confounded a twofold subsistence: one of independence, by which the substance is constituted in its substantial being; the other of incommunication, by which the substance is placed in its being as subsistence. The former can be separated from the substance, as was done in the human nature of Christ, which had to be destitute of that subsistence that it might be hypostatically united with the Word; but the latter never, because otherwise it would be made an accident. Now the accidents are said to stand related to the subject in the same manner as the subsistence of independence to the substance, but not as to the subsistence of incommunication.

XII. (4) They of the more modern writers (who acknowledge the inseparability of the accidents from the subject and the real identity of quantity and extension with matter) have sought another method of escape. They maintain that it is sufficient for the form (*superficies*) of the bread and wine to remain and as the contact which is necessary for the action of one body into another cannot be made except in the form (*superficie*) alone, so it is that alone which affects our senses. But no more successfully do they disentangle themselves. For if the form (*superficies*) alone remains, how could Christ and Paul so often call it bread and the fruit of the vine? Again, although bodies cannot act on other bodies and so affect our senses except by contact (which is made on the form [*superficie*] alone), who will say that the form (*superficiem*) alone can effect that without the body? Finally, so far is an argument capable of being drawn from the positing of the form (*superficii*) to denial of the corporeal substance, that on the contrary from the positing of it necessarily follows the positing of the body. For a form (*superficies*) cannot be conceived of without extension, nor extension

without matter, since it is really identified with it; and on this account the more, that it is treated not only of the external form (*superficie*) of the whole host, but also of the internal of each of its particles.

XIII. (5) They take themselves to omnipotence as a sacred anchor that with this stay they may retain their monstrous absurdities and contradictions. They say, "The things brought forward concerning the essence of body and its properties are true in the order of nature, but we here treat of what God does by his almighty power above the order of nature." But the difficulty cannot be solved in this way. (a) We do not treat here of what God can do, but of what he wishes to do. The power of God is not the rule of our faith, but his will. For although all things are possible to God, he does not at once do whatever he is able, but only what he wishes. Thus the omnipotence of God is not to be urged without his will and contrary to it, but we must first inquire concerning his will (to which his omnipotence is to be reduced) with respect to those things which ought to be done. (b) Omnipotence extends itself to all things possible, but not to those which are impossible; such as are those which imply a contradiction, which God can no more be said to be able to do than it be said that he is able to lie and sin. Nor are these marks of power, but of a defect and imperfection, which God not only cannot do, but which he cannot even will to do, because they are contrary to his wisdom, holiness and truth and repugnant to the laws established by him in nature. Hence the impossibility is not so much on the part of God as on the part of the thing which cannot be done. Nay, since power is extended only to the things which can be done and a contradiction and an impossibility is not anything but a sheer nothing, it cannot fall under God's power. Therefore, in vain is the order of nature distinguished here from that which is beyond nature. For although we confess that God can work above the order of nature, still we deny that his omnipotence extends to those things which are contrary to nature and the order established in it, because he cannot change the natures of things and overturn the order settled by himself.

XIV. What God can do with second causes, that he can also do without them in the same kind of cause (to wit, either efficient or final). For because God is the prime agent and ultimate end, he can supply the defect of both and nothing of imperfection is involved in it. But it is different with a material and formal cause, which God cannot supply because he can neither

be a part of a body, nor be informed, nor inform. He also cannot perform the office of a subject, to which it belongs to receive in itself an essential or accidental form, because he is in the highest degree simple and most perfect. Hence although God can make accidents with their subjects, it does not follow in like manner that he can also produce the former without the latter; not from a lack of power, but from the incompossiblity (*incompossibilitate*) of the thing. God can do whatever the mind can conceive because the mind is not extended beyond the divine power. But the mind cannot conceive an accident which is without its subject. It can indeed conceive an accident without conceiving its subject by a mental abstraction; but it cannot conceive an accident to exist actually without its subject because since the thing is impossible, it is a mere nothing (which accordingly cannot be conceived).

3. From the testimony of faith.

XV. Third, the testimony of faith bears specially upon this subject, which confirms the testimony of the senses and of reason and teaches that the invention of transubstantiation is no less repugnant to Scripture and the analogy of faith than to the senses and reason. Here belong all those arguments adduced from the Scriptures in the preceding question. To them we add the following. First, from the passages where the Eucharistic symbols retain the same name after the consecration which they had before (namely, the name of bread and wine). This would not have been done if in virtue of the consecratory words they had ceased to be bread and wine and were changed into the body and blood of Christ. It is proved: (a) from the words of the evangelists, who expressly relate that Christ gave to the apostles after the consecration what he had taken and broken before it. However, he had taken and broken nothing else than bread. Christ, having taken the bread and given thanks, broke it and gave it to the disciples saying, "Take, eat." Therefore, the same bread which was taken and broken, was also given. It is confirmed from this—that it is not only said to be bread, but with the demonstrative pronoun "this" (i.e., that bread which Christ had taken and was giving to the disciples). (b) Christ calls the wine which he was giving to be drunk "the fruit of the vine" (Mt. 26:29). "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine"; or (as in Mk. 14:25) he speaks

in general "of the fruit of the vine" to intimate that here the wine, which is produced from the vine, is to be properly understood. Matthew and Mark testify that these words were spoken not only of the paschal cup (as Lk. 22:18 relates), but also of the Eucharistic cup. (c) Paul often calls that which Christ gave to his disciples bread: "as often as ye eat this bread" (1 Cor. 11:23, 26, 27, 28); "whosoever shall eat this bread" (*ton arton touton*, v. 27); "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread" (v. 28). But to what purpose would Paul so often without any limitation call it bread, if it was no longer bread? Would he not on this point have afforded to believers an occasion of erring by believing that to be true bread which was anything else than bread? Thus "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. 10:16). This must be understood of the bread after consecration because after that only can it be the communion of the body of Christ.

XVI. It is of no avail to object: (1) "By the term bread in the Hebrew phrase any kind of food is designated." (a) If it was used in this sense, it ought not to have been distinguished from the cup, which, however, is expressly done by Paul; for bread in that general signification signifies meat and drink. (b) The relative pronoun, added by Paul when he mentions "this bread" and "this cup," shows that he meant that bread of which he had spoken in the preceding verses—Christ took that bread and gave it to his disciples. (c) The same judgment is to be formed of the bread after consecration as of the cup. And yet it does not signify any kind of drink, but precisely "the fruit of the vine," Christ being witness. Therefore neither does the bread signify any kind of food. (2) "The body of Christ is called bread because it was bread before which was converted into the substance of bread, as Eve is said to be bone of the bones of Adam (Gen. 2:23), man is called 'dust and ashes' (Gen. 3:19) because he was formed from the earth. The serpent into which the rod of Aaron was turned, which devoured the serpents of the magicians, is called a rod (Ex. 7:10, 12), although when it devoured them, it was no longer a rod, but a serpent. And thus oftentimes the Scripture, the state being changed, retains the old name, as the blind are said to see and the lame to walk, i.e., they who had been such." (a) That that bread cannot be put for the body of Christ is gathered from this—Paul speaks of the bread which is broken and which is made the communion of the body of Christ. And yet the body of Christ cannot be said to be broken,

because it is not susceptible of suffering, nor the communion of his body. (b) By the Eucharist is understood either the body of Christ or the accidents or both together. But concerning these three, it is false that these either were ever bread or were made of bread. (c) Since, the state being changed, the old name is sometimes retained, this is the case only where the thing changed remains always as to material for the same matter or thing (that which was the bone of Adam was made Eve; the same which was before a rod was made a serpent; and so of the rest). But here the bread absolutely perishes and ceases to be. (d) Man is called dust and ashes because his body was formed from the earth, but the body of Christ is not formed of the matter of the bread. Besides, in the formation of the human body there did not remain bare accidents without a subject, as they maintain is the case here. (e) The rod of Aaron (turned into a serpent) is not said to be a rod only because it had before been a rod, but also because it was to be at once restored to its pristine form and because (when Moses was writing this history) it was really a rod and no longer a serpent. Again, in that conversion, there are not maintained accidents without a subject; nor did the serpent lie concealed under the accidents of the rod; but the serpent was seen and the eyes were affected, until it returned to its original form. Finally, the body of Christ never had been bread as the serpent had been a rod; and the serpent, into which the rod was turned, did not preexist. Here, however, they hold that the bread is converted into a body already preexisting. We add, the formation of man from the earth and the turning of the rod into a serpent are expressly taught in the Scriptures, while we read nothing about the conversion of the bread into the body of Christ. (3) "Celestial and spiritual bread is meant (as in Jn. 6:50) but not earthly." But as we have already said, no other bread is meant than that which he had received and which with the relative pronoun he indicates by this bread. Now he had taken earthly, not heavenly bread; bread which could be broken; bread which could be eaten to condemnation (which is evidently said of earthly and not of spiritual bread).

XVII. Second, the same is evident from the sacramental words, "This is my body." For although our opponents seek from them their crowning argument, it can easily be shown that they not only do not favor them, but also strangle their own cause. (a) Because the pronoun "this" can denote nothing else than the bread and its substance, as has been already proved

from the series of Christ's words. (b) Because the causal particle "for" (added in the canon of the Mass) shows the reason of the command which he had given to the disciples, to take and eat this (i.e., this bread which he reached out to them, because it was his body, i.e., not common and ordinary bread, but sacred and mystical, to wit, the sacrament of his body). (c) On the hypothesis of our opponents, who maintain that in virtue of these words transubstantiation is effected. However, what is made the body of Christ only after these words have been pronounced, that was not as yet the body, the words not yet having been pronounced. (d) The words of Christ do not suffer any substantial conversion because Christ does not say this "is made" the body and blood (which he must have said to designate a conversion), but he simply enunciates what was already, but does not command or declare what it ought to be made. Thus the words declare what the bread is, but not into what it is changed. Nor can any example be given in which the verb "is" implies any operation, as ought to be done here. Again, because to be said presupposes to be, thence that proposition could not be true unless it was already the body before it was said to be the body. (e) The substance of the bread was converted neither into the whole nor the broken body; not into the whole because such a body is not given for us; not into the broken body because when Christ pronounced those words, the body was not broken, but was still whole. (f) If these words have a conversive force, the accidents of the bread and wine (over which Christ pronounced those words) would be changed into the accidents of the body and blood of Christ no less than the substance of the bread (for no reason can be assigned for difference).

XVIII. Besides the objections already adduced, Cardinal Perronius (whom Arnauld follows) has excogitated a new figment "of transitory and permanent signification." In the beginning of the pronunciation of the words, "this" denotes the bread which he was giving to the disciples, but towards the end of the utterance, the signification being suddenly changed, it does not signify the bread (as in the beginning) but the very body of Christ. And in this way they think they have found out an easy method of untying these indissoluble knots. But if this fabrication is examined more closely, nothing can be more foolish, nothing more absurd. For how will they ever prove to us that the same word occurring in the same clause and uttered without any change has a double and most widely diverse

signification, one in the beginning and another at the end of the pronunciation of the enunciation? Nay, we maintain that it is a thing altogether unusual and unaccustomed, of which no example can be adduced either from sacred or from profane writers. For those brought forward by our opponents, composed by themselves, have no foundation in Scripture: when they say that God might have said when changing Lot's wife into a statue of salt, "This is salt"; and when Moses changed the waters into blood, "This is blood"; and when Christ changed the water into wine, he might have said of the water turned into wine, "This is wine." For besides the fact that these are mere fictions, who does not see how foreign they are to our example? For these words, "This is salt," "This is blood," are merely declarative of a thing which already was, not conversive of one substance into another. Again, the thing was known and affected the senses of everyone, so that no doubt could remain concerning it. But here, on the contrary, is urged an obscure, intricate meaning which could never have entered into anyone's mind.

XIX. Third, the silence of the Scriptures ought to have great weight with us. For who can believe that so many miracles were wrought every day and everywhere by the ministry of men and from the constant constitution of the church and yet Christ and the sacred writers said nothing about them (if it is true that this dogma should be placed among the primary and fundamental articles of faith)? That they who spoke of the turning of Moses' rod into a serpent, of the conversion of the waters of Egypt into blood, of the change of water into wine at the marriage of Cana, said not even a word about this most momentous, extraordinary and incomprehensible change? That believers to whom it was especially useful to know this might be taught concerning it and not be led through ignorance of it into the most weighty error and into peril of salvation. And on this account the more—that there were not wanting to them many very suitable occasions in which they not only could, but also ought to have mentioned it.

XX. Fourth, this fabrication destroys the essence of a sacrament which demands the presence and not the annihilation of the external element. And yet transubstantiation destroys its sign, while it abolishes the substance of the bread and wine, the species being left (which without their proper subject are rather deceitful specters than infallible testimonies of divine things). It overthrows the thing signified, despoiling the body of Christ of

its quantity and dimensions, and for one introduces a multiple body. It takes away the sacramental analogy because it removes the foundation of the sacramental relation, for when the sign is converted into the thing signified, all similitude between them ceases. In vain is it replied: (a) "The relative being of the sign is not destroyed, although the natural being is abolished." Since the relative and sacramental being is founded on the natural and absolute being, one being taken away, the other cannot but be taken away. However, here it is supposed that the substance of the bread or its absolute being is taken away; therefore its relative and sacramental being must necessarily be destroyed. (b) "The bread and wine are not signs, but either the accidents of the bread and wine or the body and blood of Christ, as they are contained under the accidents of the bread and wine, which are signs of the crucified body of Christ." Neither the accidents of the bread and wine, nor the body and blood of Christ (neither separately, nor conjointly) have the analogy required between a sign and the thing signified. This is especially considered to exist in the nourishment of the body, to which neither the accidents nor the body of Christ can contribute anything, but the substance of the bread and wine alone. Again, since every relation is only between two, the body of Christ cannot be the sign of itself; nor does the consideration of Christ as he is in the Supper or as he was on the cross, hinder it from being the same body of Christ (which accordingly can neither be referred to himself, nor be the sign of himself). Finally, since the body of Christ is the very thing signified, it cannot in any way (and in whatever manner it may be considered) have the relation of a sign.

XXI. Fifth, it destroys the nature of true conversion. In every conversion, three things are required: (a) that the thing into which another is converted be always produced anew; (b) that the thing changed be destroyed and its properties and effects be no longer apprehended, as when water is turned into wine no properties and effects of the water are any longer noticed, but only of the wine; (c) that it be a subject which passes over from one substance into another, since it is creation alone which supposes no subject, but makes one. But these three things are lacking in transubstantiation. First, the body of Christ (into which the bread is supposed to be converted) cannot be said to be produced, because it already preexisted. Nor is the difficulty removed by saying it is sufficient that the body of Christ acquires a new presence in the place where the bread and wine were, succeeding to

them (although it does not acquire a new substance which it did not have before). Thus it would not be a substantial, but an accidental conversion, since the new presence of the body of Christ in the place of the bread is not a substance, but an accident. Second, the bread cannot be said to be destroyed, because its properties and effects are still apprehended (such as they were before consecration), nor are any effects or properties of Christ's body perceived. Hence it ought to be gathered with certainty that neither is the substance of the bread destroyed, nor has the body of Christ succeeded in its place. Third, no subject remains in this conversion; not the substance of the bread, because it is supposed to be destroyed and abolished; not the accidents of the bread, because these are in the subject, but not the subject itself; not the body of Christ, because according to their hypothesis it is the term to which the subject passes and which on this account ought to differ from the subject.

XXII. Sixth, in baptism, the water is not transubstantiated into the blood of Christ; therefore, neither in the Supper is the bread transubstantiated into the body of Christ. The antecedent is granted by the Romanists; the consequent is proved by the similarity between the Supper and baptism. (a) Each is a sacrament of the New Testament. (b) In each is proposed to us our most intimate union with Christ. (c) In each, the remission of sins by the blood of Christ is exhibited. (d) In each in the sacramental phrase the name of the thing is attributed to the sign; for as the bread is said to be the body of Christ, so baptism is said to be the laver of regeneration. (e) It is not anything greater or more wonderful to be nourished unto eternal life than to be regenerated into it. If the people of Capernaum did not understand the former, neither was Nicodemus able to comprehend the latter (although he was a Pharisee and a doctor of the law). Nor ought it to be replied that Christ did not say of the water of baptism, "This is my blood," as he said in the Eucharist, "This is my body." As we have already proved, these words do not favor transubstantiation. Yet the expressions concerning baptism (that it is the washing of regeneration and that it saves us) are of equal significance with the Eucharistic formula.

XXIII. Seventh, from the disagreement of our opponents, who have not been able as yet to agree among themselves in what manner the bread becomes the body of Christ. Hence we find fierce contentions in the Council (of Trent) itself concerning this thing among the Dominicans and

Franciscans. The former of these held to a productive change of the body, while the latter (as they expressed it) held an adductive change, but in an instant, by which the body of Christ is (by the consecration) drawn from heaven to the earth; not by a successive motion so that it deserts one place and acquires another; but in a moment, so that it acquires the latter place, although it has not lost the former. But both involved themselves in inextricable absurdities, as they themselves acknowledge, while the one party rises against the other. For as to the productive change (which the Dominicans defended), the Franciscans carried it by storm. (a) Because what is produced was not before in act, which cannot be said of Christ's body. (b) The body to be produced will be made either out of nothing, by the infinite power of God, or from the substance of the Eucharistical bread. Neither of these can be said because otherwise that body of Christ thus produced would not be the same as the body of Christ existing in heaven (which was formed neither out of nothing, nor from the Eucharistical bread). (c) Because it cannot be shown how from the substance of the Eucharistic bread is produced not only the body, but also the soul of Christ. Again, the adductive change cannot have place here, as the Dominicans most clearly proved against the Franciscans. (a) Because in a conversion properly so called (whether natural or supernatural), not only does the term from which cease to be, but also the term to which begins to be. And thus to say that transubstantiation is adductive is a contradiction in the thing added, for every conversion is a production, not however only an adduction or succession. (b) If the body is drawn from heaven into the Eucharist, nor yet deserts its place, it cannot be said to be drawn from heaven, since this (from heaven) marks the term from which progression is made to another place. (c) The adduction of a substance (whose term is not a substance, but a local presence) does not imply the true conversion of any substance (which nevertheless they maintain is made). Others, unable to endure so many absurdities, have imagined other modes of conversion, but no more happily. Some (with Biel) have introduced a conservative change by which the body of Christ is conserved in its original being. Others have imagined a constitutive change so that a new introduction of the body is made under these species with a connotation of the ceasing of the substantial bread. Others, a unitive change by which the substance of the body of Christ is united with the accidents of the bread and wine and sustains them after the

manner of an efficient cause. But these modes are pressed with no fewer absurdities, since that which is conserved, or constituted, or united anywhere, must have been produced or adduced before in the same place.

XXIV. The eighth class is drawn from the testimony of a purer antiquity. That the dogma of transubstantiation was unknown to it, both their writings testify. (as we have seen) and many of our opponents are compelled to confess, however they may try to draw them over to their side. Peter a Marca, Archbishop of Paris, yields to us the suffrages of most of the fathers, especially of Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Irenaeus, Cyprian, Theodoret, Facundus and others (*Tract. de Eucharistia*+). And as to Augustine, he frankly acknowledges that "in his theology, the words, this is my body, ought to be thus explained, this bread is the sign, it is the sacrament of my body which is delivered for you." See in Mornay, Hospinian, Dumoulin (*An Apology for the Holy Supper of the Lord* 1.4 [1612], pp. 28–50), Albertinus, Forbes (*Instructiones Historico-theologicae* 11 [1645], pp. 533–625) the opinion of the fathers in opposition to transubstantiation. Forbes follows in order the various arguments drawn from the fathers against transubstantiation. (a) From those passages in which what believers receive is called a sign, sacrament, symbol, type, figure and image of Christ's body. (b) Where the sacrament of the Eucharist is said to be the bread and wine. (c) Where it is said to be visible food, nourishing our bodies. (d) Where Christ is said not to be corporally present in the Eucharist. (e) Bread is said to be taken by the wicked and does not sanctify the user. (f) The bread and water is not transubstantiated in the people. (g) The substance of the bread and wine remain the same after the consecration as they were before.

XXV. If it is afterwards inquired when and how this monstrous dogma was introduced into the church, the answer is easy. It is recent and newfangled, not a trace of it occurring among the ancients even down to the eighth century. After that the purer doctrine concerning the Eucharist began to be obscured and altered by the image worshippers among the Greeks, who in the Second Council of Nicea (A.D. 787) against the orthodox content with the image of Christ alone in the church (to wit, the sacred symbols of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper) began to affirm that they were not signs or the image of the Lord's body, but the very body of Christ and his very blood. This was done especially by John of Damascus, a great patron of images, about the middle of the eighth century. Fired with an

insane zeal for images, he resolved to deny that the bread of the Eucharist is a type or figure of the body of Christ, but that the substance of the bread remains indeed the same always and is not converted into the body of Christ (in which he was far from transubstantiation); but by an absurd fiction he maintained that the bread was assumed by the Word and most intimately constituted one body with Christ and thus is rightly called the very body of the Lord endowed with divinity. Among the Latins also, about the same time, the ancient faith began to waver. In the same controversy concerning images, it was first erred about this doctrine, they who under Charlemagne opposed themselves to images imprudently calling the sacred symbols of the holy Supper not an image and picture, but his very body and blood. However, they sinned in words rather than in meaning. But in the beginning of the ninth century (to wit, in the year 818), the error came forth more openly through Paschasius Radbertus, Abbot of Corbey, who in a treatise wrote that in the Supper the very body and blood of Christ are present. "Although the figure of bread and wine is here, they must altogether be believed to be nothing else than the flesh and blood of Christ after the consecration" (*De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* 1 [PL 120.1269]). Hence he is said by Bellarmine to have been the first "who seriously and copiously wrote concerning the truth of the Lord's body and blood" (*De Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* [1658], p. 266) and by Sirmondus, the first who, on this question, explained the genuine sense of the church. Various persons arrayed themselves against him: especially Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz; Walafridus Strabo, Abbot of Augia; Herebald; John Scotus Erigena; and above all Bertram (or Ratramnus), a most learned monk in the same monastery of Corbey, over which Paschasius Radbertus presided. By command of King Charles the Bald, Bertram wrote a book concerning the Lord's body and blood against Paschasius Radbertus in which he defends the orthodox faith.

XXVI. But in the tenth century (which Baronius at the year 900 calls "iron, on account of its hardness and barrenness of good, and leaden, on account of its deformity of abounding wickedness"), the error greatly increased. Nor is it strange, if in so dark a century while men slept, the enemy without hindrance sowed tares plentifully (*akōlytōs*), which took root and grew up imperceptibly. Thus the error, nourished in the bosom of superstition and ignorance, in the course of the following century raised its

head aloft. But not even then did the truth lack its defenders. Among these stands eminent in the eleventh century Berengar, concerning whom we have already spoken. He valiantly defended the truth, although his opponents chafed at him. Having suffered much on this account and being accused in various councils, he was compelled through fear of death to recant in the Roman Council under Nicholas II, subscribing the confession exhibited to him in which it is asserted that "the bread and wine on the altar, where they are placed after consecraton, are the Lord's real body and blood which, not only in a sacramental, but also in a sensible manner, are broken by the hands of the priest and ground by the teeth of the faithful" (cf. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* [1963], p. 227). But being led to repentance, he returned to the truth which he had professed and left many heirs and disciples in France and Italy (whom at length the Waldenses and Albigenses succeeded, who brought down that faith uncorrupted to the time of the Reformation). Whatever may have been the opinion of the council which forced Berengar to retract, it is certain that the dogma of transubstantiation cannot be proved from it whatever Bellarmine may say, who endeavors to demonstrate that this dogma was enjoined under an anathema as an article of faith because the bread and wine can be said to be the true body of the Lord, although it does not migrate into its substance. Stephen, Bishop of Autun (as we read), first used the word "transubstantiation" about the year 1130. It was afterwards retained in the Lateran Council under Innocent III (A.D. 1215), which asserts that a transubstantiation takes place in the Supper, "that to perfect the mystery of unity, we may receive from him, what he received from us" (Tanner, 1:230). However, being too obscurely said, this did not persuade learned men concerning the conversion of substance, so that many of them (and among them Gerson, Chancellor of Paris, and Peter d'Ailly, Cardinal of Cambrai) either questioned or openly denied it. Nay, neither was Eugene IV in the Council of Florence (A.D. 1439), where this question was again agitated, able to obtain a definition of the newly introduced dogma. Hence it is evident that it was not settled before the Council of Trent. Now let our opponents go and glory in its antiquity.

Sources of explanation.

XXVII. Words are said to be practical in two ways: because they operate either by changing and converting or by signifying and sealing. The words of Christ are practical in the latter way because they truly signify and seal what they enunciate and foretell; but not in the former way, because the bread is said "to be" (not to be made) the body of Christ; nor is any command or order of Christ contained in them. If a change or effecting is urged, it is not physical and real as to nature, but moral and physical as to use. This shows, not whither the elements pass by a change of substance, but what use they serve by the institution and sanction of Christ.

XXVIII. Although no other change takes place in the Eucharist than a moral and relative change, it does not follow that empty figures and naked signs are exhibited to believers in them. The elements set apart by a blessing are not empty signs and unmeaning figures, nakedly portraying and representing grace; but also seals, sealing the same, and according to the nature of correlates divinely instituted, conferring it in the lawful use; as a testament, a diploma, a clod, puts into possession the inheritance, the donated thing and the farm.

XXIX. The words *metastoicheiōseōs, metabolēs, metapoiēseōs* and others of like kind (often used by the fathers) do not favor transubstantiation. They also employ these in that change which takes place in the sacrament of baptism, which our opponents also deny to be substantial. Thus the bread and wine according to the fathers are changed, not properly, but "by sign" according to Augustine; by "figure" according to Tertullian; by "image" according to Eusebius; "symbolically" according to Theodoret; not inasmuch as the nature is changed, but inasmuch as grace is added to nature.

XXX. The locution of Moses, when he says the wife of Lot became a "statue of salt" (Gen. 19:26) and when speaking of the conversion of water into blood ("Stretch forth thy rod upon the waters of the rivers, that they may become blood," Ex. 7:19), has no similarity to the proposition of Christ, "This is my body." The words of Moses are the words of a historian who relates a thing done and past. Nothing is more intelligible than to say the wife was a pillar of salt and the waters were (i.e., were changed into) blood. But here are the words of our Lord instituting a sacrament, which express a present thing; and yet nowhere is the verb "is" in the present employed to express a change of form or of substance. Again, the words of

Moses are so explained in the same place and by other words and by all the circumstances, that there is no room for doubt as to their meaning. But so far are the words of Christ from being joined with others from which the opinion of the Romanists can be gathered, that they all prove just the opposite.

XXXI. It is one thing to be incomprehensible, far surpassing the comprehension of reason; another to be incompossible, opposed to reason. The doctrines of the Trinity, the incarnation and others of the same class (which constitute the essence of the Christian religion) are profound and sublime mysteries, incomprehensible to us; but the doctrine of transubstantiation is absurd (*asystaton*) and contradictory. Hence the difficulty of the former differs widely from that of the latter. The former difficulty arises from the sublimity of the thing, which our minds cannot reach; the latter from the absurdity of the thing, which to our minds is repugnant. That does not exclude faith, but supposes it because in the Scriptures such mysteries are clearly proposed to us (if not as to the mode and the how [*to pōs*], at least as to the thing itself and the fact [*to hoti*]). This can demand assent neither from reason nor from faith, because neither is it expressly delivered in the Scriptures, nor can it be deduced from them by any legitimate consequence; not only does it not agree with the articles of faith and the judgment of reason, but it is openly opposed to them. Again, so great is the majesty and glory of those mysteries that the mind is dazzled with their brightness; nor does it seem amazing to the mind if various difficulties are met with in comprehending them: the divine essence with its attributes; the persons with their relations; the hypostatical union of the Word with flesh; the decree of predestination; the satisfaction made to divine justice by Christ; the ways of the providence of God in concourse with the will of man. These are things remote from the senses and incomprehensible in themselves, but the difficulties of transubstantiation are concerned with things which every day fall under the senses: about bread and wine, which are our ordinary nourishment; about the existence of the human body and other things of like kind which are not only not remote from the senses and impervious to reason, but are the proper object of both.

XXXII. They who from the present faith of the Roman church concerning transubstantiation gather that the same opinion was held in all ages of the church because such a change of doctrine could not have taken

place without a great commotion of minds and of peoples (which however did not happen here, as following Bellarmine, Arnauld urges [*La perpetuite de la foy de l'Eglise Catholique touchant l'Eucharist*e (1669)]) raise a smoke by a subtle and specious, but worthless comment and gratuitously suppose many false things (as we have already seen, Topic XVIII, Question 13, Sections 14, 15). It is supposed: (1) that such a change could not have been made without producing a great agitation of mind; while on the contrary it is evident that very frequently changes, in the state as well as in the church, have been made easily without being perceived, especially in the case of changes which are made imperceptibly and not suddenly, secretly and not openly, by an indirect apposition of error to the truth, not by a direct opposition to it. Now it is clear that such was the case in this matter. For neither at once nor together, but little by little and successively by various stages, this error was introduced. Nor did it openly attack the truth, but secretly connected itself with the truth. They did not attempt to destroy the truth (which was believed before), but to introduce an error (which was not as yet believed). The truth was that the Eucharist is a sacrament of the body of Christ, which had always been believed and is still believed in the Roman church; but the new error was superinduced, that this sacrament of the body of Christ is the very body of Christ substantially. The truth is that the body of Christ is present to us in the Eucharist sacramentally and mystically; but the error superadds the local and corporeal presence. The truth is that the bread and wine are changed as to use and signification; the error is that they are changed as to substance. Therefore, what was easier than to add error to the truth without stirring up the minds of men? Especially since a falsehood could creep in under the mantle of truth and with the appearance of explication, as we gather was the case here. For while the bread is said to be the Lord's body; while his presence in the Supper is urged; while the bread and wine are said to be changed into the ineffable word of God; while a *metastoicheiōsis* and *metabolē* of the signs is taught to be made, nothing was more easy than to falsely wrest to a substantial change what had been said in a sound sense concerning the sacramental use. In addition to this, we have the nature of the doctrine in which the change is maintained to be made, which was not (in the beginning) a practical error about the worship and adoration of the Eucharist (concerning which nothing was as yet delivered and which, by

affecting the senses of men, could not help agitating their minds); but only a theoretical error about the conversion of the bread into the body of Christ (which remaining in secret could have been introduced gradually and without being noticed). Finally, the time in which this error grew up contributed not a little to it. This era was not clear and illuminated by the lights of the church, but a dark obscurity in which ignorance and superstition, avarice, ambition and an almost universal corruption of morals had so disfigured the face of the church that scarcely (and not even scarcely) could a few gospel rays break through. So far, therefore, is the introduction of error in the midst of such darkness from seeming amazing that it would be amazing if the truth had been preserved unimpaired. (2) It is also falsely supposed that from the time in which this error was gaining strength in the church, there were no contentions and mental agitations excited by it. For he must be a stranger to ecclesiastical history who does not know what great controversies and contentions have always been stirred up about this subject. Bertram bravely fought against it in its inception; Berengar, in the eleventh century, manfully opposed it, and his doctrine was received generally in France, Italy and England; the Waldenses and Albigenses in the twelfth century resisted it, whom Wycliffe in England, the Hussites in Bohemia and the Reformers everywhere followed. (3) In vain is the inquiry about the possibility or impossibility of the change, if it can be demonstrated to the sight that this change was truly made. This we urge here. In order to demonstrate it, we challenge an examination of the apostolic doctrine, which alone ought to be a rule to us and the polar star of our faith. To avoid this, this fabrication was foisted in. Consult the very celebrated Claude where he triumphantly demonstrates the worthlessness and absurdity of this fiction (*Response au livre de M. Arnaud* [1670], pp. 8–10 and 3.6, 7, pp. 201–38).

Twenty-Eighth Question: The Corporeal Presence of Christ in the Supper and the Oral Manducation of It

Is Christ corporeally present in the Eucharist, and is he eaten with the mouth by believers? We deny againt the Romanists and Lutherans

I. The fiction of transubstantiation having been overthrown, it remains to treat of his corporeal presence in the Supper and the oral eating of him, for the sake of which most especially it seems to have been devised. For since the Scriptures so often propose to us the communion of the body and blood of Christ as the foundation and source of all his blessings and our opponents could not conceive how such a communion could be obtained, unless the body of Christ was truly really present on earth. Hence they invented a local and corporeal presence in order that it might be eaten with the mouth.

Opinion of the Romanists and of Lutherans concerning the real presence.

II. Now because we have to deal here with the Romanists and Lutherans, the opinion of both must be distinctly attended to. And as to the Romanists, it is known from what has already been said that they urge such a mode of corporeal presence as is made by a conversion of the bread into the body of Christ so that in the Eucharist it is no longer the substance of bread, but the very body of Christ which is offered to the communicants. But because this doctrine concerning transubstantiation is pressed by two most manifest disadvantages (namely, the conversion of the bread into the very body of Christ and the existence of accidents without a subject), therefore, Luther proposed a new mode of presence (to wit, the inclusion of Christ's body in the bread and of his blood in the wine; the coexistence of the bread and the body, of the wine and the blood of Christ, which was called consubstantiation or *synousia*). It is not clearly ascertained who was the author of this opinion. Some ascribe it to Berengar, others to Walrom, others more truly to Guitmund. Peter d'Ailly, the Cambrian Cardinal, was so much pleased with it as plainly to declare that he would embrace it, if the authority of the church, thinking differently, would not oppose. Luther, following his judgment, retained this opinion as the truer and delivered it to his disciples, and it is even now retained by them. This is the doctrine set forth in Article 10 of the Augsburg Confession: "Concerning the Lord's Supper they teach that the body and blood of Christ are truly present and are distributed to the partakers in the Lord's Supper; and they disapprove of those teaching otherwise" (cf. *The Book of Concord* [ed. T.G. Tappert,

1959], p. 34). It is true that in the copy first shown to the emperor at Augsburg, it was written: “The body and blood of Christ are present under the appearance of the bread and wine in the Lord’s Supper” (ibid.) (which phrase Melanchthon seems to have used, in his effort to lessen the offense of the emperor and the Romanists in order that they might obtain the toleration they sought). But because it appeared to approach too nearly to the opinion of the Romanists, these words being left out in the edition of the confession, it stood simply: “The body and blood of Christ are truly present and are distributed in the Lord’s Supper” (ibid.). According to this many of our divines did not refuse to subscribe to that confession, provided it was understood in an orthodox way and according to the meaning of the author (as Zanchius, Peter Martyr and others) inasmuch as the body and blood of Christ are said to be truly present (namely, spiritually presented by the word of promise and received by faith). Afterwards in another edition (*recognitione*) of the confession, this article is expressed in these words: “Concerning the Lord’s Supper, they teach that, with the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ are truly bestowed upon the partakers in the Lord’s Supper” (cf. ibid., pp. 179–80). This opinion is held among Lutherans in our day.

III. However, because many mistakes occur in constituting the statement of the question, certain preliminaries must be settled which can throw light upon it. First, since the word “presence” is relative, it cannot be understood without the relation of the object which is said to be present, to the subject to which it is present, and it is nothing more in general than the application of the object to the faculty fitted to take cognizance of it. Hence a twofold presence ought to be distinguished according to the twofold nature of things: corporeal and sensible, or spiritual and intelligible. In corporeal things, that is said to be present which is so before the senses or pre-senses (*prae sensibus*) (as the force of the word implies) that by that very thing it can be perceived by the sense to which it offers itself; in spiritual things, things are said to be present when they are offered to the intellect in such a way that it can apprehend and enjoy them with its own power. Second, presence is not to be confounded with propinquity. What is near is not always present, and what is present is not always near. For example, the sun is present to us (although it is situated far off) when it shines upon us with its rays and nothing intervenes between it and the eye. Yet it is said to be

absent at night (although sometimes it is nearer to us than during the day) because we do not feel its power in the nocturnal darkness. In this sense, Augustine said that the light surrounding the eyes of a blind man as well as of one who could see was present to the latter, absent from the former. Hence it is evident that the presence of created things is not to be measured either by propinquity or distance of places, but is to be estimated by that relation by which he to whom the thing is present can enjoy it suitably. Presence is opposed not to distance, but to absence. The latter, not the former, intercepts the use and the enjoyment of the object. Third, the presence of Christ's body can be regarded either with respect to believers (who use the sacraments) and to their union with Christ's body; or with respect to the sacrament and the union which Christ's body can have with the sacramental signs. In the former sense, Christ is said to be present to the mind of the believer in the celebration of this mystery; in the latter, he is said to be present with regard to place in the signs, while he is conceived to be in the bread or under it or under its species. Fourth, real presence can be understood in two ways: either by nearness and corporeal contact, as a body is said to be really present which is somewhere nearby and by reason of locality; or by efficacy and virtue which efficaciously operates somewhere. Fifth, a threefold presence must be accurately distinguished here: one symbolical and sacramental in the signs; another spiritual and mystical in the heart; and the other corporeal and of nearness. Sixth, there is an oral and corporeal manducation of Christ's body which is said to be with the mouth of the body; and there is a spiritual and mystical which is the mouth of faith. For the body can no more eat spiritually, than the soul can eat corporeally. The latter manducation, however, is said to be spiritual not with regard to the object (as if the body of Christ could be converted into a spirit); but both from the principal efficient cause, which is the Holy Spirit, by whose virtue this eating is done, and from the instrumental, which is faith; and from the manner, which consists in spiritual actions; and from the subject, which is the soul immediately and primarily; and from the relation, under which the body to be eaten is exhibited, not simply as a body, but as a body dead and crucified (in which sense it cannot be apprehended by us except spiritually).

Statement of the question.

IV. From what has been said the statement of the question is clearly gathered. First, it is not inquired about the presence of Christ in general—whether Christ is present in the Eucharist (which is asserted on both sides)—but concerning the mode of this presence: Is it corporeal and by indistancy (*adiastasian*) or is it spiritual? The Romanists and Lutherans hold the former; we hold the latter. Second, the question is not whether the body of Christ is present to the mind of believers in the Eucharist, and whether it is united closely with them. Rather the question is whether it is united with the sacramental signs and locally present with them. This they maintain; we deny. Third, the question is not about the real and substantial presence as to efficacy and virtue; for thus we do not deny that Christ's body is present in the sacrament, inasmuch as in the lawful use it exerts its power in the communicants according to God's ordination. But the question (according to the sense of our opponents) concerns a real presence by nearness (*indistantiam*). Fourth, it is not inquired whether our union with Christ is necessary for salvation (which we acknowledge and urge); but concerning the mode and bond by which that union ought to be made—whether the body of Christ ought to enter into our bodies by a local conjunction (which they wish); or whether it is sufficient that this be done by the Spirit of Christ and by faith (as we assert). Fifth, it is not inquired concerning the symbolic and sacramental presence of Christ's body in the signs, or concerning the spiritual and mystical in the heart (for we acknowledge and defend both); but concerning the local presence and presence of nearness in the Eucharist, either under the species of the bread (as the transubstantiationists hold) or under the very bread (as the consubstantiationists assert and we deny). Finally, the question is not whether there is an eating of the body of Christ (which is acknowledged on both sides); but whether there is an oral eating of it. So that the question returns to these limits—Is Christ's body so present in the Eucharist that it may be said to be in the signs not only symbolically and is it truly and really (but spiritually) communicated to and united with the hearts of believers; but is it also corporeally and indistantly (*indistanter*) present in the sacrament, so that it can and ought to be received into and eaten with the mouth of the body? This they maintain and we deny.

The real presence is opposed: (1) by the words of institution.

V. The reasons are various. First, here belong all those which have been adduced against the proper sense and transubstantiation, to which we add the following. (1) From the words of institution, which cannot admit that corporeal presence; both because Christ's body is proposed in the Supper to us and represented by the sacramental signs as dead and his blood as poured out of his veins (in which manner it is impossible for Christ's body to be made present to us at this day corporeally and indistantly [*adiastatōs*], since he can die no more); and because Christ commands us "to do this in remembrance of him" (Lk. 22:19). Now memory is only of things absent and past, not of those present; nor, if all things are said to be present to faith, is this understood of a local presence as to real being (which is beyond the intellect), but of an objective, as to intentional being and the spiritual hypostasis of faith. If we are commanded to remember God, his absence from our mind through thoughtlessness and oblivion is supposed (although he is always present to us as to himself by his essence). Now although that remembrance enjoined upon us must be extended to his suffering and death, which we are commanded to show forth, a remembrance of Christ himself ought no less on that account to be made, since Christ expressly affirms it and indeed even until he shall come, which necessarily supposes his absence now. Nor does that future advent exclude only the visible presence of his body and not the invisible, because it is gratuitously supposed that there is an invisible presence of Christ's body (as will be proved hereafter). Finally, Christ says that he will not drink any more from that time of the fruit of the vine. Hence it is evident that he did drink of it in partaking of the Eucharist. Now who can believe that Christ was carnally present there, so that he could be eaten and drunk by himself? That he could thus be at the same time the agent and patient; the food eaten and the mouth eating?

2. From the departure of Christ.

VI. (2) From the passages in which the departure of Christ from the world is spoken of. (a) Where he predicts that he will go out of the world and will no longer be present here in his body: "Ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always" (Mt. 26:11); "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go to the Father" (Jn. 16:28); "I am no more" (i.e., will be, to wit, in my body) "in the world, but these" (namely, his disciples) "are in the world" (Jn. 17:11); "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come among you" (Jn. 16:7). Hence he elsewhere forbids us to believe in the miracles of false prophets, who show Christ either in a desert or include him in secret chambers (*tameiois*) and with these lies feed the faith of Christians. "If they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: behold, he is in the secret chambers" (or receptacles and hidden places) "believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be" (Mt. 24:26, 27). (b) Where he is said to have gone from this world and to have ascended up to heaven. "It came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven" (Lk. 24:51). So in Acts 1 and elsewhere. (c) Where he is said to be in heaven, there to remain even until the end of the world, at which time he will return. "Whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things" (Acts 3:21). "They shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds" (Mt. 24:30). "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with the voice of the archangel" (1 Thess. 4:16). "Seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God" (Col. 3:1). From all these, an invincible argument is derived. He who departed in body from the earth and left the world that he might betake himself to heaven where he is to remain until the restitution of all things; who is sought in vain on earth where he no longer is; and must be sought in heaven, where he sits at the right hand of God, cannot be said to be carnally present in the sacrament. And yet all these things are said of Christ. Therefore …

VII. See the various objections of the Romanists and Lutherans discussed in Volume II, Topic XIII, Sections 8, Paragraphs 16, 17, 18 and Question 18, Sections 4, 5, 6. To these we add: (1) in vain is the visible corporeal presence and human conversation of Christ distinguished from his invisible presence, as if that only is excluded and not this. (a) Because it is

gratuitously supposed that there is granted such an invisible presence of Christ's body, besides the visible. This was to have been proved before all things, not to be supposed. For we maintain that it is a sheer invention, incompatible (*asystaton*) with the nature of a true body. (b) It is repugnant to the words of Christ, which speak of his departure and leaving the world, not only concerning the disappearance and hiddenness of his body. But how can he be said to leave the world and to be raised up into heaven, if he as yet remains perpetually on earth? (c) Christ in consoling the minds of his sad disciples ought to have used this distinction—that he would indeed visibly depart, but still would be invisibly with them by the presence of his body, to such a degree that he could be both received into their hands and taken into their mouths. But he employed far different means (to wit, the substitution of the Holy Spirit in place of his bodily presence, whom he promised to send that he might remain with them forever as his vicar). Now what need was there of the invisible presence of the Holy Spirit if the flesh of Christ always remains invisibly? Was that invisible (*aorasia*) presence to be supplied by anything visible? Nor ought it to be replied that Christ promised a new presence: "I will come again." This by no means favors an invisible presence, because it can best be explained either with respect to the appearance of Christ after his resurrection, or with respect to his spiritual and mystical advent through the grace of the Spirit, or of his return to judgment. (2) No more rightly do they wish a distinction to be made between "a finite, created, definitive presence and a divine, illocal, uncreated, infinite presence"; that by the former Christ is in heaven, while by the latter he is in the Supper. The radical error (*prōton pseudos*) is always assumed—that there is a twofold kind of presence with respect to Christ's body, which as impossible and contrary to the nature of a body—cannot be admitted.

3. From the impossibility of such a presence.

VIII. (3) From the impossibility of such a presence because it overthrows the nature and properties of a true body. As possesed of quantity and extended, a true body ought to be visible and palpable, located, impenetrable and circumscribed; which is so in one place that it cannot be in another; so it has parts outside of parts, so that neither can it penetrate nor

be penetrated by another body. Nevertheless, this would be done by Christ's body if it were present in the Eucharist in the way supposed by our opponents. Nor did the exaltation of Christ (which gave glory and immortality to his body) take away its nature so that although it was destitute of the infirmities of animal life and of the conditions of a servile state, still it retained both the nature of a true body and all its properties. Nor do the examples brought forward sustain their view. Christ might have entered in to the disciples "the doors having been shut" (*tōn thyrōn kekleismeuōn*, Jn. 20:19) (i.e., at the time when they had closed the doors on account of their fear of the Jews), but not "through closed doors" (*dia thyrōn*). It denotes therefore the state in which the apostles were, but not the mode of entrance. For although the doors were shut, they could have yielded to the Creator and opened at his hand. The same is to be said about the stone placed at the mouth of his sepulcher. The creature might have yielded willingly to the Creator without a penetration of its dimensions, although the angel of the Lord, since he had descended from heaven, had not removed the stone from the mouth of the sepulcher, as is said to have been done (Mt. 28:2). Christ is said "to have vanished out of their sight" (*aphantos ap' autōn*) (to wit, of the disciples at Emmaus, Lk. 24:31), not by vanishing into thin air, but either by holding together the eyes of the apostles that they might not see him going away; or by withdrawing himself very swiftly from them so that "he may be said to have been carried away from their sight," as Beza translates it (*Annotationes maiores in novum ... testamentum: Pars prior* [1594], p. 325 on Lk. 24:31). Christ is said to have passed into the heavens (Heb. 4:14), not by a penetration of heavenly bodies, but by a passing through them, the heavens being opened at his approach as they are said to have been opened at his baptism. Nor does the word *dielēlythota* imply penetration anymore than when Paul and Barnabas "went through the island" (*dielthontes tēn nēson*, i.e., Cyprus, Acts 13:6) can they be said to have penetrated the island.

4. From the inutility of it to oral manducation, which is proved to be none: (a) from the nature of food.

IX. (4) From its inutility. If there was any use for it, it ought to serve undoubtedly for oral manducation. But many things prove that no such thing, but only a spiritual is granted. (a) The nature of food which ought to be eaten by us; for the eating ought to be such as the food is. Now the food is not corporeal, but spiritual; both because it ought to be a nourishment of the mind not of the body, and because the life which is to be sustained is not animal and earthly but spiritual and heavenly (consisting in the remission of sins and the practice of sanctification), opposed to the death of sin (which consisted in the curse and corruption); and because the instrument of eating is not the mouth of the body (because whatever enters into the mouth goes into the stomach and is thrown into the sewer, Mt. 15:17; 1 Cor. 6:13), but the mouth of faith, by which Christ dwells in our hearts (Eph. 3:17) and we apply to ourselves his flesh given for the life of the world by a living apprehension of his merit; and because the adjuncts and effects are spiritual, not corporeal. It is not corruptible food which perishes, but incorruptible which endures unto everlasting life (Jn. 6:27), whose effects are spiritual: our mystical union with Christ (Jn. 6:56), a glorious resurrection (v. 54) and the fruition of eternal life (vv. 47–49).

(b) From Jn. 6.

X. (b) All these are confirmed by Jn. 6, whence various arguments are drawn for spiritual eating against oral and Capernaitic (whatever our opponents may bring forward to the contrary). (i) It treats of the eating which gives eternal life: “Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead” (v. 49*). “This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die” (v. 50); “Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood … dwelleth in me, and I in him” (vv. 54, 56). (ii) Of an eating which is absolutely necessary for the gaining of life: “Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you” (v. 53). (iii) Of that which answers to spiritual hunger and thirst and which is performed by faith: “I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst” (v. 35). Here coming to Christ and believing on him are put for the true means of allaying hunger and slaking thirst (i.e., for the true eating, which Christ means). (iv) Of that for which faith alone is required. For since Christ had commanded the Jews

to labor for enduring food, and the Jews had asked what they were to do that they might enjoy that food, he answers that faith alone is required: "This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent" (v. 29). (v) He speaks of the eating which could be done at that time because he speaks not in the future, but in the present and urges its perpetual necessity. And yet oral manducation had not as yet been instituted nor could it have had a place. (vi) Of the eating which should be done through the Spirit, "because the flesh profiteth nothing, but it is the Spirit which giveth life" (v. 63). (vii) Many of our opponents confess that Christ treats in this chapter of spiritual manducation alone, among whom Bellarmine mentions Gabriel Biel (*Canonis Misse Expositio* 84 [ed. H. Oberman and W. Courtenay, 1967], 4:77–95), Cusanus, Cajetan, Tapper, Hessel, Cornelius Jansen ("De Sacramento Eucharistiae," 1.5 *Opera*, 3:255–57). To these must be added Aeneas Sylvius (or Pius II), who urging against the Taborites the restitution of the cup from these words, "except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood" (v. 53), copiously teaches that Christ speaks only of a spiritual manducation. However, they who urge the oral manducation confess that the discourse of Christ up to v. 51 is figurative and is to be understood of spiritual manducation (as Bellarmine, Salmeron, Maldonatus). But in vain is this distinction employed, since Christ uses the same words and treats of the same thing; nor is there any reason for a change in the discourse.

XI. If anyone seeks further for what purpose Christ employs this metaphorical kind of speaking in this whole chapter, representing communion with him by manducation, various reasons can be given. (1) This figurative manner of speaking is most familiar in the Scriptures and was often employed by Christ. It is his custom to adumbrate spiritual mysteries and his blessings under the covering of corporeal things and actions. As elsewhere he describes the grace of conversion by regeneration and the production of the new man; thus to this new man he attributes a new life and food by which he may be nourished and sustained. (2) It is the fittest mode of speaking to designate our communion with Christ, as is evident from a manifold analogy. (3) Christ had a special occasion in this place for using such a metaphor from the miracle performed and a regard for the crowd which followed him. For as he had filled them with the loaves miraculously multiplied, so they came to him again to be fed by him. Hence

he seized the opportunity of turning their minds away from earthly thoughts about material and corporeal bread and carrying them to the thought of and desire for his grace. This he designates under the same idea which then occupied their senses (namely, under the idea of meat and drink). “Ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were filled. Labor not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you” (Jn. 6:26, 27*). Nothing is more usual with Christ than to use the occasions offered for setting forth his mysteries. As from the occasion of the water to which the Samaritan woman approached, he represents his grace under the symbol of water (Jn. 4:10). From the occasion of his disciples exhorting him to take food, on which he speaks of doing the will of his Father as of food: “My meat is to do the will of him that sent me” (Jn. 4:34*). What wonder, therefore, if Christ, on the occasion of the miracle of the loaves, describes union with him under the symbol of eating? And for this reason the more, that he was drawing the answer of the crowd necessarily to that very thing (Jn. 6:30–32). When they speak of the manna given to their fathers, on that account he shows that he is the true celestial bread who gives life to the world and not the corruptible manna of the Israelites. (4) In this way, Christ also wished to contrast his body with the legal victims and especially with those which were offered for the expiation of sin, upon which it was not lawful to feed, neither as to the flesh, nor as to the blood. Assuredly this was not done without a mystery to designate the imperfection and insufficiency of such victims because they were so involved in the fire of divine justice that nothing could remain from them for the nourishment of the people. This was a sign that there was no power in them to appease the divinity and to fill with consolation the conscience of the offerer. But Christ wishes to teach that this would not be the case with his sacrifice. So far from its being consumed and absorbed by the fire of the divine wrath, that, a most full satisfaction having been rendered to his justice, we can be nourished by his body and blood (i.e., feel its efficacy in consoling and pacifying the soul). Thus while the Israelites had communion with the victims only in death (drawing them to the altar that they might die in their place), Christ wished not only to share in our death by receiving our sins upon himself, but he wishes that we may have communion of life with him and to that end gives us his flesh and blood for spiritual aliment.

XII. Our opponents can find nothing in this chapter which favors oral manducation. (1) Not what is said in v. 55: "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." For he is the true food; but of the mind, not of the stomach; of the heart and of faith, not of the mouth. Thus it denotes the truth of the similitude between corporeal food and spiritual and celestial food as to the efficacy of nutrition, but not as to the mode of eating. As "Why do you prepare teeth and stomach, believe and thou hast eaten," as Augustine says on John 6* (Tractate 25, *On the Gospel of John** [NPNF1, 7:164; PL 35.1602]). Thus he is called "the true light" (Jn. 1:9), i.e., far truer than the visible light. Therefore he is called the true food, but spiritually, not corporeally; for his truth consists in spiritual no less than in corporeal things; yea, on this account, the more sure because they are wont to be more perfect than the latter. In this sense, Christ is called "the true vine" (Jn. 15:1). "Truly the people is grass" (Isa. 40:7). Thus Cajetan observes on the passage: "To signify that his flesh, not deceptively, not by opinion, but according to the truth nourishes the soul, he says my flesh is truly meat" ("Commentarii … in Evangelium secundum Ioannem," *Quotquot in Sacrae Scripturae* [1639], 4:335 on Jn. 6:53). So also Gabriel Biel: "My flesh is truly meat" (i.e., undoubtedly) "refreshing meat" (*Canonis Misse Expositio* 86 [ed. H. Oberman and W. Courtenay, 1967], 4:135). (2) Not that Christ "distinguishes eating and drinking by which each species is most clearly distinguished; since in spiritual manducation by faith, to drink is the same as to eat." Christ uses that twofold word, not for the reason that the one ought to be the act of spritual eating, the other of spritual drinking; but to signify that Christ is not our life and food except as he is dead and that we obtain full spiritual nourishment in his death and in communion with him, as full nutrition is attained by meat and drink. (3) Nor that he says, "I will give in the future and not I give in the present, because eating by faith belongs to all times." For the verb "to give" in the future denotes his deliverance unto death (which was as yet future) not the giving at the feast (which is in the Eucharist). Thus to give the power of food to the body of Christ implies nothing but the sacrifice by which he was made the meat of our soul (which cannot be eaten except as a victim).

XIII. (4) Not that the Jews (understanding a carnal eating of Christ [v. 52], which they judged to be absurd and impossible) are not rebuked by Christ; yea, are the more confirmed, but are only informed of the mode of

really eating, which they did not comprehend. It is gratuitously supposed that Christ did not reprehend them, since it is clear that he did: “Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?” (vv. 61, 62). Here he plainly condemns them because they were offended at his discourse improperly understood, drawing to an oral and corporeal manducation what he had said about a spiritual manducation. And in order to relieve them of this gross imagination, he sets before them his future ascension into heaven, from which they might still more certainly gather that his words were to be understood not literally, but figuratively and mystically (as Augustine observed, Tractate 27, *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:174–78]). Thus they were not confirmed in their depraved sense concerning oral manducation (according to which the body of Christ would have to be present by nearness of place), but he recalls them from that error, his future ascension being proposed, by which the presence of his flesh having been withdrawn from the earth, there could be no method of eating it other than spiritual and by faith. Christ confirms this further when he adds: “It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life” (v. 63). Here he teaches that his flesh orally received conduces not to salvation, since it belongs to the Spirit alone to vivify us (i.e., he applies to our souls unto salvation the vivifying and nutritive power of Christ’s flesh by the merit of his sacrifice). Thus the words of Christ are Spirit and life (i.e., they are to be understood spiritually). (5) Not from this—that Christ promises “to give new food not as yet granted to men, which cannot be understood of spiritual manducation, which belongs to all times, but only of an oral.” For Christ certainly promises something new (to wit, the oblation of his body as a victim for the life of the world), which had not as yet happened; but he did not on that account command a new method of eating, because there ought not to be granted a different method of salvation and of communion with Christ between the believers of the Old and New Testaments. And the fathers, believing in Christ who was to come, could eat him spiritually, no less than we (as the following argument teaches).

5. From the believers of the Old Testament.

XIV. (5) From the example of the Old Testament believers. Manducation and communion ought to be the same among Old and New Testament believers because the communion of the saints is one and the same. And yet there was no oral manducation under the Old Testament (Christ not having yet been manifested), but only a spiritual. Therefore, it is necessary today among Christians. Nor can it be said that there was indeed the same communion in both Testaments as to the objects or things (to wit, that in both there is one God, one Savior, one salvation); but not as to the means and mode of communion. The mode of communion is the same in both (viz., spiritual, 1 Cor. 6:17; 12:13; 1 Jn. 4:13) and the same means also (viz., faith, Rom. 4:5; 9:16; 10*:12*–14*; Heb. 11). Nor if the Old Testament believers had distinct sacraments as to signs, does it follow that there were distinct modes of participating, as to the thing signified. In both the thing signified is the same (to wit, Christ with his benefits); so the same mode of participation is granted to both (to wit, faith, by which they are said to have eaten and drunk spiritual meat and drink, which was Christ). In vain is it added that the participation of future and of present things cannot be the same. Although this can be said of those things which are partaken of corporeally, it is not true of those which are partaken of by faith because all things are present to faith, whether past, or future, or present, or near or remote (as is taught in Heb. 11:1 and confirmed by the example of Abraham, Jn. 8:56).

6. From the uselessness of oral manducation.

XV. (6) From the uselessness of oral manducation. Spiritual manducation alone suffices for salvation; yea, is alone saving. And so far from the oral being able to save, it is performed by the wicked, who are excluded from salvation. Not only (according to the hypothesis of our opponents) is it absolutely useless without the spiritual, but deadly and destructive because he who eats unworthily, eats and drinks condemnation to himself. Who does not confess, therefore, that the only saving manducation is that which gives life and that without which salvation can be obtained and which can be deadly is not the true manducation which Christ commends and enjoins as absolutely necessary to salvation? Here belong the words of Christ cited before: “The flesh profiteth nothing: it is the spirit that maketh alive; the

words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life" (Jn. 6:63). He opposes these words to the Capernaites who, from the words of Christ badly understood, maintained that Christ's flesh was to be received into the mouth that it might enter into our bodies. However, to the contrary Christ shows that his flesh thus received would be useless for our vivification (which is produced by the Holy Spirit alone as the efficient cause). Indeed, the flesh can profit unto salvation meritoriously, inasmuch as it is considered as the victim offered on the cross for the life of the world; but not as it is conceived to be the efficient cause producing within us that spiritual life (in which sense it does not conduce at all to life). This was the work of the Holy Spirit, to whom it belongs to apply and to produce in us the life acquired for us by the oblation of Christ's flesh. Therefore, since it is evident that without corporeal manducation men can be saved and with it damned, and it is accordingly of no use and necessity for salvation, who will say that it ought to be retained by us?

XVI. I know that our opponents rake together various utilities, but they are fictitious and do not help their cause in the least. Not "the real conjunction" or "union of Christ's flesh with our flesh" because the union which exists between us and Christ is nowhere said to be corporeal, but spiritual and mystical, which can be brought about in no other way than by the Spirit and faith (1 Cor. 6:17; Eph. 3:17). Otherwise the flesh of Christ might be said to be united with the flesh of the wicked who eat it. Not "the real and substantial union with God" because the substantial is either the presence of God with us, which arises from his immensity and omnipresence, not from the oral manducation of Christ; or the presence of his grace and the mystical union of believers with him, which can be brought about in no other way than by the Spirit of faith (even as our union with Christ). Not "the demonstration of the love of Christ towards his spouse" because he sufficiently manifested that in the death which he endured for her and in the spiritual union by which he unites us to himself in one body by the Spirit. Not "the cause and seed of a glorious resurrection by the contact and conjunction of Christ's glorious body with our bodies" because the Scriptures ascribe our resurrection not to any quality from the corporeal contact of Christ's flesh, but to the Holy Spirit dwelling in us (Rom. 8:11). Hence Vasquez and Suarez refute this fiction by various arguments.

7. From the absurdities.

XVII. (7) From the absurdities which follow the real presence and oral manducation. (a) Because the most sacred body of Christ is received into the throat and stomach, the receptacle of a thousand impurities. (b) It is not only the food of the pious, but also of the impious and most wicked. (c) It can be eaten not only by men, but also by mice, dogs and other brutes; the very mention of which is abhorrent to the mind. To dismiss the other innumerable absurdities which accompany this doctrine and expose the Christian religion to disgrace among infidels, who can without horror hear that Christians eat the God whom they adore and adore the God whom they eat?

8. From antiquity.

XVIII. (8) Even the formula alone *Sursum corda* ("Lift up your hearts"), still used in the Mass, which Gratian quotes from Cyprian ('Decreti,' Pt. III, "De Consecratione," Dist. 1.70, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* [ed. A. Friedberg, 1955], 1:1313) demonstrates that the corporeal presence was wholly unknown to antiquity before the age of the Scholastics. The words of Augustine are pertinent here: "How can I reach my hand into heaven and take hold of him sitting there? send faith and thou holdest him" (Tractate 50, *On the Gospel of John* [NPNF1, 7:280; PL 35.1759]). Ambrose says, "Christ is corporeally absent from us as far as heaven is above the earth; nevertheless he is touched with faith by those who seek him with an elevation of mind" (*Serm. 56. de Temp*.+). See more in Albertinus, Forbes and others cited above.

9. From our opponents.

XIX. (9) Our opponents do not agree concerning the mode of this presence. Some (such as Scotus, Biel, Richard of Middleton) maintain that Christ's body is present in the Eucharist circumscriptively. Others (such as Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, Durand, Capreolus) hold that he is present not circumscriptively, but penetratively and indivisibly; not by way of dimensive (*dimensivae*) quantity, but of substance. The arguments adduced

by them on both sides for the contrary opinion clearly evince the falsity of both.

Sources of explanation.

XX. The legal figures of the paschal lamb, manna, showbread and the like cannot be called figures of our sacraments; but only figures similar to and corresponding with ours, which represented the same Christ and his benefits to us, who alone is the body of the shadows (Col. 2:17) and the truth of the types. The dignity and efficacy of the sacraments of the New Testament over those of the Old is not as to the thing, but as to degree. This does not arise from the corporeal presence of Christ under the species of bread and wine, but from the dignity and efficacy of the new covenant and the clearer signification and sealing of the thing signified, both on account of the manifestation of Christ (who is proposed more obscurely under the Old Testament as yet to come) and on account of the word added to the sacrament (which is far clearer than the legal word). Christ does not put forth the manna as a figure of the Eucharist (Jn. 6), of which he was not speaking there (as we have already said), but of Christ, the true bread of life, who accomplished in fact what the manna only adumbrated. Paul does not compare the manna with the Eucharist as a figure with the truth, but as a figure corresponding and analogous to another figure.

XXI. “Whoever eats and drinks the sacrament unworthily becomes guilty of the body and blood of the Lord” (1 Cor. 11:27), not on account of his real and bodily presence, but on account of a profanation of the sacred symbol. Hence Paul says that not the body but the bread is unworthily eaten: “whosoever shall eat this bread unworthily.” Concerning the body, Christ testifies another thing (to wit, that whosoever eats this bread has eternal life, Jn. 6:54). From this it follows that it can be eaten by no one to condemnation and death. Therefore he can rightly be said to be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, not eaten, but despised and rejected; not in himself, but in his symbols, which have their own dignity from the body of Christ. Undoubtedly a person or thing can be injured in two ways: either in itself, as was done by the Jews and by those who crucified Christ; or in those things which have any union with the thing, or person, or relation to them (as the majesty of emperors is assailed when their statues are thrown

down and a king is offended when his image or diploma [*diploma*] is destroyed). Thus the apostates are said to tread under foot the Son of God (Heb. 10:29), not immediately, but mediately by a denial and contempt of the gospel. Therefore the true meaning of the Pauline passage is, He who unworthily eats this bread ought not to suppose that he eats the body of Christ, for thus he would have salvation; but he ought to believe that he eats condemnation to himself (i.e., by unworthily eating the symbols, he brings condemnation upon himself, eating being the cause of condemnation). Nor if it is said, "Such an one does not discern the Lord's body," does it follow that on this account he eats it. For the instrument of discerning is faith and they who are without it, as they do not discern, so neither do they eat the Lord's body. Therefore he is said not to discern the Lord's body, not who does not discern the flesh of Christ shut up in the bread from common bread; but who does not value the sacred symbols which derive their excellence from the thing signified and treats them in no other way than common food. Thus he eats the "Lord's bread," but not "the Lord, the bread."

XXII. As the holy Supper consists of two things—an earthly and heavenly, a corporeal and spiritual; so it requires two distinct modes of perception. Nor is it unusual in the Scriptures for one word in one proposition to be taken in a different signification. As "To thy seed will I give all this land" (Gen. 13:15), where by the word "seed" is meant the carnal and spiritual posterity of Abraham and by the word "land" the heavenly as well as the earthly Canaan. Again, the same word cannot be proper and figurative with respect to the same subject; but it may be with respect to different subjects. Now here the word "manducation," which is denoted by the verb "eat," designates two distinct manducations.

XXIII. Although our bodies are united to Christ's body, it is not necessary that they should orally eat it. For they are united with it not by contact or by a corporeal contiguity, but in a purely spiritual and mystical manner, from which also the union itself is called a great mystery by Paul (Eph. 5:32). Therefore, the bond of union is not any oral participation, but (on the part of Christ) an efficacious operation of the Holy Spirit, (on our part) faith and the love springing from it. And if this union is said to be substantial and essential, this is meant in reference to the things which are

united; as it is well said to be real when the truth of the union itself is considered.

XXIV. Although we say that without faith the Supper is useless to us, it does not follow that the presence or absence of Christ depends upon the faith or want of faith in the receiver. The instrument is not to be separated from and opposed to the principal cause, but must be subordinated to it. For as Christ gives his body to us, so faith is the instrument and means by which it is perceived. It does not indeed cease to be the Lord's Supper from the institution of Christ, provided it be rightly celebrated according to his word, although an impious and unbelieving person draws near to it. But to him who approaches unworthily, it is not the Lord's Supper, but a profanation of it. Faith does not belong to the substance of the sacrament, because it is neither its matter nor form and it is an entire sacrament as often as it is administered according to God's appointment, whether received by a believer or not. But it is highly necessary to the participation and use of the sacrament, since without it neither the thing signified can be perceived, nor the end of the sacrament be obtained. Thus the sacrament with respect to God is a sacrament even without faith; but with respect to us without faith it is a naked sign.

XXV. Although it is figuratively said to be the eating of Christ's body, still the thing signified by this kind of expression is most true and not tropical or figurative (to wit, the closest union with Christ himself). Hence falsely is the mystical opposed to the figurative, since divine mysteries are rather for the most part usually adumbrated by figurative words (as they cannot be expressed by words sufficiently proper).

XXVI. It is one thing to eat Christ's body; another to eat it orally and corporeally. The former denotes the object of manducation and the latter the mode. We say the former, but not the latter. Nor are these two to be confounded here—"spirit" and "spiritually." What is eaten spiritually, still does not become a spirit, as the body which is eaten, ought not at once to be eaten corporeally. Therefore it must not be thought that, a spiritual conjunction being established, the true and most intimate union with Christ is taken away; otherwise there could be no union of Christ with his church, nor of believers among themselves and with blessed spirits (although most distantly separated as to locality).

XXVII. If Christ's body is truly present to us, it does not follow that he is corporeally present to us on earth. Nor if he is truly received by us, must he be received by us orally and corporeally. The truth of presence differs from the mode of reception. He is indeed corporeally in heaven with respect to the existence of his body, but he is nonetheless present to our minds through faith with his spiritual presence. Therefore Christ's body is truly present corporeally in heaven and truly spiritually present in our souls or to our faith, by which we receive him. And it is an improper inference, if spiritually then not truly; for nothing is done more truly than what is done by the Spirit.

XXVIII. The spiritual manducation of Christ does not belong only to the efficacy and virtue of the body and blood of Christ and his benefits, but also to its substance. (1) The Scriptures testify that believers are joined to Christ himself (Jn. 17:22; Gal. 2:20; 1 Cor. 6:17; Eph. 3:17). (2) We are said to eat the flesh of Christ and to drink his blood, which is contradistinguished from his benefits, as also Christ distinguishes in the same place (Jn. 6:63). (3) Christ is inseparable from his benefits. The believers under the Old Testament are rightly said to have been made partakers of Christ himself and so of his body and blood, which were present to their faith. Hence they are said to have drunk of the rock, which was Christ (1 Cor. 10:4). And Christ is the same yesterday and today (Heb. 13:8), even as the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world (Rev. 13:8).

XXIX. Hence it appears that we are falsely charged with denying the presence of Christ's body and blood because it is improperly proceeded from the negation of one species to the negation of the genus; from the negation of corporeal presence to the negation of any presence at all. For although Christ's body is not locally present in the Supper, it does not cease to be truly present to the mind, through the mediation of faith, in the word as much as in the sacraments.

XXX. The fabrication of twofold corporeal manducation (one which is natural and accomplished by the action of the organs of manducation and so by a division of the food into parts and for the nourishment of the body, which is produced sensibly; but the other supernatural, insensible and hidden, which is done by the reception of the body of Christ into the mouth under the bread and without any division or action of the organs) can no more be allowed than the fiction of a twofold corporeal presence (a visible

and an invisible), which we have already refuted. (1) It has no foundation in the Scriptures, nor in the nature of the thing. For true manducation does not consist in the sole reception of food; otherwise whatever is taken into the mouth would be said to be eaten. This is seen to be false from the example of Jonah, who although he was received into the mouth of the whale, still was not eaten. Rather true manducation consists in the division of the food and in the action of the organs upon that food, from which follows the destruction of it. (2) It is absurd that a corporeal thing should be eaten by the mouth of the body supernaturally and insensibly because no corporeal action can be insensible. Whatever is received into the mouth is naturally perceived and eaten. (3) It is most absurd (*asystaton*) that one and the same thing numerically should be eaten by more than one and many times, as we are commanded to eat the body of Christ.

XXXI. The "communion [*koinōnia*] of the body and blood of Christ" (of which Paul treats in 1 Cor. 10:16) cannot denote a corporeal communication and exhibition of the body under the species of the bread locally present, because we are one with Christ in the same manner as also we being many are one body (to wit, by one Spirit, not by a transition of substance into substance). Rather it denotes only communion, fellowship and society, as we are frequently in the Scriptures said to have communion with God and Christ. And the very context proves this, where the word "communion" (*koinōnias*) (often repeated) marks nothing else than fellowship and society. Thus the bread is the communion of Christ's body (to wit, that by which the communion of his body is obtained or the sign and seal of his body and not the vehicle and receptacle of it). Nor does Paul compare with each other communion with the body of Christ and communion with idols in this—that the former is more excellent than the latter. Rather he shows from the opposition of both that he who communes with Christ ought not to commune with devils.

XXXII. Although the communion we hold with Christ by the preaching of the word and by baptism is the same as to species with that which we hold with him by the Eucharist (to wit, by the Spirit and faith), it does not cease to be more ample and more sure as to degree in the latter. For the more the symbols by which that mystery is represented to us and the more the senses by which it is perceived, so much the more strongly is it impressed on the mind. The word proposes these benefits in general, but the

Supper applies them to individuals in particular. Baptism under the idea of washing and regeneration exhibits them; but the Supper under the idea of meat and drink, which far more efficaciously seal our union with Christ. Nor does our catechism mean anything else when it says: "Although Christ is communicated to us by baptism and by the gospel, this is done only partially and not fully" ("Lord's Day 52," *The Catechisme or Manner to Teache Children the Christian Religion ... by John Calvin* [1575], p. 142). For it is evident from the words immediately preceding that it means only this—for since the pastor had asked, "What does the Supper add to the word, or, what more do we have in the Supper, or, what is its use?" The child answers: "In the Supper our union is more fully confirmed, and as it were ratified" (ibid.). This clearly denotes that a new union is not designated, but a fuller and more efficacious one.

XXXIII. Although communion with Christ differs from participation in the fruits of his death, as the cause from its effects, and can be distinctly conceived by us, it does not follow that it is done by a twofold action or introduces a twofold communion: one made orally, the other spiritually and by faith. Both can best be made by the same act of faith, so that while by faith we eat the flesh of Christ and are united with him, by the very same we apply to ourselves the merit of his death and the fruit of the sacrifice offered by him. For these are so mutually connected that they accompany each other in turn and can never be separated.

Twenty-Ninth Question: The Sacrifice of the Mass

Is an external, real and properly so called sacrifice offered to God in the Eucharist; not only of praise, thanksgiving and commemoration, but a truly propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead? We deny against the Romanists

I. As the mutual connection between saving truths is great, so there is also a manifold interlinking of errors by which they accompany and draw each other in turn. This appears especially in this subject of the Eucharist. For once the corporeal presence of Christ was introduced, transubstantiation flowed from it. Hence shortly, the sacrifice of the Mass arose, to which at length all things return. For on this account is Christ maintained to be

present in the Supper and the conversion of the bread into Christ's body asserted—in order that at length he may be offered in it. And this is not the last of the horrible corruptions with which Antichrist has disfigured the sacred Supper of our Lord, transforming it into an external and indeed a propitiatory (*hilastikon*) sacrifice.

Statement of the question.

II. On the statement of the question we remark: (1) that it is not inquired concerning the name Mass—whence derived and in what sense it can be used (of which we have spoken before). Rather it concerns the thing itself—whether the thing signified by this word among the Romanists is granted. (2) The question is not Is any sacrifice necessary in the Christian religion and in the Christian church? For both parties agree that sacrifice so belongs to the essence of religion that there can be no true religion not founded upon some expiatory sacrifice for restoring to men the grace and peace of God. (3) The question is not whether Christ did not once offer himself to the Father on the altar of the cross as a plenary expiation of our sins and a propitiation of the Father. For this our opponents do not dare to assert, although it follows from their hypothesis (as will be seen hereafter). Rather the question is whether Christ is still to be offered daily. And ought a new sacrifice to be offered to God? (4) It is not inquired whether the Eucharist can be called improperly and symbolically "a Eucharistic and mystical sacrifice," by reason of commemoration, thanksgiving, representation and application. For this we readily yield to our opponents. But whether it is a true, real, external and properly so called propitiatory sacrifice. The statement of the controversy, therefore, does not lie in this (as Bellarmine deceitfully, as is his custom, endeavors to make it)—whether that sacred action in which the Eucharist is perfected, with the many preceding and subsequent prayers, is a sacrifice. But whether in the Eucharist there is a true sacrifice, not Eucharistical, internal and spiritual, but external, corporeal and propitiatory, in which under the species of the bread and wine Christ is daily offered by a priest to God, the Father, as a victim for the sins of the living and the dead. Our opponents affirm; we deny.

The opinion of Romanists.

III. The opinion of the Romanists cannot be understood more certainly than from the Council of Trent (Session 22, chapters 1 and 2, Schroeder, pp. 144–46). Their opinion is that Christ, although he was to offer himself once on the altar of the cross to God, the Father, yet because his priesthood was not to be extinguished by death, left a sacrifice in the last Supper by which that bloody sacrifice offered on the cross might be represented and its saving virtue in the remission of the sins (which are daily committed by us) might be applied. Therefore he declared that he was a priest constituted after the order of Melchizedek; that he offered his own body and blood (under the species of the bread and wine) to God, the Father, and under the symbols of the same, to the apostles, whom he then made priests that they might take them, that he delivered them also to the same and to their successors in the priesthood that they might offer; that he commanded them by these words, "This do in remembrance of me," and so the Catholic church has always understood and taught. But lest any kind of sacrifice might be understood, they add in chapter 2 that in this sacrifice that same Christ is contained and sacrificed without blood, who once on the altar of the cross offered himself in a bloody manner; therefore this is truly propitiatory, since the Lord, appeased by this offering, granting grace and the gift of repentance, forgives even the greatest sins and transgressions; that the victim is one and the same, the same person now offering by the ministry of the priests, who offered himself then on the cross; the difference being only in the mode of offering (Session 22, Chapter 2, Schroeder, pp. 145–46). This is confirmed by various canons: (1) "If any man shall say that in the Mass a true and proper sacrifice is not offered to God, or that what is offered is not anything else than that Christ is given to us for eating, let him be accursed" (Session 22, Canon 1, Schroeder, p. 149); (2) "If any man shall say that in these words, 'This do in remembrance of me,' Christ did not constitute the apostles priests, or did not ordain that they and other priests should offer his body and blood, let him be accursed" (Session 22, Canon 2, ibid.); (3) "If any man shall say that the sacrifice of the Mass is only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or a naked commemoration of the sacrifice made upon the cross, but not propitiatory, or that it profits the receiver alone, and ought not to be offered for the living and the dead, for

sins, punishments, satisfactions and other necessities; let him be accursed" (Session 22, Canon 3, ibid.).

IV. Now although many of our opponents endeavor to soften or to cover up this crude doctrine, still it is always retained by the church and observed in practice as it was defined by the Council. Nor does the illustrious Bossuet succeed, while he cunningly and laboriously strives to palliate and raise a smoke around this doctrine above others; however speciously and near he may seem to approach to our opinion, when he interprets a sacrifice as nothing else than "of commemoration" or "of representation in signs exhibiting his death, and that too, to the eye of faith." And that thus is understood Christ "being near the sacred table, and appearing before God for us"; thus the same is "offered" (i.e., "made present") to those drawing near "by the living victims of prayers." The whole is "a spiritual sacrifice," Christ being offered in it "in a mystery, in an image; that there is not a new propitiation to appease God again, as if he had not been sufficiently appeased by the sacrifice of the cross, or to add any supplement to the price of our salvation, as if it was imperfect; all these things are done by way of intercession and application" (*Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church* 14 [1687], p. 164). He says that no other victim is to be immolated afterwards, no true death of a victim or offering is granted after the entirely perfect sacrifice of the cross, and other things of the same kind which he subjoins (ibid., Art. 14, 15, pp. 158–70). Nevertheless, in fact he retains the opinion of the Council of Trent and frequently gives it in the same treatise. Hence he so often mentions "the true and propitiatory sacrifice" by which God is appeased. "Thus," says he, "the Son of God is placed upon the sacred table in virtue of these words" (ibid., 14, p. 159). And afterwards: "Jesus Christ, being present, renews and perpetuates in a certain manner the memory of his obedience even unto the death of the cross, so that nothing is wanting for a true sacrifice" (ibid.). And again: "We think this oblation makes God more propitious to us, as our one only true victim and our sole propitiation in his blood" (ibid., pp. 160–61). These expressions clearly show that no abatement is made from the crude dogma of the Council and that the things which he has interspersed in order to soften its asperities are either absurd (*asystata*) or only adapted to obscure it.

The opinion of the orthodox.

V. Thus we determine that in the Christian church no true, real and properly so called propitiatory sacrifice is granted, except the sacrifice of Christ once offered on the cross. This we think neither can nor ought to be repeated. And so we reject and detest the sarifice of the Mass as diametrically opposed to the sacred Scriptures and to the Christian faith and highly injurious and derogatory to Christ. The reasons why we thus determine are many.

Proof that no sacrifice of the Mass is granted: (1) from the silence of the Scriptures.

VI. The first is drawn from the silence of the Scriptures. Christ or his apostles nowhere taught this sacrifice, as they ought by all means to have done if it is believed to be a mystery of such great importance as that without it the Christian religion cannot stand. Who can believe that Christ and the divinely inspired (*theopneustous*) apostles willed to pass over in silence a doctrine so necessary to be known for the practice of religion and divine worship; so useful to individual believers; and so closely connected with the things which he was treating of; and so essential to the office of the priests and bishops, of whom they so often speak? Who can persuade himself that they (who in their writings so accurately followed up the heads of the Christian religion that they thought it no labor to repeat and inculcate them often even in things of lesser moment) would have said not a word about a thing of such importance (which is the primary foundation of religion)? And on this account the more that besides the importance of the thing there was both the difficulty in believing it (a greater than which did not occur, drawn from the impossibility of the thing according to the dictates of the senses and of reason) and the danger that Satan would oppose the Christian religion on this side as the weaker, destitute of the testimony of the reason and of conscience. Finally, since nothing more frequently occurs in the Old Testament than the mention of priests and of legal sacrifices (and of all that pertained to their institution), who can bring himself to believe that the apostles wished to pass over in silence the

priesthood and sacrifice of the New Testament far more illustrious than the body and truth of the Old Testament? Therefore, since so many and such weighty reasons would impel them to set forth this mystery to believers and yet they did not deliver anything concerning it, not one or another, but all together (for it will be proved hereafter that the passages brought forward by our opponents do not favor this fiction), from this it is now solidly gathered that it was never instituted by Christ and accordingly that it is not to be received by us.

VII. Nor does Bellarmine get rid of the difficulty when he says, "These are negative arguments" (which are ridiculous even to children). Nay, he prates childishly. For although the argument from human authority does not hold good negatively because it is certain that men are often ignorant of many things; yet in doctrines of faith the argument from the divine authority of the Scriptures holds good affirmatively as well as negatively (as children know) because they contain all things necessary for salvation. Hence if they are still about and do not note a thing, for that very reason they are to be considered as denying it. The apostle, from the fact that it was never said to any angel, "Thou art my Son" (Heb. 1:5), infers that the name belongs to Christ alone. And it is absurd for Bellarmine to wish certain testimony to be brought forward by us to prove that Christ did not offer himself in the Supper, since all know that the burden of proof devolves on the affirmer and not upon the denier. They hold that the sacrifice of the Mass is granted. Let them, therefore, prove it from the Scriptures and theirs will be the triumph.

2. From the institution of the Eucharist.

VIII. But so far from the Scriptures containing anything to help their cause, they furnish many arguments to us by which it is clearly demolished (as will be taught in what follows). Therefore, the second argument will be drawn from the very institution of the Eucharist, which is diametrically opposed to such a sacrifice. Christ in the Supper did not stand at an altar in order to sacrifice himself, but reclined at a table that he might sanctify the bread and wine by his blessing; not that he might offer to the Father, but distribute to his disciples, that they might take, eat and drink—not adore or immolate him. He commands the apostles to do the same thing in remembrance of him and so as a representation, seal and application of the body broken on

the cross and of his blood shed; and not as an expiation, propitiation and satisfaction for sins. The apostles did not deliver anything else than what they had received from Christ; not assuredly a sacrifice, but a sacrament; not for immolating, but for commemorating and showing forth the death of Christ even until he shall come. This is further confirmed from the antithesis between the Lord's Supper and the papal Mass. (1) In the Supper God gives, believers receive; in the Mass, the priest gives, God receives. (2) In the Supper, Christ instituted a monument and remembrance of his sacrifice and death; in the Mass the priest offers Christ to God and indeed as a victim for sins. (3) Christ in the Supper gave the bread to his disciples saying, "Take, eat," but offered nothing to the Father and did not immolate himself; in the Mass they hold that Christ offers himself as a sacrifice to the Father. (4) Christ said, "This do," (i.e., eat, drink); but the Romanists wish "This do" to signify "sacrifice this." (5) Christ commanded his disciples to take and eat the bread which he gave them; but the priest in the solitary Mass gives nothing to the people and when no one is present, still says, "Take." (6) The Supper is a commemoration of Christ absent and sitting in heaven at the right hand of God; the Mass is an immolation of the same under the species of the bread and wine. (7) The Supper was instituted in memory of Christ alone and for those who can show forth his death; the Mass is celebrated in memory of the saints and for the dead, who cannot do what Christ requires. The objections are answered in the sources of explanation.

3. From the nature of a sacrament.

IX. (3) From the nature of a sacrament. The Lord's Supper is a sacrament. Now it is repugnant that a sacrament and a sacrifice should be the same. For a sacrament is given by God as a pledge and seal of grace and is received by believers; a sacrifice on the contrary is offered by believers and is given to God and paternally received by him. The *terminus a quo* in the sacrament is God; the *terminus ad quem* is man. In a sacrifice, it is just the opposite. In vain is it said, "It is not repugnant for one and the same thing to be given and received, since we have nothing to be offered to God which we have not received from him." Although one and the same thing can be given and received by different actions, yet not by the same action and according to

the same thing. Therefore, either let our opponents show two external actions of Christ in the Eucharist (one of receiving the sacrament, the other of offering a sacrifice) or let them acknowledge the repugnancy in their opinion. Nor ought it to be replied, "The transubstantiated symbols, inasmuch as they are distributed to the recipients, are a sacrament; inasmuch as they are offered to God, are a sacrifice." The thing to be proved is gratuitously assumed. For we assert that the symbols were instituted by God for this end—that they might be distributed by the ministers and be taken by the communicants; not that they might offer them to God, but that they might offer themselves (these having been taken with all praise and thanksgiving as a reasonable and living sacrifice unto God).

4. From the unity of the priest and of the sacrifice of Christ.

X. (4) From the unity of the priest and of the sacrifice of Christ. Christ is the sole Priest of the New Testament, who finished the work of our salvation by one sole offering. If Christ is a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek without a suffragan successor and vicar, who has an unchangeable (*aparabaton*) priesthood which does not pass to others, and who offered himself once only, it is blasphemous to say that this sacrifice is repeated in the Mass by other vicarious priests. Now the Scriptures frequently establish both of these truths. As to the unity of the priesthood: (a) Christ alone received a command from the Father to lay down his life for the sheep and that he alone fulfilled (Jn. 10:18); (b) Christ alone was adumbrated by the priests and sacrifices of the Old Testament and, these having been abrogated, he alone remains a priest; (c) concerning Christ alone it is said, such a high priest became us "who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens" (Heb. 7:26); (d) Christ alone is the Mediator of the New Testament, to whom it belongs to perform the office of priest and to deliver himself up for us (1 Tim. 2:5; Heb. 7; 9:14, 15); (e) he alone has an eternal and unchangeable (*aparabaton*) priesthood (Heb. 7:24); (f) no other priest is proposed in the New Testament besides him who is at the same time both the priest offering and the victim offered, so that here is as it were the characteristic of the

priest of the New Testament by which he differs from the old priests who offered brute animals (Heb. 9:12). The objections of our opponents concerning a primary priesthood and a secondary and subaltern priesthood, you will find answered in Topic XIV, Question 9, on the unity of Christ's priesthood, Sections 16, 17, 18.

XI. (2) As to the unity of the sacrifice that is everywhere predicated by the apostle: "Such a high priest became us … who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's: for this he did once, when he offered up himself" (Heb. 7:26*, 27). "Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with the blood of others; for then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world: but now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself" (9:25, 26*). He adds: "And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment: so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many" (9:27, 28). "Christ by his own blood entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us" (v. 12*). "We are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all" (10:10). "By one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified" (10:14). From all this it appears clearer than the midday sun that the apostle asserts the unity of Christ's sacrifice, as much with regard to the unity of the victim offered, as with regard to the unity of the offering, while he is said to have offered himself "once" (*ephapax*) only on the cross, in opposition to the legal sacrifices, which were not only more in number and offered by more persons, but also more often repeated. And yet if he believed that Christ was offered often every day, how could he have so constantly asserted absolutely and without any limitation that Christ was offered once only and could not and ought not to be offered anymore?

XII. To no purpose do the Romanists distinguish: (1) "between the sacrifice of redemption and satisfaction, and the sacrifice of application and of religion; (2) between a bloody and bloodless sacrifice; (3) between a primitive and primary and a secondary and dependent offering; (4) a sacrifice of immolation and a sacrifice of representation and commemoration." For it is called one alone by the apostle in the former, but not in the latter sense. All these distinctions beg the question and contradict in many ways both the Scriptures and themselves. For if the apostle was

assured that Christ truly and properly made an offering for the sins of men, would he so expressly have denied this without the slightest restriction? If he had understood this under the limitation of the sacrifice of redemption and not of application, of a bloody, not a bloodless, of a primary, not of a secondary offering, why did he never mention this limitation, but keep it still in his own mind? Was there any danger to arise from his proposing it? Nay, it was perilous for him to conceal it, lest believers might be led to believe that the offering was only one (as he so often asserts), while there were more and those innumerable. For since the words of the apostle only are the rule of our faith, how can we believe this or that to be unless it is clearly proved from his words that such is his meaning?

XIII. But that worthlessness of alleged distinction must be more completely disposed of. The first is that of the sacrifice of redemption and of application, which (1) is absurd (*asystatos*), because application and offering differ. An offering is made to God, the application to us; an offering does the thing, the application supposes it to have been done. Now every propitiatory sacrifice (properly so called such as they make the Mass) is an offering made to God. Therefore, it cannot be a means of application. Therefore, to speak of a sacrifice of application is to maintain an opposite in an apposite, a sacrifice to be no sacrifice. For where there is not an offering of a price for sin, there is not a propitiatory sacrifice. (2) The application of a sacrifice can no more be made by a sacrifice than a payment can be applied to the debtor by another payment; otherwise there would be granted a progress into infinity and there would have to be granted a new sacrifice for the application of the preceding. (3) The means of application is not the sacrifice which is offered to God; but both on the part of God (the word with the sacraments externally and the Holy Spirit internally) and on the part of man (faith which, by apprehending the death of Christ, applies to itself his merit unto justification and salvation). (4) The sacrifice of Christ ought to be applied unto salvation to the Old Testament believers no less than to us. But it could not be applied by the sacrifice of the Mass. Why, then, is it required today to be offered a thousand times daily for that application?

XIV. Second, the distinction between a bloody and bloodless sacrifice is not only unwritten (*agraphos*), but also contrary to what is written (*antigraphos*), since the apostle expressly testifies that there is no remission

of sins (and consequently no propitiatory sacrifice by which it can be obtained) "without the shedding of blood" (*chōris haimatekchysias*, Heb. 9:22*), as will be more fully proved hereafter. Third, the distinction between a primary and secondary, a primitive and dependent offering is worthless. (a) Because it is said to be one only by Paul, not more than one; and it is gratuitously supposed that he meant only the primary offering itself and not the secondary. For if he meant this, why does he speak absolutely, no mention being made of such a distinction, as was altogether necessary? (b) Where a primary oblation is sufficient according to God's appointment, a secondary is not required. And yet "by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified" (Heb. 10:14). If it made believers entirely perfect and obtained whatever could be obtained for salvation, what need is there of another offering for their consummation? (c) "Where remission of sins is, there is no more offering for sin" (Heb. 10:18). Now after the primary offering of Christ there is remission of sins; therefore there cannot and ought not to be room for a secondary offering. For if a place were to be given for it, it would be to obtain remission and to make propitiation for sin. But this is already supposed to have been done. In vain does Bellarmine reply that two things are required for the remission of sin: "one, that the price of deliverance be found or a satisfaction just and due to the divine justice; the other, that the price be applied in particular to men. As to the first, the sacrifice of the cross remitted all sins, past, present, future … and on this account, that sacrifice having been made and sins remitted, there does not remain any similar offering for sin, that is, in order to acquire a price for the remission of sins.… But as to the second, the remission of all sins has not as yet been made because there are still those to whom the price of deliverance is to be applied and whose sins are to be remitted; on this account a victim for sin remains, viz., the sacrifice of the Mass" ("De Missa," 25 *Opera*, 3:519). Although, in order actually to obtain the remission of sin, an application is required besides the acquisition, the application is not therefore to be made by a new sacrifice, but by the other means indicated by us before. The argument of the apostle precludes any such way of escape. For where remission of sins obtained is granted (as was done by the sacrifice of the cross), no place remains for an offering for sin. Again, if by the primary offering it was perfectly obtained so that God does not remember sin, there is no need of a secondary offering to obtain it. The

power of the truth compelled Bellarmine to confess this, for in the same place he says that the passage of Paul "if it proves anything, evinces only that after the sacrifice of the cross there is no room for any propitiatory sacrifice; but not for a sacrifice absolutely." And yet, if there is no room for any propitiatory sacrifice after the sacrifice of the cross, why then is the Mass obtruded as such a sacrifice?

XV. The fourth distinction is between the sacrifice of immolation on the cross and the sacrifice of representation and commemoration in the Mass. But (a) the representation of a thing is not the thing itself. They differ as adjunct and subject: the former is present, the latter is past; the former supposes the thing done, the latter does the thing itself, as the image of a thing differs from the thing itself. (b) The commemoration of a sacrifice is one thing: a sacrifice of commemoration is another. The former appellation belongs to the Eucharist as being instituted for the commemoration of Christ and the showing forth of his death; but it cannot on that account be called a sacrifice of commemoration, except improperly and symbolically, because a properly so called propitiatory sacrifice is not made to commemorate an acquired expiation, but to acquire it. Thus the commemoration ought to be made partly in meditation on the word, in which Christ is exhibited to us as crucified (Gal. 3:1); partly in a participation of the sacrament, in which we bring up the memory of Christ's bloody death and sacrifice offered on the cross, which is efficaciously represented to us in the sacred signs.

XVI. It is taken for granted that "the sacrifice of the Mass is the same in substance with the sacrifice of the cross by reason of the priest offering (to wit, Christ) and of the victim offered (to wit, his body), but that they are different only as to the mode. On the cross, the mode of offering is bloody; in the Mass unbloody, but representing the bloody mode of the cross." But many arguments disprove this objection. (1) If the Mass is the same as the sacrifice of Christ, there must be the same priest, the same victim, the same actions and passion. Yet here all things are quite the opposite. (2) Again, if it is the same, either this is by a continuation of the sacrifice commenced on the cross or a repetition of it. But by both modes imperfection is involved. In the former because what is inchoate (has need of continuation) is imperfect. In the latter because the apostle adduces repetition as a proof of imperfection (Heb. 7:26, 27; 9:26). (3) A manifold diversity is found

between the sacrifice of the cross and the sacrifice of the Mass. (a) With respect to time, the sacrifice of the cross was offered sixteen centuries and more before. But the sacrifice of the Mass is offered daily. That being once made, cannot be repeated. This is celebrated a thousand times every day. (b) With respect to place—that on Golgotha, this everywhere; that on the cross, this on an altar. (c) With repect to value—that of infinite value and price, but this of finite. Now between the finite and infinite there is an infinite distance. (d) With respect to the end—that to pay the price of redemption, this to apply and represent it. (e) With respect to essence—that properly consists in the death and suffering of Christ, but this in commemoration of him because Christ dies no more. (f) With respect to the persons for whom they are offered—that for all the elect (of the Old as well as of the New Testament, while this is said to be offered only for the believers of the New). (g) With respect to the priests offering—in that Christ alone, in this vicarious priests are added to Christ. Christ offered that on earth in a state of humiliation, but this in the heavens as glorified. (h) With respect to the victim offered, in that Christ was offered under a proper species; but in this under another species of bread and wine. There he was offered in his natural being; here he is said to be immortal and impassible. There visible, here invisible; there he occupied a space commensurate with the magnitude of his body, here he is said to be in a point indivisibly after the manner of spirits (not to follow out many other differences which could be brought forward). From these it clearly appears that the difference between the sacrifice of the Mass and the sacrifice of the cross is the greatest not only with regard to the mode, but also with regard to the essence itself.

5. From the nature of a propitiatory sacrifice.

XVII. (5) From the nature of a propitiatory sacrifice, which requires necessarily the shedding of blood and the death of the victim. Hence to posit a bloodless sacrifice is to say a sacrifice is not a sacrifice, because there is granted no sacrifice (*thysia*) without slaying (*thyein*), or slaying without blood. The words of the apostle bear on this point: “Without the shedding of blood is no remission” (*chōris haimatekchysias ou ginetai aphesis*, Heb. 9:22). And afterwards for the same purpose, he affirms that Christ was offered and Christ suffered: “If Christ should offer himself often

… then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world" (vv. 25*, 26). This is founded upon two hypotheses: (a) that Christ could not be offered without suffering; hence if he is offered in the Mass, he ought there to suffer and die. (b) That there is the same relation to the times preceding the coming of Christ as to those which follow it; hence if he ought to be offered often from his ascension until the end of the world, he should often have suffered from the foundation of the world. Therefore as Christ through four thousand years did not offer himself either with a bloody or bloodless sacrifice, therefore neither ought he to be offered even unto the end. But how could he have said this if he had recognized an unbloody offering, such as ought daily to be made? Nor should it be replied here (as Bossuet does to the apostle) that "he proposed only to unfold the perfection of the sacrifice of the cross, and not the different means which God has given to us for applying it" (*Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church* 15 [1687], p. 167.) Because (i) it is falsely supposed that the sacrifice of the cross ought to be applied by another sacrifice. (ii) That the apostle was unwilling to teach the means for applying the sacrifice of the cross, since it is evident that he has often proposed them (especially in 9:13, 14 and 10:19, 20). (iii) Although he had wished to teach the perfection of the sacrifice of the cross, he was no less bound to mention the bloodless offering in order to show that no injury is done by it to the bloody offering.

6. From the perfection of the sacrifice of the cross.

XVIII. (6) From the perfection of the sacrifice of the cross. What is absolutely perfect and consummated cannot and ought not to be repeated, because repetition is a proof of imperfection, as the apostle proves from the Levitical sacrifices (Heb. 10:2, 3). On that account, they had to be repeated because they were not able to make the comers thereunto perfect, or to take away sin. But "Christ by one offering hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified" (Heb. 10:14). Hence, having made the offering, he did not remain on the earth, as the Levitical priests, but sat down at the right hand of the Father for ever (vv. 11, 12), from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool (vv. 13, 14). Hence on the cross, Christ exclaims "It is finished" (*tetelestai*, Jn. 19:30) to teach that the work of redemption was now consummated which he was to accomplish by the

offering of himself. The perfection of this sacrifice being established, however, the necessity of the sacrifice of the Mass is taken away. For to what purpose should Christ be offered further for the propitiation of sin, if once by the offering of himself he most perfectly obtained it? Therefore, either the sacrifice of the cross must be convicted of insufficiency or the falsity of the sacrifice of the Mass be acknowledged as not only useless, but also injurious and derogatory to the sacrifice of the cross. In vain is it said "that the Mass does not prejudice the most perfect sacrifice of the cross because whatever is done after that is instituted for no other purpose than to celebrate its memory and apply its virtue." This is either to speak absurdly (*asystata*) or to yield, because the application and commemoration of a sacrifice is not a sacrifice (as we have already proved). Nor ought the means of the acquisition of salvation to be confounded with the means of application. The former we indeed acknowledge to be necessary after the sacrifice of the cross, but not the latter equally. Nor if the sacrifice of Christ could have been represented before his advent by the Levitical sacrifices properly so called, does it follow also that after his offering it could equally be represented by the sacrifice of the Mass properly so called. An offering not as yet made could rightly be adumbrated by a typical offering to confirm the faith of the ancients the more; but an offering once made does not need any real representation, but only a mystical and sacramental commemoration. Again, the sacrifices of the Old Testament were made in different victims (to wit, brutes) which could adumbrate the heavenly victim. But here it is treated of the offering of the same victim, to be a representation and application of itself, which involves an absurdity.

7. From the nature of a true external sacrifice.

XIX. (7) From the nature of a true external and real sacrifice, which demands the destruction of the thing sacrificed (as Bellarmine acknowledges, "De Missa," 27 *Opera*, 3:522–25). And yet there is no destruction of the thing sacrificed in the Mass. For what is destroyed? The bread? But they deny that the substance of the bread remains after the words pronounced. Nor can the bread (its substance having been destroyed) be called a propitiatory (*hilastikon*) external sacrifice. Not Christ, who is said to lie concealed under the host, because from the time that he once

died, he dies no more but is straightway incapable of suffering (*apathēs*). Not the accidents because these can be neither destroyed nor sacrificed. Not the sacramental being of Christ's body (i.e., being under the species as Bellarmine wishes) because thus the substance is not destroyed, but only some relation is lost. And yet Bellarmine himself acknowledges that it does not suffice that the use of the thing be taken away, but it is necessary that the substance itself be consumed. But in the sacrifice of an animated thing, there can be no other destruction except death. Yet Christ is exhibited to us in the sacrament not for destruction, but for vivification, as the celestial food which does not perish but remains unto eternal life.

8. There is nothing in which the essence of a sacrifice can be placed.

XX. (8) Nothing can be assigned in the celebration of the Mass in which the essence and formal reason of a sacrifice can rightly be placed. Not in the breaking (a) because the body of Christ is impassible and that our opponents themselves think remains entire under each particle of the host. (b) Bellarmine denies that breaking belongs to the essence of a sacrifice because the Mass is sometimes performed without breaking (as when an entire host falls into the cup). (c) Christ broke the bread before uttering the words "This is my body," by which they pretend the transubstantiation to be effected. Not in the offering, which is said to be made to God when the priest (lifting up the host) asks God to take this offering with a favorable disposition, because (a) as Bellarmine confesses, neither Christ nor the apostles made this offering. (b) The words of this offering are not said in the person of Christ, but in the person of a minister of the church. A sacrifice, however, is principally offered in the person of Christ. (c) The priest after the consecration, fixing his eyes on the host, thus addresses God, "By whom" (viz., Christ) "Thou createst all these good things, O Lord." Therefore Christ is not offered, but the good things given to us by God through Christ. Not in the blessing because to bless bread is not to sacrifice bread, or to offer an expiatory sacrifice for sin to God. Not in the consecration, which is made by a low pronunciation of the words "This is my body," in which most think the formal reason of a sacrifice is placed. (a)

For a sacrifice is one thing; the consecration of the host to be sacrificed is another. Consecration precedes a sacrifice that a profane and unconsecrated thing may not be offered to God. (b) Because by these words nothing was offered by Christ to God, the Father; rather the symbols were exhibited to the apostles. (c) In the Mass nothing is offered which has been consecrated; not the bread because according to them it ceases to be; not the accidents because they are least of all offered to God in sacrifice; not the body of Christ because it cannot be consecrated and sanctified by man, since it is Christ who sanctifies us. Not in the manducation (a) because to eat is not to offer to God, but rather to receive something from him. (b) The priest is said to offer sacrifice for the people and he himself eats for himself. (c) The priest is said to represent Christ, while Christ is represented in the Eucharist as dying for us, not as eating. (d) All the people who eat Christ would be priests.

9. Because Christ nowhere offered his own body.

XXI. (9) If Christ in the Supper offered his own body to God, the Father, as a sacrifice under the species of the bread and wine, either this was done before the pronunciation of the words (but this cannot be said because according to the hypothesis of our opponents, his body was not as yet under the species); or in the pronunciation itself. But neither can this be so because these words are not sacrificatory (*sacrificatoria*). A body certainly signifes the matter of a sacrifice; but the word "is" cannot signify an immolation or offering, since a proper and not a tropical signification obtains according to them and no one will say that the copula "is" in the proper sense signifies to offer and to sacrifice. Or it was done after the pronunciation; but he had already given or was giving the bread to the disciples and they were receiving it. While giving he was pronouncing those words, "Take.…" Nor do we read that he afterwards received it from the disciples that he might offer it as a sacrifice to God.

10. From the contradictions and absurdities.

XXII. (10) Innumerable absurdities and contradictions spring from it. (a) An external and visible sacrifice and yet the victim itself is not seen. (b)

Blood is shed as is required in every sacrifice, and blood is not shed because it is taught to be bloodless. (c) A true body is said to be offered to the Father and not a true body, since it is invisible, impalpable, uncircumscribed and unextended. (d) It is maintained to be the same as the sacrifice of the cross and yet neither the same victim, action, nor passion is seen in the same place. (e) The thing offered is destroyed and is not destroyed, since it does not cease to be simply, but only under the species. (f) Christ was once offered, who nevertheless is offered repeatedly and will not cease to be offered before the end of the world. (g) A sacrifice of infinite value, which yet has no value unless repeated a thousand and ten thousand times. (h) Christ offering himself for others to take away their sins, and yet offered by another to take away sins already taken away and pardoned. (i) Christ exclaiming on the cross, "It is finished," and yet not finished before the end of the world. Christ, the Creator of all things, who is created by his creature; for these men profess to be the creators of their own Creator. I dismiss the other monstrosities of like kind by which the Christian religion and the mysteries of the sacred Supper are set forth to be ridiculed and detested by the heathen, Turks, Jews and other unbelievers.

11. From the confession of our opponents.

XXIII. (11) From the confession of our opponents. Lombard expressly says that "in the sacrament there is a remembrance of that sacrifice which was once made." Also this: "What is consecrated and offered by the priest is called a sacrifice and offering because it is the memory and representation of the true sacrifice and sacred immolation made on the altar of the cross" (*Sententiarum*, IV, Dist. 12.7 [PL 192/2.866]). Thomas Aquinas says that Christ is said "to be immolated in this sacrament in a twofold way. (1) Because, as Augustine says, images are wont to be called by the names of the things of which they are images. (2) Because by this sacrament we are made partakers of the Lord's sufferings" (ST, III, Q. 83, Art. 1, p. 2512). Nor were there wanting in the Council various divines and prefects who opposed this sacrifice of the Mass with valid arguments.

XXIV. But the most absurd thing of all ought not to be omitted—that this "sacrifice," although not offered to the saints, "yet is often offered in honor of the saints to God," as the Synod expressly teaches. "Although the church

is accustomed sometimes to celebrate some Masses in honor and memory of the saints, still she teaches that the sacrifice is not offered to them, but to God alone, who has crowned them" (Session 22, Chapter 3, Schroeder, p. 146). And she condemns by an anathema those teaching otherwise: "If anyone shall say that it is an imposture to celebrate Masses in honor of the saints, and to obtain their intercession with God, as the church intends, let him be accursed" (ibid., Canon 5, p. 149). I dismiss the distinction falsely laid down between offering something to anyone and in honor of anyone. For these, according to the use of reason and common style, are one and the same thing; just as to erect a temple to God or to creatures, and in honor of God or of creatures mean the same thing. But what is more absurd than this invention? In worship, these three things are always considered: the minister of the sacrifice; the victim offered; and the one in whose honor it is offered. With the consent of all, the victim was always regarded in a lower grade as less excellent, the minister as more excellent. But he in whose honor the sacrifice is offered is placed far above the sacrifice and the priest. As in Christ, the human nature is the victim; the priest is Christ, as God and man; and the supreme God is the one in whose honor the offering is made. But here all things are just the opposite. The victim is Christ, the priest is the presbyter, and a saint is the one in whose honor the sacrifice is made. The victim here is elevated infinitely above the priest and him in whose honor it is offered. And since they hold that Christ offers himself daily by the hands of priests, it will follow that Christ himself offers himself in honor of the saints to reverence and worship them. Again, since in every sacrifice the priest performs the office of a suppliant who seeks some favor, and the one in whose honor the offering is made is the person from whom the favor is sought, and the victim the means by which the suppliant priest obtains grace from him in whose honor the offering is made; since the design is "to obtain the protection of the saints and to secure their intercession with God," as the Council expresses it; it follows that Christ, the Son of God and God blessed for ever, performs the office of a suppliant to the saints and offers to God his own body in honor of a saint, in order to obtain his protection and intercession for believers who are on earth; than which I know not what can be said more absurdly and more impiously.

Sources of explanation.

XXV. Melchizedek offered bread and wine, not to God in sacrifice and as a priest, but to Abraham in hospitality (Gen. 14:18), to refresh and honor him, as a king with royal munificence, in joyful congratulation for the victory achieved, so that here *hvtsy'* puts on the notion simply of "bringing forth," not of "offering." The appellation of priest (which is added) is not referred to any sacrifice preceding, but to the benediction following, which as a priest he bestowed upon him. And the particle *v* is not causal, but copulative, so that the foundation of the blessing he was about to give is indicated. Hence the Greeks render it *ēn de hiereus* ("Now he was the priest"), with whom Epiphanius, Jerome, Cajetan and Vatablus (following them) agree. Nor can it be said that the word *khhn* is to be taken here participially, not as a noun, so that the sense is—"Melchizedek offered bread and wine, he himself also sacrificing to the most high God"; or "And he was at that time sacrificing to the most high God." On this account, we do not read *h'l 'lyvn* in the genitive, but *l'l 'lyvn* in the dative to indicate, not the priest of God, but sacrificing at that time to God. However because *khhn* is used participially sometimes, still here it is used as a noun (as the very learned Picherell well observes on this passage). For sacrificing among the Hebrews is *zvbhch*, with whom nothing is more frequent than to express the genitive by *l* (as everywhere in the Psalms *ldhvydh mzmr*). See other matters pertaining here discussed in Topic XIV, Question 9, Sections 23, 24.

XXVI. The paschal lamb was not a figure of the Eucharist, but of Christ, the true Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world (Jn. 1:29); and who is our Passover sacrificed for us (1 Cor. 5:7); and a bone of whom was not broken (Jn. 19:36). 1 Cor. 5:7 does not treat of a bloodless immolation of Christ in the Supper, but of the bloody immolation on the cross. Paul says that he had already been immolated before (to wit, on the cross), not that he was to be immolated daily (as he should have said). Therefore, he leaves to Christians, after the immolation once made by Christ, the celebration of the feast or the feast which followed the immolation. "Our passover is sacrificed, therefore let us keep the feast." He certainly supposes a legal feast which consisted of brute and carnal victims and was made orally (an immolation shortly preceding) because the victims could not be kept for a long time; but there is another relation of the gospel feast which

is made mystically and spiritually, where the flesh of the victim (sacrificed long before) can always be brought near by faith and be eaten by it. Nay, it did not always require an immolation actually preceding, but intentionally. Otherwise the fathers of the Old Testament had not eaten Christ, which nevertheless was done by them. Nor if the Eucharist succeeded to the place of the paschal lamb, does it follow that an immolation ought to be made in it also because it succeeded not as the thing figured the figure or a sacrifice a sacrifice; but as a figure corresponding to another figure, as a sacrament to a sacrament, as a new rite to an old, according as a multiple analogy can occur in both. Not now in a sacrificial way and with respect to immolation (which can no longer have a place here); but in a sacramental relation (*schesei*) and with respect to manducation. Otherwise the argument of our opponents can be retorted against them, for if the thing figured ought to answer to the figure (as the paschal lamb was a bloody sacrifice), the Eucharist ought to be such; as nothing of the former ought to be kept till the next day, so neither anything of the latter.

XXVII. When Malachi says, "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place a pure offering shall be offered in my name" (1:11), he did not mean to predict the sacrifice of the Mass, which was unknown to the fathers. But he prophesies concerning the spiritual worship of God among the Gentiles to be established by the preaching of the gospel, the style being adapted to the legal worship (as is customary with the prophets and apostles). The Chaldee Paraphrase and many of the Jews explain it concerning an invocation of God and a mystical offering (as also the Romanists Isidore Clarius and Vatablus). However, many arguments prove this to be the meaning of the prophet. (1) The New Testament worship, as opposed to the legal worship, has none other than spiritual sacrifices, looking to our reasonable service (*logikēn latreian*), in offering which all the pious and believers perform the office of priests (1 Pet. 2:5). (2) *Mnchh*, which signifies a "gift" or "offering," ought to be taken here in the same sense as *mqtr*, which is found in the first part of the verse (which signifies "incense" and "savor"). Cornelius a Lapide (*Scripturae sacrae cursus completus* [1839], 16:635–37 on Ps. 141 [140]:2; also *Commentaria in sacram Scripturam* [1854], 10:852–53 on Rev. 5:8), does not doubt that this is to be allegorically and mystically understood of the incense of prayers.

(3) Paul expressly refers to this prophecy and retains its words when he wishes men "to pray everywhere" (1 Tim. 2:8) (Malachi had said that "in every place" incense shall be offered unto the Lord) "and to lift up holy hands to God," which is really to offer to God "a pure offering." (4) The Mass cannot be called a *minha*, whether the word is taken generally for any sacrifice (even a bloody) which was offered both morning and evening or specifically for an offering of fine wheat flour, oil and frankincense. For the Mass is neither offered in the evening, nor is it composed of wheat flour and oil.

XXVIII. (5) The three things which are said of that offering (to wit, newness, purity and universality) cannot belong to the Mass. Not newness, because according to our opponents, it already prevailed in the time of Melchizedek and the Levitical worship had its offerings also of bread and libations of wine. Not purity, both because the species of bread and wine are not capable of moral cleanness and because this imaginary sacrifice is offered every day by most impure men. Not amplitude, because the Mass can be offered neither everywhere, nor at all times, nor by every man. Yet they are in the highest degree consistent with spiritual and mystical sacrifices, of which it can be said: (a) that they are a "new offering," both with respect to the Gentiles (among whom there never had been such before) and with respect to the Jews themselves (among whom, carnal sacrifices having been abolished and wholly rejected, the gospel worship alone was to be retained). This is rightly called new, if not as to the thing, still as to degree. It was to be instituted with greater clearness and efficacy, in which sense it is said that the covenant of grace would be new under the New Testament (Jer. 31:31). And old things are said to have passed away and all things are new in Christ (2 Cor. 5:17). And Christ testifies that he gives a new commandment to the apostles (Jn. 13:34), although it was also old (1 Jn. 2:7, 8). (b) That they are a "pure offering"; for our reasonable service (*logikē latreia*) is said to be a "living sacrifice, holy, well pleasing to God" (*thysia zōsa, hagia, euarestos theō*). And if any imperfections and filth still adhere to it from the corruption of our nature, all that is covered by the mercy of God and the righteousness of Christ. Hence nothing prevents us from predicating pureness of it, not absolutely and in itself according to the strict requirement (*akribodikaion*) of the law, but relatively with God in Christ and according to evangelical forbearance (*epieikeian*): as Peter says,

our spiritual sacrifices are "acceptable to God" (*euprosdektous*, 1 Pet. 2:5); that the offering of the Gentiles is "acceptable to God, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost" (Rom. 15:16); that God is pleased with such sacrifices (Heb. 13:16); that "we can lift up holy hands everywhere" (1 Tim. 2:8). (c) That the "offering" ought to be offered up everywhere because God is to be worshipped everywhere in spirit and in truth (Jn. 4:23), in opposition to the legal worship, which was restricted to the temple. Now in every place we can adore and pray to God. Thus our opponents falsely say that there is no sacrifice which can be offered in every place equally as well as the Eucharist. For the sacrifice of prayer extends far more universally because it is both of all places and of all times, and of all believers (which cannot be said of the Mass).

XXIX. The prophecy of Isaiah, in which he predicts, "There shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know that Lord and shall do sacrifice and oblation" (19:19, 21*), does not favor the Mass. (1) It treats of an "altar" in the singular, not of "altars," which are found in great numbers in the papacy. (2) It speaks of victims and oblations to be offered to the one God by the Gentiles converted to the faith, which can be referred to nothing else than the spiritual sacrifices to be offered by believers under the New Testament (1 Pet. 2:5). Thus in the style familiar to the prophets, spiritual worship is described in legal terms. Lyranus acknowledges that the words can be referred "to the prayers and suffrages of the church, which are called oblation" (Ps. 50+). The Interlinear Gloss says, "This altar denotes faith, upon which we sacrifice to God our good works which we do, and he said that God is to be worshipped with spiritual sacrifices" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria* [1617], 4/1:202 on Is. 19:18). Therefore, a material altar is not to be understood, but a mystical and spiritual altar for offering spiritual sacrifices (Is. 56:7; 60:7; Rom. 12:1). And thus under the name of altar as a sign, the whole ministry and public worship of God are denoted in order to teach that he was to be worshipped by the Egyptians with the worship of the New Testament, as he was then worshipped by the Jews at the altar of whole burnt offering. Nor if it is said that the altar will be raised in a visible place, on this account ought either the altar itself or the sacrifice to be visible. It is sufficient that the worship of the true God and the faith of Christ be publicly instituted and conserved there.

XXX. Where a corporeal and physical altar is, there is a sacrifice properly so called. But by altar is not meant a material and visible (Heb. 13:10), but a figurative and mystical, which the Old Testament altar and legal rites adumbrated, the name of the sign being accommodated to the thing signified. Christ himself (who is a priest and victim) is also our altar because on it we offer the sacrifice of praise (Heb. 13:15) and because he renders our prayers acceptable to God and sanctifies them, as the altar sanctifies the victim. However, Christ is said to be our altar in many ways: (1) on the cross by the offering up of his body and the propitiation for our sins; and this answers to the altar of whole burnt offerings. (2) In heaven by intercession, in relation to the altar of incense. (3) On the table for commemoration, in relation to the meat of the victims offered on the altar, which is set before us for our nourishment. Now that an altar properly so called, such as is required in the Mass, cannot be understood is evident (a) because it is said to be one, whereas the Romanists have innumerable altars. (b) The apostle does not speak of an altar on which sacrifices were to be made, but one which was to be eaten from. (c) Of an altar which is opposed to the Jewish; therefore not a visible and material, but a spiritual altar. Otherwise if the word "altar" is pressed absolutely, one of stone would have to be erected even in heaven (according to Rev. 6:9; 8:5; 9:13; 14:18). Many of the Romanists agree with us here. Lyranus: "We have an altar, that is, a cross, on which Christ was offered" (*Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria* [1617], 6:957 on Heb. 13:10). More openly, Thomas Aquinas, on this passage: "This altar is either the cross of Christ, on which Christ was slain for us; or Christ himself in whom and by whom we offer our prayers to God" ("Complectens expositionem in epistolam ad Hebraeos," *Angelici doctoris divi Thomae Aquinatis Commentaria in epistolas omnes D. Pauli* [1856], 1:112 on Heb. 13:10). Bellarmine does not urge this passage because many Catholics understand by it Christ and the cross ("De Missa," 14 *Opera*, 3:504).

XXXI. Paul does not wish to compare the table of the Eucharist with the altar of the Gentiles (1 Cor. 10:21), because he mentions only the Lord's table and the table of devils, but not an altar. "Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils." By the table of devils is not to be understood an altar of the Gentiles on which they sacrificed to idols, but a table which was usually set in an idol temple, and on which, after the

sacrifice was finished, the flesh offered to idols was placed for a feast and entertainment, established by the heathen in honor of idols. This is evident because Paul mentions the "cup" in the same place; but there was no use of a cup among the Gentiles at the altar, nor do we ever hear of their having drunk at their altars. They were accustomed to drink reclining at a table after the sacrifices were over. Hence Athenaeus holds that *methuein* is derived from *meta to thuein*, since after the sacrifice they were wont to celebrate a feast and drink to excess (cf. *Athenaei Navcratitae Depnosophistarvm* 2.11.26–27 [ed. G. Kaibel, 1985], 1:93). Although the apostle had compared the Lord's table with altars, it would not follow that in the Supper a properly so called altar and consequently a sacrifice is required. The comparison does not relate to an altar or sacrifice, but only to communion with and participation in it. For Paul shows by an argument drawn from things opposed that the Corinthians could not with a good conscience mingle in the entertainments of the Gentiles, in which idol meats were eaten in honor of idols, because the Corinthians had partaken of the Lord's Supper and consequently had communion with Christ and professed his religion, as they who ate of the legal victims were made partakers (*koinōnoi*) of the altar (i.e., professed the Jewish religion).

XXXII. Although the blood of the old covenant (of which Moses treats, Ex. 24:8) was the blood of victims already sacrificed, so that immolation preceded the sprinkling of the people, it does not follow that in the Eucharist, where there is a sprinkling of blood, any true and real immolation of Christ ought to be made. (1) What is related by Moses of the sprinkling of blood upon the people and the tabernacle was fulfilled in the death of Christ, according to the apostle, who refers this ceremony to his death as its exemplar (Heb. 9:19–21). (2) As the blood of the immolated victim with Moses was a sign of the future death of Christ, so the wine consecrated under the new covenant is a symbol of the same death, either just at hand, as in the first Supper, or past (as afterwards). Therefore, they should be compared with each other, not as a figure and the thing figured, but as two analogous figures mutually corresponding with each other. Otherwise, if the Eucharist is the complement of that old figure, there ought to be in it visible blood (as in the old covenant the blood of the victim could be seen). Thus the Eucharist would not be a bloodless sacrifice.

XXXIII. The command of Christ, “This do in remembrance of me” (Lk. 22:19), cannot be adduced here, since it binds all believers with respect to that which the apostles then did. It is explained by Paul in these words: “As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord’s death till he come” (1 Cor. 11:26). Nor can Christ be offered in remembrance of Christ. Nor are the ministers of the church (doing in the assembly of the pious what Christ did) to be considered as doing anything else than celebrating the sacrament of the Eucharist, distributing and administering according to his institution. The present is rightly put for the future time because it refers to the passion of Christ just at hand (nay even begun) and indeed with respect to faith, which apprehends things future as present. The verb “to do” has a general signification which is to be restricted according to the subject matter; and if anywhere *facere* (“to do”) in Latin and *'sh* in Hebrew denote “to sacrifice,” this is by a peculiar construction, a victim being always added or understood (as in Virgil, “I will do [supply a sacred thing] with a calf” [*Faciam vitula*], *Eclogues* 3.77 [Loeb, 1:22–23]), so that it clearly appears and is not to be left to conjecture, concerning what thing it may be treated. And yet in approved authors *to poiein* and *sacrificare* (“to sacrifice”) are never equivalents. Again the accusative “this” which is added refers to the whole preceding action (to wit, to the preceding acts of blessing, taking, breaking, eating, etc., in which there is not even the shadow of a sacrifice). Estius ingenuously acknowledges this: “That some Neoterics,” says he (speaking of Roman doctors), “think that power should be given to the verb ‘do’ as if it signified the same as to sacrifice, etc., seems to me to have very little weight; neither is that exposition found anywhere among the old interpreters, nor indeed does it suit the proposition. For it is not said absolutely ‘do’ but ‘do this,’ i.e., what by me and you is now done or has been done, hereafter do ye and your successors in remembrance of me. And Paul (1 Cor. 11) refers ‘this do’ even to the people eating and drinking concerning this sacrament, when he says, ‘this do ye, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me, for as often as ye eat this bread, etc.’ In these sentences it is manifest that ‘to do’ is not the same as ‘to sacrifice,’ but that it retains its usual signification” (*Guillemi Estii ... in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum Commentaria* Bk. 4.12.11 [1680], 3/2:152).

XXXIV. On the passage Acts 13:2, from which the sophists endeavor to elicit the Mass on account of the verb *leitourgein* (besides what was said in

Question 21, Section 9), we add that the sacrifice of the Mass can no more be drawn from this passage than from Rom. 15:16, from which we learn what the *leitourgia* or ministry of the apostles was (viz., the preaching [*kērygma*] of the gospel). Again, the word *leitourgias* is predicated of the people (2 Cor. 9:12; Rom. 15:27), of kings (Rom. 13:6), of angels (Heb. 1:7, 14). Are they, therefore, to be reckoned in the number of priests of the Mass?

XXXV. Although the spiritual manducation of Christ does not take place except by an operation of the intellect, it does not follow that it is not real, but merely fictitious and imaginary. Things are said to be real in two ways: some which exist by themselves without an operation of the mind, such as heaven, the earth, etc.; others which require for their existence an operation of the intellect, as the knowledge of God, the demonstrations of the sciences and the like. These are operations of the intellect, but are not on that account less real.

XXXVI. It is one thing for believers in the Eucharist to take the body and blood of Christ with respect to place and as they are supposed to be in the sacrament; another to take them in the Eucharist with respect to time (i.e., while the Eucharist is being celebrated). In the former sense, we grant that a corporeal presence is required in the sacrament, but not in the latter (which we alone admit).

XXXVII. If at any time the fathers use the words oblation, victim, immolation, Mass, altar, sacrifice, priests, it does not follow that they mean the Roman Mass in which Christ is truly and properly offered to God under the species of the bread and wine, and indeed as a truly propitiatory sacrifice. For a different reason moved them so to speak and they understood them in another sense. (1) In order to extol the glory of the Christian religion and the mystery of the sacred Supper, in order to refute the accusations of the Jews and Gentiles, who charged the Christians with atheism (as if destitute of all sacrifices); also to testify that the Christian church was not without a sacrifice, enjoying that most perfect perpetual sacrifice of Christ offered upon the cross and cherishing the memory of it in their public assemblies and prayers in the celebration of the Eucharist. (2) Again, they thus spake from the special end and scope of the holy Supper (viz., the public commemoration of Christ's sacrifice), where nothing except the death and oblation of Christ was represented and heard in it. (3)

With regard to the prayers, hymns, and other exercises of piety (with the sacred writers coming under the name of sacrifice) which were there offered, which are often by the ancients called a bloodless sacrifice (*anaimaktos thysia*), as Christians are said to sacrifice for the health of the emperor "with a pure prayer." (4) They added to those spiritual sacrifices after the second century from Christ external gifts and offerings of bread and wine and other things, both to be used in the sacred feast and for the support of the poor. Thus the fathers often speak hyperbolically, and almost always tropically and symbolically. Augustine says, "The flesh and blood of this sacrifice was promised before the coming of Christ by the similitude of victims, in the passion it was given by the truth itself, but after his ascension it is celebrated by a sacrament of memory" (*Reply to Faustus the Manichaean* 20.21 [NPNF1, 4:262; PL 42.385]). Afterwards, the true doctrine little by little growing obsolete and the darkness of superstition and ignorance having increased, figurative expressions passed into proper, the Supper into a sacrifice, the spiritual into a gross and bloodless sacrifice, the Eucharistical into a propitiatory, pastors into priests, tables into altars, and the signs of Christ's body (by a monstrous metamorphosis [*metamorphōsei*]) into the very body of Christ.

XXXVIII. Further, that the sacrifice of the Mass was unknown to the purer antiquity, many of our divines have given the very clearest proof and they should be consulted: Mornay (*Fowre Bookes of Institution ... of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist* [1600], pp. 218–36), Hospinian ("De Historia Sacramentariae," 2, 3 *Opera Omnia* [1681], 3:19–157, 158–241) and Albertinus (*De Eucharistiae sive Coenae Dominicae Sacramento* 2, 3 [1655], pp. 258–989). Nor ought the various liturgies to be opposed to this: the Roman of Peter, the Jerusalemite of James, the Alexandrian of Mark, the Ethiopic of Matthew and others of the same kind. For it is evident that they are either supposititious or have been miserably interpolated, as Rivet shows ("Critici Sacri," 1.3 *Opera* [1651], 2:1071–73). Nor does Bellarmine dare to deny it, arguing against the Greeks ("De Sacramento Eucharistiae," 4 *Opera*, 3:397–467).

Thirtieth Question: The Adoration of the Eucharist

Is the worship of latria *(or adoration) due to the sacrament of the Eucharist? We deny against the Romanists*

I. This is the last question concerning the Eucharist and it reaches the climax and highest degree of Roman error and impiety about this sacrament. It was indeed already a grievous crime, that not content with the spiritual presence, they introduced a corporeal, so that a place might be given for oral manducation; also what they foisted in the fabrication of transubstantiation, by which they feigned that Christ is present by a conversion of the bread into the body of Christ. It was a more grievous crime that from a sacrament they made a propitiatory sacrifice properly so called. But it was the most grievous, that they have elevated this sacrifice into an idol, most severely enjoining the adoration of it. Since this is the greatest proof of their Antichristian idolatry, it ought not to be passed over untouched by us.

Statement of the question.

II. The statement of the question is not: (1) whether proper reverence and honor are due to the bread and the cup, the symbols of the Lord's body and blood, both on account of the majesty of the author and the divinity of the things they seal and the excellent and singular use they have in religion, such as is legitimately exhibited to baptism and other rites and signs of religion. (2) Again, the question is not whether believers, in the reception of this sacrament, ought to adore with the affection of the mind and soul the whole Christ signified indeed in the sacrament, and yet in heaven sitting at the right hand of God. For he who ought to be religiously worshipped at all times, why should he not most especially at that moment be most religiously worshipped when there is a special remembrance made of the salvation received from him? Rather the question is whether that religious worship should be paid to the sacrament in which Christ is supposed to be corporeally present. This our opponents hold; we deny.

III. The Council of Trent sets forth its meaning: "There is no room for doubt that all believers in Christ should offer to this most holy sacrament the worship of *latria*, which is due to the true God" (Session 13, Chapter 5, Schroeder, p. 76). Now by the word "sacrament" everybody knows that the

Romanists understand the body of Christ with the species of bread and wine. Therefore, when they command us to adore the sacrament, they command us to adore the species of the bread and wine with the body of Christ. But it was not considered sufficient thus to define the thing itself, but in addition to hurl a dreadful thunderbolt against those who dissent as enemies of Christ and his church. "If any man shall say that in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist, Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, is not to be venerated by a peculiar festival, nor carried about in processions, according to the laudable rite and custom of the universal church, nor to be publicly exhibited to the people that it may be adored, and that those who worship it are idolaters; let him be accursed" (ibid., Canon 6, Schroeder, p. 80). And although the Canon may seem to treat only of the adoration of Christ in the sacrament and not of the adoration of the sacrament itself, it must be understood in no other sense than from the declaration made in chapter 5, where the sacrament is expressly distinguished from Christ, where it asserts that in that sacrament (to be adored with the worship of *latria*) Christ is present. Now that in which a thing is present cannot be the same as that which is present in it. Again, it treats of the sacrament instituted by the Lord: "for it is not to be the less adored," they say, "because it was instituted by Christ our Lord to be taken" (ibid., Chapter 5, Schroeder, p. 76). Bellarmine confirms this: "We say that Christ is to be adored properly and by himself with the worship of *latria*, and that adoration belongs even to the symbols of the bread and wine because" ("De Sacramento Eucharistiae," 4.29 *Opera*, 3:465), as he says, "he, who adores anyone, adores also all things connected with him" ("De Imaginibus Sanctorum," 23* *Opera*, 2:501). Vasquez says, "The accidents of the bread and wine, since they exist not by their proper existence, but by the existence of Christ's body, fall best under the same worship of adoration, just as his humanity and divinity are worshipped with the same act of adoration" (*De Cultu Adorationis* 2.8*.2* [1594], p. 157, par. 352). So that when they say Christ is to be adored in the Eucharist they mean the Eucharist or the sacrament itself is the object of adoration; just as they say they adore God in images, inasmuch as in the first place they adore them, then God through them. This is evident both from their daily practice and from the phrases they use when they say everywhere that they adore the sacrament or Eucharist.

IV. Further, they exhibit this adoration in different ways, both by solemnly carrying around of the Eucharist to the sick, the bell being sounded, the people reverently bowing to it; and in the anniversary festival of the body of Christ (*Corpus Christi*) bearing it about pompously and theatrically. Urban IV, Pope of Rome, instituted this in 1264, falling on the fifth holy day after the eighth of Pentecost (concerning which consult Hospinian, "De Historia Sacramentariae," 4 *Opera Omnia* [1681], 3:241–377). This was disapproved of by many Romanists (Cusanus, Crantzius, Cassander and by Henry III himself, King of France) and was looked upon as histrionic, than which nothing can be said to be more foolish and absurd (as Bodius, *In epistolam Pauli Apostolici* [1652], pp. 1139–1236 on Eph. 6:23, 24, informs us was told him by Mornay, to whom he had said this). Still it does not cease to be celebrated every day with great parade and veneration.

V. However, we, although not denying that a proper reverence should be paid to the sacred symbol, do deny that the adoration which is due to the supreme God (usually designated by the Romanists as the worship of *latria*) should be paid to them. And although in one and the same celebration of the sacrament, they are made once and at the same time, still we think that they ought to be distinct the one from the other and unconfounded that we may not receive the signs for the things themselves; but may pay reverence to the signs indeed, but adoration to Christ alone. As in the baptism of adults, the adoration of Christ (into whom they are initiated) and the reverence towards the water (the sacred symbol of the mystery) remain widely distinct. Thus we confess that Christ (as God blessed for ever) is always and everywhere to be adored and consequently in the celebration of the Eucharist also, in which the soul of the believer ought to be carried with pious and ready affection towards Christ as the only source of salvation and life. But we deny that on this account the sacrament itself should be adored; nay, we reject this worship as a most foul and detestable idolatry and bread-worship (*artolatreian*).

The adoration of the Eucharist is refuted: (1) by the silence of the Scriptures.

VI. The first reason is drawn from the silence of the Scriptures, because adoration is an act of faith; for faith is founded upon a command and promise of God. And yet the adoration of the Eucharist is founded upon neither any command, nor any promise. Concerning the command, it is evident from the institution itself (which we find in the evangelists), where there is a command indeed from Christ to the apostles to take, eat, drink and do this in remembrance of him, but never to adore or worship the bread. But if adoration is no less necessary than eating, why does he say not a word about the former, but only about the latter? And they ought to have been admonished about the adoration much more than about the eating. For everyone readily understands that the bread was given to the disciples reclining at the table by the Lord in order that it might be eaten; but no one can suspect that it was given by itself in order that it might be adored with the supreme worship of *latria*, because there is no one (provided he is not wholly devoid of common sense) who does not think it silly and absurd for anyone to adore the very things which he eats. As to a promise, none occurs either in the institution or out of it. Nor ought it to be objected that there was no necessity (after Christ had expressly said of the bread, "This is my body") for him to command them to adore it, because the disciples would sufficiently of themselves understand it from these words of the Lord. For (a) although from this—that Christ is the Son of God and God blessed over all—it is sufficiently gathered that he is to be adored, still no less is the adoration of him frequently commanded; so although from the words of Christ its adoration might spontaneously follow, still it was no less necessary that believers should be expressly admonished of it that no doubt might remain in their minds concerning a matter of such great importance (as was done by the Tridentines, who say that this sacrament is no less to be adored because it was instituted to be taken by Christ our Lord). (b) It is falsely supposed that adoration is gathered from the words "This is my body." So in like manner from this—that the church is said to be the body of Christ, it would follow that she should be adored. Undoubtedly those things are to be distinguished which are said properly concerning any subject from those which are said improperly and symbolically.

2. From the example of the apostles.

VII. Second, from the example of the apostles because we nowhere read that the apostles adored the Eucharist (which they would not have neglected, if it had been any part of Christian duty). For if they had understood Christ to have commanded that the bread and cup should be adored on bended knees, who can doubt that they would have rendered obedience to the command? And on this account the more, that they received the bread and cup, not from the hand of a sacrificing priest, but of the Lord himself? If our opponents (who think this was instituted by Christ) never see the Eucharist without immediately being filled with reverence and uncovering their heads and bending their knees, and if anyone of them neglects simply to adore the host when it is either elevated by the priest or carried to another place, they pronounce it to be wicked and bordering on heresy—what if they beheld it carried in the hands not of a mortal priest, but of Christ, the Lord? Would they not consider him who refused adoration to it in such a place an impious man and guilty of a great crime? Now no one can deny that the apostles observed the commands of Christ more sacredly and religiously than the Romanists. Hence it ought not to be doubted that if Christ had commanded anything of this kind they would at once have adored. To no purpose is it replied that the apostles always adored Christ with the mind and heart, although not with an external motion of the body. Our question does not concern the internal adoration of Christ, the necessity of which we all acknowledge; rather it concerns the external adoration of the sacrament, which the apostles are neither then, nor ever found to have adored (although they adored Christ). And yet if the Eucharist had been instituted that it might be adored, no excuse could clear them. To no purpose does Petronius hold that the apostles adored sitting, as formerly according to the regulation of Numa, the Romans, and before them the Greeks, adored their gods sitting. For this is to suppose what was to be proved; nor can it be established that either the Romans or Greeks did this. And if the poet commands them to adore in a sitting posture, he speaks not of the posture of the body, but of the mind in praying (if it is allowable thus to speak). Worship and prayer are ordered to be made with the mind not wandering, but fixed and (so to speak) sitting (i.e., attentive) and doing this which those employed about sacred things formerly among the Romans were admonished to do. Nor if Mary, carrying Christ in her bosom and Simeon carrying him in his arms, adored him, does it follow that the

apostles also did this reclining at the table. The question is not whether the apostles worshipped Christ with the mind and soul and internal worship (which is rightly said of Mary and Simeon); but did the apostles exhibit to the Eucharist that external worship of *latria* which the Tridentines decree to this sacrament and which is most religiously exhibited in their practice, when prostrate upon the earth or on bended knees they adore it? If they think their host can be adored also by those sitting or reclining, why do they so severely command all their people (yea, even strangers and those not friendly to their sacred rites) submissively to bend their knees to it as soon as the signal is given with a little bell and impotently rage against those who refuse as against impious persons?

3. From the testimony of Paul.

VIII. Third, from the testimony of Paul; for if such adoration had been commanded by Christ and was observed by the apostles, how does it happen that, rehearsing the whole institution of Christ, he makes no mention of it and omits a thing the most momentous of all, who nevertheless professes that he delivered to them what he had received from the Lord concerning this mystery? And on this account the more ought he to have noticed it—that it was specially important to convict the Corinthians of sin, who would not have celebrated this mystery with the reverence due to it. I confess that what the apostle does bring forward has great force in securing such veneration for it. But who can doubt that the argument drawn from the adoration commanded by Christ would have been more powerful than all of these, if he had given any such command and it had been observed by the apostles? For nothing could have been more efficacious to vindicate for the Eucharist its own dignity and to prove and aggravate the crime of the Corinthians. Concerning this, however, Paul is altogether silent. And what reason can be given for this silence except that nothing such had been instituted by Christ or observed by the apostles?

4. From the adoration due to God alone.

IX. Fourth, from the command to adore the one and only true God. For since he has frequently testified expressly that he alone is to be adored (Dt.

6:13; Mt. 4:10) to the exclusion of all other objects, everyone sees that not without the most dreadful crime of idolatry can that worship be transferred to the Eucharist, which is a creature and not that only and true God. For whether the formal reason of the sacrament is put in the consecrated species alone (as Vasquez, Soto and others wish) or in the composition from the species and the body of Christ (which pleases Bellarmine, Becanus, Suarez), it will never be proved that the whole sacrament is that only God who is to be adored. Now to take the sacrament by synecdoche for the body of Christ (as Biel pretends) is both unheard of and opposed to the Council of Trent, which expressly decrees that this worship should be paid even to the sacrament itself, considered apart from Christ.

5. From the uncertainty of the presence of Christ.

X. Fifth, from the uncertainty of the presence of Christ, according to their hypothesis. For he who adores God and Christ ought to determine with infallible faith that it is God and Christ whom he adores as Christ and God. And yet the Romanists cannot be infallibly certain that it is Christ whom they adore. There are most weighty reasons for doubting according to their tenets, on account of the innumerable defects which can occur here. For according to their principles, in order that transubstantiation may take place, it is evident (a) that the bread ought to be of wheat, not corrupted; the wine of ripe grapes, not sour and turned into vinegar, as we read (cf. "De Defectibus: De defectu Panis et De defectu Vini," *Missale Romanum* [1925], pp. 103–4). (b) The consecrative pronunciation ought to be made; nothing being added, or taken away, or changed, or transposed, as the Canon of the Mass teaches. (c) The consecrating priest must be rightly ordained and baptized. (d) The sacrament cannot be made unless there is the intention to do what the church does. And yet, how few can be certain of these conditions? The disputations of Romanists upon this argument sufficiently betray into what straits they are reduced in order to free themselves from the crime of idolatry; nay, they go so far as to require a condition in the adoration, either implied or expressed: "I adore thee, if thou art Christ." Adrian VI, having followed the authority of the Council of Constance, wishes the sacrament to be adored with doubting. "The Council of Constance," says he, "simply excuses those adoring an unconsecrated host

because the condition is tacitly implied, if the consecration has been rightly performed, and a little after he may thus adore, I adore thee, if thou art Christ" (*Questiones quodlibeticae*, Q. 10 [1522], p. 59). From these it is evident how uncertain and slippery, how doubtful and fallacious, is the faith of the Roman church in her adoration and to what great danger of idolatry (even according to themselves) they are daily exposed.

XI. Whatever pretexts and tricks are introduced by our opponents to cover up their idolatry cannot help them: neither a good intention, nor a moral certainty, nor a habitual condition—in which hiding places they hope to be able to conceal the most foul turpitude of their idolatry. For all these are nothing else than badly tempered mortar, with which these artificers endeavor to smear the souls of Christians. But vain is the attempt. For at the rays of truth, the cloud is easily scattered and vanishes. First, as to a good intention, who is there that does not sufficiently know from writing (sacred as well as ecclesiastical) and from the common practice that a good intention does not excuse, but that it is the gushing fountain of all superstition and that all idolatry can be easily excused under this pretext? A good work (according to the rule of the will of God) is not to be measured by a good intention, and a good intention is not to be judged from the mere determination of the mind, but from the word of God. Nor does Bellarmine deny it: "Because an evil intention vitiates a good work, our opponent falsely infers that bad works are justified by a good intention. For a good work springs from an entire cause, while a bad work can spring from any defect" (lib. 2 *de amiss. gratiae*, cap. 2+). Second, moral certainty gives them no better help because the faith required in such a work ought not to rest upon a moral certainty (which is more rightly said to be a conjectural uncertainty), but upon a firm persuasion of the worship commanded by God. Nor does the example of him who bestows alms upon a healthy beggar pretending to be sick have any bearing upon the subject. The comparison is badly instituted between an act of the first table (which pertains to the immediate worship of God and which God demands that we should render in spirit and in truth, so that all error concerning the person worshipped implies necessarily disrespect to the supreme majesty) and an act of the second table; nor yet relating immediately, but only reductively to it (to wit, the bestowal of alms on the poor, in which there can be no danger of idolatry). Nay, the apostle wishes that charity should not be suspicious (1

Cor. 13:5). Human certitude suffices in things in which there is no danger of sin (as in the case cited), but is not sufficient when there is danger of sin and indeed of idolatry. For although John undoubtedly had that certainty when he worshipped the angel, still he sinned and was therefore rebuked. Finally, the pretext of actual or of habitual condition (urged here by Thomas Aquinas) no more lessens the crime of idolatry, although he who worships the Eucharist is so disposed as to be unwilling to adore the Eucharist, unless upon the supposition of the presence of Christ. For where is there any trace or vestige of any such condition? And who can believe that the Son of God (who so often and so strictly admonishes believers to abstain from all idolatry) instituted such a sacrament as the seal of his testament in which its worshippers are most readily exposed to daily deception on account of the almost infinite defects? Where no certainty can be obtained of Christ's presence, but the most imminent danger of idolatry? Who will decide that a woman is free from crime who admits an adulterer (approaching her under the appearance of a lawful husband) to her bed, under this condition—I admit you, if you are my husband? In such a case, no condition can render the impure intercourse lawful.

6. From its absurdity.

XII. Sixth, from the absurdity and impiety of the doctrine, by which a necessity is imposed of adoring what is eaten and carried into the stomach and of eating what is adored. There is nothing in the whole Roman religion (from the time that this worship gained a footing among them) which has excited in philosophers and infidels a greater contempt for Christianity than this; or which they have more immoderately ridiculed and more persistently assailed. The words of Averroes, the philosopher, quoted by Perronius, are known: "He found no sect worse or more foolish than the Christian, the members of which rend asunder and devour with their teeth the God whom they worship" (*Traite de sainct sacrament de l'Euchariste* 3.29 [1633], p. 973). And that this very thing is commonly objected against even by the Turks in our day as a most base infamous action, many testify who have given an account of their eastern travels, since they call them "God-eaters" (*theophagous*). As indeed what can be imagined more abhorrent to the common sense and reason of mortals than that man should adore (and I do

not say a thing that is mute and lifeless, which is weak and exposed to the injuries of all animals, even the most helpless, but what either he or another equally mortal is about to eat and swallow)—should adore, I say, that very thing and think it to be his God? Balbus, the Stoic in Cicero, was not ignorant of this: "Do you suppose," says he, "that anyone is so senseless as to believe that which he eats to be a god?" (*De Natura Deorum* 3*.16.41 [Loeb, 19:324–25]).

7. From antiquity.

XIII. Seventh, from antiquity. It cannot be demonstrated that this worship was known to the ancient church and observed by it; nay, many things prove the opposite. We find nothing of it in the ancient writers, as in Justin Martyr. Tertullian relates that it was not customary even to fall upon the knees on the Lord's day. Nor does any trace of it occur in the first three centuries of Christianity, as the celebrated Daille (*Adversus Latinorum de cultus religiosi obiecto traditionem* 2 [1664], pp. 216–339) solidly demonstrates by various arguments: such as, that the Eucharist was not elevated by the primitive Christians and began to be elevated only in the sixth century, not that it might be adored by the people, but that it might adumbrate the elevation of Christ upon the cross; that the Eucharist was usually carried to the absent without any parade and marks of worship; that no festival was consecrated to it; that they are not discovered to have offered any prayers or adoration to it; that any communicant who pleased was formerly allowed to take home and put away particles of the Eucharist; that the Gentiles never charged Christians with God-eating (*theophagian*); and that refuting the most odious charge of being maneaters brought against them, they simply deny it, nor do they mention anywhere the business of the Eucharist; that bread-worship (*artolatreia*) was not charged upon the Christians either by the pagans or by the Jews, as was done after the eleventh century. And many other things of like kind which most clearly teach that this worship was wholly unknown to them.

8. The carrying around is refuted.

XIV. Eighth, the procession of the host is disproved by the following. (a) We say that it is repugnant to the institution of Christ, in which he commands us to do what he did. And yet he did not give the bread to be carried around, but to be eaten. (b) We nowhere read that the apostles either carried around or exhibited the Eucharistic bread. (c) It supposes the figment of transubstantiation and of the real presence, which has been refuted. (d) That custom is repugnant not only to the apostolic, but also to the primitive church, in which no trace of it occurs. (e) Cassander confesses that this circumgestation (*circumgestationem*) had been practised not so very long contrary to the custom and manner of the ancients; and he proves it from the fact that the ancients held this mystery in such great veneration and piety that they admitted to its reception and even to a sight of it, none except believers whom they considered members of Christ and worthy of a participation in so great a mystery. He adds that this practice of carrying it around might be given up without great injury to the church (nay, with gain to her), since it is both recent and the sacrament retained its own honor for a long time without that and might retain it now ("De Articulis Religionis … consultatio," Art. 22, *Georgii Cassandri ... Opera* [1616], pp. 984–85). Here belongs the letter of the Queen mother (Catharine de Medici) to Sixtus V, copied by the illustrious de Thou, where she asks of the pope among other things "to abolish the recent and newly invented festival of the Lord's body, because it gave rise to many offences, and was by no means necessary" (*Historiarum sui temporis* 28 [1625], 1:563).

Sources of explanation.

XV. It is one thing for Christ to be adored in the celebration of the Eucharist; another for the Eucharist itself to be adored, nor does the latter follow from the former. We say the former, but not the latter—as Christ is present in baptism, as God was present with the ark of the covenant and could be adored there. And yet no one would say that either baptism or the ark of the covenant should be adored. All things in which God is present are not to be adored immediately; otherwise all creatures (in whom God is present) would have to be adored. Nor can it be said that the presence of Christ in the Eucharist differs from the presence of God in his creatures. There is in it only one subsistence (*suppositum*); but in these by no means.

It is falsely supposed that the signs are hypostatically united to Christ, since there the union is only parastatic and sacramental. Hence it is gathered that the conclusion is a bad one that the whole sacrament (consisting of Christ) and the symbols should be adored as the whole Christ (the Mediator) is to be adored.

XVI. Although Christ is to be adored wherever he is present, it does not follow that everything in which he is present is to be adored. Christ dwells in all believers and yet believers are not to be adored with Christ. Christ lying in a manger was to be adored and yet not the manger itself. So neither if he was to be adored in the Eucharist ought the Eucharist itself to be adored. Besides, the presence of Christ in the manger differs very much from his presence in the Eucharist. He was there corporeally, he is here sacramentally and analogically; there as the thing located in its place, here as the thing signified in the sign; there visibly and openly, here invisibly and hidden.

XVII. We are not bound to adore God with an external adoration wherever he is present; but only where he is present with the rays of his glorious majesty and where he wishes to be adored. Otherwise as God is in all creatures (in stones, in trees and in animals), he would have to be adored in them. Thus we are commanded to adore God in the heavens, where he manifests himself gloriously. The Israelites were bound to adore him at the ark, which was the symbol of his presence. Moses is ordered to adore him in the bush where God manifested himself to him. Nor can it be said that the rays of the glory of the humanity of Christ in the Eucharist do not indeed appear to the eyes of the body, but are seen by those of the mind and of faith. The greatest glory of the humanity of Christ is to be united hypostatically with the Word. Hence, it being supposed that Christ is present there as to his humanity, it is not doubtful that there he is hypostatically united to the Word and consequently that the glory of Christ's humanity (which consists in that union) is conspicuous to faith and involves the necessity of adoration. The essential and internal glory of God (which consists in the eminence of his perfections) differs from the accidental and external glory (which is placed in some sensible, miraculous and extraordinary effect; as was seen in the bush, the ark and other like symbols of God's presence). Although the internal and essential glory is the foundation of external adoration, still it does not bind to the exercise of

actual adoration unless it is connected with the external glory (i.e., with some miraculous and extraordinary effect which makes an impression on the senses). Otherwise, as God is everywhere with his essential glory and in all his creatures, he would have to be adored there (which is absurd). Therefore, although Christ with his essential glory and as to his humanity hypostatically united with the Word were present in the Eucharist, he would not on that account have to be adored there, because he is supposed to be there invisibly and without any sensible effect of his glory, by which (for example) the consecrated host can be distinguished from an unconsecrated. For what certain persons allege concerning the apparitions of little sons in the Eucharist, or of flesh in the place of the bread, or of blood in the place of the wine, we reject as the fables and empty dreams of idolaters. These are referred by the Romanists themselves to diabolical illusions; as by Biel (*Canonis Misse Expositio* 51 [ed. H. Oberman and W. Courtenay, 1965], 2:293) and others.

XVIII. If the presence of the divinity of Christ, with which the flesh is hypostatically united, would be sufficient to impose the necessity of adoration, it would follow that Christ must be adored in baptism no less than in the Eucharist. And yet if the invisible presence of Christ's divinity (which is in itself adoration) does not bind us to external adoration in baptism, why should the humanity of Christ (which of itself is not adorable, but only on account of its union with the Word) bind us to an external adoration in the Eucharist? Nor ought it to be replied that there is something in the host which obliges us to adoration, which is not in baptism (to wit, the humanity of Christ, which holds the place of the rays of glory, which are not in baptism). The rays of glory which oblige us to adoration in any place ought to be sensible in the same place. This cannot be said of Christ's humanity, which is supposed to be invisible there. Besides, the presence of his humanity has nothing which ought to bind us to adoration more than the presence of his divinity in baptism (in which, according to the confession of our adversaries, adoration is not and should not be made).

XIX. The Israelites were obliged to adore God at the ark, but not the ark itself. They were commanded to worship in that place, but not that place. Thus we worship Christ in the Eucharist, but not the Eucharist itself. God does not command worship of his footstool, but "at his footstool" (*hshthchvv lhdhvm*, Ps. 99:5). Nor if Augustine (deceived by the Latin

edition) interprets this of the flesh of Christ (which is from the earth) is it on this account also to be retained ("Psalm 99," *On the Psalms* [NPNF1, 8:485]). The woman having an issue of blood (Mt. 9:20) did not worship but touched the garment of Christ. We grant that this was indeed a religious touching, but we deny that it was worship. So also we do not deny that honor and reverence should be given to the symbols, but we do deny that *latria* or adoration is due to them.

XX. The distinctions between the absolute, ultimate, intransitive, direct and formal worship (which is exhibited to Christ in the Eucharist); and the transitive, indirect, relative, and concomitant worship (given to the species of the Eucharist), cannot remove the crime of idolatry. (1) They are unknown to the Scriptures, which recognize no religious worship excepting one alone, which is absolute and direct. (2) The Council uses no such distinctions, but simply commands the sacrament to be adored. (3) Bellarmine teaches that it belongs to the essence of *latria* that a thing be adored on account of itself because *latria* is the supreme worship which is due to the true God as the first principle of all things ("De Imaginibus Sanctorum," 24 *Opera*, 2:501); while it involves a contradiction that supreme worship be exhibited to the first principle and on account of another thing. For if it be exhibited to the first principle, it is not on account of another thing.

XXI. No more can the erroneous opinion of Christ's presence in the Eucharist free them from the crime of idolatry, as Antonius de Dominis attempts to excuse them (*De Republica Ecclesiastica* 7.11 [1618], pp. 198–278). They who by a right direction of the mind teach that the bread is no longer bread, but the body of Christ, do not adore the bread, but from a supposition (although false), the body of Christ. This they would not adore if they knew the body of Christ was not there. A right direction of the mind or a false supposition cannot deliver from sin; otherwise no one could be called an idolater, because there is no one who does not sin from some false hypothesis and good direction of the mind. Thus the Israelites intended to worship the true God in the calf and supposed that he was present there, yet no less were they idolaters. Thus he who would adore Antichrist as Christ (supposing him to be Christ) would not on that account be less an idolater. Therefore, although the Romanists in their hypothesis do not intend to worship the bread, but Christ (whom they believe to be there in place of the

bread), they are not on that account the less to be considered as really adoring the bread. This false hypothesis and erroneous intention arises from an induced and voluntary ignorance, which so far from being worthy of excuse only increases the guilt. It is not occupied with a thing not revealed and which they are not bound to know, but about a thing which it is their duty to know and which is with sufficient clearness revealed to us in the word. Thus it can be readily perceived, unless we are willing to be blind. Nor can the crime be lessened from its seeming to be only a theoretical error of the intellect. A theoretical error necessarily draws after it a practical sin; otherwise every idolatry (even the most gross) would deserve an excuse because it arises always from a theoretical error of the intellect. For no one would worship an idol, who did not believe it to be God, unless he imagined him to be present.

XXII. The circumgestation of the ark differs from that of the Eucharist. For the use of the ark was allowed and the carrying of it about is founded upon an express command of God (Jos. 6:4; 1 Ch. 13*). But we find not a word concerning the carrying about of the Eucharist. The use was instituted by Christ, not that it might be carried about, but eaten and drunk.

XXIII. Although the circumgestation were founded upon some custom of the church, it ought not on that account to be observed. (1) A custom without truth and introduced contrary to the divine institution is an error. (2) We are forbidden to do anything which seems to be right in our eyes, but which God has not commanded. (3) The custom (if there is any) is not of the church of Christ, either of the apostles or of the purer primitive church; for that custom grew up very late; not in the Eastern church (to which it is altogether unknown) but in the Roman Western church only after the thirteenth century. For in the Bull of Urban IV in which he decrees the festival of the body of Christ, no mention is made of it (cf. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* [1963], pp. 273–74). And Theodoricus a Niem, who was the intimate friend of many popes, relates that Benedict XIII in the year 1408, since he had excited the hatred of many princes against himself, in order to provide for the safety of his life, first ordered the host to be carried before him that it might serve him in place of a bodyguard.

XXIV. Although some of our divines receive the sacrament kneeling, it does not follow that they ought to be convicted of the same crime with the Romanists. They expressly declare that they do not adore the Eucharist, but

Christ sitting in heaven and giving himself spiritually to believers under the symbols.

XXV. Although the Lutherans assert the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, their opinion differs widely from that of the Romanists; nor can they be said to be guilty of any idolatry. Thus from the tolerance shown to them, an argument is falsely drawn for the possibility of union with the Romanists. (1) Although they recognize a certain presence in the Supper, still they admit no transubstantiation, no sacrifice of the Mass, no mutilation of the communion under one species and other gross errors into which the Romanists fall here. (2) They have no adoration of the sacrament and consequently their error is merely theoretical, not practical. Nor can it be said that such worship follows from their doctrine because as we have already said, from the presence of Christ cannot be concluded the necessity of the adoration of the sacrament or of Christ himself. Nor if this could rightly be elicited thence could this consequence be ascribed to them, which they declare they neither acknowledge nor admit.

XXVI. The passages drawn from the fathers to prove the adoration of the Eucharist are fully and solidly discussed by Daille, *Adversus Latinorum de cultus religiosi obiecto traditionem* 2.16 [1664], p. 273 and *De Cultibus Religiosis Latinorum* 7 [1671], pp. 815–1018. We now omit these for the sake of brevity. From these it most clearly appears that nothing exists in the writings of the ancients before the eleventh century whence the adoration of the Eucharist can be gathered. Indeed there are innumerable passages which prove the contrary.

Thirty-First Question: The Five False Sacraments of the Romanists

Are confirmation, penance, orders, marriage and extreme unction true sacraments? We deny against the Romanists

I. Thus far we have treated of the true sacraments instituted by Christ. We must now discuss briefly the five false ones introduced by the Romanists (to wit, confirmation, penance, orders, marriage and extreme unction) which they place in the number of sacraments and wish to be received by all under the penalty of a curse.

Statement of the question.

II. It is not inquired concerning a sacrament widely taken, either for any mystery, or symbol, or type whatever of a spiritual thing. For thus, "Every sacred sign is a sacrament," as Augustine says (?CG* 10.5 [FC 14:123; PL 41.282]). And in this sense we do not deny that the name "sacrament" can be given to many other things besides baptism and the Supper. But we treat of a sacrament taken strictly for a visible sign and seal of gratuitous grace; in which sense we assert that there are only two sacraments (against the Romanists) and we maintain that those which they obtrude upon us are not true sacraments. This will be evident from a consideration of each.

First, of confirmation.

III. First, as to confirmation. The Romanists thus describe it: "Confirmation is an anointing of chrism upon the forehead of the baptized person, applied by the bishop in the form of the cross, with this formula of words, 'I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and confirm thee with the chrism of salvation, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and the Holy Ghost.' " The matter of this sacrament is (according to them) the chrism, which is a mixture of oil and balm, consecrated by the bishop. The form is said to be placed in the pronunciation of these words: "I sign thee with the sign of the cross." The minister is a bishop alone ordinarily, a priest only by a dispensation from the pope. The recipients are the baptized alone. They feign a twofold effect (to wit, grace making acceptable or the giving of the Holy Spirit for Christian strength, which is only given in baptism for the remission of sins; again, an indelible mark by which the one confirmed is enrolled in the service of Christ, just as the baptized one is admitted into his family).

IV. However, we say that in place of this theatrical representation, the sacred custom of the ancient church can rightly be observed (to wit, that the baptized be diligently instructed in catechetical doctrine when they have reached the age of reason and discretion; then that they be presented to the bishop or pastor in order to render an account of their progress and have the promises ratified in their name which were made by their parents and sponsors when they were baptized; that they may be dismissed with the

prayers and the blessing of the bishop and pastor and be admitted to the reception of the Eucharist with the rest of the adult believers). But we deny that this (whatever ceremony it is) is a sacrament, much less the theatrical confirmation of the Romanists.

Proof that it is not a sacrament.

V. (1) Because it does not have the divine institution, not even that it may be, much less that it can be called a sacrament. (2) There is not an element or external matter and sign divinely ordained. For Christ is nowhere read of having marked the baptized with the holy chrism on the forehead, the usual words being added: "I sign thee with the sign of the cross," a blow being given at the same time to strengthen faith. This the Jesuits, following the ancient canonists, acknowledge and defend it against the Sorbonne, as appears from the writings of Sirmondus against Aurelius. But no better do they substitute in the place of the chrism the imposition of hands. This rite was never commanded by Christ, nor as the act of a minister and a common rite; nor (temporary and used in the Old Testament) can it be a visible and determinate sign of any sacrament. (3) No word of promise of grace concerning the regeneration of the Spirit and remission of sins (which it can testify and seal) can be drawn from the whole New Testament. (4) The formula of confirmation clothed in these words, "I sign thee with the sign of the cross" (in which the form of this sacrament is placed by Eugenius) is wholly inapposite, both because this external chrism is not the chrism of salvation and because he who anoints with this external chrism cannot anoint with the Holy Ghost, with which as the chrism of salvation we are anointed by God alone (1 Jn. 2:27; 2 Cor. 1:21). (5) It derogates from baptism because according to the Roman doctrine, it follows that baptism does not quite make us Christians. Yet nevertheless, having been already baptized in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, we were admitted into communion with him and by baptism were implanted in Christ. Finally, it follows that in baptism the Holy Spirit is not given for strength and an increase of grace; as if in baptism the grace of the Holy Spirit is not sealed to us, strengthening as well as sanctifying and we are not anointed in it as prophets, priests and kings to battle with the devil and the world.

Sources of explanation.

VI. No more can the rite of the sacrament of confirmation than the name be shown from the Scriptures. The apostles indeed employed the imposition of hands (*cheirothesian*, Acts 8:17*; 19:6), but since it is evident that that was done in a visible dispensation of the Holy Spirit in the nascent condition of the church and indeed from a special promise, it is clear that it was an extraordinary rite and for this reason only temporary (whose use ceased together with other miracles). That the sacerdotal chrism and anointing were altogether different from the apostolic laying on of hands (*cheirothesia*) and that this referred to the bestowal of the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit is not obscurely gathered: (1) from Acts 8:16, where this spirit is given to those already baptized, and who on that account were now made partakers of the Spirit. (2) That spirit is said "to have fallen" (*epipiptein*) and rushed upon them (v. 16), which is proper to the spirit of prophecy and not of sanctification. "The Holy Ghost" is said to have "fallen on them … so that they could speak with tongues" (Acts. 10:44, 46). Nor is it unusual in Scripture for the extraordinary and visible gifts of the Spirit to be designated simply by the name of Spirit, as even the one passage (Acts 19:6) clearly teaches against Bellarmine.

VII. As Christ was anointed, so also we (who are called Christians from Christ) ought to be anointed. But not with a corporeal, but a spiritual unction—such as that with which Christ was anointed (viz., with the oil of gladness above his fellows, Ps. 45:7*). Nor if under the old covenant there were various anointings, does it follow that they also have a place in the new. The Jewish rites which were typical and were to be abrogated in the new covenant are not to be converted into Christian sacraments; otherwise the number of the sacraments would increase greatly. Besides, things dissimilar are compared here. For the Jewish unction was for consecration, but the Christian is for confirmation.

VIII. The anointing and confirmation (of which Paul treats in 2 Cor. 1:21) is not a material and chrismatic (which can be empty and useless), but a spiritual and mystical (which cannot but be efficacious and saving by a bestowal of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, who holds the relation of an unction, seal and earnest, by whom we are confirmed in the grace of God and sealed unto the day of redemption). The same must be said of the

anointing of which John speaks which teaches believers all things (1 Jn. 2:20) and is not of a different kind from the unction of Christ himself, who makes his people partakers of it.

IX. Although spiritual life needs the effect of grace for its increase every day, there is no necessity on that account of a new sacrament to obtain that confirmation. For the Spirit, given to us in baptism, confirms and increases the life once given to us so that there is no need of a new sacrament. This is especially true since the Eucharist was also instituted for strengthening the soul, establishing and increasing the spiritual life.

X. A promise is required for a sacrament, but not of any kind of grace, rather of federal and saving grace, common to all the covenanted. And God truly fulfills it by the means which he himself has ordained, not which human superstition has devised. And yet the promise of grace in connection with the application of visible chrism was special and temporary, which accordingly is sealed by no sacrament. The promise of the Comforter (who is the Holy Spirit, Jn. 14:16, 17) is joined with no sign; nor did it constitute a special sacrament any more than the other promises found in the gospel.

Second, of penance.

Opinion of the Romanists.

XI. Second, it is inquired of penance. This the Romanists hold to be a sacrament truly and properly so called for believers as often as they fall into sin after baptism and instituted by Christ our Lord for their reconciliation, as the Council of Trent has it (Session 14, Canon 1, Schroeder, pp. 101–2). But in order that their opinion may be the more distinctly perceived it must be remarked: (a) that they consider penance either as a virtue or as a sacrament, which was instituted as a remedy for sins committed after baptism. Therefore they call it a second plank which remains after shipwreck for sin committed by the baptized. (b) They distinguish penitence into external and internal. Internal is the conversion of the mind alone, which they confess is not a sacrament. External is what manifests itself externally by sorrow, confession, tears and other outward signs. (c) This penitence has the matter and form of a sacrament. The former indeed is in the three acts of the penitent: contrition (*contritione*) of heart, confession

(*confessione*) of the mouth and satisfaction (*satisfactione*) of works. The latter is in the absolution (*absolutione*) of the priest, which is made through a judicial act, in which by him (as a judge) the sentence of the remission of sins is pronounced, and the sins of the penitent are not remitted merely by the bare ministry of pronouncing and declaring.

And of the orthodox.

XII. On the other hand, we think (1) that penitence must be distinguished, inasmuch as it is either internal and private in the court of conscience or external and public in the court of the church. The latter ought to serve only for proving, or exciting, or promoting the former. In this sense, penitents were formerly in the ancient church distinguished from believers, who had the right of sharing in sacred things, while the former were suspended from them by the power of the keys, until by various and public exercises of humiliation (expressed for the most part by the common name of confession) the scandal having been sufficiently repaired, they could be again publicly received and admitted by the same power. (2) That a true and saving penitence consists of three acts. (a) Contrition or sorrow before God arising not so much from a slavish fear and dread of punishment, as from a filial fear and the love of virtue; by a true and hearty detestation of sin—its greatness, gravity and heinousness from the law of God; and his kindness and our duty being well weighed. (b) Confession made in the court of conscience before God, against whom alone sin is committed (Ps. 51:4*) and who alone can either pardon or punish sins. This is both internal and external and consists of three acts. The first, in the accusation of ourselves, which embraces both the enumeration of our sins and of all the circumstances which aggravate their criminality, to our humiliation and the deprecation of sins unknown (Ps. 19:13). The second, in condemnation, which consists in a full sense of its demerit and of the justice of the punishments of which the sinner judges himself to be worthy. The third, finally, in the deprecation of punishment and the imploring of the grace and mercy of God in Christ. (c) The purpose of amendment and the desire for a new life, which is its principal part and without which the rest are not so much useless as deadly. (3) We acknowledge that the fallen (from whom the church suffers public offense) ought to confess their sin before the church,

so that (after they have given suitable proof of their penitence) they may be reconciled to the church and admitted to the peace and communion of the church and of her sacred rites. But we deny that the judicial absolution of a priest is necessary for this.

Statement of the question.

XIII. Hence the statement of the question may be easily gathered. (1) It is not inquired whether penitence is necessary in order to obtain the pardon of sins. This is confessed on both sides, so that Bellarmine falsely and calumniously charges upon us the error of the Novatians (who maintained that pardon was to be refused to penitents) because we say that penitence is not a sacrament ("De Sacramento Poenitentiae," 1.9 *Disputationes de controversiis christianae* [1599], 6:49). It is one thing to deny that penitence is a sacrament; another to say that pardon ought not to be extended to the penitent. (2) It is not inquired whether there is any sacrament of penitence. For we maintain that baptism is such a sacrament. Rather it is inquired whether penance is such a sacrament distinct from baptism. This we deny. (3) It is not inquired whether confession of more gross sins can and ought to be made in the church for the reparation of scandal. And whether he who offends a brother is bound to acknowledge and beg pardon for his fault from him, as Christ has commanded (Mt. 5:23). And whether he who feels his conscience disturbed by one or more grievous sins can unbosom himself to his faithful brethren, seeking the consolation of their prayers and counsel (to which James seems to refer, 5:16), and especially to some faithful servant of God, whose duty it is to cure the wounds of the soul, to raise the prostrate conscience and restore the afflicted, and to seek from him both absolution from the crime and counsel, in order that he may be able afterwards to avoid sin, and little by little get rid of the destructive habit of vice. This we willingly grant and our Calvin excellently testifies in these words: "Therefore, let every believer remember that it is his duty, if he feels such secret anguish or affliction from a sense of his sin, that he cannot extricate himself without some exterior aid, not to reject the remedy offered him by the Lord, which is, that in order to alleviate his distress, he should use private confession with his pastor and, to obtain consolation, should privately implore his assistance, whose office it is, both publicly and

privately, to comfort the people of God with the doctrine of the gospel. But we should always observe such a degree of moderation as to lay no yoke on the conscience where God has given no positive command. Hence it follows that such confession ought to be free so as not to be required of all, but only to be recommended to those who conceive themselves to need it. It follows also that they who practice it on account of their need of it should neither be compelled by any precept, nor be induced by any artifice to enumerate all their sins; but only so far as they shall think beneficial to themselves that they may receive solid consolation" (ICR 3.4.12, pp. 636–37). Rather it is inquired whether by divine right it is necessary for salvation to confess to the ear of a priest all his sins, the consciousness of which the sinner has after a strict examination of himself (even if they are the most secret and only committed against the last two precepts of the decalogue). Innocent III sanctioned this first, in the Lateran Council four hundred years before; after him the fathers in the Council of Trent confirmed it. However, we deny it.

Proof that penance is not a sacrament: (1) because it has no sign.

XIV. The reasons are: (1) in every sacrament, truly and properly so called, there is found a sacramental sign, while in penance no such thing occurs. Nor do the actions of the penitent, or of the priest, have any relation to a sign. (a) Because every sacramental sign ought to be visible, as contradistinguished from the word. (b) A sign is administered by lawful pastors, which cannot be said of the operations of the penitent or of the absolving priest; for contrition is something internal which does not fall under the senses, nor is it an element, nor does it signify the grace of God by a similitude, nor is it administered by a pastor, but should be afforded by the penitent. This must also be said of confession and satisfaction. Again, there is no judicial absolution except that by which we are absolved in the judgment of God; no judicial power is given to the ministers of the church, but only a ministerial, placed in the exercise of discipline by the dispensation of the word. This is not an element, but the word itself, which is contradistinguished from the element.

2. A sacramental promise is not given.

XV. (2) There is no sacramental promise annexed to a sign. For the promise of grace (which is made to penitence or to the penitent) is either simple in the word of the gospel or in addition annexed both to the sacrament of baptism (which is said to be of repentance) and also to the holy Supper (which is dispensed for the remission of sins). (3) Penitence was not a sacrament under the old covenant, as our opponents acknowledge. Therefore neither is it under the new because there is an equal reason of both in essentials. Otherwise the fathers of the Old Testament would have been reconciled in a different manner from the believers of the New. Nor ought it to be replied that the power to remit sins (which was bestowed upon the apostles) was not bestowed upon their ministers. For Nathan announced remission to the penitent David; and Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and other prophets proclaimed remission of sins. (4) Penitence, as defined by the Romanists, withdraws the sinner from faith in the obedience, suffering and satisfaction of Christ to a confidence in his own actions; from God justifying the sinner to the priest judging the sins of men. It obscures the true doctrine concerning justification; concerning the virtue and efficacy of baptism. It transfers the judgment of God concerning sins to a certain human and political tribunal of the priest.

3. Because auricular confession cannot be admitted.

XVI. Auricular confession (which is placed among the acts of the penitent) cannot be admitted. (a) We do not read of its ever having been instituted by Christ, or by his apostles, or anywhere observed or commanded or recommended to anyone. This should however by all means have been done, if it was absolutely necessary to salvation. (b) The Scriptures of the Old Testament everywhere promise remission of sins to every believer (contrite and truly penitent) without any such previous confession. For since the meaning of the divine oracles is one, immutable, constant and eternal, it is necessary either that these do not pertain to us at all or that they demand nothing else from us than from the ancients. (c) We read of the sins of many

being pardoned without such a confession: as the woman who was a sinner (Lk. 7:48); the paralytic (Mt. 9:2); Zacchaeus (Lk. 19:8, 9); the publican (Lk. 18:13); Peter (Mt. 26:75). (d) Such a confession is impossible on account of our ignorance of sins: "Who can understand his errors?" (Ps. 19:12*). (e) It is the executioner of conscience and the noose of desperation which leads man into inextricable difficulties, both because he either knows not how to distinguish between mortal and venial sins; or because he can never be certain of the just and sufficient scrutiny of conscience or concerning the remission obtained (which depends upon the intention of the priest, of which he is ignorant). This many of the Romanists do not attempt to conceal, as Cassander ("De Articularis Religionis … consultatio," Art. 11 *Georgii Cassandri ... Opera* [1616], pp. 943–44) and Beatus Rhenanus ("Argumentum," to "Tertulliani, De Poenitentia," *Opera* [1528], pp. 476–80). (f) It is the primary fulcrum of the papal tyranny, by which the clergy not only gain for themselves authority and a formidable power and accumulate immense wealth, but penetrate into the secrets of families and kingdoms and bring the lives of princes and kings into evident peril. It is believed that "it is better for all kings to be slain, than even once that a trace of confession be revealed," which was the sentiment of the Jesuit Binet, quoted by Casaubon in his letter to John Eudaemon. Finally, it is a school of every impurity and an "immodest exercise" (*meletē anaischyntias*, 2 Tim. 3:6, 7), in which "the way and manner of sinning is learned rather than of confessing," as Canus well remarks, who was ashamed of this indecent practice ("Relectio de Sacramento Poenitentiae," 6 *Opera* [1746], p. 558). Here belong the scandalous questions enjoined upon the confessors by the casuists, of which Toletus, Sanchez, Navarrus and others treat.

4. Because the three acts of the penitent are not the matter of a sacrament.

XVII. (4) The three acts of the penitent cannot be the matter of such a sacrament. Not the contrition of the heart because it is not sensible. Not the confession of the mouth, which can be fallacious and deceitful and is expressed by words alone. Not the satisfaction of works, which, since it follows absolution and consequently also the perfection of the sacrament,

cannot belong to its essence. These three acts can be observed in the penitence of the traitor Judas; in his *metameleia* (which signifies grief of heart); in the confession of his sin, saying to the priests, "I have sinned in betraying innocent blood"; and in the restitution of the thirty pieces of silver, which took the place of satisfaction.

5. Priestly absolution cannot be the form.

XVIII. (5) Priestly absolution composed of words cannot be the form of a sacrament because we find nothing about it either in the Scriptures or in the practice of the apostles; and because they doubt themselves about that form and variously dispute it; and because that absolution is not so much a loosing as a binding, on account of the fines and punishments imposed; and because absolution or remission of sins cannot be the form of those acts which are in the penitent; and finally, because such a judicial absolution belongs to God alone and is incommunicable to any creature (Lk. 5:21; Is. 43:15; Mic. 7:18; Mt. 6:12). For he who remits sins ought to be a heart-searcher (*kardiognōstēs*), who can know the sins of the heart (which does not fall under the senses), and Lord of the soul and conscience, who can inflict the punishments suited to them.

Sources of explanation.

XIX. The passages Mt. 16:19; 18:17, 18; Jn. 20:23 are absurdly referred to the sacrament of penance because no mention is made in them of sacramental matter or sign. Nor did the apostles, to whom these words were spoken, anywhere administer a sacrament of this kind in which they set themselves as judges of sins, whispered into their ears and expiated by the merit of satisfaction or of contrition. But the words of Christ pertain to nothing else than the ministry of reconciliation and the exercise of sacred discipline committed to the servants of God; according to which they bind and retain the sins of the impenitent and scandalous and keep them away from the sacraments (if the edification of the church demands it) until they shall have repented. But they loose and remit sins ministerially, both to the penitent and believers in common, announcing to them the remission of sins through Christ; and also in particular receiving again to the sacraments

those who, after suspension or excommunication, have given signs of true and sincere repentance.

XX. The absolution committed to the ministers of the gospel is not judicial, such as belongs to a judge or lord; but ministerial, such as is partly by the preaching of the gospel (which consists in remission of this kind) or by his heralding or ministry of it, and in the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, as it is subordinated to that preaching of the gospel (which is none other than that declaration by which he who was before leprous is declared clean); or such as belongs to a herald, who officially announces the favor of the magistrate to anyone. Nor does the power of the keys involve anything else because they are not the principal keys of the Lord (which are ascribed to Christ alone, Rev. 1:18; 3:7), but ministerial, such as belong to stewards and doorkeepers.

XXI. Nothing can be gathered for auricular confession from Acts 19:18. Many that believed are indeed said to have come and confessed and shown their deeds, but nothing is said about a secret confession made in the ear of Paul; nor whether all of their sins were confessed. But this can be referred best either to the celebration of God because he had condescended to raise them by the grace of Christ from so deep an abyss of wretchedness and guilt and to grant unto them true light by declaring and heartily detesting the works of darkness and impious and nefarious acts or magical delusions and diabolical tricks, to which they had before given themselves. Or it can be referred to a real confession which they made by condemning publicly such acts and throwing into the flames the wicked books to which they had been devoted. Or to a general and indefinite confession of such sins without a specific and particular enumeration of them; not in the ear of one man, but publicly in the hearing of all present. Cajetan says it describes those confessing their deeds in general publicly and that it was not a sacramental confession, but a profession of repentance for their past life (*Opera omnia quotquot in Sacrae Scripturae expositiones* [1639], 4:469 on Acts 19:18).

XXII. The confession of which James speaks cannot be sacramental and auricular (5:16). (1) He treats of a mutual confession of offenses: “Confess your faults one to another.” The Roman is of an entirely different kind (viz., in which the laity enumerate their sins to the priests and not the priests theirs in turn to the laity). (2) James wishes confession to be made in order that they may mutually pray for one another because he at once adds, “Pray

one for another, that ye may be healed." Hence it is evident that for no other reason did James command them to confess their sins to one another than that they might obtain remission of sins and a cure from God, being mutually assisted by each other's prayers. But it is evident that it is far different with the Roman confession, which is made for this reason—that we may be absolved from the confessed sins, not by virtue of the prayers of the priest, but by his praetorian authority and decision. Therefore, James means either the mutual confession of faults (which ought to be made to brethren in turn in order to obtain peace and forgiveness from them) or confession of sins which is made to a believer that he (our disease being known) may assist us with his counsel and prayers. Many of the Romanists agree with us here: Cajetan, Scotus ("Quaestiones in librum quartum Sententiarum," Dist. XVII *Opera Omnia* [1894], 18:496–593), Maldonatus, Gagnaeus, Carthusianus and others.

XXIII. The confession which John required of those who came to his baptism (Mt. 3:6) was not a sacramental one (because it preceded baptism), nor was a special enumeration of sins made in it (for Jerusalem and all Judea are said to have gone out to him, v. 5), but only in general and indefinitely. For he who says in general that he has committed many and great sins, confesses his sins, no less than he who unfolds them one by one and particularly (as Maldonatus, Emanuel Sa and others acknowledge).

XXIV. John orders sins to be confessed, not to a priest, but to God, who is faithful and just to forgive us our sins (1 Jn. 1:9); to whom David confessed (Ps. 32:5). Again, that confession means nothing else than that we should confess ourselves to be sinners and not that we should recount all our sins singly with their circumstances.

XXV. It is one thing to make satisfaction to the church by a public penance and canonical punishments imposed by her for the repair of the scandal; another to make satisfaction by laborious works to God for sins committed, in order to obtain their remission. We grant that the former can and ought to be done according to the canons of ecclesiastical discipline, and we do not deny that this was formerly practiced. But we maintain that the latter neither can nor ought to be done; both because such a satisfaction is impossible and because it is derogatory to the most perfect satisfaction of Christ and altogether incompatible (*asystatos*) with the gratuitous pardon of

sins (as has been proved at length in Topic XIV, Question 12, on the perfection of Christ's satisfaction).

XXVI. It is one thing to assert the necessity of penitence being testified even by external works by which satisfaction may be made to the punishments imposed by the church; another to wish such works to be a just compensation for offenses and properly so called satisfactions subordinated to Christ's satisfaction, which properly redeem sins or at least their temporal punishments. The former we grant; but the latter we deny against the Romanists (cf. Daille on punishments and satisfactions).

Third, of extreme unction.

XXVII. The third sacrament is extreme unction, which is bestowed upon those who are in extreme danger of life for this end—that the remains of sin (if any still are to be expiated) may be wiped away, diseases mitigated, the temptation of Satan more easily resisted and the health of the body sometimes also restored. Its matter they hold to be the olive oil consecrated by a bishop; its form to reside in this formula of words used by the priest in anointing the sick, "By this sacred unction, and his most tender mercy, may God pardon every sin which thou hast committed, by seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and touching." They say the person bestowing is a priest alone; the receiver a baptized person alone and he too (having already confessed and having been pardoned) in danger of life (for the excommunicated are not allowed it). They designate the seven parts of the body to be anointed—the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, hands, loins and feet. The five former, indeed, because in them is the seat of the five senses; the loins, however, on account of concupiscence; the feet, finally, on account of execution or progressive power. The Council of Trent says: "If any man shall say that extreme unction is not truly and properly a sacrament instituted by Christ our Lord and promulgated by the blessed apostle James, but is only a rite received from the fathers or a human figment; let him be accursed" (Session 14, Canon 1, Schroeder pp. 104–5). And: "If anyone shall say that the sacred unction of the sick does not confer grace, nor remit sins, nor heal the sick, but that it has now ceased, as if the grace of curing existed only formerly, let him be accursed" (ibid., Canon 2, p. 105).

XXVIII. We acknowledge that a certain unction of the sick (while the gift of miracles flourished) was practiced by the apostles for this purpose—that by this external sign health of body might be restored to the sick. But we deny that it was either instituted, or insinuated, or commended to the church that it might be an ordinary sacrament of the New Testament to produce the effects mentioned by the Council.

Proof that it is not a sacrament: (1) because its institution does not exist in the Scriptures.

XXIX. The reasons are: (1) nowhere in Scripture is the institution of this sacrament found, as made either by Christ or by his apostles. For not even the Council itself dared to affirm that it was instituted in Mark (cf. 6:13), but only insinuated because at that time priests had not as yet been instituted. It does not have the element commanded by him, whatever our opponents may say of the oil of olives and the anointing with it; nor the word of promise concerning spiritual grace, since the apostolic unction was intended only for the establishing of strength and the recovery of health. In fine, it was not an ordinary and perpetual rite in the church, but an extraordinary gift employed symbolically in the age of the apostles, afterwards falling into desuetude when miracles ceased.

2. Because it is without the matter and form.

XXX. (2) Neither the matter, nor the form, nor the rite of this sacrament is defined in the word. Not the matter, because the word of God nowhere makes mention of healing by oil made of olives consecrated by a bishop. Not the form, concerning which our opponents wonderfully disagree—whether a certain formula of words ought to be recited enunciatively or deprecatively or optatively. And yet the form of a true sacrament consists not in the utterance and turning of words, but in the likeness between the external sign and the thing signified. Not the rite of anointing the eyes, ears, nostrils, etc., concerning which there is a profound silence in the Scriptures.

XXXI. The passage in Mk. 6:13 concerning the anointing of the sick does not favor the opinion of the Romanists, according to Bellarmine

himself ("De Sacramento Extremae Unctionis," 1.2 *Disputationes de controversiis christianae* [1599], 6:6–9). (a) That unction had reference solely or principally to the curing of bodily disease; while the sacraments pertain to the curing of the soul. (b) The apostles promiscuously cured whatever sick persons were brought to them; while this sacrament is not bestowed except on those in extreme distress. (c) The apostles anointed the baptized and unbaptized (without discrimination), while the church anoints none that are not baptized. (d) It is clear that the apostolic unction mentioned in Mark was miraculous and pertained to the healing of diseases. On this account it is connected with the power of preaching the gospel and casting out devils. Hence they are said "to have gone forth, preached the gospel, cast out many devils, and healed many that were sick." The power to cure diseases was given for the same reason as that of casting out devils, raising the dead, cleansing the lepers, etc. Therefore the command was particular and temporary, regarding those only who had received that miraculous gift of healing and were conscious of possessing it.

XXXII. No more does the passage of Jam. 5:14, 15 favor them. (a) Cajetan, Maldonatus and others confess that the same unction is described as we find in Mark because in both there is the same thing, the same cause of the thing, the same matter, the same end and effect. (b) This apostolic unction differs greatly from the Roman because that related to the healing of the body, but this does not. James commands any that are sick to be anointed (*asthenountas*), while the Romanists anoint none except the moribund. James commands many elders to be brought in; the papists admit only one, a priest. The unction of James had for its absolute end the healing of disease, but for its conditioned end, the remission of sins (which is not ascribed properly to the unction, but to "the prayer of faith" [*tē euchē tēs pisteōs*]); but the papistic inverts this order and deigns another end in addition—that the sick person may be fortified by spiritual help against the fear of death. Finally, we have here a command of unction and a sign, but both temporary, to continue only for a short time, until the gift of healing should cease in the church. But the promise of health is not so absolute as to imply the necessity of not dying. For this tacit condition ought to be understood that the sick person will be healed (if it is thus expedient), so that this temporal promise is to be limited by the divine will variously ordering the event.

XXXIII. It was not necessary to institute a special sacrament for the dying or for those departing from the world, as baptism and the Supper were instituted for those entering and on their way through it. (1) They are so instituted for those entering and on their journey through it that the fruit of them is not momentary, or to be restricted to the time of celebration, but reaching to the whole life and even unto death itself. (2) God was present with the dying Stephen without any special sacrament and he provided for the best interests of the ancient church, although we do not discover any special sacrament instituted for the dying.

Fourth, of orders.

XXXIV. The fourth sacrament is orders. The Romanists so call an eminent degree in the church and commonly make them seven, four lesser (doorkeepers, readers, exorcists and acolytes); three greater (subdeacons, deacons and priests). Some add an eighth (the order of bishops), whom they make a distinct order from the priests. To each of these orders they assign the proper rites and a proper matter and form and distinct duties.

XXXV. We acknowledge that orders were instituted by Christ, not only of apostles, prophets and evangelists (which long ago ceased); but also of pastors, teachers, presbyters and deacons, which we retain in our ecclesiastical polity. But we deny that these orders were instituted for this end—that they might be sacraments of the new covenant.

Proof that the orders are not sacraments.

XXXVI. First, there is no sign and corporeal element. For as to the laying on of hands, it cannot be considered as a sign. (a) It is not an element, but an action. (b) It is common with confirmation and many other things and was practiced even under the Old Testament. (c) It was not instituted by Christ by any command, but is a free ceremony, which we read indeed of having been employed, but not of having been instituted; what has been employed, however, ought not at once to be said to have been instituted. Thus the washing of feet and breathing upon the apostles were employed by Christ (Jn. 13:5; Jn. 20:22); yet they were not on that account instituted. (d) Imposition of hands does not pertain to all the orders, but only to some.

XXXVII. Second, every sacrament of the New Testament has a promise of justifying grace. But orders have no such thing. Nor is the contrary proved from 1 Tim. 4:14, where a gift is said to have been given to Timothy by the laying on of hands. He is not treating of sacramental grace (i.e., for the sealing and signifying of which the sacraments were appointed), which is placed in the blessing of justification and of sanctification; but of the grace of office or of the gospel ministry, which is nothing else than the authority to teach publicly in the church (which Paul calls teaching [*didaskalian*] and oversight [*episkopēn*]) and the gifts necessary to the exercise of that office (such as the knowledge of languages and of heavenly wisdom) and others which make a bishop apt to teach (*didaktikon*) (i.e., skillful in teaching).

XXXVIII. Third, every sacrament is one in species, which is not multiplied except by reason of number. But orders is not one in species because they made at least seven differing not only in number, but also in species. For things which differ in matter and form, differ in species.

XXXIX. The command adduced to prove the institution of orders, does not belong here. It is either express and special (Acts 13:2), but foreign from institution (as all the circumstances of the place teach, since Paul and Barnabas received there neither an order nor a sacrament of it). Or it is implied and general (Acts. 20:28; Eph. 4:11, 12), from which the institution of a divine ecclesiastical ministry is suitably proved. But sacramental ordination is no more rightly concluded than apostleship and prophecy are reckoned among the sacraments of the New Testament.

Fifth, of matrimony. Proof that it is not a sacrament.

XL. The fifth sacrament is matrimony, according to the Council of Trent (Session 24, Canon 1, Schroeder, p. 181). But here all the requisites of a sacrament are equally wanting. (1) The divine institution, since it is evident that from the first creation it was ordained for the propagation of the human race (from which end it has not turned in the New Testament, Mt. 19:4, 5). (2) The element, which may be a sacramental sign ordained by Christ. (3) The word of promise of grace, peculiarly annexed to marriage, that it may

be confirmed and applied by it. (4) The ordinary and perpetual use in the New Testament church alone, while marriage according to the law of nature and the Gentiles is common both to believers and unbelievers and belongs to both churches.

XLI. Second, marriage has no sacramental matter. Nor do the Romanists agree among themselves in assigning it. Some wish mutual consent to be the matter; others hold the contracting persons as the matter. But either opinion is absurd. The former because the matter of a sacrament ought to be an external visible something; but the consent is not such, as it is an internal thing. The latter also because if the contracting parties are the matter of the sacrament, then the matter of the sacrament and the receiver of the sacrament will be the same (which is absurd).

XLII. Third, marriage is not an instrument by which justifying grace may be applied because it should be common to all. And yet according to the Romanists it is not common to all. Nor is the grace of justification conferred by matrimony. What Paul says, "The woman shall be saved in childbearing" (*teknogonian*, 1 Tim. 2:15), does not prove that saving grace is given by matrimony as a sacred sign. Rather he has no other object than to console women against the pangs of childbearing (*teknogonias*) (which are inflicted upon them in the place of punishment on account of the seduction) in order that they may know that to pious women continuing in faith, these pains will be no more a sign of the divine anger, nor will they hinder their salvation; nay, that God will provide that in childbearing (*teknogonia*) itself they shall experience the special testimony of divine grace towards themselves.

XLIII. The passage of Paul in Eph. 5:32 is falsely wrested to human marriage. He expressly interprets this himself concerning the mystical union of Christ with his church, which both the form of exclamation (having a feeling [*pathos*] of admiration) and the whole preceding context from vv. 26, 27 evince. The word "mystery" is improperly translated sacrament because that word usually declares in the Scriptures not a sign, but a spiritual thing sealed. And it extends more widely than sacrament strictly so called, for not every mystery can be called a sacrament, but only that which offers the grace of salvation by a word of promise and confirms it by an external symbol divinely instituted.

XLIV. Whatever represents a sacred thing is not immediately a sacrament. For thus the sun and other things of the same kind representing Christ would be sacraments. Nor is whatever has an annexed promise of any grace a sacrament; otherwise almsgiving and prayer would be sacraments. Finally, the promise of grace connected with marriage is temporal concerning the raising up of seed, not sacramental.

TWENTIETH TOPIC

The Last Things

First Question: The Resurrection of the Dead

Will there be a resurrection of the dead on the last day? We affirm

I. The discussion of the sacraments being finished, the last labor remains, to place the capstone at length upon our work—the treatment of the last things. By these we mean what will take place at the end of the world and by which the duration of this cycle will be closed. The eternal happiness of the pious and the misery of the wicked will follow this.

Treatment of the last things necessary.

II. The necessity and utility of this discussion are of the very highest; for if from the saying of the Son of Sirach the remembrance of our last things (i.e., of death impending over us) is the greatest remedy against sin ("Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss," 7:36), how much better can this be said of the last things of the world? There is no precaution against sin and incentive to good works more efficacious than this meditation which impresses upon our minds: (1) a contempt for the world and all earthly things (1 Cor. 7:31; Heb. 13:14); (2) a desire for heaven and heavenly goods (2 Cor. 3:1, 2, 6, 8), hatred of sin and desire of holiness (1 Pet. 4:7; 2 Pet. 3:11, 12); (3) a reverence and fear of the deity, before whom we must stand (2 Cor. 5:10); (4) an alleviation and solace for all troubles, which are shortly to come to an end (Lk. 21:28; Acts 3:19) because there will be a time "of redemption" (Lk. 21:28*), of refreshing and "of the restitution of all things" (Acts 3:19, 21*).

III. Now the last times, which are called in Hebrew *'chryth hymym* and in Greek *eschatoi kairoi* or *hēmerai*, are taken in different senses in the

Scriptures; either broadly for the end of any nation or of man—"Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the last days" (*ep' eschatōn tōn hēmerōn*, Gen. 49:1), i.e., in the future at the end of the Jewish republic. Thus the word is taken in Dt. 4:30; 31:29. Of Babylon it is said, "Neither didst thou remember the latter end of it" (Is. 47:7), i.e., the final destruction and utter overthrow (*panolethrias*). So mention is often made in Daniel of the latter days (2:28, 44; 8:19). Or narrowly for the time of Messiah's advent in the flesh, in which sense the last days are frequently taken in the prophets and in John: "Little children, it is the last time" (1 Jn. 2:18), because the time of the gospel is the last and ultimate dispensation of God, which is a certain renewing of the world and (as it were) the perfection of all things, after which no other revelation is to be looked for but eternity alone. Sometimes it is taken more strictly for the last interval of that dispensation which is to precede the end of the world. In this sense, Paul speaks of the latter times (1 Tim. 4:1). Most strictly, for the end of the world and the consummation of time (in which sense it is taken in Jn. 6:39, 40, 44, 54; 12:48; 1 Pet. 1:5). Hence the trumpet of God (which is to sound in the end of the world) is called "the last trump" (1 Cor. 15:52). And so they are now taken by us.

IV. However, these last things are reckoned variously by divines. They are commonly referred to the four comprehended in this distich:

> "Thy death, the last judgment, the glory of heaven and the pain of hell, must be meditated upon by thee."

But the resurrection of the dead and the end of the world are omitted here. Dismissing the consideration of death of which we have already treated, we refer them to four heads: (1) the resurrection of the dead; (2) the end of the world; (3) the last judgment; (4) eternal life and death.

One resurrection, metaphorical.

Another proper.

V. As to the first, the resurrection of which we treat is not metaphorical (viz., a deliverance from extreme calamities and dangers, which often come under the name of death in the Scriptures). Of this, the passages Is. 26:14;

Am. 5:2, 14; Ezk. 37:1–3ff. are to be understood. Not the mystical and spiritual resurrection of the mind, which is regeneration and conversion to God, referred to in Eph. 2:5; 5:14; Col. 2:12; 3:1. This is the first resurrection spoken of in Rev. 20:6. But the proper and bodily resurrection of the flesh. Not the particular of those who were raised up either under the Old or the New Testament; but the universal of all men, the good as well as the bad, which is to take place on the last day, distinguished into the resurrection unto life and happiness (so called by way of eminence [*kata exochēn*] and in this sense ascribed to believers, who are called "the children of the resurrection," Lk. 20:36), and the resurrection unto death and condemnation or eternal disgrace (Dan. 12:2*; Jn. 5:29). Of this resurrection we now treat. We will prove, first, its truth and necessity; second, its object and mode.

VI. The doctrine of the resurrection is of the greatest utility. (1) It is the peculiar treasure (*keimēlion*) of the church, unknown to the heathen and revealed by the word alone, the proper faith of Christians. (2) It is the foundation of all solid consolation; hence hope and the resurrection of the dead are joined together (Acts 23:6; 24:15; 1 Cor. 15:19). For if there be no resurrection, faith is vain, we are found false witnesses, etc. Tertullian: "The resurrection of the dead is the confidence of Christians" (*On the Resurrection of the Flesh* 1 [ANF 3:545; PL 2.795]). (3) It is a most effectual stimulus to piety. Cyril of Jerusalem: "The resurrection is the root of every good work" (*hē anastasis esti rhiza pasēs agathoergias, Catechetical Lectures* 18.1 [NPNF2, 7:134; PG 33.1017]).

Necessity of the question.

VII. The necessity of the question is great to confirm this primary article of our faith against Libertines and Epicureans, who in every age (within as well as out of the church) have either denied or called in question the resurrection of the dead. To the Athenians, the resurrection was silly talk (*lērōdēs logos*, Acts 17:32). Pliny calls the resurrection of the dead "childish nonsense" and adds, "What madness is this, that life and death are to be repeated?" (*?Natural History* 2.5*.17 [Loeb, 1:180–81]). Caecilius: "Christians compose old women's fables. They say that they shall be born again after death and ashes and dust; they in turn believe in their own

falsehoods I know not with what confidence" (cf. Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 11 [ANF 4:178; PL 3.277]). In the church, both of the Old and New Testaments, various Epicureans and heretics have denied the resurrection; such were they of Is. 22:13, "Let us eat and drink; for tomorrow we shall die." And: "In the death of a man there is no remedy, neither is there any man known to have returned from the grave," the ungodly say. "For by mere chance [*autoschediōs*], we are born; and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been" (Wis. Sol. 2:1, 2). The Sadducees said there was no resurrection (Mt. 22:23; Acts. 23:6). In the Corinthian church, there were those who denied it (1 Cor. 15:12). Hymenaeus and Philetus referred all to a spiritual resurrection, and said that it was past already (2 Tim. 2:18). In the primitive church, the Simonians denied it according to Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 1.23*.5 [ANF 1:348]) and Augustine (*De Haeresibus* 1 [PL 42.25]), whom Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, the Gnostics, Marcionites, Manicheans and other heretics followed. To all of them the orthodox church opposes the shield of the Scriptures, which irrefragably demonstrate this truth.

VIII. However, here we ought above all things to distinguish between the foundation upon which the faith of the resurrection rests and the arguments by which that faith is confirmed. The sole foundation is the almighty will of God, revealed in his word; while the arguments are manifold and drawn partly from the Scriptures and partly from reason. Of these some are primary and apodictic; others secondary and probable; some proving the general resurrection of the good and bad; others bearing only upon the resurrection of the good, but necessarily drawing after it the resurrection of the wicked.

The truth of the resurrection is proved: (1) from the oracles of the Scriptures.

IX. The first reason is drawn from the oracles of the Scriptures, which in the Old as well as in the New Testament prove this. The first occurs in Job 19:25–27*: "I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and after the worms have destroyed this, I awaking, then in my flesh shall see God, whom I shall see for myself, and

mine eyes shall behold, and not another." These words so clearly set forth this mystery that Jerome said, "No one spoke concerning the resurrection as openly after Christ, as Job before Christ" (*To Pamachius Against John of Jerusalem* 30 [NPNF2, 6:439; PL 23.398]). The Septuagint understands Christ by *g'l* and by standing upon the earth, the resurrection itself. The Targum translates *phryqy* "my Redeemer" (cf. Walton, *Biblia sacra polyglotta* [1657], 3:40–41 on Job 19:25). Various reasons in vindication of this passage were given in Volume II, Topic XII, Question 5, Section 19. To these we add (1) that the solemn preface of Job shows that he is speaking of a most important matter: "O that my words were written in a book with an iron pen!" (v. 23). And yet if he had intended to speak only of a restoration to health, what need was there of so magnificent a preface and of a writing so enduring for eternal remembrance? (2) His sublime style sufficiently teaches that his thoughts were raised above this visible world and any temporal advantage. He no longer mourns and complains, but as if exhilarated by a new hope, strengthened to bear up under any misfortune more than before, he speaks from a certain persuasion of resurrection—"I know," says he (i.e., I hold as sure and indubitable). This he could not have said of a temporal restoration, of which he had so often despaired and which he could only conditionally expect. (3) From the words "He shall stand upon the earth," which do not pertain to a bodily restoration, but are best referred to the resurrection. (4) He says that "he will see God with his eyes," which was a remarkable act of faith with respect to the man delivered from troubles because it was such a thing that no one could have doubted concerning it. Nor is it an objection that he adds, "whom I shall behold with mine eyes, and not another," as if he was speaking of a thing which pertained to himself alone. By attributing the vision to himself in particular, he does not deny it concerning others, but intimates that he, in his own body (which had died), and not in another, would arise and see God.

X. The second oracle is from Ps. 16:9: "My flesh shall rest in hope" (to wit, of the resurrection) "for" (it is added in v. 10) "thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption." Now although this passage primarily and directly refers to Christ and his resurrection (as Peter proves in Acts 2:26, 27; nor can it as to its full accomplishment belong to David, who did see corruption), still there is no objection (nay, it is right) to refer it secondarily to David and the hope of a

resurrection which he indulged, both on account of the resurrection of Christ (from which ours is inseparable) and because these words either do not at all pertain to David (which cannot be said) or they imply a confidence in his deliverance from death. For thus the flesh, it is said, will not see corruption, not because it would not absolutely be corrupted, but that it would be freed from corruption; as he is said not to see death who is recalled from death to life (Jn. 8:51). The third is from Ps. 17:15: "I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness." David opposes himself, weak and miserable, to the powerful and rich of the world, of whom he had spoken in the preceding verse; and his own true happiness or hope of a future life to their empty happiness. However, I do not seek these transitory riches, in which to plunge myself, but I will live justly and piously in this world that in the future I may see your face and be satisfied with it, when I shall awake and be aroused from death by the resurrection.

XI. The fourth is from Is. 25:8*: "He will swallow up death in victory" (*eis nikos*). Paul refers this to the resurrection (1 Cor. 15:54), by which death shall be truly swallowed up in victory (i.e., for ever). Indeed, Christ by his own resurrection has already gained the victory over death (as to himself), but this will be done at length perfectly at the last day (as to us), when that last enemy will be destroyed. The fifth is from Is. 26:19, where the prophet says: "Thy dead men shall live, thy slain shall arise." This is said by antithesis to what was said in v. 14 concerning the enemies of the church: "They are dead, they shall not rise." These will not oppress us any longer, but eternal death awaits them. Now speaking of believers, he says another lot will be theirs (to wit, they will live and rise again after death). Although this promise might, however, be referred to a deliverance from their troubles and from captivity, it must be extended further to the best deliverance of all, which consists in the resurrection of the dead. The prophet embraces the whole kingdom of Christ from the beginning even unto the end, since the hope of overcoming leaps over this world and is born into eternity. The sixth is from Ezk. 37, where the vision of the dead and dry bones and their resurrection is set forth. There is no doubt that the Lord referred in it to the Babylonian captivity and to the future deliverance from it, as it is explained by him: "Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost:

we are cut off for our parts. Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold … I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves" (vv. 11, 12). The Lord does not stop here, but proceeds further—even to the final resurrection, of which an admirable prelude and mirror is set forth in this vision. This is evident: (a) from the emphatic description, for there is scarcely another passage in the Scriptures in which the manner and form of the resurrection is so emphatically described. (b) From the amplitude of the subject, because it is said the Spirit will come from the four winds of heaven to make these bones live (v. 9). (c) From the subordination of the divine blessings, because a temporal restoration could not afford to believers solid and constant consolation unless it were connected with spiritual blessings and the final resurrection (which ought to be the crown and complement of all). Thus the prophets in their oracles embrace various blessings mutually subordinated to each other and adumbrate many things together under one symbol, which ought to happen to the church in different and even in the most remote times. Tertullian explains this fully (*On the Resurrection of the Flesh* 29 [ANF 3:565–66]); cf. Justin Martyr ("Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos," Q. 45 *Opera* v. 3, Pt. 2 [ed. J.C.T. von Otto, 1881], pp. 67–69); Jerome (*Commentarium in Ezechielem* [PL 25.345–54] on Ezk. 37); and Augustine (*The Literal Meaning of Genesis* 10.5, 7 [ACW 42:102–3, 104–5]). Dan. 12:2: "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." Here it is clear (whatever Porphyry may say to the contrary) that reference is made to the final resurrection, in which there shall be a separation of the good and the bad; not temporal, but eternal—as to eternal life and as to death and everlasting disgrace. Christ manifestly refers to this in Jn. 5:28, 29: "The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and they shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." See the objections of opponents answered in Volume II, Question V, Section 20. Here also belongs the passage referred to by Paul (1 Cor. 15:55) to confirm the truth of the resurrection: "I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death: O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction" (Hos. 13:14). For in whatever way this oracle may be explained, it cannot be

denied that deliverance from death and hell is here proposed as a benefit of Christ in favor of the elect (as Paul interprets it).

XII. However, this mystery is more clearly revealed to us in the New Testament. Christ frequently teaches it (Mt. 22:31; 25:32; Jn. 5:28, 29; 6:39, 40, 44; 11:24–26). The apostles constantly mention it (Acts 4:2; 17:18; 23:6; 24:15). Paul repeatedly recalls us to this prop of our hope and faith and professedly treats of it in the whole of the 15th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians and in 1 Thess. 4. Revelation more than once confirms it (20:5, 6, 12, 13). Thus there is no need to delay in proving it.

2. From the resurrection of Christ.

XIII. The second reason is drawn from the resurrection of Christ. The resurrection of Christ being established, ours follows of its own accord because it is inseparable from it: "Knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also by Jesus" (2 Cor. 4:14). "For if we believe that Jesus … rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him" (1 Thess. 4:14). "If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you" (Rom. 8:11). "If Christ be preached that he rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead?" (1 Cor. 15:12). "By man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead" (1 Cor. 15:21). Hence the fathers call the resurrection of Christ "the example of our hope, the key of our sepulchers, and the pledge of our resurrection." If a reason for this connection is asked, a manifold one can be given. (a) By reason of merit, Christ is our Redeemer, not only of the soul but also of the body; therefore he ought to raise our bodies that with our souls they may receive the life purchased by Christ. Hence "the redemption of the body" is waited for by believers (Rom. 8:23). Otherwise he could not be said to have redeemed our bodies, nor to have swallowed up death in victory. (b) By reason of efficacy, from the connection of the head and members. Christ arose as the head of the church: "God raised Christ from the dead … and gave him to be the head over all things to the church" (Eph. 1:20, 22*). If, therefore, the head arose, why should he not draw the members also after him? For what kind of a body would that be whose head would be alive and the members dead?

"Because I live," said Christ, "ye shall live also" (Jn. 14:19). He is "the resurrection, and the life" (Jn. 11:25) (i.e., its foundation and principle). "As in Adam we all die" (i.e., draw the cause of death), so "in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Cor. 15:22) (meritoriously as well as effectively). Here belongs the type of the firstfruits from which the mass was sanctified. Hence Paul says, "Christ by his resurrection is become the firstfruits of them that slept" (1 Cor. 15:20). For he himself first arose by his own power and causes us also to arise. (c) By reason of dominion. On this account Christ rose, that he might be the Lord and King of his church: "For to this end Christ both died, and rose … that he might be the Lord both of the dead and living" (Rom. 14:9). However, what kind of a dominion would this be, if the subjects remained in death? Now this relation (*schesis*) of Lord can be considered in two ways: either with regard to believers, of whom he is so Lord as he is also Father; or with regard to the wicked, of whom he is the Lord and Judge. From this the necessity of the resurrection of both flows: of believers, indeed, from Christ as the Redeemer and head, inasmuch as he should be the Savior of his own body; but of the wicked, from Christ as the Judge, who is to render to each one his due. Hence Paul: "He has appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained … having raised him from the dead" (Acts 17:31). "For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ; that everyone may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad" (2 Cor. 5:10). (d) By reason of the mutual communion which exists between Christ and us, which makes a conformity necessary between both. So that what is done in the head may be done also in the members after his example; and what is denied concerning the members may be denied also concerning the head. Hence it is that the apostle not only deduces from the exposition of Christ's resurrection ours also, but also from a denial of our resurrection he infers a denial of Christ's resurrection: "If there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen" (1 Cor. 15:13), because the head cannot be without its members.

3. From the covenant of God.

XIV. Third, from the covenant of God, which (since it implies necessarily perfect happiness and eternal life) cannot be fulfilled in us, unless with the

immortality of the soul the resurrection of the body is also granted; thus the whole man may partake for ever of the blessings of the covenant. Here pertains that formula of the covenant, "I am thy God," from which Christ argues against the Sadducees as the most effectual in stopping their mouths. "As touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living" (Mt. 22:31*, 32). See what was said on this passage, Volume II, Topic XII, Question 2, Section 23.

4. From the justice of God.

XV. Fourth, from God's justice, which commands rewards to be given to the good and punishments to the wicked, even in the body which sinned. However, since actions belong to the whole entire, incommunicable subsistence and its parts also belong to the organic body in both kinds of actions, it is just that the whole man and not a part of the man should be affected by a reward or by punishment. Since it is not always so in this life, where the conditions of the good and bad are often confounded, it is necessary that this should be so after this life in our raised bodies: "We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in the body … whether good or bad" (2 Cor. 5:10). "Seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven" (2 Thess. 1:6, 7).

5. From the condition of our bodies.

XVI. Fifth, from the condition of our bodies. Since our bodies were made temples of the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. 3:16; 6:19) and have already begun to be glorified by the resurrection and ascension of Christ, it cannot be that they should perish and vanish into thin air, but they must for ever remain the sanctuaries of the Holy Ghost. To this also they are consecrated by the use of the sacraments, when in baptism the symbol of burial and resurrection with Christ is given and in the Supper we are fed with heavenly food, which perishes not, but abides unto everlasting life: "Whoso eateth my flesh, and

drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day" (Jn. 6:54).

6. From examples.

XVII. Sixth, from the examples of those who have already been raised under the Old as well as the New Testament. In the Old Testament, the son of the widow of Zarephath was raised by Elijah (1 K. 17:21), the son of the Shunammite by Elisha (2 K. 4:33–35), a man was raised by touching the bones of Elisha (2 K. 13:21); in the New Testament, the daughter of Jairus lying on a bed (Mt. 9:25), the son of the widow of Nain, on his way to the tomb (Lk. 7:15), Lazarus already stinking in the sepulcher (Jn. 11:43), so that the last miracle was always more illustrious than the preceding. Now all these and other remarkable instances of the same kind were the preludes of the final resurrection.

7. From the absurdities.

XVIII. Seventh, from the absurdities, which press the contrary opinion. These Paul urges: "For if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen: And if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God … your faith is also vain; ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished" (1 Cor. 15:13–15, 17*, 18*). "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable" (v. 19). "If the dead rise not … why stand we in jeopardy every hour" (vv. 29*, 30). "If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? Let us eat and drink; for tomorrow we die" (v. 32). Sinners could thus securely indulge their carnal appetites, since no punishments would have to be feared after this life. And since all these things are most absurd, that from which they are deduced is also absurd. In one word, the denial of the resurrection overthrows the whole of Christianity; all faith, piety and hope.

XIX. Although nature does not teach a resurrection, still she repeatedly exhibits to us various images which favor its possibility and credibility. The plants, which appear dead in the winter, are seen to gain strength and in their own way to grow alive again in the spring. A seed cast into the earth

after rotting springs up and grows, a simile adduced by Paul (1 Cor. 15:36). Hence Minucius Felix says: “See then how all nature meditates upon a future resurrection for our consolation: the sun sets and rises, the stars glide away and return, flowers fall and revive, after decay vineyards put forth their leaves, seeds only when rotted sprout; thus the body in the grave, as trees in the winter hide their greenness by a deceitful dryness, the spring of our bodies must be awaited by us” (*Octavius* 34 [ANF 4:194; PL 3.362–63]). Tertullian: “God wished this body of the world to be a clear example of the resurrection, as a testimony to us; the light everyday interrupted shines again, and darkness returns with similar changes; the stars disappearing grow bright again, and the seasons when they are ended, begin; thou man alone, and not the Lord of the dead and dying and rising again, dost thou die that thou mayest perish?” (*Apology* 48 [FC 10:119–20; PL 1.592]). And: “Day dies into night and is buried in darkness. The glory of the world is wrapped in gloom, every substance becomes black; all things are mean in appearance, are silent, astonished, everywhere mourning is the rest of things. Thus the lost light is bewailed. And yet again with its worship, with its gifts, with the same and entire and whole sun it revivifies the whole world, slaying night its death, breaking through the darkness its sepulcher, until night comes on again with its own suggestion.… Winters and summers revolve, and springs and autumns with their dews, fruits” (*On the Resurrection of the Flesh* 12 [ANF 3:553; PL 2.810]). Various things of like kind are found in the fathers by which they maintain that the image of the resurrection is exhibited to us.

Sources of explanation.

XX. It is one thing not to rise again to life and not to stand in the judgment; another simply not to rise again. Concerning the wicked, it is well said that they will not rise again to life (Is. 26:14) or stand in the judgment (Ps. 1:5). Not that they ought not to rise again for the judgment, but because they will not stand before God, but will fall in their cause. Therefore there will be to them indeed a common resurrection (*anastasis*) with the pious, but not a “standing” (*stasis*) because they will not be able to stand before the Son of man (Lk. 21:36). Nor will they stand in the assembly of the just, but will be

as chaff which the wind hurls from the face of the earth. Therefore they will not stand in the judgment, but like chaff will be driven away (Ps. 1:4).

XXI. There is not granted naturally a return from a total privation to a habit. To this Job refers saying, "But man dieth, and wasteth away: yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he? As the waters fail from the sea, and the flood decayeth and drieth up: So man lieth down, and riseth not: till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake" (to wit, by the strength of nature) "nor be raised out of their sleep" (14:10–12). Still there is granted supernaturally the efficacy of the first cause, which can supply the causality of the others. For if God could form the body of the first Adam from the dust of the earth, why should he not be able by the same supernatural and infinite power to raise the bodies of men out of the dust of the earth?

XXII. When the preacher says that the same thing befalls men and beasts (Ecc. 3:19), he indeed shows what appears to the senses and as to the external appearance of the dead man; not, however, what is to be believed of the resurrection of the body. The necessity of death is pointed out (hanging equally over all), but the truth of the resurrection is not on that account denied.

XXIII. "Flesh and blood" either denote the nature of substance of the body, or the weakness and misery of the present life, or the state of animality which the necessity of meat, drink, sleep, rest, etc., accompanies; or they denote corruption and sin. In the former sense, it is rightly said that flesh and blood can inherit the kingdom of God because this very flesh, which has fallen, must arise and this body be made conformed to Christ's glorious body (Phil. 3:21). But according to the two latter relations (*scheseis*), Paul says truly that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 15:50); and that "God shall destroy both the belly and meats" (1 Cor. 6:13). Not that the body will no more exist with its members, but that they will not remain for that weak use, but for the ornament and integrity of the whole compound. Thus only the mortal and animal condition of the body is here said to be changed and not the very substance of the flesh, which ought to remain the same in both states.

XXIV. To the objections drawn from the scattering of the corporeal dust, the devouring of human flesh by brutes and cannibals, the words of our Savior furnish an abundantly satisfactory reply: "Ye do err not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God." For these human reasonings arise from

an ignorance of the Scriptures and of the absolute and infinite power of God. For whoever is firmly persuaded of both can easily beat back such cavils. Truly if the thing was to be measured by human strength, this would end the matter. But since it is a work of God, whose knowledge nothing can escape, whose power nothing can hinder, who can suppose this to be impossible? It is as easy for God to restore to the dead their own bodies and to separate them from all other bodies (even of cannibals themselves who may have devoured others) as it was easy to form the body of the first Adam out of the dust or to bring all things out of nothing. If a careful and attentive head of a family knows well where each thing is to be found in his house however large, why should God, whose wisdom and power are infinite, not know where the matter of our bodies lies concealed, since the whole world is far smaller to him than the most contracted chest or case to any man? Therefore, he can by his almighty nod alone recall these who at any time may have either been devoured by beasts, or turned into ashes and dissolved into moisture, or sunk in the waters, or exhaled into air; nor is there any hiding place, or cave, or recess, which is either concealed from the knowledge of the Creator, or can escape his power. For as nothing vanishes into nothing and always at least a minute particle containing the seed of a new body remains; and which, wherever scattered and thrown, nature holds at least in her bosom and care—so she restores it to God asking it back. Here belongs the passage of Tertullian: "Not the soul alone is separated; the flesh also has its places of concealment, in the waters, in fires, in birds, in beasts, since it seems to be dissolved into these as if poured into vessels, if also the vessels themselves have ceased, since it has flowed out of them also, it will be absorbed as if in a roundabout way into its mother earth, that it may again be recovered from her" (*On the Resurrection of the Flesh* 63 [ANF 3:594; PL 2.885–86]). Besides, neither is it necessary for the essence of the same body that all its particles of dust be reckoned up and be united together in its new formation. It is sufficient that the principal and more solid parts remain. For every day some particles perish from the body, some are added to it, and still we see that the same man remains.

XXV. As to cannibals, how the flesh of a dead man (which has become the flesh of another living and consuming it) can be restored to him from whom it was taken, is more difficult for us to ask than for God to do. For

besides the fact that all the substance of the body is never devoured, nor passes into the substance of the devourer, why cannot God by his wisdom (whose ways are inscrutable) and by his power (which nothing, not implying a contradiction, transcends) procure again that original flesh of the cannibal that had been exhausted by hunger and exhaled into the air, and demand as a debt from the same one that which was taken as food and consumed to repair and supply the defect of that famished person and restore it to him from whom it had been as it were borrowed, and give back what had been seized by unjust robbers to its first and rightful possessors (as Augustine expresses it, CG 22.20 [FC 24:470–72]). If chemists can raise up flowers and plants from their ashes; or artificers in Corinthian brass, a precious article from a mean, and separate metals from each other; how much more easily can God separate our dust mixed with other creatures and restore it to its own body?

XXVI. Although the wicked as well as the pious will rise again, still the resurrection of each will be diverse as to cause as well as with regard to manner. The latter, indeed, will be made by Christ the Mediator, as head, by the efficacy of his quickening Spirit (Rom. 8:11), to an immortality of glory. But the former by Christ as the Son of God, the Lord and Judge, by virtue of his omnipotence and justice, to eternal punishment, in which the wicked will acquire a physical immortality and incorruptibility, but in order to greater punishment—that they may suffer for ever and thus feel that they die, so as never to die; not only by a punishment of loss, but also by the severest punishment of sense, of which there will be no end.

XXVII. Although the resurrection of the flesh, referred to in the Creed, is the resurrection of the good which conduces to our consolation and is the fruit of the communion of the saints and of remission of sins and the antecedent of eternal life, the resurrection of the bad is not on that account denied, as it depends necessarily upon the first and is included also in the article of the last judgment.

XXVIII. For the rest we so assert the universal resurrection of all men that we think they will be excepted from it who will be living at the time of Christ's advent. On that account, we say from Paul, that they will not be raised from death (which they will not have experienced), but will only be changed: "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed" (1 Cor. 15:51*). This is confirmed more clearly: "The dead in Christ shall rise first:

then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air" (1 Thess. 4:16*, 17*). On this account, those to be judged are distinguished into the dead and living (Acts 10:42). The Holy Spirit frequently exhorts to vigilance, sobriety and prayer, lest the coming of Christ may find us unprepared, as it will find the wicked (Lk. 12, 21; Mt. 24; 1 Thess. 5). This could not be said unless some would still be alive.

XXIX. Paul, saying "It is appointed unto all men once to die" (Heb. 9:27), speaks of the common condition of mortals in this life; not, however, of a particular exemption and privilege of survivors at the end of the world. And as that law of dying always remains (although some few raised by a miracle have died twice), so the change of those then living does not destroy or abolish it, especially since that change will be like death and analogous to it.

XXX. Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven without a change; but this will be made either by the resurrection of the dead or by the transformation of the living. However, that change consists in the laying aside of mortality and the assumption of immortality, with the difference which ought to be observed between the good and the bad, which is usually set forth in the resurrection of each.

Second Question

Are the same bodies numerically which have died to be raised again? We affirm against the Socinians

I. The question is moved by the Socinians, who maintain that the bodies of the raised will be without flesh and blood and that the identical flesh which we now have (with regard to its essence) will not rise again. "This present body must die, that another new one may spring from it," says Socinus ("De statu primi hominis … Responsio ad … Francisci Puccii," *Opera Omnia* [1656], 2:263). Smalcius: "These bodies, which we now bear about with us, we believe will not rise again, but we are taught by the apostle that others will be given to us" (*de Divinit. Chr*. cap. 13+). Hence he wishes the words of the Creed to be thus understood: "I believe that will exist again which was flesh before." And against Frantzius: "This being

established, that our bodies will be glorious, it is impossible that such bodies shall hereafter exist as have flesh and blood; for flesh and blood and spirit differ in their entire kind" (*Refutatio Thesium D. Wolfgangi Frantzii*, "De Extremo Iudicio," Disp. VII [1614], p. 415).

Statement of the question.

II. It is not inquired whether they will be the same bodies as to qualities and conditions. For we confess that they will undergo a great change so as to be no longer animal, corruptible, weak, miserable and mortal, but spiritual, incorruptible, strong, glorious and immortal (as the apostle fully teaches, 1 Cor. 15). Rather it is inquired as to substance—whether they will always remain numerically the same. The Socinians deny; we affirm this.

Proof that they will be the same bodies. (1) From the nature of the resurrection.

III. The reasons are, first, from the nature of the resurrection. The numerical identity of bodies in the resurrection being denied, the resurrection itself is denied. For only that which has fallen, it is said, rises again: "A standing up is a second standing of him who has fallen" (*anastasis esti deutera tou peptōkotos stasis*). "The very word resurrection signifies, that not a different thing is raised from what fell," says Jerome (*To Pammachius Against John of Jerusalem* 33 [NPNF2, 6:441; PL 23.402]). As therefore the body alone falls when death comes (hence *ptōma*, "a corpse," from *piptein*, "to fall"), so it alone ought to rise again. Now if those bodies are given to us (either brought down from heaven or created out of nothing), they cannot be said to rise again, because they had never fallen. Nor can it be said that the same man remains, although it is not the same body. For that cannot be called the same entire, incommunicable subsistence except what is composed of the same essential parts.

2. From the justice of God.

IV. Second, from the justice of God, which demands that not a different thing should be punished from what sins; that one thing should fight and another be crowned; but that the very same body which sinned, be punished; that the very same body, which is here a temple of grace, be a temple of glory in heaven (which however would not be the case, if other bodies should be given to us). For thus they would be gifted with glory, concerning which no promise had been made to them, no hope inspired, no firstfruits granted. And the bodies of the wicked would be devoted to those torments for ever, which they deserved for no sins of theirs; than which nothing can be said more absurdly, nothing more abhorrent to the genius of the divine attributes, as if God either could not restore the same numerical body to each one or could justly reward or punish in a new and foreign body.

3. From the Scriptures.

V. Third, from the Scriptures, which speak in such a way concerning the resurrection as to suppose necessarily the numerical identity of the body. Thus Paul says, "We must all stand before the judgment seat of Christ, to give an account of the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil" (2 Cor. 5:10). Therefore the same body ought to remain in each. Thus in 1 Cor. 15:53 he says, "This corruptible" (*to phtharton*) must put on "incorruption" (*aphtharsian*); he does not say only "this corruption" (*tēn phthoran*) in the abstract, but "this corruptible" (*to phtharton touto*) in the concrete, as if with the finger pointing to his own body. But how could it be said to put on immortality unless that very body remained as to substance which is sown in corruption and weakness and will rise again in incorruption and glory (vv. 43, 44)? Thus Paul says, "Our vile body shall be changed, that it may be fashioned like unto Christ's glorious body" (Phil. 3:21*). But how, if it perishes for ever? Ought not a change to suppose the same subject, which passes from a weak and vile state to a glorious and sublime one that glory (*doxa*) may succeed to humiliation (*tapeinōsei*)?

4. From the resurrection of Christ.

VI. Fourth, from the resurrection of Christ. When he rose, Christ received the same body he had before and the same flesh which he had assumed and in which he died, for what he once took he never laid aside (Ps. 16:10; Jn. 2:19; Acts 2:31). Hence he significantly says, "It is I myself" (Lk. 24:39). Such ought to be our resurrection. Our bodies ought to be no other than those which were deposited in the earth, as no other body was given to Christ than that which he had before.

5. From the condition of the pious.

VII. Fifth, from the condition of the pious. The bodies of believers are by faith made members of Christ's mystical body. They are fed with his body and blood unto eternal life. They are sanctified and made temples of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 3:16; 6:15). Therefore, the same bodies ought to be recalled to life. Otherwise it would follow that the members of Christ's body partly perish and temples of the Holy Spirit are destroyed and never restored. Now is it consistent with reason that a building sacred to God, in which he condescended to dwell and which he made a partaker of his own holiness, should be entirely demolished so as never to rise from its ruins? Again, the condition of believers in particular ought to be the same as that of the whole church universally. And yet the church cannot perish, nor can the gates of hell prevail against it; therefore neither against believers (which nevertheless would be the case if their bodies wholly perished and would never rise again).

Sources of explanation.

VIII. When the blessed are said to be equal unto the angels (*isangeloi*, Lk. 20:36), a certain similitude is meant and not an equality in all things; not by identity of nature, but by agreement in qualities and glory and especially as to immunity from marriage (which was the object of Christ).

IX. It is said that our bodies will be heavenly (1 Cor. 15:48), not in origin and essence, but in abode and seat; spiritual, not in substance and nature (because it implies a contradiction for a body to be made a spirit, and for a body to be granted which is not material), but in qualities and gifts. The flesh will perish as to its moral and qualitative being, but will remain as to

its physical being essentially. All defects will be removed from the bodies to which they had been exposed in this mortality, but their essence will not be destroyed; while they will be blessed with immortality, glory, splendor, activity and similar gifts, which will be to them for an ornament and garments, they will always remain as to substance, material, quantity, visible, extended, standing together with its own dimensions, commensurate with place, as he who will give it glory will not take away its nature. Augustine says, "The bodies of the just will be spiritual after the resurrection, not because they will cease to be bodies but because they will subsist by the vivifying Spirit" (CG 13.22 [FC 14:333; PL 41.395]).

X. When the apostle says, "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die: And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain" (1 Cor. 15:36*, 37), he does not mean to intimate that the bodies will be numerically diverse, as the spike of grain which springs up differs numerically from the bare grain which is sown. Otherwise it would thence follow that the body which Christ received after his resurrection differed numerically from that which he had before. For the same similitude of grain is used by Christ in a similar case: "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit" (Jn. 12:24). From the similitude of the seed, therefore, not a diversity of substance, but only a diverse quality of the bodies can be inferred. And thus what is said, "Thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain," is not to be understood in this sense—that no such body will rise as is sown. For *touto* ("that") can be taken in two ways: either with regard to essence or with regard to qualities. Thus the object of the apostle is to show the necessity of death and of putrefaction before vivification and a change of bodies from mortality and corruption into immortality and incorruption; as a grain cast into the earth from dry and dead becomes green and alive. Therefore, the simile of the apostle ought not to be extended beyond his scope. He wishes only to prove that the body committed to the earth does not so putrefy and become corrupted as to prevent its rising thence furnished with new conditions. Otherwise, if it were too closely pressed, more would also have to rise again from one body (as from one grain many grains spring).

XI. The operation of an infinite and omnipotent agent is falsely measured by the rule of natural operations and of finite agents. Therefore,

although of diverse operations (such as generation and reparation) there are different terms according to the substance in finite agents; there are not at the same time with respect to God. Again, although the being (*to einai*) of a compound may be interrupted with respect to a change, yet it is not interrupted as to itself or with respect to the essential principles (which remain all the while the same).

XII. Although the organic parts ought not any longer to survive for use and operation (in which sense God, it is said, will abolish meats and the belly, 1 Cor. 6:13), still they will survive for integrity and ornament.

Third Question

Besides the universal resurrection, is there a particular resurrection of the saints or of the martyrs which will precede the last by a thousand years? We deny

I. This controversy is urged by the Chiliasts, who as they hold to a millenarian reign of Christ with the saints before the end of the world, so they maintain that the saints and especially the martyrs will be raised up that they may possess that kingdom with Christ.

Chiliasts of two classes. Some more gross.

II. Here however above all things Chiliasts (who are of different classes) must be distinguished. Some more gross, who hold deadly error on the subject of the kingdom of Christ and the resurrection unto it, maintaining that the saints before the last day will be raised up by Christ to an earthly and voluptuous kingdom in which, the Jews having been again introduced into their own land and the Levitical worship restored, all believers throughout the whole world will enjoy for a thousand years all kinds of corporeal pleasures, a multitude of wives, will be blessed and exhilarated with perpetual feasts and entertainments even unto the general resurrection. The first author of this opinion we find to have been Cerinthus, according to Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* 3.28* [FC 19:184–86]) and Augustine (*The De Haerisibus of Saint Augustine* 8 [trans. L. G. Muller, 1956], p. 69), who, being still imbued with Jewish errors, adopted their opinion concerning the

earthly kingdom of Christ, endeavored to propagate it and had many followers.

Others more moderate.

III. But besides those more gross Chiliasts (who are condemned by almost all in our day), there are others more subtle and moderate, who urge indeed a millenarian kingdom of Christ at the end of the world, but without earthly pleasures and the restoration of the Jewish polity. In it there will be a particular resurrection of the saints and especially of the martyrs before the universal resurrection that they may reign with Christ a thousand years. There, after conflicts are ended, the church will enjoy great peace and happiness. There will be a great abundance of divine and human wisdom on the earth, a public victory and triumph over the world, the conversion of the Jews, the gathering together of even the most remote nations, the abolition of heresies and sects, the destruction of Antichrist and the profound and secure rest of the whole church. Among them Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, seems to take the lead; a hearer of John, not the apostle, as is falsely believed, but a certain presbyter who lived near the close of Trajan's reign (as Baronius well remarks). He was of small judgment (according to Eusebius), who taught this doctrine as if he had received it by tradition from John, the apostolic writings being neglected, as the same Eusebius complains that "there would be a thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, in which the kingdom of Christ would be set up corporeally on this earth" (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 3.39 [FC 19:205; PG 20.299]). Many of the fathers—Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Apollinarius, Lactantius and others—adopted this opinion. And although some of them seem to have retained something of the leaven of the Cerinthians as to earthly and corporeal felicity (and Lactantius in particular); yet it is certain that most of them imagined nothing terrene and carnal here, but all spiritual things. Hence Augustine separates "the opinion of the fathers" from the Cerinthian heresy by the mention of "spiritual delights" (CG 20.7 [FC 24:265; PL 41.667]). And Tertullian: "It signifies that the saints in Jerusalem will be favored with an abundance of spiritual goods" (*Against Marcion* 3.24* [ANF 3:343; PL 2.356]). Irenaeus also accuses Cerinthus of heresy (*Against Heresies* 3.3 [ANF 1:416]). There were not wanting also

those who in this our age wished to bring back Chiliasm; such as Piscator among the evangelicals, who asserts that "the martyrs alone will rise before the universal resurrection, and will reign a thousand years with Christ in heaven, and then the rest of men will be recalled from death to life" (*Commentarii in Omnes Libros Novi Testamenti* [1638], p. 821 on Rev. 20). Alsted, Joseph Mede, Peter Launaeus and others follow him.

IV. Now although there is a great difference in this twofold opinion, and the former is far more dangerous than the latter and deserves to be called heretical; still the latter, which was the dominant opinion (*kyria doxa*) of certain divines, has been rejected thus far by the church as an error and blemish, not without weighty reasons.

Proof that Christ will not reign on the earth.

V. There are two principal foundations of this opinion: the first, that Christ will erect on the earth a glorious and tranquil kingdom a thousand years before the judgment; the other, that before the kingdom there will be a resurrection of the saints or at least of the martyrs that they may reign with Christ. The falsity of both must be exposed briefly.

1. Because the advent of Christ is joined with the judgment.

First, as to the kingdom, it is evident that no such thing is to be expected. (1) The Scriptures mention only two advents of Christ: in the flesh and in glory; to suffer and to reign. The last it always joins with the final judgment and recognizes no other advent than that illustrious one in which the Lord shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; the dead rising first, then they which are alive being changed and caught up together with the dead to meet the Lord in the air; a millenarian, terrestrial kingdom not about to follow, but eternal life to be given to the saints; and eternal punishment to be inflicted on the wicked. The passages are many (Acts 1:11; 3:21; 1 Cor. 15:25, 26, 52; 1 Thess. 4:16, 17; Heb. 9:28). But how could these be spoken of so frequently and so precisely, if besides these two advents there is to be an illustrious third? Nor

should it be replied that the visible advent of Christ on the last day ought not to stand in the way of another special and invisible advent also in grace and power, as God is often in the Scriptures said to come. For although a spiritual and invisible advent can have place (nor do we deny that Christ often comes thus to his people), the same cannot be said of that glorious and illustrious advent which is with observation (*paratērēsei*) to establish a temporal and visible kingdom, such as is here imagined.

2. Because Christ is to remain in heaven until the restitution of all things.

VI. (2) Christ ought to remain in heaven until the last day. "Whom the heaven must receive," says Peter, "until the times of restitution of all things" (Acts 3:21). If he must remain in heaven until the times of restitution of all things, how can it be said that before that restitution he will descend to earth to establish such a kingdom? This is confirmed by the oracle, "Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool" (Ps. 110:1). The apostle explains this: "For he must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death" (1 Cor. 15:25, 26). Hence it is necessarily gathered that his sitting at the right hand of the Father and his kingdom in heaven will last equally long; for the Scriptures know of no sitting of Christ at the right hand of God, except in heaven.

3. Because the end of the world would be known.

VII. (3) If Christ were to come a thousand years before the end of the world, the end of the world would be known and the time of the final advent of Christ. However, Christ expressly testifies that this was unknown to all creatures and even to the Son of man: "But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father" (Mk. 13:32). It is confirmed by this—that it is said that Christ will come like a thief in the night, when he is not expected (Rev. 3:3). Hence Christ and his apostles so often exhort believers to vigilance and sobriety, lest they be taken unaware (Mt. 24, 25; 1 Thess. 4, 5). But

why should we watch so anxiously for a thing to be expected which we certainly know will not happen yet because this kingdom has not yet passed away? Again, how could Paul say that sinners, sleeping securely in their sins, would be taken unawares ("When they shall say, Peace and safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them … and they shall not escape," 1 Thess. 5:3), if the time of that advent should be known?

4. Because the condition of the pious is inconsistent with it.

VIII. (4) The condition of the pious in this life (most afflicted, exposed to persecutions and calamities) cannot agree with a most peaceful and happy kingdom. God calls them to the cross as the standard of Christ (under which the church militant ought to be on earth) and believers can promise themselves no constant rest. Passages are to be found everywhere. "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me" (Mt. 16:24). "In the world ye shall have tribulation" (Jn. 16:33). "We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God" (Acts 14:22). "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution" (2 Tim. 3:12). "If we suffer with Christ, we shall be also glorified with him" (Rom. 8:17). It is true that the times of the church are not always disturbed and evil, sometimes they are more peaceful and tranquil. Sometimes God gives her halcyon days and grants some rest to believers from the more severe persecutions. Nor are those peaceful and more happy times absolutely free from all trials and calamities; nor is there any time so joyful and golden that the cross and persecution are not now and then to be expected. But if such is the condition of the church militant, how can it be said that a peaceful and glorious kingdom is to be expected in which believers will enjoy a profound peace and joy? Nor can it be replied: (a) that these things are to be understood of the time preceding that settled state of the church. Where the Scriptures do not limit, we must not limit. Now it is certain that the Holy Spirit, as often as he speaks thus, has reference not only to certain times, but embraces the state of all ages and proposes the cross as the inseparable condition of Christianity (as long as we are on earth) and the property of the gospel, which on this account is called "the

word of the cross." (b) That the cross does not prevent the church from enjoying some peace, as was seen in the time of Constantine and Theodosius. Although the church may enjoy some peace, it is short and momentary in comparison with the continual and severe persecutions with which she is vexed. Besides, if in some of her members in any place she flourishes and rejoices in tranquility, in others elsewhere she is afflicted and mourns. But if there should be a time of a thousand years in which the whole church and not merely a certain part of it would enjoy peace and felicity, how could the cross be called her characteristic or how could she be a church conformed to Christ, her head, who was sanctified by afflictions? Again, how do Christ and his apostles in consoling believers against such trials always use the hope of eternal glory and happiness in heaven and never the consideration of the peace and felicity to exist on earth, which would have contributed greatly to relieve their minds? Why do they say nothing concerning that long interval in which the church of Christ is to be free from such calamity? And when Paul says, "It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels" (2 Thess. 1:6, 7*), why does he not say that that rest would begin and continue through a memorable interval even from this life, if he believed there would be any such interval?

5. The last times exclude such a kingdom.

IX. (5) The last times, which ought to precede immediately the final advent of Christ, are described in such a way as to be far opposed to the golden age of a millenarian kingdom. They are such times as Christ will hardly find faith on earth in them (Lk. 18:8); which will be like the days of Noah, in which carnal security will reign (Mt. 24:37); in which men will be ambitious, avaricious, proud, etc., having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof (2 Tim. 3:1, 2, 5*); in which the good will remain mixed up with the bad and hypocrites even unto the end, as it is said in the parable of the tares (Mt. 13:29, 30). Now all these descriptions cannot agree with a pure and peaceful state of the church under the personal reign of Christ.

6. Because neither Christ nor the apostles mention this kingdom.

X. (6) If Christ intended to establish any such kingdom before the final judgment, he would undoubtedly have informed his apostles of it and the apostles would not have omitted a thing of so great importance to the consolation of the church. But we nowhere find that either Christ or the apostles make any mention of it. For it will be proved hereafter that the passages usually adduced have no pertinence to the subject. But what can be the reason for this silence? Were they ignorant of it? But how could they be ignorant of what is supposed to have been already predicted by the prophets and revealed by Christ himself? Did they not think it best to disclose it to believers? But if they revealed so many other mysteries, why did they conceal this, which was no less necessary to be known; yea, which was more conducive to the glory of Christ and the consolation of the church?

7. Because it recalls us from the desire for heaven, and draws us back to the earth.

XI. (7) The contemplation of an earthly kingdom of Christ fixes the heart to the earth (to which we are too prone) and recalls us from the desire for heaven and heavenly things (to which we rise with difficulty and to which on that account the Scriptures perpetually call us away). Thus Christ sets before those suffering persecution a reward laid up in heaven (Mt. 5:12). And Paul wishes us to seek the things which are above (Col. 3:1), where Christ sits at the right hand of God, that we may not think of things on the earth, because we are dead and our life is hid with Christ in God; and when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall we also appear with him in glory. But why should the life of believers be said to be hidden with Christ in God and that it will appear only then at the appearance of Christ on the last day, if that life is to be revealed long before the end of the world in the kingdom of the saints?

8. Because the kingdom of Christ is not of this world.

XII. (8) The kingdom of Christ is spiritual and internal, not visible and mundane (Jn. 18:36; Lk. 17:20). Nor is earthly happiness anywhere promised to believers; nay, the cross and trials are everywhere announced (2 Tim. 3:12), so that in enduring them there is need of perseverance unto the end. As long as this world lasts, so long will the violence of persecutors and the patience of the pious continue. Hence the hope of salvation only is promised to believers in this life, while the thing itself is reserved for the life to come (Rom. 8:24; 2 Cor. 5:7). At last only will sin, and all the punishments of sin, be entirely abolished with death (Rev. 21:4).

Against the resurrection of the martyrs.

XIII. The other hypothesis of the Chiliasts, concerning the particular resurrection of the martyrs, is no less false. (1) The Scriptures mention only one bodily resurrection and nowhere a double: the one particular, of certain persons; the other universal, of all. Nay, they more than once assert that all the dead will be raised in one resurrection with the trumpet and the voice of the archangel: some, indeed, to eternal life, others to everlasting contempt. "The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation" (Jn. 5:28, 29*). "This is the will of him that sent me, that everyone which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life: and I will raise him up at the last day" (Jn. 6:40). From this the martyrs cannot be excepted, because they believed on the Son of God. But how could the Scriptures have spoken so universally, if the better part of believers were to be raised long before? It is confirmed by those passages in which the resurrection of the good and bad on the last day is joined together (Dan. 12:1, 2; Mt. 25:31–33*; Jn. 5:28, 29*; Acts 24:15; 1 Thess. 4:15).

XIV. (2) The same thing is proved from 1 Cor. 15, where the apostle speaks of the resurrection which must take place "at the end of the world." For he speaks of that which ought to follow the destruction of the last

enemy (to wit, death) and after which the end is to be (v. 24). “As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But every man in his own order: Christ the firstfruits; afterward they that are Christ’s at his coming. Then cometh the end” (1 Cor. 15:22–24*). Here the martyrs are evidently comprehended. (a) Because it is said that all shall be made alive at his coming. (b) From vv. 30–32*, where he deduces an argument for that common resurrection from the martyrs: “If there be no resurrection, why stand we in jeopardy every hour? I protest by your rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily. If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not?” From v. 51: “Behold, I show you a mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed.” By those who “do not sleep” the martyrs cannot be meant, because it is evident that they sleep in the Lord. Rather they are meant whom the day of the Lord shall find alive, “who are to be changed at the sound of the trumpet,” with whom those sleeping must be aroused at the same trumpet: “For with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: they shall rise first, then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them, to meet the Lord” (1 Thess. 4:16*, 17*). Here Paul asserts that all (the dead as well as the living, among whom he reckons himself also) together will be either raised or changed at the last coming of Christ. But how could he have said this if he had been persuaded that there was to be another resurrection before that last day?

XV. (3) From the absurdities which flow from that opinion. (a) It is supposed that there will be a certain resurrection before the final advent of Christ, contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures, which mention none about to take place except on the last day. (b) A tranquil and triumphant state of the church at the coming of the Lord is imagined, contrary to the oracles which proclaim that he will hardly find faith on the earth. Thus the state of pilgrimage and of our native country is confounded and the seat of perpetual warfare (such as the earth is to the good) is falsely changed into a place of triumph. (c) An interval of a thousand years is interposed between the destruction of Antichrist and the dissolution of the world. However, Paul predicts that this will be accomplished together at the illustrious advent of the Savior. (d) A state of the martyrs is proposed which contributes rather to lessen than to augment their glory and felicity. For they who will be raised will either be about to die again (and thus are drawn from a heavenly

and glorious life to the state of mortality) or they will not have to die (and thus their condition will be far less happy than the preceding because heaven will be exchanged with earth). Again, who will say whether they are to take wives and beget children? Or will they remain single, possess earthly things and be subject to other conditions of mortals? Or will they be equal unto the angels (*isangeloi*)? Since there is a profound silence in the Scriptures concerning all these matters, from that very circumstance we gather that it is a sheer figment. Besides, since the church (as long as it is in the world) always needs the preaching of the word, the administration of the sacraments and prayers in order to obtain remission of sins, we would be compelled to say that the martyrs would still be subject to this necessity. But how can this be maintained, since they are judged to have already been admitted into heaven?

Sources of explanation.

XVI. The crowning passage usually adduced to prove a particular resurrection of the saints and martyrs (Rev. 20:4–6) cannot establish this opinion. (1) The passage is prophetic, symbolic, obscure, controverted, liable to various interpretations. It cannot alone form the basis for an opinion which is at variance with many other plain passages of Scripture. (2) It does not treat of the bodies, but of "the souls" of those slain. John, it is said, saw "the souls" of the slain. He does not say, "I saw them that were beheaded raised up in their bodies" (*eidon tous pepelekismenous anastantas*); but "I saw the souls" (*eidon psychas*). Therefore, it is not right to extend these words to the persons and the resurrection of their bodies. For although the soul often by synecdoche signifies the whole man, yet in this place the tropical locution must not be received rashly to establish an uncertain dogma. (3) The martyrs are not said properly to have lived again, but only to "have lived." John does not say *anezēsan*, but simply *ezēsan*, "they lived" (to wit, a happy and glorious life in heaven, contrary to what the enemies of the church by a foolish judgment supposed, for they thought that those whom they had beheaded, perished miserably; but the beheading was life to them and their extermination was their reign with Christ). And if it is said, they will reign with Christ, it must not at once be understood that

they will reign on the earth, since it can best be said that they will reign with Christ in heaven.

XVII. The first resurrection of which John speaks cannot be a corporeal resurrection. (1) It could not be called the first, since so many others have preceded it under both the Old and New Testaments. Nor does it avail them that these were of few persons, while that will be of many more. For it does not treat of the number of those rising, but of the quality and order of the resurrection. (2) The first resurrection ought to correspond with the first death. And yet the first death (as is well known) is not the death of the body, but of the soul through sin. Therefore the first resurrection is not corporeal, but spiritual and mystical of the soul converted from the death of sin unto God. John evidently wishes to intimate this when he says not simply "Blessed is he that hath part in the first resurrection," but "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection," to indicate that this first resurrection consists in holiness (as resurrection is often called in the Scriptures, Eph. 2:5; 5:14). (3) That resurrection only is meant which unless a man has it, the second death has power over him. For while he is called blessed who has part in the first resurrection because the second death has no power over him, by that very thing it is implied that all and only they who have part in the first resurrection will be blessed. This however cannot be said of the bodily resurrection of the martyrs; otherwise it would follow that the pious, who are to be raised at the last day, will not be blessed; rather it holds good only of the spiritual resurrection.

XVIII. As the binding of Satan for a thousand years coincides with the thousand years during which the martyrs will reign with Christ, if it is made clear that the thousand years of the binding of Satan have already passed, that of itself will prove that the reign of a thousand years has already elapsed and is no longer to be expected. For from whatever point this binding of Satan is begun, either from the incarnation of the Savior (as some think), at which time the strong was bound by the stronger, and his goods spoiled, and translated from darkness into the kingdom of light (Mt. 12:29); or, from his passion and death (as pleases others), in which Satan was bound by Christ, the handwriting that was contrary to us being taken out of the way, his head bruised and a triumph gained over him (Col. 2:14, 15; Heb. 2:14); or at the destruction of Jerusalem (according to others), that the obsolete reverence of legal things might not in any way hinder the

course of the gospel; or, finally, in the reign of Constantine the Great (the opinion of more), at which time was granted to Christians the free exercise of religion, with the result that Satan was no longer allowed to seduce the nations openly and with impurity and persecute by the violent cruelty of Gentile emperors: from whatever point, I say, that binding is begun, it is clear that that time has long ago passed by and is no more to be expected hereafter. Now although in these intervals, Satan was not so bound but that he still did great injury to the church, yet the prophecy did not fail to obtain its fulfillment. For that binding was not to be absolute, but limited; not that he should do nothing at all, or act in secret hiding places, or run back to his depths (*bathē*), or by a vicarious beast under the mask of devotion and of the church intoxicate the inhabitants of the earth. But he should deceive the nations no more (i.e., with such unrestrained violence) as he had done before, making pagans and enemies of the church mad, and desolating believers by idolatrous potions and violent persecutions.

XIX. Now although this vision is related by John after the casting of the beast and the false prophet into the lake of fire (i.e., after the destruction of the Antichrist, recorded in chapter 19), it does not follow that the thing ought to happen in that order of time. A history which exhibits a continuous series of events differs from a prophecy, where the order of time is not always observed; nor is that always later which is narrated after another event. Hence, however in the order of the vision the casting down of the beast may have preceded, we are not thence to infer that it preceded in the order of time. And what John says, "And I saw" (*kai eidon*); not "After this I saw" (*meta tauta*) (as in other places), sufficiently argues that he is narrating only an uninterrupted vision, not a continuous history. Thus the Holy Spirit, after he had narrated the judgment of God against the whore and the beast (Rev. 18, 19), now for the demonstration of a perfect victory, wished to describe the judgment against the primary enemy of the church (viz., Satan and the dragon, of whose kingdom Antichrist is the suffragan). However, he comprehends this judgment under a double captivity: the one temporary, to last a thousand years; the other eternal and perpetual (Rev. 20:9, 10).

XX. As to the rest, it is safer to be ignorant of the nature and qualities of this reign of Christ with the saints, than curiously to pry into and rashly presume to define it. For it is easier to show what it is not than to explain

what it is. And since that reign can with propriety be referred either to the reign of the saints and martyrs in heaven or to the spiritual reign of believers on the earth or to both together, there was no necessity (in order to explain this oracle) to devise a temporal millenarian reign before the end of the world in the face of so many passages of Scripture.

XXI. The prophetic oracles are falsely drawn to any visible and external kingdom. These are to be understood mystically and allegorically of the spiritual kingdom of Christ, begun here in grace and to be consummated in glory, according to the prophetic style in which things spiritual are wont to be described under the type and shell of corporeal things. The various circumstances in the particular passages evince this. Otherwise (if anyone shall wish to press the word [*to rhēton*] here), it will follow that the earthly Jerusalem is to be rebuilt, legal sacrifices are again to be offered, and the whole Levitical worship already abrogated is to be restored. Therefore the rule is to be adhered to here that just as the prophets describe the worship of the New Testament in words properly pertaining to the legal worship of the Old Testament and taken from it, so also they depict the spiritual kingdom of Christ in terms of earthly things drawn from the state of the church under the Old Testament, which are accordingly to be understood typically and metaphorically. And as the apostles often describe the things of the future by words of this world, so the prophets in the words of the Old Testament describe the things of the New. And since the kingdom of Christ which he administers over the church is twofold (to wit, of grace and glory), the prophets often join together the description of both. Thus their words can be rightly understood of the kingdom of grace and of the blessings which are given inchoatively to believers here; and of the kingdom of glory and the goods which will be given consummatively to the church in the future life.

XXII. In Dan. 2:44, reference is not made to a temporal and millenarian kingdom, but to a spiritual and celestial kingdom. (1) It speaks of an eternal kingdom which shall stand for ever and never be destroyed. (2) Of a kingdom which would commence when Christ should stand before the Ancient of Days (7:13), i.e., after Christ had ascended to the right hand of the Father, who gave him an empire and dominion over all people, and all power in heaven and earth (Mt. 28:19; Eph. 1:21). (3) The saints (it is said) shall take the kingdom (Dan. 7:18) in Christ, their head, in whom they sit in heavenly places (Eph. 2:6) and by whom they are made kings and priests,

who must sit upon his throne and have power over the nations (Rev. 2:26; 3:21).

Fourth Question: The End of the World

Can anything certain and determinate be held concerning the time of the end of the world? And are certain signs to precede it? The former we deny; the latter we affirm

I. The second "last thing," which follows the resurrection of the dead, is the end of the world and the consummation of ages. It is called "the end of the world" because it will close and put an end to the world and worldly things. And it is called the "consummation of ages" (Mt. 13:40) because it will consummate all things belonging to this state of life and close the duration of the present time, that room may be given for eternity. It is distinguished from the "fulness of times" in which Christ is said to have come (Gal. 4:4), to wit, in fulfillment of the times and days marked out by the prophets concerning the advent of Messiah into the world.

Statement of the question.

II. It is not inquired concerning the truth and certainty of this consummation. Both formerly there were found and now also are found (in and out of the church) scoffers (*empaiktai*) and Epicureans who will acknowledge neither a beginning nor an end of the world, but assert its eternity. This was the belief of Pliny, Porphyry, Aristotle, Proclus and other philosophers. In 2 Pet. 3:3, the same is predicated of the Libertines and Epicureans of the last days. Still so great is the evidence and certainty of the sacred oracles on this subject, which mention the destruction of the world no less than its creation (and the Gentiles themselves have so clearly acknowledged it), that there is no need to delay in proving it. Ovid testifies: "He remembers too, that it was in the decrees of the fates, that a time should come, when the sea, the land, and the palace of heaven, seized by the flames, should be on fire, and the unwieldy mass of the world should be in danger of perishing" (*Metamorphoses* 1.256–58 [Loeb, 3:20–21]). And Lucretius: "That earth, air, ocean, these stupendous scenes, these,

Memmius! these one common day shall doom to utter ruin; when, for ages propped, the world's vast system shall itself dissolve" (*De Rerum Natura* 5.95–98 [Loeb, 346–47]). But it is inquired concerning the time of it—whether anything certain and determinate is said of it, so that it may be told in what year the end of the world will happen.

III. I know there are many persons who, rashly attempting to rush into the hidden things of God, either from the disposition of the stars, or from a perversion of prophecy, or for other reasons, dare to settle both the day and the year. And in the time of the apostles, there were already those who dared to determine it, who are on that account rebuked by Paul (2 Thess. 2:2). Also it is well known that many have tried this in these latter times, some placing this day nearer, others later, whom it would be useless to refer to more particularly.

Proof that the year and day of the end of the world is unknown.

IV. But as experience has shown that all who have assigned the end of the world before our times were mistaken, so nothing can be more certainly determined concerning those who dare to define precisely a certain year either in this or in following centuries. For as it is certain that the end of the world and the consummation of ages are indubitable from the decree of God, so it is true that the time of it is unknown to all, as is evident from Scripture itself. Thus it is the part of a rash curiosity to wish either to investigate or to fix that which it professes is concealed from both the angels in glory and from the Son of man himself while on earth. "Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father" (Mk. 13:32). "Watch, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh" (Mt. 25:13; Lk. 21:34, 35; 1 Thess. 5:3). Elsewhere Christ himself expressly prohibits our inquiring into this, when, to the apostles asking at what time he would restore the kingdom again to Israel, he said, "It is not for you to know the times … which the Father hath put in his own power" (Acts 1:7).

V. Not without the weightiest reason did Christ wish to conceal this from us to bridle our curiosity and excite our watchfulness, that we might live

perpetually in the fear of God and not indulge in a carnal security. “One day is hidden, that all days may be observed,” says Hilary. “Ignorance of a thing does not necessarily lead into error, but to perseverance; nor is that hurtfully denied which being unknown affords an increase, so that the security of knowledge would not induce the negligence of hidden faith, but an indefinite expectation would retain an unintermitted preparation” (*The Trinity* 9.67 [FC 25:389–90; PL 10.335]). Ambrose: “It would not profit us to know, and while we are ignorant of the certain moment of the future judgment, being always as it were on guard, and standing on the watchtower of virtue, we shun the habit of sinning that the day of the Lord may not come upon us in the midst of indulgence; for it is not profitable to know, but to fear what is future” (*Of the Christian Faith* 5.17.208 [209] [NPNF2, 10:310; PL 16.720]). Augustine: “God did not wish to foretell what seemed to him useless to be known. Therefore, what the Lord was unwilling for us to know, we should willingly be ignorant of. Let us not seek to gain the knowledge which God wished to be hidden” (Letter 199 [80], “To Hesychius” 5 [FC 30:361; PL 33.907]); as Prosper speaks, “Not to know what the supreme Master of science has wished us not to know is erudite ignorance” (*lib. 1, de Voca. Gent*., cap. 8+). “The last hour,” says Gregory, “our Lord on this account did not wish us to know that it always be suspected, so that while we cannot foresee it, we may be uremitting in our preparation for it” (*Homiliarum in Evangelia* 1.13.6 [PL 76.1126]). Therefore, what others devote to a curious investigation of the time is more rightly spent by us in pious preparation for that day. Hence believers are exhorted to be ready and to watch because they know not in what hour their Lord will come (Mt. 24:42, 44); to have their loins girded and their lamps burning (Lk. 12:35); to watch always that they may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass and to stand before the Son of man (Lk. 21:36) and other things of like kind (1 Thess. 5:6; Rev. 16:15).

VI. And hence it appears what judgment we are to form of the common tradition called “The House of Elijah,” which we find in “Sanhedrin,” 97a (BT, p. 657) and in Galatin, which maintains that “there will be twice a thousand years of emptiness, twice a thousand of the law and twice a thousand of the Messiah,” after which will come the end and a great Sabbath (*De Arcanis Catholicae* 4.20 [1612], p. 254). Manasseh ben Israel contends for this (*De Creatione Problemata* 30 [sic! 25] [1635], pp. 127,

135), with whom many of the fathers seem to agree: Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 5.23 [ANF 1:551]); Lactantius (*Institutes* 7.26 [FC 49:535–37]); Justin Martyr (cf. *Dialogue with Trypho* 80–81 [FC 6:275–78]); Hilary (*Commentarius in Matthaeum* [PL 9.993–96] on Mt. 13) and others. These rest upon this conjecture—that so many thousands are assigned to the duration of the world up to its consummation as there were days given to its creation until the day of rest. But a thousand years are with the Lord as one day and vice versa (Ps. 90:4; 2 Pet. 3:8). Thus this conjecture is merely Talmudic, having no foundation in the Scriptures. Nor was it the object of Moses or of Peter in the adduced passages to compare the six days of creation with the duration of the world, but to teach that with God spaces of time are not to be measured by the same moments as with men. For to him (placed beyond all succession of time) all things are absolutely present in the most simple "now" (*tō nyn*).

VII. But more serious is the error of the Romanists here, who to escape acknowledging Antichrist at home, dream that he will reign immediately before the advent of Christ for three years and a half and from his overthrow to the advent of Christ there will remain only forty-five days, as Bellarmine boldly determines ("De Romano Pontifice," 3.8, 9, 17 *Opera* 1:436–39). Gregory de Valentia says, "It must be said that between the death of Antichrist and the coming of Christ to judgment and consequently the consummation of the world, there will be the shortest interval of time, viz., forty-five days" (*Commentariorum theologicorum*, Disp. XI, Q. 2 [1603–9], 4:1923). For besides the fact that more things are said in the Scriptures concerning Antichrist (Romanists also seem to wait for him) than could be done in so short a space of time, and even in the time of Paul the mystery of iniquity was already working (2 Thess. 2:7), if this figment was granted, it would follow that for three whole years the time of the judgment could be foreknown and defined contrary to the express declaration of Christ.

VIII. Now although the time of that consummation is not known to any mortal, it does not cease to have its diagnostic signs from which it is lawful at least to conjecture that it is not far off. Here belong the various passages of Scripture which assert the nearness of that time: "The end of all things is at hand," says Peter, "be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer" (1 Pet. 4:7); "Be ye also patient; establish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord

draweth nigh" (Jam. 5:8). Not that in fact in the time of the apostles he was to come, for many things were to happen beforehand and especially the apostasy (*apostasia*) and the revelation of the mystery of iniquity, of which the apostle speaks (2 Thess. 2:7). But because we ought both to be ready at all times to receive Christ and so to live as if every day he was to come, lest we be found asleep. "In what condition his own last day shall find anyone, in that the last day will meet him because such as each one dies in the former day, such in the latter day he will be judged," as Augustine expresses it (Letter 199 [80*], "To Hesychius" [FC 30:358–59; PL 33.905]). Also because it was much nearer than before, since the time of the New Testament is the last, after which no other dispensation is to be expected; and on account of the shortness of time, which has the relation of a moment when compared with eternity. And if even in the time of the apostles the end of all things drew on, how much more now when we see every day the signs of that advent being fulfilled?

The signs of Christ's advent; some are common.

IX. However, these signs are either common or they are proper and special. Those are called common which are emumerated by Christ (Mt. 24; Lk. 21). These are so referred to the destruction of Jerusalem, as to pertain also to the end of the world. For as the apostles interrogated Christ concerning both conjointly, "When shall these things be" (to wit, what he had predicted concerning the overthrow of the temple) "and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world" (thinking, namely, that in the second advent at length Jerusalem and the temple would be destroyed), so Christ answers to both and joins together various things which pertain as much to the destruction of the temple as to the end of the world. These so refer primarily to the destruction of Jerusalem that they may also secondarily be extended to the state of the times which should precede the consummation of ages, in which events not at all dissimilar should occur. Such are: (1) a multitude of false prophets and seducers (Mt. 24:5, 24; 1 Tim. 4:1; 2 Tim. 4:3; 2 Pet. 2:2; Rev. 13:8, 14; 14:8; 16:13); (2) a disturbance through the whole world by wars, seditions, pestilences and earthquakes (Mt. 24:6–8; Mk. 13:7, 8; Lk. 21:9–11); (3) a horrible persecution of the pious (Mt. 24:9, 16; Mk. 13:9, 12; Lk. 21:12, 13, 16; Rev. 11:7; 13:7; 17:6); (4) an extreme

corruption of morals and an inundation of supine security and unblushing wickedness—"Iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold" (Mt. 24:12, cf. 37–39; Lk. 17:26–28; 18:8), which Paul confirms speaking of the very corrupt manners of men at the end of the world (2 Tim. 3:1–5), as does Peter (2 Pet. 3:3); (5) the universal preaching of the gospel throughout the whole world—"This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come" (Mt. 24:14; cf. Mk. 13:19). He is blind who does not see that all these things have already (as to the greatest part) been fulfilled and are every day being fulfilled. For who does not see that wars spring up out of wars, that seducers and false prophets everywhere lie in wait, that they may in every method lead away the pious from the path of truth and drag them into the gulf of perdition with themselves? That every day dreadful persecution is excited against the faithful servants of God, and the beast and dragon wage a most cruel war against the saints and leave nothing untried, whether by violence or by treachery, to destroy them? This, these sad times in which we live and the high waves on which Christ's little boat is tossed and is not yet overwhelmed, sufficiently declare. Finally, impiety and security reign everywhere, so that the world seems to groan under a mountainous weight of vices and in a short time a deliverer must be expected.

Special: (1) the revelation of Antichrist.

X. Besides the common signs there are also given various proper and special signs, especially the revelation of Antichrist and the greatest corruption of the truth, which is according to piety in the Christian church, of which Paul speaks. For since certain ones troubled them (as if the day of Christ was at hand), Paul shows that they ought not to be disturbed on that account for that day would not come except after the coming of apostasy and the revelation of the man of sin. "Let no man deceive you by any means: for" (supply, that day shall not come) "except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition … whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming" (2 Thess. 2:3, 8). The thing itself declares (and we have elsewhere proved) that this sign has been already fulfilled by Antichristian Rome sitting in the temple of God and showing himself that

he is God. But this revelation of Antichrist, the consumption and destruction of the same ought afterwards to follow, which should go on little by little and in fact through "the spirit of his mouth" (i.e., by the preaching of the everlasting gospel in the Reformation of the church, by which his tyrannical empire has been greatly diminished and weakened, until it shall be utterly destroyed at the glorious appearing of Christ, 2 Thess. 2:8).

2. The conversion of the Jews.

XI. Second, the conversion of the Jews, mention of which is made by Paul. "Now if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles; how much more their fulness? For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye should be wise in your own conceits; that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved" (Rom. 11:12, 15, 25, 26*). This is too express to be referred to the conversion of those Jews to the gospel which took place in the time of the apostles. Here belongs what the apostle says, "When Israel shall turn to the Lord, the vail shall be taken away" (2 Cor. 3:16). In addition there is the covenant entered into with that nation, and since it is eternal, God must have even unto the consummation of the ages his elect in that nation, whom in his own time he will bring to Christ. On this account, Paul says in the same chapter, "As concerning the gospel, they are enemies for your sakes: but as touching the election, they are beloved for the fathers' sakes. For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance" (Rom. 11:28, 29*). Here are to be referred those various oracles of the Old Testament in which their restoration is promised, by Moses as well as by the prophets. For although these respected their deliverance from the Babylonian captivity and from other calamities to which they would be exposed, still it is clear to anyone inspecting the passages that they reach further, even to the conversion of the Jews.

XII. As to the quality and extent of that conversion, whether it will be national and universal of all or particular of some; whether simultaneous or successive; and how, by what means and in what time it will go forward, is

safer to be unknown than to be rashly defined, the Holy Spirit stamping this mystery with his seal. Therefore, let it suffice to know that there will be a remarkable conversion of the Jews before the end of the world; not that all will be converted, but that many will, to whom the denomination of "all Israel" can be applied (although we cannot be certain either in what way or when precisely it will take place). Thus we should labor in this most especially—that we may promote it not only by the preaching of sound doctrine, but also by the example of a better life, lest our conversation be a scandal to those obdurate Jews who for the most part estimate a doctrine from the life of its professors and feel persuaded that they do not have a proper reverence for God who so freely violate his precepts. For how can it happen that living for the greatest part among Romanists and estimating Christianity from their dreadful idol-mania, they should not be rather blinded every day than open their eyes to the light? Hence it ought not to appear surprising that the fulfillment of this prophecy goes on slowly in our day and that the veil still remains over their hearts.

XIII. But whatever that calling of them shall be, a restitution of the Jewish polity in the land of Canaan is not to be dreamed of with many, against the express words of Christ: "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate" (Mt. 23:38). "There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down" (Mt. 24:2). Besides, this polity was to last only until Christ (Gen. 49:10; Dan. 9:26, 27; Heb. 9:10; Mt. 24:15). The causes of that institution are now wanting (to wit, the distinction of the Jewish people from other nations; the seat of doctrine and of the church which has been spread among all nations; the adumbration of Christ and of the mysteries of the New Testament). Thus the body having been manifested, these can no longer have a place. Finally, if God had wished to restore that polity, he would not have suffered it to be abolished for so long a time (for over sixteen centuries) and the tribes to be confounded with each other, so that it can no longer be certainly known (whatever they may chatter) to what tribe and family they belong.

XIV. Nor can the passages usually adduced by the Jews prove this. Not Dt. 30:2, 4, 5 because it is a promise of restitution made to repenting exiles, which was fulfilled partly in their return from Babylon, partly in their calling to Christ (1 Pet. 1:1; Jam. 1:1). Not Dan. 7:27 because the kingdom of Christ is described, which is properly his as the head, but by a

communication of grace belongs to believers as the members in common with Christ who will reign with him (2 Tim. 2:11), as they are made kings in him (Rev. 1:6). Not Mic. 4:6 because he predicts not only that Christ will reign in the church, but also that the church, which is described under the notion of Jerusalem, will reign with him, the nations marvelling (which has already been fulfilled in the church of the New Testament by Christ). Not Ezk. 40ff. because the vision is understood of the promise of a restitution not so much corporeal as spiritual of the church; hence to be begun on earth, to be accomplished, however, in heaven. From Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi it appears that the restoration here promised was not fulfilled after the captivity and before Christ; nor after Christ was the condition of the church so splendid as it is represented. Therefore, either there is no fulfillment or it is only spiritual. Thus the promise (contained in Ezk. 43:7) that God would dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever cannot be explained of the carnal Israel. Nor can the waters issuing from the temple (47:1) be understood of rudimentary waters. Therefore, a spiritual restoration by Christ was adumbrated in allusion to the temple at Jerusalem, which was its type. Not Is. 59:20 because if a Redeemer from Zion ought to be expected by the Jews, it was not that he might bestow on them an earthly kingdom, but to turn away transgression from Jacob, to take away sin and blindness according to his covenant, to be united with believers and not to stretch forth a scepter by which they might exercise dominion over them. Not Rom. 11 because, although the conversion of the Jews is expressly promised, still a restoration of the Jewish polity is not. For as the Gentiles coalesced with the Jews in one church, so the Jews ought to be united with the Gentiles. This can be confirmed by the similitude of the olive tree in which both the natural branches and the branches cut out of the wild olive tree are grafted. Therefore, it ought not to be maintained that the Jews will be separated from the Gentiles; nay, Christ (Jn. 10:16) and the apostle (Eph. 2, 4) declare that there will be a unity of the flock and of the church. Not the vision in Rev. 21 and 22 because by the same allusion the state of the church triumphant is described. It is heavenly in its origin, founded here by the apostles on Christ, into which the kings of the earth bring their glory and honor.

XV. To these signs ought to be referred the changes in the heavens (the sun, the moon and stars) which Christ says will take place before his final

advent. “Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken” (Mt. 24:29). Things like these are recorded in Mk. 13:24, 25; Lk. 21:25, 26. They are to be understood not so much properly as mystically and allegorically after the prophetic manner, as a comparison with the book of Revelation shows, where similar expressions occur when reference is made to the changes occurring at the opening of the sixth seal: “The sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood; and the stars of heaven fell” (6:12, 13). “At the sounding of the third and fourth trumpets, there fell a great star from heaven … and the name of the star is called Wormwood … and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them was darkened” (8:10–12). “The sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit” (9:2). “Behold a great red dragon … And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth” (12:3, 4). By these words great changes and corruptions are allegorically designated to take place in the church as well as in the state; or the very sad destruction of peoples and the great judgments of God which being the preludes of the universal judgment are designated not unfitly by the same phrases also. And since the Holy Spirit did not wish to explain them further, we must not search into them more closely.

XVI. Nor should we search into the concomitant sign, of which Mt. 24:30 treats. “And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.” On this interpreters weary themselves in vain. For instance, the Romanists, without foundation, refer it to the sign of the cross or an image of the cross which will precede Christ coming to judgment, as the royal trophy and standard by which he triumphed over Satan and the world. But others with far greater propriety wish it to be understood as the Son of man himself appearing in the clouds and given as a sign to mortals (Is. 11:10), in which way the sign of circumcision is called circumcision itself (Rom. 4:11). This is favored by the fact that the sign being omitted, only the Son of man is placed in the remaining evangelists and in the latter part of this verse. Or it is to be understood as the trumpet which will sound on the last day (1 Cor. 15:51,

52), which itself is both said to be a sign and to give a sign. Or it is to be understood as the rays of supreme glory and majesty which will then blaze forth, so that as soon as this sign is seen, they will testify that Christ, who had been despised, is Lord of heaven and of earth. Or finally, it is to be understood as that fire by which the world will be burnt up. But it is better to restrain (*epechein*) ourselves here than rashly to assert anything.

XVII. Therefore, since the Holy Spirit wished to designate by certain signs the time of Christ's advent to excite our vigilance that we might be always attentive to the works of God, still he did not wish to mark expressly the very year and day. It is not for us to rush into future things (which God has placed in his own hand) and curiously to pry into the secrets which he has reserved for himself alone. The advent of the Lord is rather with all diligence to be hastened by prayers, repentance and the practice of piety that, laying aside the pursuit of earthly and mundane things, we may devote whatever time still remains to serious and heavenly things, lest that day come upon us idle and unprepared. "Seeing then," says Peter, "that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for a hasting unto the coming of the day of God" (2 Pet. 3:11, 12). And while the ancient church prayed for "the delay of the end" of the Roman Empire, which would keep back the advent of Antichrist, we on the contrary, with the Spirit and the spouse, in this miserable age and most mournful state of the afflicted church and almost overwhelmed under the weight of trials, ought to cry out with redoubled wishes and breathings, "Come Lord Jesus, yea, come quickly" (*Nai erchou Kyrie Iēsou*, Rev. 22:20).

Fifth Question

What will the destruction of the earth be like? Will it be annihilated by the final conflagration or will it be restored and renewed?

I. As this question is problematical and of the number of those in which it is lawful to hold ourselves back (*epechein*) and to differ (truth and charity being preserved), the various opinions of theologians must be examined and what seems the more probable set forth.

Statement of the question.

II. On the statement of the question, it must be remarked (1) that it is not inquired concerning the consummation of time and the end of the world as to the fact (*to hoti*)—whether it will take place. For this is confessed on both sides. Rather the question concerns the form and mode—as to the how (*to pōs*) and in what way it will take place. (2) It is not inquired whether it will occur by a conflagration of fire. For the Scriptures so expressly declare this that no Christian can or ought to doubt it. "The heavens and the earth … are reserved unto fire" (2 Pet. 3:7); "The heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up" (v. 10); "The heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat" (v. 12). And this was not absolutely unknown to the heathen themselves, as has already been seen from Ovid. (3) It is not inquired whether any change will take place in the world. All acknowledge that the heavens and the earth and the bodies contained in them will suffer a great change at the end of time. Rather it is inquired whether that change will be substantial or accidental. Or whether the heavens and the earth will be exposed to total corruption or annihilation, or whether only to alteration and indeed a perfective by a peculiar renovation. Some hold the former, others the latter.

III. Although we do not think the supporters of either opinion should be censured and believe that no anxious controversy should be waged with anyone on a question which can be debated on either side without injury to the analogy of faith, and that the arguments brought forward on both sides have their own weight, still we do not deny that the opinion of those who contend for the renovation of the world appear to us the more probable, resting upon more substantial reasons. Various foundations for it can be found both in Scripture and in reason.

The renovation of the world is proved: (1) from Scripture, Ps. 102:26, 27.

IV. First, from the various passages of Scripture which indicate such a renovation. "The heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but

thou shalt endure: yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end" (Ps. 102:25*–27). Here the destruction of the world and of creatures is declared by the verbs "to alter," "to change," which do not designate abolition or annihilation, but only a change. For garments are not annihilated or things which are worn out or have become old, nor is every change annihilation. And as a garment growing old requires to be changed and renewed, so also the heavens at that time. Thus the psalmist also wished to show that that renovation is equally easy to God, as the change and renewal of a garment to man. Epiphanius rightly teaches that it is usual for the Scriptures to call a renewal for the better "destruction" because the previous form perishes by that conversion (*Panarion* 64.31 [PG 41.1119]). Nor if the creature is here opposed to the Creator, or the mutability or the actual change of the heavens to the immutability of God, does it follow that that mode of opposition is necessarily to be concluded from the words of the psalmist by which the heavens ought to perish altogether. For it is sufficient that the heavens be both changeable from without (with respect to the power of God) and that they will suffer some change actually that they may be opposed to the Creator (neither ever changing, nor changeable, with whom is no variableness [*parallagē*], or shadow of a change).

2. From 2 Pet. 3:6.

V. Second, from 2 Pet. 3:6, 10–12, quoted before, whence various arguments to prove the renovation of the world are drawn. (a) From the comparison with the former world overwhelmed by the flood: "The world that then was … perished" (v. 6*). The world that perished is said to be a different world from that which rose out of the flood, not by a reduction to nothing, but by a repurgation. (b) From the form of the destruction and restoration: "The heavens shall pass away" (v. 10), i.e., their frame shall be dissolved, as it is explained in v. 12, "the elements shall melt" (as metals in a fire), "the earth shall be burned up" and reduced as it were to ashes. Thus a new heavens and a new earth shall be made (as is immediately added, v. 13). Now these things imply a change and not an annihilation. Nor if it is said, "The heavens are reserved against the day of perdition," is this to be

referred to the heavens themselves, but to the perdition of ungodly men, about whom it treats. Besides *apōleia* does not always denote annihilation and total destruction, but only a certain change; just as the former world, being overflowed with water, is said to have perished (*apōlesthai*, v. 6). It is one thing to pass away with a great noise, to be dissolved and burned up; another to be annihilated and to perish altogether. What fire melts and burns up is not usually annihilated; yea, they are only purged of dross and impurities, as in the metallic kingdom the metal is not annihilated but purged, and comes forth purer after being subjected to fire.

3. From Rom. 8:19.

VI. Third, from Rom. 8:19 and the following verses, the renovation of the world is collected in many ways. "For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope, because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now" (8:20–22). From this it is evident that the creature is only to be delivered from the vanity to which it is here subjected and consequently that sometime its liberty (*eleutherōsin*), not corruption (*phthoran*) or disappearance (*aphanismon*), will follow. For a twofold term of vindication is posited, "from which" (to wit, "the bondage of corruption") and "to which" (to wit, "liberty and incorruption" [*aphtharsia*]). And thus their gloss is refuted who hold that it suffices for vindication, if the abolished creature ceases to serve wicked men. However, *ktisis* cannot designate believers here, as others think. For besides the fact that it is unusual to call believers *ktisin* simply without any addition, Paul openly distingishes it from believers and the children of God; for he exhorts believers to bear present afflictions patiently and the delay of future glory by the example of the creature groaning, which earnestly and with outstretched neck expecting it, seems to be sustained and supported by a hope of this kind. It is confirmed by v. 22, where the apostle mentions "the whole creation" (*pasēs ktiseōs*, which is absurdly said of believers), and because he clearly distinguishes these groanings of the creature from the groanings of believers; "Not only they" (to wit, the whole creation groans) "but ourselves

also, which have the firstfruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves" (v. 23). For it would be absurd to restrict this to the apostles themselves, since it is evident that this blessing of the firstfruits of the Spirit was not peculiar to them, but is common to all believers. As believers are the firstfruits of creatures (Jam. 1:18), so God gives them the firstfruits of the Spirit. Chrysostom excellently notices this: "What is this also not thou alone, but also what is worse off than thee, and which does not share in reasoning and perception, even this has with thee a common share of good things" (*Ti esti kai autē; ouchi su monos, alla kai ho sou esti katadeesteron, kat' ho ou metechei logismou oude aisthēseōs, kai touto soi koinōnēsei tōn agathōn*, "Homily 14," *Epistle to the Romans* [NPNF1, 11:445; PG 60.530] on Rom. 8:21). Finally, the scope of the apostle proves this. By an *epitasin*, he exaggerates the magnitude of the glory to be revealed in the sons of God, which could not be done better than by saying that so great is its excellence that inanimate creation itself as if with outstretched neck breathes and pants after that joyful catastrophy of all things and would be about to make it, if there was any feeling in them. Therefore, as God put into the creature an ardent and constant desire for deliverance and renovation, so at length he will bring deliverance because he does nothing in vain and the apostle teaches that this will be fulfilled.

VII. The objections brought up here by those who embrace the other opinion do not overthrow ours. Not that to this creature are ascribed "groanings," "travailings," "hope," "earnest expectation" (*apokaradokia*), which belong only to the rational creature. Although in a proper locution they cannot belong to inanimate creatures, still nothing prevents their being ascribed to them figuratively and by personification. This was frequently used by the sacred writers, as when the heavens and earth are commanded to hear (Is. 1:2*; Dt. 32:1), the mountains are said to skip and rivers to tremble (Ps. 114:6, 7; Jer. 4*:24*?; Hos. 13:14). Above all others however Paul loves to personify (*prosōpopoiein*); now the law, now death, now sin, and here the visible nature of things. Not that "the vanity and bondage of corruption" is ascribed to it (which may not well be said of creatures because this vanity and bondage of corruption is best referred to the inconstancy and mutability of things; as the Preacher [Ecc. 1:2] calls all earthly things "vanity of vanities"); or to the wasting and corruption to which they are subject (for the worship of idols and the slavish labors in

which they permit themselves to be employed in obedience to man; to the curse to which they are liable on account of the sin of man). Not that the creature is said to be "subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope." Although this properly belongs only to a creature, furnished with sense or judgment or reason, still nothing hinders it from being extended to inanimates; as voluntary (*ekousion*) is what is according to the inclination of a thing by which all things seek their own preservation and fly from corruption and destruction, but not voluntary (*akousion*) is what is contrary to that inclination. Thus it teaches that the creature did not draw that bondage upon itself or choose that state, but that on account of man it was made liable to the curse by God, the Judge. Not that it is added, the desire of the creature is directed to "the liberty of the children of God" (which is explained by "the adoption," to wit, the redemption of the body, which is peculiar to believers). These words, "into the liberty" (*eis eleutherian*), do not mark the terminus of the change of the creature, as if it was to be a partaker of the glory and adoption of the sons of God, but only the terminus of hope and the time in which it is to be delivered from vanity and corruption (viz., in that moment of time when the children of God are to be brought into glorious liberty). Thus *eis eleutherian* is put for *en eleutheria*. Just as a nursing mother led forth to the kingdom of her nursling enjoys his glory in part (a simile used by Chrysostom) or the house of a king is adorned for the greater glory of the king, so "liberty of glory" (*eleutheria tēs doxēs*) can be put for "glorious liberty" (*eleutheria endoxos*) so that the same deliverance occurs in each case both in the sons of God and in the creatures (as to genus, but far different as to species).

4. From Is. 65:17.

VIII. Fourth, from Is. 65:17: "Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind." Referring to this, Peter says, "Nevertheless we … look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness" (2 Pet. 3:13). "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea" (Rev. 21:1). For although this oracle of the prophet directly and primarily refers to the bringing back of the Jewish nation from the Babylonian captivity, whose greatness he

describes in the prophetic style, saying that so great and so wonderful a change would take place that it would seem as if a new face was to be put upon all things and the heavens and the earth (yea, the whole world) were made new (which he explains in Is. 65:18, "Behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy"); although, I say, it primarily refers to this, still the prophet's meaning is not to be restricted to that external restoration, but should be extended to the spiritual kingdom of the Messiah, in whom and by whom the whole world shone as it were with a new face (especially the church, which, after his advent, was to be transferred to a certain new state, 2 Cor. 5:17). Now as all corporeal deliverances have been types of spiritual, temporal of eternal, the Holy Spirit refers these words to the renewing of the world (*anakainismon*) which will follow at the end of time (Rev. 21:1). Nor yet is an annihilation of the former world indicated, but only its change. This is evident from the interpretation of Peter (who quotes these words in 2 Pet. 3:13) and from a comparison which was made not by a total abolition, but by its purgation from filthiness and renovation.

IX. The following objections have no force. (1) That "a new heavens and a new earth" are said to be created. The verb "to create" is often applied to a restoration (Eph. 2:10; 2 Cor. 5:17; Ps. 51:10*). Again, things are often said to be "new" which are renewed: "a new commandment" (Jn. 13:34), "a new creature" (Gal. 6:15). So here they are said to be new heavens and a new earth not absolutely and simply, but relatively, as to the new and purged state of the world. (2) That "the former shall not be remembered." According to the Scripture style, the recollection of the old will fade away where greater and better things succeed or where joyful and prosperous things take the place of sad. Then all memory of the former things is said to be absorbed, nay, extinguished. It is evident that such is the case here "because the former troubles are forgotten" (Is. 65:16). (3) That "the heaven and earth," it is said, "will pass away" (Rev. 21:1). It is not said that they will pass away as to substance and matter, much less be annihilated, but as to form and state. For that passes away which puts on another form, a different appearance; thus the world is rightly said to pass away because its form (*schēma*) and figure pass away. Now a change of qualities or of state does not imply destruction absolutely and in all respects, but relatively and comparatively. Aretas excellently observes: "This does not prove the nonexistence of the creation, but a change for the better" (*ou tēn anyparxin*

dēlōn tēs ktiseōs, alla ton anakainismon ton epi to beltion, Commentariis in Apocalypsin [PG 106.424] on Rev. 21:1). It is sufficient only that a certain remarkable change takes place, that there may be a fitness in these phrases, although the character be not defined.

X. Here can be referred the words of Peter where he treats of the restitution of all things saying, "The heaven must receive Christ until the times of restitution of all things" (*apokatastasin pantōn*, Acts 3:21). Now if all things are to be restored, they are not therefore to be annihilated. Also Paul when he says, "The fashion [*to schēma*] of this world passeth away" (1 Cor. 7:31), in order to teach that nothing in the world is solid and permanent, but that the external state and form are frail and transitory, which must at one time or another be changed (the metaphor being taken from the theater or from comic or tragic scenes which are suddenly changed with the actors). However, it is one thing for the external figure and state of the world to pass away, but another for its very substance to perish utterly and be annihilated.

XI. Various probable reasons can be given. (1) From the "dominion of man over creatures" promised to believers (Ps. 8:6*–8*). Since this is not fully restored in this life, it ought to be restored at last in the other. (2) From the equity of justice. Creatures in this life have rendered obedience and assistance to man; therefore it is just that they should at some period receive the reward of renovation. This is the reason why the apostle joins the vindication of the creature with the final redemption of man (Rom. 8:22, 23). (3) From the removal of the proximate cause to the removal of the effect. In the end of the world, the proximate cause of the vanity, corruption and bondage of creatures will be taken away (to wit, sin); therefore also the effects (viz., the vanity and bondage from which the creature should be delivered). (4) From utility and fruit. Since the world was created to proclaim the glory of God and to manifest his virtues as in a most splendid mirror, and it does not fully and perfectly accomplish this end in this life, there must necessarily be granted some time in which the creature will serve that end for which it was made (viz., to illustrate the wisdom, power, grace and justice of its Maker). (5) It seems scarcely credible that God would destroy so many most noble bodies endowed by him with such remarkable light and so many excellent gifts. It belongs to God to destroy works of others rather than his own; nor is what is good corruptive of good. The

destruction of those things which in the world are evil or deformed and do not have God as their author is sufficient.

Sources of explanation.

XII. The passage of Job when he says "So man lieth down, and riseth not: till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep" (14:12) does not favor the total destruction of the world. It can thus be intimated that man will not arise until the heavens shall not be (to wit, the old and exterior), because we expect a new heaven. Or negatively, so that it may be said that man will never rise (to wit, by himself and his own power and according to the order of nature in the present life, to which the words "If a man die, shall he live again?" [v. 14] refer). Nor yet must it be supposed that he absolutely denies a resurrection by divine power, which he elsewhere so expressly asserts.

XIII. It is one thing to vanish away like smoke and to grow old as a vesture; another to be wholly corrupted and annihilated. The former is said of the heavens (Is. 51:6), but not the latter. For neither is smoke annihilated, nor a garment growing old, but the matter of both only puts on another form. Therefore, the meaning of the prophet is that the salvation and justice of God will be stronger and firmer than the heavens and the earth (being eternal and immutable), while both the powers of the heavens will be shaken and the earth purged by fire.

XIV. The "consummation of ages" (*synteleia tou aiōnos*) denotes indeed the end of the duration of the world and of the secular period, but not its total destruction and annihilation. Nay, *synteleia* designates rather a fulfillment (*teleiōsin*) and complement (which is called in Syriac *shvlm'*) than an abolition. With Hesychius *syntelesthai* is *symplērousthai;* in the glossary *synteleia is plērōma* (*Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* [1862], 4:108).

XV. The passages Mt. 5:18; 24:35 and Lk. 21:33 do not declare simply and absolutely that the heavens and the earth will pass away, but comparatively by the comparison of a thing impossible or never to happen, as if more easy; as if Christ would say, the heavens and the earth will perish sooner than my words. Nor if they were to be taken absolutely would they favor the total destruction of the world, because the verb "to pass away" (*parelthein*) does not refer to an abolition of a substance, but only of the

perishable condition. For the words of Christ are drawn from Ps. 102:26*, where the word "perish" is explained by the word "change." And thus the opposition is sufficiently consistent with itself, if we say a mutable is opposed to an immutable (to wit, the heavens and the earth will pass away as to something of themselves, while the words of the Lord will be entirely immutable and of eternal truth).

XVI. From the fact that the angel swears, "Time shall be no more" (Rev. 10:5, 6), the total destruction of the world cannot be gathered. These are not equivalents; nor does the vanishing of them follow from the cessation of the motion of the heavenly bodies, less from the cessation of the measuring of the duration of things according to that motion (*aphanismos*). Therefore, the distinction of years and months and days and of interrupted and variable duration being taken away, an eternity free from all variation will follow. Therefore that order of time might cease which obtains and subserves the generation and corruption of sublunary things and according to which the business of men is wont to be managed, although the continued duration of created things will not cease. We may also understand either the time for repentance (which God had before granted to men for conversion) or the time of darkness, of ignorance, of the afflictions of the church, and of the tyranny of Antichrist, to intimate that time would not be what it had been before (to wit, troublesome, calamitous and very depraved).

XVII. What is said in Rev. 20:11, "The heaven and the earth fled away from the face of him that sat on the throne; and there was found no place for them," does not denote their total destruction, but only a disappearance as to their previous form, by which the pristine appearance, state and figure of the world will so pass away that no place shall be found for them anymore. Consequently it stands neither for the former heaven and earth, but for a new heaven and a new earth introduced by the divine power. This is the view taken by Augustine: "The judgment having been finished this heaven and this earth will cease to be when a new heaven and a new earth will begin to be. For by a change of things, not by an entire destruction, will this world pass away" (CG 20.14 [FC 24:287; PL 41.679]). Besides, from figurative and prophetical passages of this kind, where all things are mystical and allegorical and accordingly are to be treated with great moderation, proper arguments falsely are drawn, as if they were to be understood literally.

XVIII. Every end ceasing and that having been accomplished, the thing itself, on account of which it was made, also ceases. But although in the consummation of time the object of the world (which was that it might be the abode of man as a pilgrim and the way for contemplating God as in a mirror) will cease, it will not cease as to all things because Peter admonishes us that a new heavens and a new earth will be the seat of righteousness, for in them righteousness (i.e., righteous men) will dwell. There will therefore be a twofold end: the highest as to God because they will remain as monuments of his eternal power, wisdom and goodness (for they will proclaim the glory of God); and subordinate as to the blessed because the creatures surviving will be secondary provocatives of our spiritual contemplation and delight. Nor if the end of anything would be unknown to us (especially as to the state of the future world because it is hidden from us as to its greatest part) is it on that account to be denied that this or that thing can have its own end.

XIX. From the cessation of time, the annihilation of the world cannot be gathered. For it suffices that duration be granted, although not interrupted or cut up by those periodical intervals which occur now. For time belongs properly to this age which is measured by time, not to the future. But if physical things will cease with time, what would become of man and his elementary body?

XX. Now although we maintain that there will be a change of the world and a change by which the creature will be delivered from the bondage of corruption and which assuredly will not be an annihilation, but rather a restoration (*beltiōsis*) and a renewal (*anakainismos*); still we confess that its mode is unknown to us and that it ought not to extend to every creature, although the opinion of those is probable who think that brutes, plants and other mixed and corruptible bodies of like kind necessary to animal life will be destroyed and be resolved into the elementary bodies of which they are composed. And we think we ought not too curiously to pry into the things which, as God has chosen to conceal from us, are both safely unknown and are defined dangerously. The certain knowledge of these is to be looked for at length on the happy day when that restoration will take place.

Sixth Question: The Final Judgment

Is a final judgment to be expected and what will it be like?

I. The third "last thing" is the final judgment which Christ will exercise at the end of the world over the living and the dead, raised up and gathered together at the trump of God and the voice of the archangel, the truth and manner of which must be investigated.

Statement of the question.

II. Here above all things it is to be observed: (1) that it is not inquired concerning the judgment of God, inasmuch as it is taken in general for his rule and governing. In this sense, "the Father is said to have committed all judgment unto the Son" (Jn. 5:22), i.e., as it is explained in Jn. 3:35, inasmuch as he has "given all things into his hand" and "has given him power over all flesh" (17:2). (2) Nor concerning judgment inasmuch as it signifies the gathering together and the government of the church. In this respect, it is said the Messiah "will bring forth judgment to the Gentiles" (Is. 42:1*), i.e., the right manner of divine worship; also the commandments of God are everywhere by the psalmist said to be "the judgment of God" (Ps. 119:108*). (3) Nor concerning the "fatherly judgment" of God towards believers when he visits them with chastisements and correction. In this sense, Peter says, "Judgment must begin at the house of God" (1 Pet. 4:17). (4) Nor concerning the penal judgment which God frequently sends upon the wicked to punish their crimes, of which there are numerous examples in the Scriptures and which are observed every day; such was the tremendous judgment of God upon the inhabitants of the first world by the flood; the judgment of Sodom and Gomorrah; of pharaoh and the Egyptians; of the Canaanites, Babylonians and others whose crimes were terribly punished. It is absurd to refer these to mere fatherly chastisements, since it is clear that these visitations were the most just punishment of their wickedness by which God, as a just Judge, begins to avenge himself of them in this life and which are as it were the preludes of the infernal and eternal punishments awaiting them hereafter. (5) Nor concerning the particular, hidden, and partial judgment which each mortal will undergo after death with respect to the soul. Paul says of this, "It is appointed unto men once to die; but after this the judgment" (Heb. 9:27). Rather it treats of the universal, public and

visible judgment of the whole human race which will be solemnly conducted in the sight of the universe. Paul calls this "eternal judgment" (Heb. 6:3) because an eternity of happiness or of misery depends upon it.

The truth of the judgment is proved: (1) from the Scriptures.

III. The Scriptures assert and confirm the truth and certainty of this judgment (in innumerable places). "God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil" (Ecc. 12:14). The prophecy of Enoch recorded by Jude: "Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds" (14, 15*). "God has appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained" (Acts 17:31). "Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment" (Mt. 12:36). "In the end of the world the Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity; and shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth" (Mt. 13:40*–42*). "The Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works" (Mt. 16:27). The whole process of the last judgment is described in Mt. 25. "We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad" (2 Cor. 5:10). "I charge thee therefore before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom" (2 Tim. 4:1). Such passages are innumerable, occurring everywhere.

2. From providence and justice.

IV. The providence and justice of God, which wish it to be well with the good and evil with the wicked, demand it. But since this does not happen often enough in this life (nay, the pious are afflicted and troubled with every

kind of evil and trials, while the wicked are prosperous and exult, rolling in an abundance of good things), it is necessary that a final and universal judgment be granted by which the deserved punishments may be rendered to the bad and gratuitous rewards be bestowed upon the righteous. “It is a righteous thing,” says the apostle, “with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels” (2 Thess. 1:6, 7*).

3. From the conscience of men.

V. The conscience of each one approves and bears witness to this—which, while Christ is absent, performs a vicarious judgment over man inasmuch as in it God has erected his throne, on which he exercises judgment concerning the individual works of the man. “The Gentiles show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another; in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel” (Rom. 2:15, 16). The Gentiles themselves were not ignorant of this. “Great is the power of conscience,” says Cicero, “and great in reference to both classes of person, that neither they may fear, who have committed no wrong, and they may think the punishment is always before their eyes, who have transgressed” (*On Behalf of Milo* 23.61 [Loeb, 14:74–75]). And for Roscius: “His own deceit and terror disturbs each one the most, his own wickedness agitates each one and drives him to madness, his own evil thoughts and conscience terrify him. These are the constant and domestic furies, which, day and night, demand the punishments of parents from their accursed children” (*Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* 24.67 [Loeb, 6:180–81]). But whence these terrors and goads of conscience, unless from a fear of divine judgment? For unless a judgment of this kind were to take place, the testimony of conscience would be of no avail.

4. From the confession of the Gentiles.

VI. The confession of the sounder Gentiles, who not obscurely acknowledge this, has a bearing here. For to what else can belong what they

imagined concerning the Rhamnusian Goddess, the avenger of right and wrong; concerning Aeacus, Minos and Rhadmanthus, the judges in the lower world? They saw a certain shadow of truth concerning a future judgment after this life which they involved in the manifold darkness of false inventions. Athenagoras says, "Plato indeed said that Minos and Rhadamanthus will judge and punish the wicked. However, we think that whether he be Minos or Rhadamanthus or even the father of them, not even he will escape the judgment of God" (*Embassy for the Christians* 12 [ACW 23:42; PG 6.914]).

VII. Christ will be the Judge in that very visible nature in which he was condemned for us. For although judiciary power is common to the whole Trinity, still it will be specially exercised by the incarnate Son. Judgment is said to have been given him by the Father (Mt. 28:18; Jn. 5:22; Acts 10:42; 17:31) as being the King of his church, the avenger of his elect, the most strict punisher of the wicked and rebellious, the Lord of all. The former belong to grace, the latter to power and both pertain to the office of Mediator. This he will do especially both for the greater consolation of the pious (who will look upon him as their defender and Advocate instead of their Judge) and for the greater terror and confusion of the wicked, while they will see him reigning gloriously whom they barbarously and cruelly persecuted. However, both natures of Christ ought to concur here for the exercise of this office. From his divine nature, celestial authority, dominion and wisdom flow for searching into the secrets and darkness of the heart, pronouncing sentence on the human race and executing it without any appeal. As man, however, he will appear conspicuous with visible majesty in the clouds, as on a tribunal, will exhibit himself as the Judge and pronounce the sentence to be carried out in the sight of all. On this account, Christ says, "The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son … and gave the power of judging to him, because he is the Son of man" (*hoti hyios anthrōpou esti*, Jn. 5:22, 27*), i.e., either because, since indeed he who is the Son of God, the same is also a man and so capable of exercising that judgment; or inasmuch as he is the Son of man (to wit, showing the nature or limiting the person by the way of nature), in respect to which that judiciary power was committed to him. For with respect to the divine nature, there was no need for that to be given him which he already possessed; unless we prefer what seems better—that by

the Son of man is designated not so much the human nature, as the mediatorial office, or rather the person filling that office (as this appellation is frequently so used).

VIII. However, although the flesh of Christ or the human nature in itself may come into fellowship with that power and the exercise of it, inasmuch as it ought to be performed visibly (*horatōs*) and audibly (*akoustikōs*), it is necessarily to be endowed with what is its own; still the Ubiquitarians falsely seek in it a help for their cause. For even if all judgment (as to its visible and sensible exercise) belongs to Christ as man; still the infinite power which is required for the proper exercise of that judiciary function belongs not subjectively to his humanity, but only to his divinity; nor can that power which belongs to the entire person be restricted to the human nature.

IX. If this judgment is ascribed in common to the saints and the good where the apostle says "that saints and angels shall judge the world" (1 Cor. 6:2); "I saw thrones, upon which saints and martyrs sat, and judgment was given unto them" (Rev. 20:4), this ought not to be understood as if the judiciary power belonging to Christ alone pertains formally to them. Rather it belongs (1) communicatively and participatively in Christ, their mystical head, with whom they are said to be quickened, raised and seated in heavenly places (Eph. 2:6). For the honor of the head is carried over into all the members. Thus sitting upon the throne of Christ is promised to him that overcomes (Rev. 3:21). (2) Approvingly and as to assent, because they are subordinated to Christ, the Judge (properly so called), and approve his sentence by their vote and publicly subscribe to it. "I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia; Salvation, and glory, and honor, and power, unto the Lord our God: For true and righteous are his judgments" (Rev. 19:1, 2*). (3) Comparatively with respect to those who will be condemned (Mt. 12:41, 42). (4) Testificatively, because they will bear witness concerning the good works of the pious, especially of the beneficence and charity shown to themselves, so that from the fruits of works the faith concealed in the heart may be manifested to the whole world. In reference to this, Christ says, "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations" (Lk. 16:9). Thus the saints (it is rightly said) will judge the world because they will be as it were the assessors of Christ, who

will sit next to him in the condemnation of the wicked. This will not interfere with their being judged also by Christ. And if at any time it is said that they will not come into judgment (Jn. 3:18; 5:24), this is meant of the judgment of condemnation, which they do not dread who believe their sins have been pardoned by Christ and know that there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ (Rom. 8:1).

X. Here can also be referred what Christ says of the apostles—that they "will sit upon twelve thrones, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel" (Mt. 19:28). For although this pertains to the supreme authority which the apostles will possess in the church in relation to doctrine (which ought to be the rule and foundation of faith, by which a judgment ought to be made concerning the truth or falsity of any doctrine), still nothing hinders our extending this to the dignity which they will have in heaven, being exalted to the communion of the glory of the kingdom of Christ over the church itself, designated by the name of the twelve tribes. Nay, the words themselves openly lead to this because they treat of the time in which it is said that Christ will sit upon the throne of his glory (which ought to be fulfilled at length on the last day) and concerning the disposition of the kingdom of Christ or a participation in his goods (to wit, by sitting at his table and eating and drinking with him, which ought at length to be done perfectly and fully only in heaven).

XI. The object of the judgment is both personal and real. Personal are rational creatures, angels as well as men. The angels indeed and in particular the bad ones, who are reserved for the judgment of the great day (Jd. 6; 2 Pet. 2:4). For the chains which are now for custody will then be for punishment; and what is now somewhat relaxed will then be most weighty and close. However all men, the pious as well as the wicked of every order, sex, age, condition and state (small and great, noble and ignoble, kings and subjects, slaves and free), of all places and times, who have been, are and will be (as no one can withdraw himself from them), the living as well as the dead, "for we must all stand" (2 Cor. 5:10; Rev. 20:12). The real are both their "works" (Mt. 25:31–46; Ecc. 12:14*; 2 Cor. 5:10) and their "words" because even for an idle word an account must be given (Mt. 12:36) and the very "thoughts in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men" (Rom. 2:16). "Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come,

who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts" (1 Cor. 4:5).

XII. The form of the judgment consists in a knowledge of the cause, a pronunciation of the sentence and its execution. The first part, which is a knowledge of the cause, will not be difficult, both on account of the omniscience of the Judge, who is a searcher of the heart and the reins, and before whom all, even the most secret things, are naked and opened (Heb. 4:13); and on account of the light of conscience, which suffers nothing to be secret. And here belongs the "opening of the books" of which Daniel speaks (7:10). The books are opened (Rev. 20:12), which were before shut and sealed, that a decision may be made from them. Such books are: (1) the universal and most extensive book of the providence and omniscience of God, which embraces all creatures entirely: their causes, actions and effects, where the end of life and of death is fixed for each one, where the destinies of kings, kingdoms and republics are, and of all men (where is written what good and evil each one has done, Pss. 139:16; 56:8; Mal. 3:16). (2) The book of conscience in which the work of the law is written and whatever good and evil has been done by individuals (Rom. 2:16). (3) The book of life and of predestination (Rev. 20:12), from which it is evident who have been written to life or the elect and who to judgment and death or the reprobate (Jd. 4; 1 Pet. 2:8). (4) The book of the Scriptures, from which all these are to be judged to whom it is revealed. "I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works" (Rev. 20:12).

XIII. And hence can be understood what ought to be the rule of that judgment (to wit, the revelation which is given to men). For "they who have sinned without law" (viz., the written law) "shall be judged without law" (even the written), but not without the law written on their hearts (Rom. 2:12). They who have lived under the law or legal dispensation will be judged also by that economy. However, they to whom the gospel has come will be judged by the gospel. For God demands nothing from man except according to the measure of the revelation given to him. Thus according to its three forms its judgment ought to proceed. With the heathen, according to natural revelation and those things which can be known from the book of

nature or the book of conscience. With the Jews, according to the legal economy and the Old Testament Scriptures. With Christians, however, according to the revelation of grace and the gospel of the New Testament. Concerning this judgment Christ treats particularly (Mt. 25:31–46).

XIV. Hence it is evident that they err who maintain that the gospel alone is the rule of that judgment, so that sentence ought to be made in relation to the faith and unbelief of men and that the Gentiles themselves are to be judged according to this rule. For since this was not revealed to them, how could they be judged from a word unknown to them? Nor can it be said here that the call by his works is sufficient for them who are without the gospel. It is one thing to be called to God, the Creator; another to God, the Redeemer. One thing to have that which is known of God (*to gnōston tou Theou*), which can be learned from the works of nature and providence; another that which is to be believed (*to piston*) and the wisdom hidden in a mystery, which can be perceived by the word of the gospel alone. The preaching of this, although it has been general as to all nations indiscriminately in opposition to the Old Testament, yet that it was never absolutely universal is clearly gathered even from the great multitude of heathen who still in our day lie in the darkness of paganism (as has been proved in its place).

XV. What the apostle says, "God shall judge the secrets of men … according to his gospel" (Rom. 2:16), does not imply that the gospel will be the rule of that judgment as to the Gentiles of whom he speaks, which he expresses by the work of the law written upon their consciences; but it only confirms the truth and certainty of the future judgment to be exercised by Christ from the word preached by him. Therefore, he appeals to the gospel, not to teach according to what God will judge, but by whom he will judge. Nor if unbelief is brought forward as the cause of their damnation who are in the church and to whom the gospel has been preached (Jn. 3:18), does it follow that this can be said of those who are without the word. Or this will have to be understood negatively only because if they had had faith, they would not have perished; not positively, as if it was the cause properly so called and by itself.

XVI. The promulgation of the sentence will follow a knowledge of the cause (a beginning having been made from the pardon of the good) because he is more inclined to mercy than to wrath, which the condemnation of the

wicked will beget. This will be put into execution at once for the greater consolation of the pious, who will rejoice in the vindicatory judgments of God (Ps. 58:10). Thus the authority of the judge will appear in gathering, his knowledge in separating, his justice in deciding and his power in carrying it out. "No one will be able," says Chrysostom, "to escape the power of that judge, to deceive his wisdom, to bend his equity, to draw back from his judgment" (*in 1 Thessal. iv*+). And Augustine: "That judge will neither be prevented by favor, nor turned by compassion, nor corrupted by money, nor mitigated by repentance or satisfaction. With him no excuse will have a place because the conscience itself will accuse, whose testimony no one shall be able to deny; no tergiversation, because the secret things of darkness will be revealed; no challenge or appeal, because he is the supreme and infallible judge; no entreaty, because he is inexorable; no postponement, because the sentence pronounced will at once be put into execution" (*lib.* 3, *De Fid. et Symb*.; actually Quodvultdeus, "Sermo 2: De symbolo II" 8, 1. 20 [CCSL 60:345]).

XVII. Further, if it is asked here whether the sins of the pious equally as well as of the wicked will be revealed, we answer that the negative seems more probable to us. (1) On account of the Judge, who, since he has been most fully satisfied for us and now intercedes for us in heaven, will then come as their Redeemer and Savior, not to reproach them for their sins, but to fulfill his promises in them and to manifest the wonders of his grace. (2) The process of the judgment is such that mention may indeed be made of good works, but not of their evil works (Mt. 25:31–40). The pious will not hear the publication of their sins, but the reward of their love and beneficence. (3) The gratuitous mercy of God does not wish our sins to be remembered anymore, but casts them behind its back. Now what God has once wished to be covered in this life, he will not reveal in the other. (4) If their sins were to be made known, it would lead to the disgrace and confusion of the pious, from which they ought to be free. For Christ will return for this end—that he may be glorious in his saints and be admired in believers.

XVIII. Although all men universally are to be judged, it does not follow that the sins of the pious are to be published, because they will be judged so distributively that some will receive rewards, others punishments. Nor is there need of such a revelation for a greater manifestation of his glory,

justice and mercy. The justice of God is not manifested in them properly, but in Christ, whom God has set forth as a propitiation (Rom. 3:25). And his mercy is sufficiently illustrated without any special reckoning up and enumeration of sins. For they ascribe nothing to themselves, but all to God and Christ (Mt. 25:37–40).

XIX. Besides, as this judgment must be visible (meeting the senses), those works are most especially attended to here which appear outwardly—so that all will see the equity of the sentence and not only the internal movements of the mind, which are exposed to God alone and to the consciences of men. And although all works universally will be brought into judgment, still mention is made peculiarly of works of charity and mercy; both because charity is the fulfillment of the law (which shines most brightly among other good works and of which it is the root) and because it is the first and principal fruit of faith, in which its truth is known. "For faith worketh by love" (Gal. 5:6). Also because it is most congruous with the judgment which ought to be exercised. For since men will equally implore the mercy of the Judge, the judgment will be most just which will be conducted according to the mercy shown or neglected by them. "For he shall have judgment without mercy, that hath showed no mercy" (Jam. 2:13).

XX. However, although in this judgment to each one ought to be repaid "according to his works," as to quality, so that it may be well with the good and evil with the wicked; still there will not be the same relation of good and bad works to the reward and punishment. For evil works indeed will be properly the meritorious cause of the punishment which will be inflicted on the wicked; but there is not the same relation of good works (which can have no relation of merit, as was seen in its place); rather they will be brought forward not as the causes, but only as the consequence, testimonies and effects of faith and of grace which they obtained in Christ. Thus the causal particle *gar* (found here) is not causal (denoting the meritorious cause of life), but only ratiocinative (indicating the reason *a posteriori* of the sentence pronounced by Christ) to denote not the merit of works, but the quality of the workers; not the why and on account of what, but to whom the kingdom is to be assigned. Nor if this particle has a causal force in the condemnation of the wicked, ought it for that reason to have an equal force also in the absolution of the righteous. For in this particular, bad works

(which are both ours and not due and thus truly meritorious) differ widely from good works (which are both absolutely due and proceed not from us, but from God). Therefore, God will render to believers according to (*kata ta erga*), not on account of their works (*dia ta erga*); from the justice of fidelity and constancy, not from his distributive justice properly so called. For the true cause of the kingdom adjudged to them is to be sought in the mercy of their heavenly Father, who will give to his blessed children the kingdom prepared from eternity under the title of an inheritance in Christ, who purchased it for them from his mere grace, not from any merit of theirs (which they also themselves acknowledge; cf. what was said in Volume II, Topic XVII, Question V, Sections 26, 27ff.). As to the rest, this pardoning sentence of believers will not be so much a justification of them *a priori* (which is made only from faith and is intimated to them in this life in the court of conscience by the Holy Spirit), as the declaration of it *a posteriori* from their works, as the judgments and proofs of faith (concerning which see Volume II, Topic 16, Question VII, Section 2).

XXI. Concerning the place of judgment, the Scriptures give us nothing definite, nor is there need to pry into it. What the Romanists dream about the valley of Jehoshaphat belongs to the ravings of the Jews from whom they borrowed it. Nor does Joel 3:2 belong here: "I will gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people." "Let the heathen be wakened, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat: for there will I sit to judge all the heathen round about. Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe" (vv. 12, 13*). The style is allegorical concerning the unexpected deliverance of the church of God, in the same manner as formerly Jehoshaphat gained a remarkable victory over the Moabites and Ammonites by the cliff of Ziz, at the end of the brook, before the wilderness of Jeruel (related in 2 Ch. 20:16). Therefore, he adds to this distinguished judgment of God the defeat of the enemies of the church also, that the memory of that wonderful deliverance might inspire believers with a good hope; as the old things were types of the things to be disclosed in the New Testament. And thus the valley of Jehoshaphat is not put for a certain place, but in general for every place wheresoever God was to exercise judgment upon the enemies of the church; as formerly, in the place referred to, Jehoshaphat had gained a victory over the enemies of the people of God.

XXII. The time of this judgment is certain and known to God alone; revealed, however, to no creature. God wished thus to conceal it to exercise the faith and hope of men to the shaking off of carnal security, to excite to vigilance and sobriety. Blessed are they in whose ears that terrible trumpet always sounds, "Arise ye dead, and come to judgment." From this the presence of that Judge coming to judgment is perpetually borne in mind, lest at his sight they be confounded with the wicked (Rev. 6:16), but that they may be found worthy to stand before the Son of man.

Seventh Question: Hell and Eternal Death

Is there a hell? And what are its punishments—whether only of loss or also of sense? We affirm the latter

I. The execution of the sentence of the Judge will follow its promulgation. This will be carried out with respect to the wicked by casting them down into hell, where they must be tormented for ever with the devils; but with respect to the pious, by their introduction into heaven, to the joys of eternal life. Concerning this twofold end of men, of eternal life as well as of eternal death, something must also be said. And in the first place of hell or eternal death.

Various denominations of hell.

II. Hell is called in Hebrew *sh'vl*, in Greek *hadēs*, of the multiple signification of which word we have spoken in Volume II, Topic XIII, Question XVI, Section 3. Here we take it for the place of the damned, as it is taken in Lk. 16:23. Various synonyms of it occur in the Scriptures: *'bhdhvn* (Prov. 15:11) or perdition (cf. also Prov. 27:20); Gehenna (Mt. 5:22, 29), a word derived from the valley of the children of Hinnom, in which the wicked Israelites were accustomed to practice horrible idolatries to Moloch, the idol of the Ammonites, from a false zeal (*kakozēlia*) (as is believed) of the sacrifice of Abraham, or in imitation of the cruel superstition of the Phoenicians. They either drew miserable infants through the fire or burnt them resting upon the glowing arms of the statue of Moloch, in the midst of the sounds of flutes and drums that the cries

extorted by pain might not be heard. Hence the name *tvphth* given to it from *tvph*, "a drum." Hence King Josiah in detestation of that dreadful idol-mania began to pollute the place with carcasses and human offal, to burn which a continual fire was kept up (2 K. 23:10). Hence it is not surprising that such a foul place employed both for the torment of fire and infamous on account of its various abominations was used to designate the torments of hell. "The gnawing worm" and "unquenchable [*asbestos*] fire" (Mk. 9:44). "Outer darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Mt. 22:13). "Everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels" (Mt. 25:41). "The lake of fire and brimstone" (Rev. 19:20). "Eternal judgment" (Heb. 6:2). "The lake and winepress of wrath" (Rev. 14:19). "The wrath to come" (Mt. 3:7). "The second and eternal death" and other appellations.

Proof that there is a hell.

III. We think it superfluous to inquire whether there is a hell, whatever Epicureans and atheists (who consider it as a mere figment and empty scarecrow of the simple) may say. For it is asserted in so many passages of the Scriptures, and is confirmed by so many arguments (whether from the justice of God, or from the curse of the law, or from the heinousness and demerit of sin, or from the terrors and torments of conscience) that it is a proof not only of the highest impiety, but also madness to question or deny it. Those deriders will too well feel its truth and terribleness to their own great hurt.

In what do the punishments of hell consist? Not only in loss, but also in sense.

IV. But what it is or in what infernal punishments consist, it is not easy to define. It ought to be certain and constant that it is not a mere annihilation (as the Socinians wish) or the punishment of loss, as if it consisted in a simple privation of good without any sense of evil. For undoubtedly both concur here to increase the torments of the wicked. Hence the Scriptures describe these punishments now privatively and negatively (*sterētikōs*) by the removal of all good, then positively and affirmatively (*thetikōs*). The

negative (*sterētika*) evils are separation from God and Christ and privation of the divine vision: in which is placed the happiness of the saints; separation from the angels and saints (between whom and the damned a great gulf [*mega chasma*] is said to intervene); a privation of light, joy, glory, felicity and life, and of all good things of whatsoever kind they may be. On the other hand, the positive evils are manifold. These are adumbrated by pains and tortures, by torments, by groans and grief, by cries and wailings, by weeping and gnashing of teeth, by the gnawing worm, by the unquenchable fire and other things of like nature, which are accustomed to imply evils of all kinds in the soul as well as in the body.

Whether the fire of hell will be corporeal.

V. Whether the fire in which the wicked are to be tormented in soul as well as in body will be material and corporeal is controverted. The Romanists, to prop up their fictitious purgatorial fire (which they hold to be the same with the infernal as to species, but differing only in degree and duration), do not hesitate to assert this and think the soul will be tortured by it. But others far more truly deny it and wish it to be explained metaphorically or allegorically of the most severe tortures of conscience and desperation. (1) Because it is treated of the fire prepared for the Devil and his angels. And yet body cannot act upon a spirit, since it cannot act without contact either mediate or immediate, which does not fall upon a spirit. Nor is it to be said, if the soul cannot by itself and in its own nature be affected by fire, still it can by consent and sympathy with the body. For the soul, as the principal cause of wickedness, ought to be punished immediately and by itself, not sympathetically only. Nor if a corporeal object acts upon the soul objectively and virtually, does it follow that it can do so physically and formally.

VI. (2) The various other phrases by which infernal punishments are described are to be understood not so much properly as allegorically, when they are expressed by “outer darkness,” “the worm,” “gnashing of teeth,” “chains of darkness,” “lake of brimstone,” “prison” and “gulf” and by other things of the same kind. Future punishments are represented by these which in other respects agree neither with the condition of our souls, nor with each other; but all of them set forth the most sad and painful condition of the

wicked. For the same reason a metaphorical, not a proper fire is to be understood.

VII. (3) If heavenly goods are depicted under symbols of the most delightful things (which are to be understood not properly, but mystically and figuratively; as when mention is made of Abraham's bosom, lying down in the kingdom of heaven with the patriarchs, of paradise, the tree of life, treasures, crowns and the like), why should we not think that the Holy Spirit employed equally figurative terms in the description of the opposite evils, so that the most direful torments are adumbrated by fire, which is wont to create the most intense pain?

VIII. Now although we do not think the souls of the damned will be tortured by any material fire; still we are unwilling to say that their bodies will not be cast into some physical fire and be scorched and tormented for ever (the Scriptures asserting it so often, although we do not know what kind of fire it will be, or what its nature and condition will be). "Of what kind that infernal fire is," says Augustine, "I think no man knows" (CG 20.16 [FC 24:291; PL 41.682]). Therefore, we should strive with all care, with the desire of real conversion for this—that we may escape that fire, nor ever experience to our most bitter pain what it is; rather than that by idly disputing concerning its nature, we may with the Scholastics stir up this fire by the sword of contention beyond what is right.

The adjuncts of infernal punishments are: (1) inequality.

IX. Various adjuncts of those infernal punishments can be noticed. In the first place, inequality according to the various relations of the sins, which is supported by various passages of Scripture. "I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment, than for you" (Mt. 11:22). "That servant, which knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes" (Lk. 12:47, 48). "On account of this ye shall receive a greater condemnation" (*krima perissoteron*, Mt. 23*:14). Reason also persuades us of this because a punishment ought to answer to the guilt, according to the

order of distributive justice. Now the guilt is unequal, for some sins are more heinous than others. Therefore the punishments also ought to be unequal, that God may render to each one his due and according to his works. However, the inequality is not to be examined with regard to extension or duration, because to both will be assigned an eternity of punishments (as we will presently show); not with regard to species, but with regard to degrees.

2. The greatness and intensity of punishments.

X. (2) The magnitude and intensity of the punishments are so great as can be neither conceived by the mind, nor expressed in words; as to both multitude and universality (inasmuch as they will be tortured not only in the body, but in the soul), nor in one part alone of the former or faculty of the latter, but in all (as they have sinned in all). Nor with only one species of pain and torment, but with all that can be imagined. And indeed with the greatest intensity and degree that the state of the damned will admit. On this account, they are wont to be set forth by the most sad and bitter things, the "gnawing worm," "fire" perpetually "burning," "weeping" and "gnashing of teeth," the "pangs" and "pains of childbirth"; by "disgrace," confusion and ignominy; by perplexity and the most dreadful torment; and by other similar expressions which exhibit some idea (but altogether imperfect) of the unspeakable tortures they will suffer in the soul as well as in the body. All these sufficiently and more than sufficiently evince the falsity of the figment of those who make the punishments of the wicked to consist in annihilation and nonexistence (*anyparxia*). For to what end would they be described by the most dreadful pains and torments if it is to be a mere punishment of loss or annihilation? Why should Christ say of a man doomed to the punishment of hell, "It had been good for that man if he had not been born" (Mt. 26:24)? Nor can it be said that it is called everlasting death and fire not with regard to itself, but with regard to its effects because it reduces him to that state whence they say no one can return. For thus eternal death would overhang and ought to be denounced not only against men, but also against brutes.

3. Duration and extent.

XI. (3) Duration and extension belong to the punishments, not only in their uninterrupted continuity (inasmuch as the damned will have no interval of rest and relaxation from these most direful torments, but will be tortured day and night, Rev. 14:11; 20:10), but also in their perpetuity and eternity, which will be an immortality as it were of death itself. Hence it is said to be "everlasting shame," "eternal and inextinguishable fire," "never ending death." Thus the infinite demerit of sin is visited as it were with a punishment infinite in duration. And on this account the more justly, that as he will never cease to sin against God, so neither to be punished by him. The guilt of fault will always remain and not be extinguished by any expiation because no place will be given for repentance, but sinners will always be inflamed with madness and hatred against the Judge and will curse him in the midst of the flames. Thus the wrath of God, the most just avenger of crimes, will rest upon them for ever. Hence will arise despair and raging as the inevitable consequence because no way of escape will be found out of that most horrible prison.

XII. Hence is evident the worthlessness of the comment of Origen and his followers, who, being preposterously merciful, maintain a certain end of the punishments of the Devil and the wicked; and when they have fulfilled it, they will at length be delivered from them. For since the Scriptures so often assert the eternity of those punishments and compare it with the absolute eternity of the joys of the blessed, who can dream of a limited eternity here? Nor are the greatness and infinity of mercy to be opposed here. For this belongs to the vessels of mercy, not of wrath; to the blessed, not to the damned; for judgment without mercy will belong to them who did not exercise mercy. Nor will the future age be a time of mercy, but only the present because then the gate will be shut, nor will there be any place for pardon.

Eighth Question: Eternal Life

Will eternal life consist in the vision of God or in the love and enjoyment of him? And under what symbols is it usually described and why?

I. To the eternal death which awaits the damned, eternal life is opposed (to wit, the fulfillment and crown of all of Christ's benefits). A light sketch (*skiagraphia*) and brief delineation of this shall place the crown upon our work also, provided only it is lawful to sketch with a human pencil so great a good as neither eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of anyone to conceive and will not enter until we, obtaining our wish, ascend thither and know as we are known, and no longer walk by faith, but by sight.

Eternal life is taken in different senses.

II. Eternal life is not taken here metonymically for Christ, the author of eternal life (as he is frequently designated by this name). "We show unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father" (1 Jn. 1:2). "This is the true God, and eternal life" (1 Jn. 5:20). Nor it is taken for the way to life, in which sense the commandment of the Father is said to be everlasting life (Jn. 12:50). Nor for the beginning of this life, as the knowledge of God and of Christ is said to be eternal life (Jn. 17:3); and the spiritual life of grace is called eternal life, which the pious are said to have now (Jn. 6:54; 1 Jn. 5:13). For the life of grace does not differ except in degree from the life of glory, for grace is nothing else than glory begun, as glory is grace consummated. But it is taken here properly for that most happy state of the blessed in which they will have a perfect deliverance from all evils, of the body as well as of the mind, and an aggregation of all blessings in that communion of the saints, and a most delightful and never ending fruition, which is begun at once in the soul after death and will be fully consummated in the whole man as to soul and body after the resurrection.

Objective and formal blessedness.

III. Now although this supreme good is incomprehensible (*akatalēpton*) and unutterable (*aneklalēton*) to us in this vale of miseries, still we can in some measure describe it, following the torch of the Scriptures shining before us. And here before all things we must distinguish between objective and formal blessedness. The former is God, with whom alone all the conditions of supreme good are found because he is the universal good, perfect and

infinite, abundantly sufficient to satiate our desire, constant and eternal and on that account supremely desirable. Here belong the various passages of Scripture which affirm that perfect happiness can be found in God alone (Gen. 15:1; Pss. 16:5; 36:10; 42:1, 2; 73:26, 28; Jn. 17:3; 1 Cor. 15:28). Formal blessedness consists in the noblest operation of the soul about God as its supreme good by which it is most intimately united with it and unceasingly and for ever cleaves to him.

IV. We use the word "operation" rather than "habit" because an operation is the ultimate perfection of man, to which the habits themselves are subordinated; but this operation ought not to be transient, but immanent; not sensitive, but intellectual because as it is occupied about a most perfect and most noble object, it ought itself also to be most noble and most perfect; also because there is no operation of the sense which can reach God, who is a Spirit and whom no one ever saw, or can see. For although a sensitive operation may in some way concur antecedently to blessedness in the state of the way (since faith comes by hearing); still it cannot in our native country concur with it except consequently, inasmuch as from the happiness of the mind glory will flow over into the body and the sensitive operations which will have place in heaven will also be perfected.

Does it consist in vision or in love?

V. If it is asked further, Of what faculty of the soul is the operation, of the intellect or of the will? the Scholastics are divided on this point. Some with Thomas Aquinas hold that it is the intellect and maintain that the blessedness consists in the vision of God. However, others with Scotus hold that it is the will, who on this account place happiness in the love of him. But both are at fault in this—they divide things that ought to be joined together and hold that happiness is placed separately, either in vision or in love, since it consists conjointly in the vision and the love of God. Thus neither sight without love, nor love without sight constitutes its form. This the Scripture teaches, describing it now by "sight" (1 Cor. 13:12; 2 Cor. 5:7; 1 Jn. 3:2), then by "love" and perfect holiness (1 Jn. 4:16; 1 Cor. 13:13).

Proof that three things concur here: sight, love, joy.

VI. But in order to understand more fully that most blissful state, we think the three things are to be united here which inseparably cohere with each other in happiness: sight, love, joy. From these effloresces that ineffable glory with which the blessed will shine for ever on account of their fruition of the supreme good. For as that happiness is the full and ultimate perfection of the soul and all its faculties, so it requires the operation of all the powers, every imperfection having been removed (i.e., perfect vision, and from it supreme joy and consolation). Sight contemplates God as the supreme good; love is carried out towards him, and is most closely united with him; and joy enjoys and acquiesces in him. Sight perfects the intellect, love the will, joy the conscience. Sight answers to faith, which is the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen, which will then be changed into sight because we will no longer walk by faith, but by sight, beholding God face to face. Love consummated, by which we will be united with God, will answer to love begun, which sanctifies the heart. Joy answers to hope, which accompanies the fruition of the thing hoped for. Vision begets love. God cannot be seen without being loved; love draws joy after it because he cannot be possessed without filling with joy. Vision is opposed to the banishing of the damned from his face and to the most dense darkness of ignorance in which they lie; love to the most furious hatred which they cherish towards him; joy to the dreadful despair and wailing which will arise from the multiplicity and continuity of the torments they will feel.

VII. If at any time the Scriptures seem to place happiness and eternal life either in the vision of God (as 1 Cor. 13:12; Mt. 5:8 and elsewhere) or in love (as Jn. 17:26; 1 Jn. 4:16) or in joy (as Mt. 25:21; Rev. 21:4), this is not to be understood exclusively, but synecdochically. For since these three are mutually connected by an indissoluble bond, one being posited, the others are also supposed; for as vision necessarily draws after it love and joy, so joy necessarily supposes vision and love.

What is the beatific vision of God?

VIII. However, that we may say something of these three parts; the beatific vision implies the most perfect and clear knowledge of God and of divine things, such as can belong to a finite creature, opposed to the imperfect and

obscure knowledge which is possessed here by faith. Paul excellently teaches this: “For we know in part, and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away” (1 Cor. 13:9, 10*). “For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known” (v. 12*). In this life, our knowledge is only specular, which exhibits to us the images of things in the mirror of his works or of the word, but not the things themselves. Nor only specular, but also enigmatical because frequently under an enigma (i.e., under the veil of obscurer figures the mysteries are proposed), which increases the imperfection of our knowledge. But then (to wit, in the other life) there will no longer be a place either for a mirror or an enigma because “we shall see face to face.” This enigmatical and specular knowledge will cease to make room for intuitive vision, which apprehends the thing itself, every veil being removed; not from afar and inverted, but before; not obscurely and enveloped, but most clearly and distinctly; not in part but most fully, which will answer to God’s knowledge of us: “I shall know even as also I am known” (1 Cor. 13:12). However, the distinction between the Creator and the creature is preserved, so that only a similarity, not an equality is denoted.

IX. Concerning this vision of God various questions are brought forward. Whether it can be done with corporeal eyes. And whether the saints will see immediately the very essence of God. We briefly remark: (1) one vision is ocular, sensible and external, another mental, intellectual and internal; (2) one is the natural of reason, another the supernatural and spiritual of faith; (3) one symbolic and enigmatic, the other intuitive and beatific; (4) one apprehensive and inadequate, the other adequate and comprehensive.

God cannot be seen with the bodily eyes.

X. This being established, we say (1) that God or the divine essence neither has been seen nor can be by the bodily eyes. First, the Scriptures enumerate invisibility among the essential and immutable properties of God and deny to men not only the act, but also the power of seeing him. The passages are: Col. 1:15; 1 Tim. 1:17; 6:16; Heb. 11:27; Ex. 33:20. Second, God is an incorporeal and simple Spirit, who accordingly cannot fall under a sense of

the body because power is not carried beyond its own object. Third, sight in the other life will succeed to faith (2 Cor. 5:7). Now this is mental and intellectual, not sensual. Finally, neither the whole essence can thus be seen (because there is no proportion between the faculty and the object, between the finite and the infinite); nor a part (because it would thus be made divisible and mortal).

XI. This opinion is not opposed by Job 19:25, where Job says that he will see God with his eyes. He is speaking here of God considered not essentially (*ousiōdōs*) but hypostatically (*hypostatikōs*) (to wit, of him who is called Goel, that is, of the sight of the incarnate Son of God with respect to his human nature). This is also the meaning of the passage in 1 Jn. 3:2. This error is no more favored by those other passages which speak of the vision of God (Pss. 16:11; 17:15; 1 Cor. 13:12) because they refer to a mental vision metaphorically, as is evident from the attending circumstances; or to the symbolic vision in his works (Rom. 1:20) or in assumed bodies (Gen. 32:24–32; Ex. 33:19–23; Is. 6:5).

XII. Although by the resurrection the eyes will become spiritual as to qualities, they are not on that account changed into spirits, but remain corporeal, as the body itself although it becomes spiritual is always a body. Nor if God is less distant infinitely from a created intellect than from the bodily sight, does it follow (if the created intellect is raised by supernatural light to knowing God intuitively) that the bodily sight can also be raised to knowing God as to his essence. The reason is widely different. (a) For the Scriptures teach that God is seen mentally, not ocularly. (b) God is by nature knowable, not, however, visible. (c) A faculty can be elevated above its own natural grade by supernatural grace, but not above its own species and the object analogous to it.

God is not seen with a comprehensive vision.

XIII. (2) That God cannot be seen by the creature with an adequate and comprehensive vision, but only with an inadequate and apprehensive because the finite is not capacious of the infinite. In this sense John of Damascus truly said, “The deity is incomprehensible” (*akatalēpton to theion*, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 1.4 [NPNF2, 9:3; PG 94.797]). And if anywhere the saints are said to be apprehenders, this is not to be

understood in relation to vision as if they could apprehend God, but in relation to the course and the goal. For the race having been finished, they are said to have apprehended (i.e., to have reached the goal, Phil. 3:13, 14).

God can be seen by spiritual vision alone.

XIV. (3) That God can be seen of man by a spiritual and internal vision alone. In this life, indeed, by the light of grace and by the specular knowledge of faith; in the other life, however, by an intuitive and far more perfect beatific vision and by the light of glory. But whether the soul will immediately see the very essence of God or only some reflection of it (*apaugasma*), rather the brightness and glory suitable to the other life, because the Scripture does not disclose it to us, so neither should we rashly define anything concerning it. On this account the more, that the vision of God belongs to that class of things which neither eye has seen nor ear heard, and God (concerning the sight of whom it is treated) dwells in inaccessible light, which no man has seen or can see. Still that seems to us the more probable opinion which asserts that the essence of God cannot be immediately attained by the saints so as to be seen just as it is, on account of the infinite disproportion and distance between the finite and the infinite. Nor is what is said of the sight of face to face an objection, because it denotes only a clearer mode of the divine knowledge in comparison with the knowledge of faith (as we have already remarked).

XV. This perfection of the intellect by the beatific vision will be followed by no less a consummation of the will by absolute holiness and by a most pure and intense love to arise from that infinite light and the celestial intuition of it. By it we will cleave so unchangeably to God that we shall in a measure be transformed into him by a participation of the divine nature. In this sense David says, “I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness” (Ps. 17:15). And Christ asks for believers “that they all may be one” (Jn. 17:23), viz., through love; and that the love wherewith the Father has loved him may be in them and he in them (v. 26). On this account, Paul prefers charity to the other virtues and gifts because “it never fails” (1 Cor. 13:8, 13). For prophecies shall fail, tongues shall cease, and knowledge shall vanish away. Nay, even faith itself and hope, which remain here on the way, must be changed in our native country: the former indeed into sight and the

latter into fruition; but charity will abide for ever. However, this love will not be imperfect and languid, such as the love implanted in our souls here by the Holy Spirit, which is never absolutely purged from the filth of lust and from self-love, but it will be most pure and perfect, loving nothing but God, or in God. From this will afterwards flow a perfect likeness of the saints to God, the fulfillment of their desires and of their perfect happiness, to which tends, and in which is consummated, the covenant of God. This is nothing else than a certain effusion and emanation (*aporroē*) of the deity upon the souls of the saints, communicating to them the image of all his perfections, as much as they can belong unto a creature.

XVI. The third part of happiness will be joy flowing from the vision and love of God and the fruition by love, not light and momentary, not false and impure (such as the earthly, which is at once changed into sadness and grief), but true, pure, unspeakable and eternal, which no one shall take away from us (Jn. 16:22; 1 Pet. 1:6). This is expressed by fulness of joy, pleasures for evermore and the wiping away of all tears (Ps. 16:11; Is. 25:8; Rev. 21:4). It will arise from the possession of God himself, which, as he is the supreme good, embraces the universality and perpetuity of all blessings. Whatever is desired will be present there, nor will anything be desired which is not becoming. God will be seen without end, loved without cloying, praised without weariness. "And he will be all in all" (1 Cor. 15:28) inasmuch as he will pour immediately upon the saints his light, love, holiness, joy, glory, life and a fulness of all blessings and will dwell in them for ever (Rev. 21:3). Here God in grace communicates himself to his people mediately by the word and sacraments and imparts his gifts not fully, but in part. But then he will communicate himself immediately to the saints, nor only in part but fully and wholly (*holōs*). He will be "all things" as to the universality of good things which can be required for absolute happiness and "in all" as to the universality of the subjects because he will bestow all these blessings undividedly upon all the blessed. Here belongs what is said in Rev. 21:22, 23: "I saw no temple in the city: for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it. And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof."

XVII. Now from this communion with God will arise that wonderful glory with which the saints will be endowed both as to the soul and as to the

body. And as to the former, indeed by perfect knowledge and holiness; and as to the latter, by a removal of all misery, pollution and weakness of every kind, arising not only from sin, but also from the condition of animal life which had obtained communication into a state of innocence and incorruption and spirituality; as to both by a happy immortality, to be enjoyed by the whole man in communion with God for ever, which on this account Paul calls "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory" (*baros aiōnion doxēs kath' hyperbolēn eis hyperbolēn*, 2 Cor. 4:17) under which the mind is so overwhelmed, that it is better expressed by silence and wonder than by eloquence.

XVIII. However, because that unspeakable blessedness can be neither conceived by the mind nor expressed in words, in order to give us some idea of it, the Scriptures are wont to describe it in different ways: now negatively, by the absence of all evil, both of fault and of punishment; then positively, by the presence and fruition of all good. There will be neither any sin, nor any cause of sin; no effects and consequences of sin, calamities, pains, torments; and neither temporal nor eternal death. To this those passages of Scripture refer in which the happiness of the pious is described by a removal of all evils. "The Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces" (Is. 25:8). "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever" (32:17). "Sorrow and sighing shall flee away" (35:10). "They shall not hunger nor thirst; neither shall the heat nor sun smite them: for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them" (49:10). "The former troubles are forgotten and they are hid from mine eyes" (65:16). "The voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying" (65:19). To which add these in Revelation: "They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters: and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes" (7:16, 17). "And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away" (21:4). Hence it is called "a rest" from all the troubles and toils of life. But it would be insufficient to be freed from all evil unless there would be the presence and fulness of all good, whether virtuous or useful or agreeable, as

that nothing could be desired more. There will be light without darkness, joy without grief, peace without war, glory without disgrace, tranquility without labor, security without fear, truth without falsehood, happiness without misery, riches without poverty and life without death. Augustine: "Enter into joy without sorrow, which contains all pleasure, where every good will be and not any evil. Where life will be vital, sweet and loveable, and always memorial (*memoriales*); where there will be no assaulting enemy, nor any snares, but supreme and certain security, secure tranquility and tranquil pleasure and pleasurable happiness; a happy eternity, eternal blessedness and the blessed vision of God, which is the joy of the Lord thy God. O joy above joy! Joy overcoming all joy; joy besides which there is no joy … When shall I enter into thee, that I may see my God, who dwells in thee?" (*in Solil*. cap. 35+). There are many more such descriptions of eternal life to be found in his works. Thus Cyprian: "They will not taste how sweet the Lord is, but will be filled and satiated with a wonderful sweetness; nothing will be wanting to them, nothing will be absent from them, Christ being present will fulfil all their desire … God will be all in all and his presence will fill all the appetites of the soul and the body" ("De Ascensione Christi," [att. to Cyprian] in "Arnold Carnotensis, Opera," p. 59 Cyprian, *Opera* [ed. John Oxoninsem, 1682]). Prosper: "The joys of eternal life will always be what they are; Of rejoicing because the cause will be God himself" (*Epigrammatum ex Sententii S. Augustini* 37 [PL 51.509]).

XIX. Not only by the absence of all evil and the presence of all good is happiness described, but allegorically also under symbols of the most excellent, sweet, useful things (which are wont to be held in the highest estimation among men) is it accustomed to be adumbrated, so that some idea of it may be presented to our minds. Thus, the Scripture by a marvelous condescension (*synkatabasin*) accommodates itself to us and uses the language of men (*bhlshvn 'dhm*). For if God would open to men divine and celestial things in divine and celestial words, he could not be understood by them. Thus both on account of our weakness and on account of the sublimity of the things themselves, God borrows our words. And as grace is designated by legal, so glory by terrestrial figures, while under the image of those things (which are the first or the principal of their kind or thought to be so by men), the Scriptures set forth to us eternal happiness. These are not to be considered separately, but collectively (*athroōs*) and

conjointly, that in their conjunction a certain, but always imperfect and rude delineation of so great a happiness may be possessed. Hence because every kind of good is usually divided into three species (the virtuous, the useful and the agreeable), it is wont to be most frequently adumbrated under that threefold relation (*schesei*); now under the idea of a kingdom and dignity, then of riches and treasures, then again of pleasures of all sorts—all of these being comprehended under the one term "glory." Hence it is at one time taken for the majesty of rulers and magistrates (Jd. 8); then for resources and power because the rich are wont to glory in these, to which Paul seems to refer when he speaks of "the riches of glory" (Eph. 3:16), i.e., the excellent; then again for pleasing beauty and appearance, as the glory of the flesh, the glory of the stars, the glory of the lily (i.e., the distinguished splendor and magnificent light which makes the appearance of beauty because beauty consists especially in light). Hence the spouse is said to be "all glorious within" (i.e., fair and beautiful, Ps. 45:13). Also "a glorious church" (Eph. 5:27) because she is crowned with and rejoices in that threefold kind of good.

XX. Again, because nothing is usually more grateful than light, glory and grace are frequently adumbrated under the image of light. "In thy light shall we see light" (Ps. 36:9); "Arise, shine; for thy light is come" (Is. 60:1). As the empire of Satan is the power of darkness, so the kingdom of God is a kingdom of light: "It is the inheritance of the saints in light" (Col. 1:12). "The city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof" (Rev. 21:23). Because nothing is more desired than peace and rest, there eternal peace and the rest of the Lord will be. Because nothing is more pleasant than a feast and indeed a nuptial feast, hence eternal life is often denoted by a feast in which the saints will sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Mt. 8:11; Ps. 65:4*; Is. 25:6; Rev. 3:20); also by the marriage supper of the Lamb (Rev. 19:7) at which the mystical marriage of Christ with his church is to be consummated; and by the marriage feast of the king's son (Lk. 14:16–24; Mt. 22:1–10). Because nothing is more useful than "treasures" and wealth, nothing pursued with greater avidity by the children of the world, it is repeatedly proposed to us under the image of treasures, riches and resources of all kinds (Eph. 1:14). The whole heavenly Jerusalem is said to shine with gold and gems (Rev. 21:11). Because nothing is more splendid and

magnificent than a kingdom, crown and throne, nothing is more usual than for glory to be exhibited to us under these ideas as the kingdom of God, the kingdom of heaven (Mt. 25; Col. 1:12); as an unfading crown of life, of righteousness and of glory; as a sitting upon the throne of Christ (Rev. 3:20, 21). Because nothing is more pleasant than an inheritance and a house, there is said to be prepared for us an incorruptible inheritance eternal in the heavens (1 Pet. 1:4) and a house eternal and not made with hands (*acheiropoiēton*, 2 Cor. 5:1). There is nothing in the sky brighter than the sun; the saints will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father (Mt. 13:43). There is nothing more beautiful on earth than a garden planted with fruit-bearing trees and in particular paradise; eternal life will be a paradise in which the tree of life (in the midst of which will be Christ, Rev. 2:7; 22:2) yields fruit every month. In the world nothing is greater and more glorious than a kingdom; the saints will be kings. Nothing is more to be reverenced than the priesthood; the saints will be kings and priests, a royal priesthood (*basilikon hierateuma*, 1 Pet. 2:5). Not that eternal life will furnish these same goods which are held on earth: but to intimate that nothing can be imagined so glorious and magnificent, so sweet and delightful and so useful and suitable, so beautiful and splendid that we will not have most abundantly and constantly (because perpetual duration and an interminable eternity will be added to all these good things). On this account, it is said to be light, but eternal light; a kingdom, but a heavenly kingdom; an inheritance, but an incorruptible inheritance; a crown, but an unfading crown (*amiantos*); a house, but one not made with hands (*acheiropoiētos*); a feast, but a divine feast; a paradise, but a celestial paradise; joy and gladness, but unspeakable and which no one takes away; a throne, but unshaken; a treasure, but most safe which neither thieves can steal nor moths corrupt; glory, but substantial and immutable, in comparison with which all earthly glory is nothing else than smoke and vanity of vanities.

XXI. Here belong also the various types by which the Holy Spirit wished to adumbrate happiness, such as: (1) the land of Canaan flowing with milk and honey, a most apt image of the land of the living and the celestial Canaan, which will abound with a full supply of all good things. (2) The city of Jerusalem, whose structure, state, glory and advantages are foretold, but which will be far more perfect in glory, and is described under the name

of the heavenly Jerusalem, in which will be spiritually fulfilled whatever was said formerly of the earthly (as is fully shown in Rev. 21). (3) The tabernacle of Moses and the temple of Solomon (Ps. 84:1; Eph. 2:21; Rev. 11:19; 21:3), in which was a shadow of the temple of glory and of the heavenly tabernacle where the saints will dwell with God: "Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God" (Rev. 21:3). They will not wander from the Lord, but God will be with them and will dwell with them intimately, undividedly and perpetually. They will be his people, worshipping him openly and most purely. Thus God will be their God, will embrace them as sons, will defend, save and glorify and give all his and himself to them for ever. In this most magnificent temple of eternity (not to be sought outside of God since God himself and the Lamb are that temple, Rev. 21:22), the ministry and external worship will no longer have a place; the enigmatical, specular and imperfect knowledge of God will cease; the immediate fruition of him will supply all things. There the truth of the ark of the covenant will be given (Rev. 11:19) in Christ, in whom as in the ark, God is present and propitious, the law fulfilled and the covenant of God ratified by the propitiation made by him; and of the cherubim of glory in the society of the angels; of the candlestick in the light of the Lamb (Rev. 21:23); of the golden altar in the intercession of Christ, and the Eucharistical sacrifices which are offered for ever (?Rev. 16*:7*); of the table in the communion and fruition of God by which we are satisfied with his likeness and feed on him for ever. (4) The Sabbath, which was a type of the eternal Sabbath to be spent in heaven; in which the saints, happy in soul and body, will rest in God from the sins, calamities and miseries of this life. "From one sabbath to another" (Is. 66:23); "There remaineth a rest for the people of God" (Heb. 4:9), viz., for true believers, covenanted with God, there remains a rest, not only evangelical of grace through peace of conscience and cessation from the slavish works of sin, but also a heavenly and eternal, where after the labors of this life are finished there will be granted an eternal rest from every evil work and a relaxation from all misery with all joy and tranquility. We dismiss the many other similar symbols proposed in Revelation: as of the hidden manna, the white stone, the tree of life, the white robes, the palms in their hands, most plentiful feasting, and the fountains of living waters which the saints will drink. By

all these, the Holy Spirit wishes to demonstrate that that state will be most happy from an aggregation and abundance of all kinds of good things.

XXII. Further, to augment the glory and greatness of this happiness the following circumstances contribute not a little. (1) God will communicate himself wholly to the saints. Earthly goods are so insignificant that they cannot be given to many without being diminished. What each one acquires for himself is taken from another. This is not injustice, but the littleness of our goods, says Seneca (cf. *Epistulae Morales* 118.12 [Loeb, 3:366–67]). But as the good which the saints possess is infinite, the whole is communicated to all undividedly. Therefore, the happiness of one will not interfere with that of another; as the same light communicates itself wholly to each and all, so also the eternal light to the saints. "Thy God will be wholly thine," says Augustine. "He, an entire whole, will possess you entirely whole. You will have the whole and the other the whole because thou and he are one" ("First Discourse on Ps. 36," 12 [ACW 30:264–65; PL 36.363]). (2) The same good will produce joys of all kinds and will satisfy all desires. Creatures of whatever kind, because finite, also have a finite and limited use; nor can they be cured of all evils or procure all goods. Light illuminates, but does not nourish; food nourishes, but does not cover; garments cover, but do not heal; medicines heal, but do not protect. But the saints will find in God whatever is necessary for them; for as he is infinite and the inexhaustible fountain of all blessings, he also has that with which he can satisfy the necessities and desires of all. The same one who illuminates, feeds, heals, protects, enriches and works all things in all. (3) Neither does the desire of happiness produce anxiety, nor the fruition of happiness produce disgust. Other good things cannot be desired without anxiety (which keeps the desirer on the rack), nor can they be possessed without loathing. The absence of them torments us and their presence is wearisome because we acknowledge their imperfection and vanity and every desire has as its attendants need and grief. "To whatever thing I shall have turned myself," says Augustine, "when obtained it becomes cheap, although when desired it inflamed" (*Ennaratio in Psalmum CII* [PL 37.1323]). But the supreme good is desired without anxiety, is possessed without disgust. "Since the desire does not give birth to punishment, nor satiety produce loathing. God when present is not thought less of, if he is loved when absent. It is necessary that the attainment have more than the

thought formed." Augustine says the same thing elsewhere: "There is in them desire, but it does not generate punishment because every desire passes over into joy, while whatever is wished for is at hand and whatever is desired abounds"+.

XXIII. And from this a perfection of blessedness arises which excludes all defect and misery, takes away all weariness and loathing, and so fully satisfies the appetite that it can seek or desire nothing more beyond it because it acquiesces in the possession of the supreme good. For every good below the highest cannot make perfectly happy because it always has in itself a defect of some good, nor does it exclude all disgust. But the infinite good fills and satiates the appetite most abundantly because in possessing God, it possesses all things. On this account, it is described in the plural by "fulness of joys and of pleasures" (Ps. 16:11) to designate the plenitude of blessings in the fruition of God. "Thou hast made us, O Lord, for thyself," says Augustine, "and my heart is restless, if it does not rest in thee" (*Confessions* 1.1 [FC 21:41; PL 32.661]). To the fulness and universality of blessings is added both their continuity, suffering no interruption or variation even for a moment, on account of the continual and constant fruition of God; and their eternity, which will have no end or limit because it will give eternal communion with the eternal God. This present life with all its blessings is unstable and momentary, a fleeing shadow, failing smoke, a vapor quickly passing away, a flower springing up and immediately withering; but the heavenly will be constant and interminable, salvation will be eternal, joy everlasting, a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; a "weight" in opposition to the shortness of present good and evil; an "eternal weight" by antithesis to the brief and momentary afflictions of this life.

XXIV. But whatever symbols are used, drawn from earthly things to adumbrate that happiness, it must always be recollected that they are employed allegorically and ought to be understood mystically so that we do not here with Mohammed invent a delirium of earthly and carnal happiness which will have splendid palaces, royal feasts, silken garments, dances, golden rings and a terrestrial paradise abounding in all carnal pleasures and delight, so frequently described in his Koran. These belong rather to brutes than to men and are so incongruous and opposed to the true happiness of rational men, that to have stated is to have refuted them.

NINTH QUESTION

What are the endowments and qualities of glorified bodies?

I. Although in the preceding question we have treated in general of the blessed state of eternal life, yet because it can be inquired in particular concerning the happiness of the glorified bodies or the gifts and qualities belonging to them, we must add a few things concerning them also as far as they are revealed in the word of God.

The glory of the bodies is considered in general.

II. And here we say in general, first, the glory of the bodies can be regarded either negatively, as to their ransom (*apolytrōsin*) or redemption (referred to by Paul, Rom. 8:13), by which they are to be rescued from all corruption, mortality, sin, misery, vanity, and all the evils to which they are exposed by sin. This the apostle explains by "deliverance from the bondage of corruption and from vanity" (Rom. 8:21), i.e., from the corruption and vanity to which they are now exposed and the slavish service they are bound to give to men. Or it may be regarded positively in the glorious transformation into the likeness of Christ's glorious body; not with a change of substance, but only in reference to qualities. In this sense the verb *metaschēmatizesthai* (used by Paul in Phil. 3:21) is often taken for a change of accidents merely (Rom. 12:2; 1 Cor. 4:6; 2 Cor. 11:13, 14; 1 Pet. 1:14); just as *schēma* also properly signifies an external appearance and habit (1 Cor. 7:31; Phil. 2:8). In this sense, Christ is said "to have been transfigured" (*metamorphōtheis*) before his disciples (Mt. 17:2), when his face did shine as the sun; not that the substance of his body was destroyed, but "because the fashion of his countenance was altered" (Lk. 9:29*).

In particular as to the gifts, what they are.

III. Second, in particular as to the gifts and qualities belonging to them. Some enumerate more, others fewer; some restricting them to the number ten, others to the number seven. The Scholastics commonly reduce them to four which are so many properties of the light which will shine in the bodies

of the blessed (viz., splendor, impassibility, subtility and agility). These correspond well to the four qualities ascribed by the apostle to glorified bodies: “It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonor; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: it is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body” (1 Cor. 15:42–44). Impassibility answers to incorruption, splendor to glory, agility to power and subtility to spirituality. We must say something of each of these according to the order of the apostle.

1. Incorruption.

IV. The first quality ascribed to them is incorruptibility (*aphtharsia*). This consists (a) in immortality, inasmuch as they can neither be corrupted as to parts, nor dissolved as to the whole because mortality will be swallowed up by life (2 Cor. 5:4). “This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory” (1 Cor. 15:53*, 54). Here belongs the passage “Death and hell were cast into the lake of fire” (Rev. 20:14) (i.e., shall be entirely destroyed and extinguished and shall no longer have any power over the saints); also the passage “There shall be no more death” (Rev. 21:4). The argument is drawn from the removal of the cause. Death is the effect of sin, but then sin will be fully expiated and purged away. Thus the saints will be confirmed in good so that they cannot sin and being thus confirmed in life that they cannot die; like Christ, who, having once died to sin, dies no more, but lives to God (Rom. 6:9); and the angels. “Neither can they die any more,” said Christ “for they are equal unto the angels” (Lk. 20*:36).

V. This immortality of the body, however, must be carefully distinguished: (1) from the immortality of God, who “alone” is said to have “immortality” (1 Tim. 6:16). He is immortal essentially and of himself by an absolute and perfect impossibility of dying; but the saints are immortal by grace from the beatific vision of God. (2) From the immortality of Adam, which was the power of not dying. Augustine: “The first immortality which Adam lost by sinning, was the being able not to die, the last will be the impossibility of being able to die” (CG 22.30 [FC 24:507; PL 41.802]).

But this will be the absolute inability to die. His was limited because as he was able not to sin; he was also able not to die if he had not sinned. But because the saints will not be able anymore to sin, so they will neither be able to die. The former immortality takes away the act of dying, but does not exclude all power of dying (at least a remote); while the latter abolishes both. (3) From the immortality of angels and of souls. For these are immortal by the grace of creation and on account of their immaterial and spiritual essence; but the bodies of the saints will be immortal by the special dispensation of God and the perfect restoration of the divine image. (4) From the immortality of the damned, by which they are said to live for ever, that they may die for ever; "they shall seek death" to put an end to their torments, but "death shall flee from them" (Rev. 9:6). Thus their immortality is nothing else than an immortality of punishment and of death itself; but the immortality of the saints will be to glory and happiness. That does not deliver from the passions because they will be tortured no less in soul than in body; but this will be joined with an incapability of suffering (*impassibilitate*).

VI. To this immortality belongs impassiblity, by which they will be subject to no passions at all, internal or external. Not to internal because there will no longer be in them the tinder of concupiscence, no defilement of sin, no inordinate desire (*pathos*)—but they will be wholly pure and uncontaminated. In this sense, Paul says flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven (i.e., as to their depravity or misery). Not to external either, because there will no longer be anything which can bring suffering or grief to them, for divine irradiation will keep them safe from all danger, necessity and evil. "They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat" (Rev. 7:16). "There shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain" (Rev. 21:4). Thus neither from without nor from within can they suffer anything; perfect health and a good state (*euexia*) of body will keep them free from all disease; an entire removal of all evils and the possession of all good will deliver them from all misery and danger.

2. Brightness and glory.

VII. The second quality ascribed by the apostle to glorified bodies is glory (*doxa*) or brightness, opposed to ignominy. “It is sown in dishonor [*en atimia*], but it is raised in glory” (*en doxa*, 1 Cor. 15:43), which is elsewhere described by splendor and light. “Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father” (Mt. 13:43). “There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars” (1 Cor. 15:41). Now as dishonor denotes the meanness of human nature liable to various defects, so this glory will consist of a splendor and beauty of the body by which they will shine and glitter like the stars and the sun, hardly capable of being looked at by mortal eyes. A certain prelude and specimen of this was exhibited under the Old Testament in the case of Moses, whose face from his interview with God was illuminated with so great light and brightness that he was compelled to veil it because the Israelites could not endure its brightness (*atenisai*) (Ex. 34:29). The same specimen, but far more illustrious, was given under the New Testament in the transfiguration of Christ. “His face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light” (Mt. 17:2). However, that splendor will flow both from the blessed vision of God, whom we shall see face to face, and from the glorious view of Christ exalted in his kingdom; and it will be nothing else than the irradiation of God’s glory, from which the bodies will be made to shine. And if the rays of the sun penetrate through glass, crystals and other transparent bodies, why should the rays of the sun of righteousness not penetrate the glorified bodies and make them exceedingly bright? To that glory belongs the restitution of bodies; not only to perfect health, but also to absolute integrity. They will grow into that stature which is exactly becoming to the glorious bodies and the most perfect operations of the happy souls in them because in that best and most perfect state no imperfection ought to remain.

3. Power.

VIII. The third quality is power and strength. “It is sown in weakness; it is raised in power” (1 Cor. 15:43). “As Christ was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God. So we also are weak in him, but we shall live with him by the power of God toward you” (2 Cor. 13:4). This power will be placed both in the strength of the bodies, which will be strong and

vigorous, able to effect anything (which indeed can be effected by a creature), and in the agility and velocity by which they will be able to move themselves most readily from place to place, to ascend or descend (as is clear from the example of Christ). However, both depend upon the removal of the causes of weakness because there will be nothing whatever either within or without which will be able to interfere with the soundness, strength and firmness of the glorified bodies; but being freed from the useless weight of the flesh they will be full of spirit and consequently agile and swift to exercise promptly their own operations. Before, they were fragile, exposed to various infirmities and vicissitudes; but then they will be vigorous, firm and strong, able to perform their duties rightly.

4. Spirituality.

IX. The fourth is spirituality. "It is sown a natural body [*psychikon*], it is raised a spiritual body" (*pneumatikon*, 1 Cor. 15:44). That is called "the animal body" to which the soul gives animal life, needing food and clothing, propagated by carnal generation and common to the brutes themselves. It is governed and sustained by the natural operations of the soul. But the spiritual body is that which is endowed with spiritual qualities and no longer needs meat, drink, clothing for the sustentation of that animal life. Therefore, this spiritual does not refer to the very substance of the soul, as if it was to be changed into a spirit, for thus it could no longer be called a body, but a spirit. Rather it refers to qualities. First, inasmuch as the bodies will be perfectly purged from all earthly impurity and defilement, all the senses will be made purer and all the motions and actions more perfect. Again, because they will be removed from the necessities of this animal life, sleep, rest, meat, drink, medicines, clothing and the like, which we need every day for the sustentation of our life; but they will be equal (*isangela*) unto the angels (Lk. 20:36). Finally, they will perfectly subject themselves to the Holy Spirit and to the soul born again through him and so they will be free for spiritual actions only. The cause of this will be a perfect regeneration of the body as well as of the soul.

X. Hence the Socinians falsely gather from this spirituality that those bodies will be destitute of flesh and blood, skin and bones and organic parts. Yet it is one thing to be a spirit; another to be spiritual. The former can be

understood only substantively; the latter qualitatively also. However, to feign either that a spirit is corporeal or a body spiritual substantially, is to maintain an opposite in an apposite. Nor if the saints are said to be made equal (*isangeloi*) to the angels by their resurrection (Mt. 22:30) does this refer to the substance of the body, but only to its gifts and glory.

XI. But neither can the Ubiquitarians elicit from this spirituality the illocality, invisibility, impalpability and penetrability of glorified bodies to help their hypothesis; as if they are no longer circumscribed by place or fall under the sight or touch; or can they be mutually penetrated. For since they always retain the nature of a true body and these are its inseparable properties, it is clear that such things cannot be ascribed to them without a contradiction. For as a body is extended, for that very reason it ought to be circumscribed and quantitative, to be located in a certain space, visible, tangible, impenetrable and constant in its dimensions. Nor is the contrary gathered either from the spirituality of the body, because although it implies a change of qualities, still it does not destroy the true nature and substance of the body (as we have said). Or, from the glorification of Christ's body, which certainly gives glory to it, but does not take away its nature (as was seen in its place). Or, from conformity with angels, which has reference to immortality, the single estate (*agamian*) and similar accidental gifts of the blessed, but not the substance of the body and its essential properties; otherwise it would be changed into a spirit. Or, from the subtility and agility of their bodies, because of whatever kind it may be, it ought not to overthrow the nature of the body from which extension, locality and impenetrability are inseparable.

Tenth Question

Will there be degrees of glory? And will the glory in heaven be equal or unequal and unlike?

I. The question concerning the degrees of glory was formerly sharply contested between Jerome and Jovinian: the former asserting an inequality of glory from the inequality of merit; the latter its equality. In our day, it admits of a twofold treatment either as coming in between us and the Romanists or as it is agitated among the orthodox themselves. With the

former, the question is necessary and of faith; with the latter, however, it is problematic (in which a disagreement can exist without interfering with faith and charity).

The opinion of the Romanists concerning degrees of glory and aureolas.

II. The Romanists assert the inequality of glory from the inequality of merits which they are accustomed to place under it as a foundation. Hence the opinion of aureolas springing up among them, which they assign to certain orders of men (viz., to virgins, doctors and martyrs), by which they wish to be marked; as Thomas Aquinas observes a certain joy from works which have the relation of a certain surpassing victory and something added to the essential reward (i.e., to the joy with which each one rejoices in the union with God) (ST Suppl., Q. 96, Art. 1, p. 2982). Others hold it to be a special crown of glory with which virgins, religious teachers and martyrs (distinguished either by heroic virtue or remarkable conflicts above others on earth) will be presented in heaven. And since a crown is due to a contest where there has been a special contest, there a special crown is due (which is called an aureola). It is due to virgins on account of their extraordinary victory against the flesh; to martyrs on account of their victory over the sufferings of martyrdom, and the cause of the struggle; to religious teachers on account of the victory which they gain over Satan by their preaching and doctrine. Nor do our opponents agree among themselves concerning the value of these aureolas—whether the aureola of virgins is preferable to that of the martyrs; whether one has the same aureola more intensely than another and many other things of this kind, about which they institute foolish and endless inquiries (*zētēseis mōras kai aperantous*), which we leave to them.

It is refuted.

III. Now although we do not deny that there will be degrees of glory (as we will show hereafter), we wish the figment of these aureolas to be far away from us as most groundless (as has already been observed by us in Volume

II, Topic XVII, Question 5 near the end, where the doctrine of all merits is resisted by various arguments). To them we add: (1) that these divines falsely enter into things which they have not seen (*embateuein eis ha mē heōrakasi*), rashly and precisely determining what the Holy Spirit expressly testifies eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man to conceive. (2) If the aureolas consist in joy from works, which have the relation of some surpassing victory, they ought to be common to all the blessed because all gain a surpassing victory over the Devil, the world and sin. (3) Again, if the blessed enjoy supreme and infinite joy (which absorbs other goods) from their union with God, how is a far less and inferior added as a peculiar reward (to wit, joy from their own works)? (4) A surpassing victory, not only as to the thing, but also as to the degree of the thing is found in all virtue, which subdues the vices opposed to it. Hence there would have to be just as many aureolas as there are virtues.

IV. The passages of Scripture adduced have no bearing upon the subject. Neither Is. 56:5*, where "the Lord promises to give unto the eunuchs in his house and within his walls a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters." The passage treats not of the rewards of virgins, but of the calling of the Gentiles; also of eunuchs, who were formerly excluded from the assemblies of the people (Dt. 23:1–3) and who through the gospel would have the right of the children of God, which is a better name than of children. Not Dan. 12:3 because from this is properly gathered a certain difference of glory between religious teachers and believers. But it does not follow that such a diversity will arise from a diverse proportion of merit. Not a diversity of the contest because since every contest whatsoever and martyrdom itself is due (God calling to it, imperfect and a work of grace), it can merit no reward, much less a more excellent reward than others, although God by his special grace remunerates it with some degree of glory above other good works.

V. But this question is instituted differently among the orthodox. For they who hold to degrees of glory are far removed from the Romanists because they do not think such degrees are granted to the unequal merits of men (which they all equally deny against the Romanists), but from the mere liberality and mercy of God. Thus even blessedness itself and the degrees of blessedness are gratuitous gifts. Therefore, the question is not whether there will be an inequality of glory from an inequality of merit. And whether its

degrees arise from the degrees of holiness and perfection of the saints in this life, as their meritorious cause. This both constantly deny. Rather the question is only whether there will be any inequality in the glory of the blessed, and whether its degrees are various. Second, it is not inquired concerning objective blessedness, which will be the same in all (to wit, God as the supreme good common to all the saints); but concerning formal blessedness, not indeed as to essentials, which consist of the vision and fruition of God, which will be equal, but as to accidentals which attend or follow the essence of blessedness. Third, all agree that the happiness of all the saints will be the same. Both with respect to the object because, as we have already said, the object of blessedness common to all will be God; and with respect to the subject because all the powers of the soul and all the members of the body will be gifted with celestial glory; and with respect to duration, continued and eternal, which will be the same in all; and with respect to security because all the saints will be equally certain that no danger of losing their happiness threatens them; and with respect to freedom from all evil because all will be most fully and perfectly satisfied with that glory flowing to each one from God. Therefore, this one thing is inquired: whether, besides the identity of glory in these things, there will be an inequality in others, whether in the testimony which Christ will give to the saints or in the ornaments of the soul and body, or in other things which will not belong to the essence of happiness. This many deny; we think it more probable.

Degrees of glory are proved: (1) from Dan. 12:3.

VI. First, not a few passages seem plainly to intimate it. First, “They that be wise [or teachers] shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever” (Dan. 12:3*). To religious teachers (who are meant by *hmskhvlym*) is promised a peculiar glory above those to be saved by their instrumentality; for although the word is also sometimes taken intransitively and can be so taken here (as was done by the Septuagint, which translates it by *synientes*, “intelligent” or learned and prudent), still it seems better to take it transitively on account of the following clause. There the same thing according to the custom of the prophets is expressed in different words—for “teachers” (who instruct

others in the knowledge of God) who are said also *mtsdhvqym* ("to justify many") because they show the way and by their instruction and doctrine point out and apply the means appointed for securing righteousness and especially by leading to faith, by which we are justified. Thus to ministers as secondary instruments is ascribed what primarily and principally belongs to God. In this sense, they are elsewhere said "to save" others (1 Tim. 4:16). But it is gratuitously supposed that nothing else is said by the prophet in these words concerning religious teachers than had been said concerning all the pious (Dan. 12:2). For it is clear that something more is said, namely, among those who are to be raised to life, religious teachers will have a peculiar glory (the reason being added) because they instructed and turned many to righteousness. Thus eternal life is ascribed to all the pious in common, but to the latter particularly a greater glory and brightness in eternal life, such as appears in the expanse and in the stars of the firmament. If Christ elsewhere promises to the righteous the brightness of the sun (Mt. 13:43), it does not follow that no distinction is made by Daniel in the glory of the saints. Christ speaks absolutely and indefinitely, but Daniel definitely and comparatively, comparing teachers with the others raised up whom they instructed, that he might thus strengthen them more powerfully against the dangers of their calling by the argument of peculiar and singular glory (from which a greater stimulus could spring than from the common and general argument).

2. From 1 Cor. 15:41, 42.

VII. Second, the apostle notices the diversity of splendor in the heavenly bodies. "There is one glory," says he, "of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory. So also is the resurrection of the dead" (1 Cor. 15:41, 42). Now as there are degrees of light in the sun and the stars, so also in glory. And although the object of Paul in this place is properly to show the diversity of the body which is laid down in death and is received in the resurrection, still this does not hinder the similitude from being extended further. For since he distinguishes the heavenly bodies in beauty, not only from the earthly (which conduced to his principal purpose), but also themselves from themselves, he with sufficient clearness teaches that there will be not only a

diversity of bodies, but also a disparity of glory. Otherwise that diversity of the heavenly bodies would be inapplicable. Therefore, Paul's argument returns to this: that just as the heavenly bodies differ in beauty not only from the earthly, but also among themselves in degrees of beauty, so also the bodies of the saints raised to eternal life will differ greatly not only from themselves, such as they had been before the resurrection, but also from each other according to the various degrees of splendor. In v. 41* he seems to refer to this particularly for he treats of the difference of those bodies to which belongs a certain brightness answering to the brightness either of the sun or moon or stars. And yet to the bodies which are laid aside in death, no such beauty belongs since as he expressly adds, "It is sown in dishonor; and it is raised in glory" (v. 43). Nor if our bodies are to be conformed to the glorious body of Christ by reason of splendor and other gifts does it follow that they will be conformed in degrees of brightness, either to Christ's body, or among themselves. Hence Theodoret excellently remarks that they will be conformed as to "quality" (*kata to poion*) but not as to "quantity" (*kata to poson*) (*Interpretatio Epistolae ad Philippenses* [PG 82.584] on Phil. 4:21, 22).

3. From 1 Cor. 3:14, 15.

VIII. Third, "If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire" (1 Cor. 3:14, 15). Here it is evident that the apostle speaks of the preachers and religious teachers of the church under the idea of architects who build upon a foundation already laid. He divides them into two classes (viz., those who build upon that foundation gold, silver, precious stones, that is, the true, solid and saving doctrine, suitable to and homogeneous with the foundation itself; and those who build upon it wood, hay and stubble, that is, false, curious, vain and useless doctrines). And he says that the work of each one, however for a time it may remain concealed (to wit, encrusted with specious paints and colors), will still be manifested in its own time because "that day shall declare it, and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is" (viz., either by the light of the gospel and the fire of the Holy Spirit, which will reveal the difference between both works; or at the day of the final

judgment when all works shall be uncovered and discerned). Presently following up the allegory begun, he teaches what will be the end of the divine judgment in reference to these two classes of builders. Of the former class, he says "His work shall abide" (i.e., the fire of the divine judgment, applied to his work, will prove that what he built was gold and silver, to wit, solid doctrine); he says "He shall receive a reward" (to wit, from the Lord on that day in which praise shall be given to each one by God). But as to the other class, "If any man's work shall be burned" (i.e., shall be judged to be vain and unworthy) "he shall suffer loss" (i.e., shall be deprived of the reward of his work, which the good architect shall receive for his), "but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire" (i.e., although he is condemned in his work, still he will not cease to be made a partaker of salvation, because he is supposed to have always retained the foundation). From this it is clear that according to Paul, there are teachers who, besides their own salvation, will receive in addition some reward for the work rightly done by them, of which others are destitute. He could not have said this if he had not acknowledged certain degrees of glory. But his saying that the less approved architect will be saved "as by fire" (*hōs dia pyros*) does not favor the purgatorial fire of the Romanists; for neither does the apostle say that such an one will be saved "by fire," but only "as by fire" (which differ widely from each other). Nor is it once signified that whoever is said to be saved as by fire passes through fire. This is undoubtedly a proverbial expression which denotes only the difficulty of salvation, drawn from the common language of men, by which he who is scarcely and with difficulty saved, is said to be "as a firebrand plucked out of the burning" (*dalos sōtheis ek pyros*, as in Am. 4:11). That is, this one, although he will lose his work, will yet be saved, but with difficulty, nor without danger, just as he who escapes through fire.

4. From 2 Cor. 9:6.

IX. Fourth, "He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully" (2 Cor. 9:6). Here, by as much as the beneficence was larger, by so much a greater remuneration is promised. Nor ought this to be restricted to the spiritual fruits to be received in this life, because the apostle (his own best interpreter) declares the thing

otherwise (Gal. 6:8, to wit, the present time is the time for sowing; the future will be the time of harvest). Thus they who are liberal in bestowing alms will be rewarded not only in this life, but also in the future with spiritual and heavenly blessings, whether they have been more or less benevolent, provided they acted with a sincere heart, because they sow to the Spirit (Gal. 5:22).

5. From the parable.

X. Fifth, from the parable of the talents, where the diversity of gain from the talents entrusted is compensated by diverse rewards (Lk. 19:11–26). He who gained five pounds is placed over ten cities and he who gained two, over two. This could not be said unless there was granted a diversity of reward corresponding in a certain proportion to the disparity of labor. To no purpose is it said that this must be understood of the state of the present life with respect to an increase of gifts, because he who has been faithful in a few things and has made a proper use of God's gifts is rendered worthy to have them increased and multiplied. Since subordinates are not at variance with each other (although to him that hath shall be given in this life and God is wont to crown his gifts with new gifts in his people), it cannot be inferred from this that they are not to expect rewards in the future world. And there are not wanting reasons to prove that the parable is to be extended to the remuneration of the future life. First, because it treats of a nobleman going into a far country and returning after a long time and reckoning with his servants (Mt. 25:19). This can refer to nothing else than to Christ ascending into heaven and returning to judgment on the last day. Second, the faithful servants are commanded to enter into the joy of their Lord (Mt. 25:21), while the wicked servant is cast into outer darkness. Now it is clear that both of these are to happen only on the last day. Third, the antecedent parable of the virgins and the subsequent description of the judgment confirm the same thing.

XI. Of no greater force is the additional objection, "This diversity belongs to the material and not the formal of the parable because we are here to consider only what is drawn from the scope of Christ (which is to exhort his disciples to a diligent performance of their duty and a faithful dispensation of their gifts); from the reward promised to faithful servants,

we must therefore cleave to the reward and not to the degrees of the reward." It is gratuitously supposed that this belongs to the material and not the formal of the parable since the argument of the parable itself clearly evinces the contrary. For why should he so carefully mention two or five cities, except that he might have regard to the diversity of gain, which the Lord wishes to compensate by a diversity of reward? Nor is it an objection that in Mt. 25 the same reward seems to be assigned to each servant, while Christ receives them with the same words, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things" (25:21, 23). It is one thing for the Lord to set both servants over many things; another for the same to bestow a reward as to degree upon both. For even he who is set over cities is constituted over many things on account of the great excellence of the reward above the work. Therefore, Matthew was content with mentioning the reward in general, which Luke wished to designate in particular. But by the prefecture, the dignity and glory of the cities over which the saints are to be raised is allegorically designated, as often elsewhere.

6. From the example of the patriarchs.

XII. Sixth, from the example of the patriarchs, prophets and apostles, who are set forth as the commanders and leaders of believers in glory. Here belongs what is said in Mt. 8:11, that we shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven; that Lazarus, having died, is said to have been carried into Abraham's bosom (Lk. 16:22), as the common father of all believers (Rom. 4:11, 12); what is said of Moses and Elijah in the transfiguration (Mt. 17:3); and when it is said that in the regeneration (*palingenesia*) of the world when Christ will sit upon his throne, the apostles also "will sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Mt. 19:28; Lk. 22:30). This could not be said unless there is to be a certain disparity between their glory and that of all believers. The following also have reference to this: that in the inscription on the foundations of the heavenly Jerusalem special mention is made of the twelve apostles (Rev. 21:14) and that Paul surmises correctly that the Thessalonians will be his glory and crown at the coming of the Lord. "For what is our hope," says he, "or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord

Jesus Christ at his coming" (1 Thess. 2:19). Nor do these objections have any force: (a) that it treats of the regeneration (*palingenesia*) of grace, not of glory; of a sitting not personal, but doctrinal inasmuch as the highest authority ought to belong to the apostolic doctrine in the church, from which judgment ought to be made of the faith and the life of men. Although the words may in some measure be referred to this, still it is certain that here it is specially treated of the regeneration (*palingenesia*) of glory, on account of the words added: "when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory"; and what is added of the reward which they will receive who forsake all on account of Christ (Mt. 19:29) proves the same thing. (b) What is here specially promised to the apostles is elsewhere referred to all the saints in common (1 Cor. 6:2, 3; Rev. 3:21). This must always be understood in its own order and degree, not as an exclusive prerogative of honor belonging to the apostles; just as it is said that all the righteous shall shine in the kingdom of heaven as the sun (Mt. 13:43), who nevertheless, a comparison being made between them, are distinguished by order and degree of light (1 Cor. 15:41). (c) That Paul could not be excluded from this session and dignity, since he labored more than the others (1 Cor. 15:10). As by the number twelve he is not excluded from the college of the apostles, so neither from a share in the reward of the apostles. For as he shared in the apostolic duties and work, so he ought to be a partaker of the promised reward also.

7. From John 14:2.

XIII. Seventh, from Jn. 14:2*, where Christ says, "In my Father's house are many mansions." And yet where distinct mansions are, there also, it is very likely, are degrees of glory. Nor is it to be replied that they are said to be many, not diverse, so that only a multitude and not a disparity is intimated, to denote the amplitude of the kingdom of God, where there will be room not only for one or a few, but for many. Both can be meant—both a multitude and a disparity of the multitude. For if all shall have an equal glory, what need was there to mention distinct mansions? On this passage, Cyril of Alexandria says, "The Lord, speaking in a human way of heavenly things, signified by many mansions both the ample capacity of heaven and a difference of glory" (cf. *Commentarii in Johannem* [PG 74.182] on Jn. 14:2,

3). Besides, this is to be the house not only of the blessed, but also of the angels, whose glory cannot be said to be equal in all respects.

8. From reasons.

XIV. Eighth, various reasons also can be adduced here. (a) From the retribution promised to works, according to which it is said that God will render to every man according to his works; therefore, as there are various degrees of works and labors and sufferings, so also of rewards. Nor ought it to be replied that this refers simply to the quality of the work—that it will be well with the good, evil with the wicked. For although this may be said with truth, still it is not to be understood to the exclusion of a diversity of works. For the apostle says, "Every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labor" (1 Cor. 3:8). Therefore, if labor is diverse, the reward ought also to be diverse. Therefore, as the labors of the prophets, martyrs, apostles, confessors and other heroes of the church were greater and heavier, who will not think it just that the reward also given to them by grace should be greater? (b) The same thing is proved by the diversity of gifts in this life. For if God here bestows his gifts by a diverse measure upon believers—"Unto every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ" (*kata to metron tēs dōreas tou Christou*, Eph. 4:7; cf. 1 Cor. 12:4; Rom. 12:6)—what wonder if there is also a diversity of the rewards, since God loves to crown his own gifts in us? For although we think a difference of gifts is especially necessary for the increase of the church in this course (which reason will cease in heaven), still we believe it cannot readily be denied that according to the diversity of gifts and the abundance and variety of fruits which each one brings forth in this life, will be the harvest in the other also and that God himself will crown his own gifts in the pious in a varied end and manner.

XV. (c) From parity because among the angels there is granted a certain diversity of order and glory, to which belong the names of "thrones," "principalities" and "powers" (Col. 1:16; Eph. 1:21). Why then should this not be granted among the saints, that in this way the manifold (*polypoikilos*) wisdom of God and his most free goodness may be the more fully declared and that in this respect also our equality (*isangelia*) with the angels may be seen? Now although the ministry of angels will cease in the future life, on

that account a diversity of degrees and orders will not cease; otherwise some angels would be reduced to a worse condition than they had during the state of this world. What is said concerning the putting down of principalities and powers (1 Cor. 15:24) does not refer to the good, but to the evil angels (to wit, the enemies of Christ's kingdom); or to earthly empires, which we know are to be abolished at the last day (Dan. 2:44).

XVI. (d) From the disparity of the punishments in hell. For although that springs from the diversity of sins—and the punishments are due, while the rewards are not—nonetheless this does not hinder that; as in hell there is granted a disparity of punishments on account of the deserts of sins, so in heaven there should be a disparity of rewards according to the gratuitous kindness of God.

XVII. Most of the fathers agree with us. Chrysostom: "What, therefore, do we learn from this when the apostle says, 'there is one glory of the moon, etc.'—that although all are in the kingdom, still they will not obtain and enjoy the same things" (Homily 41, *Homilies on First Corinthians* [NPNF1 12:251; PG 61.358] on 1 Cor. 15:41). Ambrose: "As the increase of virtues, so also is the increase of reward" (*Expositionis in Lucam* 5.61 [PL 15.1738] on Lk. 6:21). Augustine: "We believe there is one life to all the saints, but the rewards are diverse according to labors, and on the contrary in proportion to the delinquencies will also be the punishments of the sins" (Sermon 236, "De Tempore [191]" [PL 39.2183]). And: "Glory and a diverse species of glory is promised to the bodies of the saints, to wit, each one will stand in his own lot, the patriarchs and prophets in theirs, the apostles in theirs" (Sermon 241, "De Tempore [143]," 8 [PL 38.1138]). Fulgentius: "The glory of the saints will be diverse, but the eternal life of all will be one" (*De Fide ad Petrum* 28 [PL 40.774]).

Sources of explanation.

XVIII. Although God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15:28), it does not follow that there will be an equal glory in the saints in all respects, but only that God will work in all a true, solid and perfect happiness, yet in its own order and degree in individuals as the apostle teaches in the same place (v. 41). As in this life, God works all in all (1 Cor. 12:11), yet not in an equal degree, since in some he works more and greater things, in others fewer; so in

heaven he will be all in all, yet so as to bestow upon some greater, upon others less glory.

XIX. The parable of the laborers in the vineyard, where the labors being unequal the same penny is given to all (Mt. 20:8, 9), cannot prove an equality of glory, because by that penny eternal life cannot be understood, because it is given also to the murmurers and envious, nor when given does it satisfy; also it is given to those who are commanded by the Lord to go away (v. 14) and who are not chosen (v. 16). Now eternal life is not the portion of murmurers, or of the envious, or of those who are rejected and who of the first are made the last; nor does it lead men away from God, but unites them with him; nor is it given to anyone to whom it does not bring a full satiety of joys. The design of Christ, therefore, is not to establish a parity of glory in the eternal life, but to show that calling to the kingdom of God ought not to be built upon our own merits, but upon the divine grace, and that the first shall be last and the last first, as was seen in the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles.

XX. Although election, justification and adoption are equal in all believers (as also the price of the blood of Christ poured out equally for all the elect), it does not follow that the glory ought to be equal. Otherwise from that equality the equality of sanctification might no less be gathered, which however is false. Now glorification will be according to the diverse relation and degree of this in the pious. Indeed, the price of the blood of Christ equally expiated the sins of all, but to whom Christ here has given a greater measure of holiness, upon them he will bestow a greater degree of glory also. Nor is it proper to conclude from an equality of holiness in heaven an equality of blessedness in all because the heavenly glory is to be measured from the holiness of the present, not from that of the future life.

XXI. The inequality of glory supposed to be in the blessed is not a mark of imperfection in them who will have a lesser glory. For such an inequality is maintained as does not detract from the full consolation of the blessed, so that nothing is wanting to their perfect happiness since God will be all in all (i.e., will immediately work all things conducing to their complete felicity). This can be illustrated by the example of the heavenly bodies, which are each perfect in their own order and yet some excel others in beauty (1 Cor. 15:41); and of unequal vessels which are all full, although some contain a greater quantity than others. Thus all the saints will shine in glory and thus

they will be perfectly happy, but yet each one according to his own order and degree. And yet in such a way that in them no envy or emulation, no pain and regret should arise from that inequality, because all of their desires will be completely satisfied and fulfilled.

XXII. That the blessed are called equally sons of God, who will all in like manner obtain the inheritance that they are all said to be kings, the body and spouse of Christ, does not imply an equality of glory in all. For even in this life believers are gifted with the same titles where nevertheless the greatest disparity of gifts is seen. Although all of the sons obtain the inheritance, what hinders a peculiar prerogative from being given to certain ones? Nor do all kings have the same majesty and glory. Nor do all the members of Christ's mystical body rejoice in the same honor.

XXIII. Although the mode and degree of that inequality of glory is unknown to us, nor should it be rashly defined by anyone, the thing itself is not on that account to be denied. This can be shown by various arguments from other sources. It is sufficient to hold that there is a certain disparity, although what and how great it is cannot be told.

XXIV. Objective blessedness which is placed in God does not admit of degrees because he is the supreme and infinite good. But formal blessedness which is placed in the possession of God and participation of his blessings is not in like manner infinite and nothing prevents it from having degrees.

XXV. However, to whom these grades of glory ought to belong, God alone knows, who has prepared it for his servants. Nor will we know until we sit down in the kingdom of heaven with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. In the meantime, it is very probable that it will be the prerogative of those whose dignity was greater and whose labors and conflicts were severer in this life, such as was the blessed virgin, highly favored (*kecharitōmenē*) above others, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles (cf. Mt. 8:11; 19:28; Rev. 4:4; 21:14); the religious teachers and pastors of the church (cf. Dan. 12:3; 1 Cor. 14); the martyrs and confessors, multitudes of whom suffered for Christ, nay, poured out their blood for the sealing of the truth (cf. Rev. 7:9, 10ff.).

Eleventh Question

Will the saints in the other world know one another? We affirm

I. As in the Scriptures nothing is taught expressly and distinctly on this question, so nothing is set forth to be necessarily believed concerning it. Nor if anyone wishes to refrain (*epechein*) or to think differently from others is he to be censured. In the meanwhile, the more common opinion, held by Luther from his last conversations (as Sleidan tells us), is the affirmative, which asserts that the saints will know each other (Sleidan, *The General History of the Reformation of the Church*, 16 [1689], p. 362). In our opinion, this is also the more probable.

Statement of the question.

II. It must be remarked only that we do not treat here of every kind of knowledge which prevails here, including the earthly and carnal affections, because the vision and love of God alone, in which all the saints will equally love each other, will swallow up all such affections. But we treat of spiritual and divine knowledge, which will be purged of all earthly thought and affections. In this sense, we believe that nothing will prevent the saints from knowing one another: the pastor his sheep and the sheep their pastor; husbands their wives and wives their husbands; parents their children and children their parents, and relatives their relations; and those who have been of special dignity in the church and who will have a greater degree of glory above others, such as the blessed virgin, the patriarchs, apostles, prophets, martyrs and others who here possessed surpassing renown. The reasons are:

Proof that the saints will know each other: (1) from the condition of eternal life.

III. First, from the condition of the eternal life and the perfection of its happiness, which ought to contain all good and joy. Now this conduces greatly to the complement of the joy of the saints and the bond of heavenly society. For as the saints will have not only perfect communion with God, but also a most sweet and familiar intercourse with him (as is evident from Revelation), so they ought to have a mutual knowledge, without which that intercourse could not be rightly nourished. For neither friendship nor intercourse can be had with those who are unknown.

2. From parity.

IV. Second, from parity. If Adam, by the light of the prophetical spirit, knew Eve (not seen) before and could say who she was and for what purpose she had been created by God (Gen. 2:23), why cannot the saints, full of the light of God and entirely restored to his image, know each other in the future life?

3. From examples.

V. Third, from the examples of the apostles, who recognized Moses and Elijah at the transfiguration of Christ (Mt. 17:3). For if Peter, James and John were able in that light of Christ's transformation to recognize Moses and Elijah (not seen before) talking with Christ, who will deny this knowledge to the saints translated to heaven, where the light will be purer and knowledge far clearer? If Abraham knew Lazarus, who was received into his bosom (nay, the rich man also in hell), how much more will the saints recognize companions and partners in their happiness?

4. From the degrees of glory.

VI. Fourth, from the degrees of heavenly glory. They who will shine with surpassing glory in that celestial assembly of the saints can undoubtedly be known also above others, and in fact will be known in the degree to which they shall have been raised (which will not be an insignificant increase of their glory).

5. From the testimony of Paul.

VII. Fifth, from the testimony of Paul, who calls the Thessalonians his hope, crown, glory and his joy at the coming of Christ. "For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and joy" (1 Thess. 2:19, 20). Now how could he call the Thessalonians his crown and glory in the day of Christ unless he would then know them as his most dear children whom he had begotten to the Lord, and they themselves would behold and

love him as their most beloved father? And if the apostle could congratulate himself on this, the faithful servants of God will be able to say the same thing also concerning their flocks.

6. From Lk. 16:9.

VIII. Sixth, it is said the poor will receive the rich, from whom they have received the fruits of kindness and love, into everlasting habitations. This could not be done unless they could recognize them and be recognized by them in turn. "And I say unto you," said Christ, "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations" (Lk. 16:9). He calls riches the mammon of unrighteousness (*adikias*) not only because they are often unjustly obtained and conserved (because men are for the most part accustomed to abuse them to wicked and unjust purposes because they impel them as the incentives of evil to unrighteousness), but also because such riches, compared with the heavenly, are deceitful and spurious, not true and proper (from v. 11, where "unrighteous" [*adikon*] is opposed to "true" [*alēthinō*]). Therefore, Christ wishes the rich to make to themselves friends of riches that they may not only be witnesses to the beneficence of believers, but also that in their own way they may receive them into everlasting habitations, inasmuch as a gratuitous reward will be given by God to the works of charity performed towards them (Mt. 25:34–40). And they in turn will lovingly embrace their benefactors in testimony of their gratitude and all will at the same time celebrate the praises of God, the richest remunerator, in sweet memory of the past.

IX. When Paul says, "Henceforth know we no man after the flesh: yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more" (2 Cor. 5:16*), he certainly excludes carnal and earthly affections, by which men are wont to be influenced, whether for seeking and grasping mundane things or to gain the favor of men (according to which Christ himself, while on earth, could be regarded and worshipped). Thus "the flesh" here denotes all those things which pertain to this animal life, such as relationships, friendships, sciences, riches and other external things and relations which are of this world and according to which men here know one another and mutually pursue each other with the affection of

love and inclination. As Christ living on earth could be known by those who saw him, this mode of knowledge can no longer have a place after his resurrection and ascension because he is to be known only spiritually, so that we shall think and feel nothing earthly concerning him. But the apostle does not on that account deny the beatific knowledge, which differs widely from the former.

X. The absence of friends and relatives who will be excluded from happiness will not be able to disturb the joy of the blessed because all carnal affection will be destroyed, which believers cherished in this life towards their relations. And as they will love themselves in turn in God and on account of God, so they will have no feeling of compassion towards those whom they will see excluded from the presence of God, the objects of his wrath and everlasting curse. Nay, they will rejoice in his righteous judgments and will approve of them with full assent (Rev. 15:3; 19:2). "Almighty God, true and righteous are thy judgments" (Rev. 16:7). "The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance" (Ps. 58:10). Hence Bede rightly on Luke 16: "The righteous will always behold the unjust in torment in order that their joy may hence increase because they see the evil which they have mercifully escaped, and so much greater thanks will they give to their Redeemer as they see the more evidently in others, what they might have endured if they had been passed over" (*In Lucae Evangelium Expositio* [PL 92.536] on Lk. 16:27). And Isidore: "Condolence arising from compassion for the damned will not make the heart of the just miserable, where the saints will have such great joy from the contemplation of God that no entrance will be given to sadness" (*Sententiarum Libri tres* 1*.30* [PL 83.599–600]).

Twelfth Question

What is the difference between the church militant and the church triumphant?

I. From what has been said thus far of the glory of the saints is readily gathered the distinction between the church which struggles and fights on earth and that which triumphs and reigns in heaven, which we will here sketch in outline for the greater illustration of the happiness of the pious.

There are only two parts of the church: the triumphant and the militant.

II. We suppose that this mystical body is divided into these two parts only: the militant and the triumphant. Nor are the Romanists to be listened to, who in their dreams imagine a third (viz., the church sleeping or laboring in purgatory). For there are only two places mentioned in the Scriptures into which souls will be received after this life and, in their own time, bodies also (to wit, heaven and hell, Lk. 16:22, 23); and only a twofold way set forth—one broad, which leads to destruction; the other narrow, which leads to life according to the teaching of Christ (Mt. 7:13, 14); nor can he who does not reign with Christ in heaven be anywhere except with the devils in hell, as Augustine expresses it (*On the Forgiveness of Sins, and Baptism* 1.55 [28] [NPNF1, 5:36]). Thus a certain third place is falsely and rashly invented into which either the souls of the Old Testament fathers are received after death or the souls of infants dying without baptism (which is called "the limbo of the fathers" and "the limbo of infants"); or the souls of the pious, which, still lying under the guilt of some temporal punishment or burdened with certain venial sins, have departed from this life, are detained as it were in prison that they may be tormented there through many ages and suffer sufficiently, until, being properly purged, they may be able to obtain celestial blessedness. Everyone knows the great emolument this figment of purgatory brings to the Romanists, so that it is not strange that in order to retain it they fight so bravely to such a degree that the Jesuit Cotton did not blush to seek from the Devil himself some passage of Scripture best adapted to prove it, which these men had not up to this time been able to find, according to the story of the very distinguished de Thou (*Historiarum sui temporis* 132 [1628], 3:1053).

III. But the falsity of this invention is plainly gathered from the various things said by us in this work, so that there is need of nothing further for its refutation, both from the perfection of Christ's satisfaction and the full purgation by his blood (1 Jn. 1:7; Rom. 8:1; Heb. 1:3; 10:14, 18), from the infinite mercy of God and the plenary remission of sins (Ezk. 18:30; Ps. 31:1; Eph. 1:7; Col. 2:13), from the happy state of the departing souls of believers immediately after death, whom dying in the Lord from this very

time (*aparti*) the Spirit welcomes to the sweetest rest from their labors (Rev. 14:13), to which the wish of Paul about to depart to Christ refers (2 Cor. 5:8; Phil. 1:23), and the privilege of all believers passing immediately from death to life, from earth to heaven, from misery to glory (Jn. 5:24; Lk. 16:22). All of these are incompatible (*asystata*) with the doctrine of purgatory.

IV. Now as the church is rightly distributed into militant and triumphant, so the distinction between them must be considered not to be essential and specific as to nature, but only accidental as to state and degree. For since there is only one communion of saints and only one body of Christ (Cant. 6:9), as the head by which it is governed is only one and the Spirit by which it is animated only one (Eph. 4:3, 4), so the church in both states is the same, which suffers and struggles on earth and which will reign and triumph in heaven; which sojourns here on the way and which will rest in her native country; which is here gathered by the ministry of the word and little by little advanced, and which will there be perfect and cleaving immediately to God; which is here hampered by many difficulties and infirmities and will there be glorious without spot and without wrinkle; which is here begun in grace and will there be consummated in glory. Thus it is to be viewed according to its twofold state, begun and consummated, mixed and pure; as corn on the threshing floor and in the granary; as gold in the mine and not yet purged of its dross, and what has been smelted by fire and fully refined; as a house which is in the process of contruction and which is every day abuilding, and which has now been made and entirely finished.

V. These two states, however, are so mutually connected by the most wise dispensation of God that they cannot be torn asunder, but necessarily attend and follow each other. Just as no one can be a citizen of the church triumphant who has not given his name before to the militant, nor is anyone crowned in the former with Christ who has not rightly contended with him, so no one is a true member of the church militant here who in his own time will not be carried into the church truimphant; nor is anyone enrolled among believers in grace who will not be received into the choir of the blessed in glory. For whom Christ once received coming to him, he will never cast out (Jn. 6:37), because the bond of our union with him is eternal and indissoluble (*adialyton*). When all the members are conducted thither,

very distinguished and truly catholic will the assembly be, as also that divine unity to which we will all be one in God, as God will be all in all.

VI. However, as the state and condition differ widely from each other, so also the occupations and exercises. Here we walk by faith, not by sight; while there, faith being changed into sight, place will be given for sight alone. Here hope sustains; there fruition will satisfy us. Here the word and sacrament are the mirrors in which God presents himself for contemplation and the means by which he draws near to us; there we will behold God face to face without a veil and means and intimately enjoy him. Here is the place of groans and sighs, of the cross and trials because we live in a vale of tears where we are continually attacked by enemies and pressed by innumerable evils; there, however, is the place of joys and exultation because, being delivered from all evils, there will be nothing which can bring weariness or grief to us, nothing, on the other hand, which will not contribute to our solid and constant gladness. Here will always be the place for prayers and wishes to avert the evils which threaten us and procure the blessings which are wanting; but there in the absence of all evil and the presence of all good, where there will be nothing anymore for us to fear, overcome or desire. There will be no need to weary God with prayers, the witnesses of our indigence, but praises and thanksgivings will fill up both pages in this heavenly ledger of the saints, so that in the eternal Sabbath we shall never cease to celebrate the bestower and conservator of such great goods with our benedictions and eternal praises giving glory to him for his manifold (*polypoikilou*) wisdom, invincible power, perfect justice, inexhaustible goodness and unspeakable mercy, and other wonderful attributes which in the works of nature and of grace, in the world and in the church, in creation and in redemption, in the gathering, protecting, sanctifying and full glorification of his church he has exercised and will for ever exercise.

VII. This is the eternal glorification of God to be performed by the saints both in soul and in body, various examples of which frequently occur in Revelation (chaps. 4, 5, 7, 8, 19, 20, 21) and is described now under the symbol of Eucharistical sacrifices and of incense offered upon a golden altar (Rev. 5:8; 8:3, 4), then under the idea of the sweetest harmonies and symphonies to be sung with the angels. Hence mention is made of golden harps which are given to them as instruments of praise and blessing and of a new song which the four beasts and the four and twenty elders are said to

sing (Rev. 5:9), that thus the gathering together of the whole church, both of the Old and New Testaments and of the multitude of the blessed may be denoted, who (it is said) will cast their crowns before the throne (viz., at his feet from whom they received them), giving themselves and all they received to him alone and testifying that they received from God whatever they rightly have, giving him the glory, and unceasingly crying out, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come" (Rev. 4:8). "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing" (Rev. 5:12).

Thirteenth Question

Will the saints glorify God not only with a mental, but also with a vocal language? And will there be a diversity of languages or only one?

I. That God will be eternally glorified by the saints has been proved in a preceding question and in this consists their principal, nay, their whole occupation. Now we must speak briefly also concerning the manner of this glorification, whether it will be performed with a mental and internal language only or also by a vocal and external language. Also whether with one or more languages.

II. As to the former, we think it indubitable that both forms of expression will then be used. (1) God is to be worshipped by the whole man, no less with the body than with the soul as he has commanded should be done now in this life: "For ye are bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's" (1 Cor. 6:20). If the body no less than the soul was created and redeemed by God and is to be glorified by the same, what is more just than that this body glorified by him should glorify him both in works and in word? (2) In Revelation are found more than one doxology (*doxologiai*) of the saints expressed in vocal language (Rev. 5:9; 7:9, 10; 11*:15*, 17*; 12:10), which although for the greatest part allegorical, still suppose that an external language will then be used. (3) In the transfiguration, the disciples understood Moses and Elijah talking with Christ (Mt. 17:3), and Paul caught up into the third heaven heard unspeakable words (2 Cor. 12:4). (4) There can be no intercourse and conversation among men except by an external language.

Will there be a diversity of tongues in heaven?

III. To the latter—Will there be a place for a diversity of tongues?—different answers are given. Some think God will be praised in all languages because this appears to the greater glory of God that every tongue should confess him where Paul says, "Wherefore a name was given to Christ which is above every name: That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow … and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. 2:9*–11). Others, more probably, think that the variety of tongues will cease in the other life and with one lip God will be praised by all in perfect harmony, as we will all be one people, one city in the celestial country.

IV. And what Paul says, "Tongues will cease" (1 Cor. 13:8), is properly referred to this. "Prophecies shall fail, tongues shall cease (*glōssai pausontai*), and knowledge shall vanish away." For as a variety of tongues was given to men principally for two reasons—first, as a punishment for sin to confound the builders of the tower of Babel; second, for the benefit of believers (the curse being turned into a blessing for the upbuilding of Zion from every tongue and nation)—thus after sin has been abolished and the church gathered and to be gathered, as there will be no necessity for a diversity of tongues, neither will it continue.

V. Nor is the contrary proved from Phil. 2:11. The apostle means nothing else than to show the supreme glory to which Christ has been raised by the Father, which will be acknowledged by all creatures, celestial, terrestrial and subterranean, so as to bow the knee to him and adore him, either voluntarily as the pious, or compulsorily as the wicked. And every tongue (i.e., every people of whatever language, whether Jews or Greeks) shall confess him to be Lord to the glory of the Father. Thus tongues are frequently put for people and nations (Dan. 7:14; Zech. 8:23 and often in Revelation).

What language will be used in heaven?

VI. No more strong is what is added concerning the perfection of the knowledge of the saints, which ought to be extended to the knowledge of all languages, no less than of sciences. From this it will follow that the saints,

endowed with the gift of tongues, will speak in every language of the wonderful works of God, as was done on the day of Pentecost. The knowledge of all languages, or the exercise of them, seems no more to contribute to the perfection of happiness than the knowledge of sciences, which the apostle says will cease with tongues (1 Cor. 13:8).

VII. If it is inquired further, in what language will the saints praise God? All do not hold the same opinion. The Jews (as Galatinus, *De Arcanis Catholicae* 12.4 [1612], pp. 598–600, and others) maintain that the saints will employ the Hebrew language in their praises of God and many conversations; these many of the fathers follow. For it is the first and noblest of all languages and has obtained the name of sacred, which Adam used in paradise, which the patriarchs and prophets used, and Christ himself both in the days of his flesh and after his ascension addressing Paul in the Hebrew dialect (Acts 26:14). Therefore, it is to be understood by "elect lip," of which Zephaniah speaks (3:9). Also the saints in Revelation use many Hebrew words: "Amen," "Hallelujah," etc. (Rev. 7:12*; 19:1ff., etc.).

VIII. Others hold that the saints will speak the language of angels, referring to the passage of Paul: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal" (1 Cor. 13:1). But they speak thus without reason. For the angels are spirits and have no tongue with which to speak, or an external and vocal language formed by a tongue with which to express their conceptions; nor can we understand how they can communicate their ideas to each other and be mutually understood. And if we read of their speaking in apparitions (as they are said to have walked and eaten) this is to be understood improperly in relation to the bodies in which they appeared, in which they exercised such operations, moving their tongues and speaking with the language known and familiar to the men whom they addressed, not proper and peculiar to themselves. Nor does the passage of Paul belong here, because he is speaking not properly, but hyperbolically to denote the most excellent language, such as angels would use if they could speak. Thus the meaning is according to the hypothesis: If any languages belonged to the angels and I understood them and would not use them for the edification of a neighbor, I would be nothing else than as a worthless and obstreperous loquacity. In this way, the face of an angel is elsewhere taken for a most beautiful face (Acts 6:15), when the face of Stephen, the first martyr,

seemed to the Jews "as the face of an angel" (*hōsei prosōpon Angelou*). Thus the manna is called "angels food" (Ps. 78:25), i.e., the best and sweetest.

IX. Finally, some, dismissing other opinions, think a peculiar language and heavenly speech far more noble and excellent than these of ours will be infused into the saints, becoming in a glorious mouth and body and peculiar to them that all may praise God vocally with the same language. Both because Paul expressly says that tongues will cease (to wit, those known and used in this life) and because, having been caught up into the third heaven, he says he heard "unspeakable words" (viz., far exceeding the human comprehension and which it is lawful or possible for no mortal in this life to utter).

X. And this very reason ought to recall us from searching into it, since to no purpose do we labor here in seeking into that which neither God has wished us to know, nor is it proper to this life. Therefore we must wait for that happy moment when being admitted into the full vision and communion of God, we will perfectly and without a veil see into those things which are as yet inaccessible to us. In the meantime, let us learn on earth the things whose knowledge will remain in heaven and let us begin in grace what we will perpetually do in glory. Thus gratefully cherishing the memory of the great and numerous blessings with which the immense love of God has enriched us, let us not cease with heart, tongue and work to glorify him both in our souls and in our bodies, waiting for that blessed time when, fully glorified by him in body and soul, we may in unison sing an eternal Hallelujah to him.

XI. What remains, since by the supreme kindness of God it has now happened that having entered upon the most extended sea of Elenctic Theology and having had a prosperous voyage I now joyfully reach the harbor under his guidance; what is more just than that an altar being erected, I now pay my vows on the shore? "To thee, therefore, thou triune God, the best and the greatest, most merciful Father in Christ, I am indebted and give thanks, not which I owe, but the greatest which I am able, with my whole heart because thou didst not refuse to be so present with me, thine unworthy servant, in this work, begun by me with thy help; that I was able not only to begin and carry on, but to bring it at length to the desired end. I ascribe nothing to my industry, nothing to my powers. The whole of this

work is thine, O Lord, who hast made perfect thy strength in my weakness and hast directed by thy Spirit me groping and slipping, to whose grace I give the entire credit, if anything has been done here by me for the illustration of the sacred truth delivered by thee to us. But because to no purpose does anyone plant and water unless thou givest the increase; grant, thou best Father, on account of Christ my precious Redeemer, that these endeavors of mine, whatsoever they may be, may contribute to the glory of thy most holy name and the benefit of thy church. Grant that as much of the way and of life as still remains to me to be passed with thy divine mercy, I may be able to spend under thy favor and with the most gracious protection of thy Spirit in the exercise of my calling and in the pure and constant worship of thy name, until at length, the most troublesome journey of this life being finished, translated to eternal rest, I can celebrate with everlasting praises thee, my God and Savior, living and blessed for ever in the heavenly assembly of the firstborn. And to thee, the everlasting King, the only wise God, immortal, invisible, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, adorable Trinity, be honor and glory, for ever and ever. Amen."

The Life and Career of Francis Turretin

by James T. Dennison, Jr.

At the base of the Apuan Alps in north central Italy lies the city of Lucca. Located northeast of Pisa in the region of Tuscany, Lucca was famous as a thriving silk manufacturing and exporting center as early as the eleventh century. Amidst the gentle Tuscan hills and picturesque mountains of the fertile Serchio River valley, the Turretin[2] family rose to the ranks of nobility chiefly on account of their part in the lucrative silk trade. So highly respected was the family among the merchant aristocracy that in the sixteenth century Regolo Turretin became *gonfaloniere* ("chief magistrate") of the Republic of Lucca.

The sixteenth century was destined to be an era of upheaval, turmoil, reform and rebirth. Following the "rebirth" of the Renaissance, Lucca (as many other Italian cities) was stirred by the "new learning" emanating from the university centers north and south of the Alps. More than a rebirth of classical knowledge stirred the head and heart of Peter Martyr Vermigli (the so-called "phoenix from the ashes of Savanorola") as he approached Lucca in late May 1541. Already renowned for his preaching oratory which had attracted crowds in Naples, Martyr was the newly appointed Prior of San Frediano. He arrived in Lucca with the teachings of Martin Luther gripping his mind.

Lucca in 1541 was a city desperately in need of reform. The moral condition of the clergy was abominable and the civic leadership was compromised.[6] Peter Martyr took up his post at San Frediano intent on reforming the city. A climate favorable to his "Lutheran" sympathies had been created in the city sometime before 1525 when the merchant, Agostino Balbani, brought the "German pox" to Lucca following a business trip to Flanders. With the help of his coworkers, Martyr poured himself into the

work of reformation by establishing a three-pronged assault: doctrine, education, moral instruction.

Each day of the week, Martyr expounded Paul's letters to large crowds. Focusing on the doctrine of justification by grace alone through faith alone in Christ alone, he brought a revolution in understanding to the minds and hearts of his eager listeners. Cementing the Pauline understanding of justification, Martyr established a "Bible institute" or "college" to teach Hebrew, Greek and Latin, supplemented by readings from "prohibited authors" such as Melanchthon, Bucer and Bullinger. In addition to education, moral reform was augmented through Martyr's preaching and godly example.

By the summer of 1542, many of Martyr's listeners and students had moved beyond "Catholicism" to the "new heresy" of Protestantism. Rome became increasingly suspicious. On July 21, 1542, Pope Paul III reconstituted the Inquisition. As the inquiry progressed at Lucca, Martyr's position at San Frediano became more and more tenuous. On August 12, 1542, Peter Martyr Vermigli fled Lucca (and Italy) forever, eventually taking refuge in Zurich, Switzerland. He was the harbinger of many Lucchesi compelled to flee for their lives to the Protestant centers north of the Alps.[12]

Regolo Turretin remained in Lucca when Peter Martyr fled. While the new doctrine and vitality of the Prior appealed to Regolo, he never broke with Rome or sought refuge outside his native city. However, his son, Francesco (François/Francis), would cut the cord.

Born five years after Peter Martyr's flight (May 5, 1547), Francesco apprenticed in his father's silk business. He quickly demonstrated business and financial abilities beyond his years. By age seventeen, he was managing the entire family enterprise and was a frequent companion to his father on mercantile business abroad. However, Francesco had more than silk on his mind as he ventured beyond the Alps to the silk manufacturing and trading centers of Europe. At age nineteen, he became convinced of evangelical truth, content with the "seul Mérite de J. C. pour mon salut."[15]

When the Bishop of Rimini was dispatched by the Inquisition in order to investigate heretics in Lucca in 1574, Francesco knew that it was time to imitate Peter Martyr and other Lucchesi compatriots. On October 17, 1575,

he left Lucca, arriving first in Lyons, then settling temporarily in Geneva amidst fellow Lucchesi.[17] Francesco established a silk trading enterprise together with a textile dying plant at Geneva with Charles and Pompeo Diodati. During this initial sojourn in Geneva, Francesco became an active adherent of the Italian church in the city, the pastor of which was another Luccan expatriate, Nicolo Balbani.[19]

The Italian "church" of Geneva was first gathered in 1542 when Bernard Ochino began to preach to a group of fellow refugees. Ochino left Geneva in 1545 and the "congregation" declined until the arrival of Galeazzo Caracciolo in 1551. Through his generous financial support, the "congregation" was reconstituted and retained Celso Martinengo as pastor in 1552. Martinengo had been the Greek instructor in Peter Martyr Vermigli's "Bible institute" in Lucca from 1541 to 1542. Martinengo died in 1557 and was succeeded in the pulpit by Lattanzio Ragnone (Lactance Ragnoni) until his death in February 1559. The ensuing succession of pastors and joint pastors is as follows: Nicolo Balbani (1561–87), Pierre Auguste/Agosto (1569–75), Giovanni Battista Rota (1587–89), Giovanni Basso (1590–1612), John Diodati (1612–49), Gaspard Alexius (1612–18), Benedict Turretin (1612–31), Jacomo Sartoris (1619–90), Antonio Leger (1644–61), Francis Turretin (1648–87), Fabrice Burlamachi (1653–56), Michel Turretin (1673–1721), Jean-Alphonse Turretin (1694–1737).

In 1579 Francesco shifted his silk business to Antwerp, the mercantile center of the Netherlands. His primary enterprise was to serve as agent for a number of Italian silk companies in Geneva.[25] He once again became active in the church, being elected a ruling elder of the French congregation in Antwerp. When the Duke of Parma (Alexander Farnese) laid siege to the city in 1585, Francesco withdrew, traveling first to Basel and later to Frankfort.[27]

In 1587, Francesco settled in Zurich, where he established a silk business with David and Heinrich Wertmuller. The "flossed" silks which the trio produced were a spectacular success in Zurich and in the countries to which they were exported.

Zurich not only provided Francesco with yet another fortune, it provided a wife. On July 9, 1587, he married Michele Burlamachi Camille. Two

children were born in Zurich: Benedetto (Benedict), November 9, 1588; and a daughter named Claire on January 8, 1591. Again the Italian church of Zurich received his generous support.

In 1592, Francesco and his family moved for the last time. He settled permanently in Geneva, where he established a flourishing silk business with Caesar Balbani, Horace Micheli, Pompeo Diodati and Fabricius Burlamachi—all former Lucchesi. Geneva was entering the twilight of Theodore Beza's leadership.[30] Both the republic and her churches were flourishing. The prosperity of the silk partnership enabled the principals to provide generous support to the Italian congregation in the city. Francesco even served as official banker of the city for a while.

In 1620, Francesco erected *la maison Turrettini* on the rue de l'Hôtel de Ville. Geneva was the birthplace of eleven additional children—five of whom preceded their father and mother in death.[33] Francesco was a member of Geneva's venerable Council of Two Hundred as well as the Council of Sixty. At his death, on March 15, 1628, he bequeathed 12,000 florins to the poor Italian refugees of Geneva.

We turn our attention to the most famous child of Francesco and Camille —Benedict. Trained at Calvin's famous Academy, he completed his undergraduate course by age fourteen (1602). He continued his studies for seven more years, perfecting his skills in the classics and theology. His esteemed teachers were the so-called epigones: Theodore Beza, Antoine de la Faye, Jean Diodati and Theodore Tronchin.[37]

Traveling with his father on numerous trips for the silk business, Benedict visited many of the Calvinistic cities of the early seventeenth century. After completing his exams in 1609, he spent two years in France engaged in additional study. In 1611, he was appointed adjunct Professor of Theology at Geneva, and in 1612, he was chosen to be Professor of Theology. He was also appointed pastor of the Italian church in the city by the Venerable Company in 1612. On May 26, 1616, he married Louise Micheli. They were the parents of seven children.

Benedict distinguished himself in theological polemics with the Jesuit Pierre Cotton/Coton (1564–1626) and as an advocate of the Calvinism of the Synod of Dort (1618–19). Though not himself a delegate, Benedict was joint author (with three other Geneva pastors) of a letter addressed to the

Synod on October 7, 1618. The letter records Geneva's firm anti-Remonstrant (anti-Arminian) position. The controversy with Cotton involved the Protestant doctrine of the sufficiency of Scripture.[41] Cotton had written *Geneva plagiare ou vérification des dépravations de la Parole de Dieu qui se trouvent ès Bibles de Genève* (1618) as a confutation of the Protestant position in the interest of ecclesiastical tradition and authority. Cotton's volume was a frontal attack on Jean Diodati's translation of the Bible into French.[43] Branded as *plagiare*, Cotton alleged that this Genevan version of the French Scriptures perverted the truth of the word of God by translating it to suit Protestant ends. Benedict answered Cotton in 1618 (*Défense de la fidelité des traductions de la Bible faites à Genève*). A second anti-Cotton treatise followed in 1620 (*Rechute de Jesuite plagiaire ou Examen du Dialogue du Pére Cotton*).

Convocation of the Synod of Dort focused international Reformed attention on the rising impact of Arminianism. Addressed by the National Synod of the Lowlands in 1618–19, the spread of Arminianism was next checked by the French Reformed Church at the National Synod of Alez (Alais/Alès) in 1620. Arminianism was condemned by the synod, and the Canons of Dort were adopted by the Reformed Churches of France.

Benedict Turretin was chosen by the Venerable Company of Pastors to represent Geneva at the French Synod. Benedict was already in Nîmes, pacifying the Protestant church of that city, which was wracked by internal class struggles. With patience and wisdom, he was able to unite the congregation through simple gospel reconciliation. Receiving the dispatch from Geneva, he journeyed to Alez, where he joined in extending the endorsement of Dort Calvinism to the French Reformed Church.

After returning to his posts in Geneva, Benedict was summoned once more to go abroad on behalf of the Venerable Company and the Republic. The crisis which catapulted Benedict onto the diplomatic stage as ambassador of the Genevan Republic was precipitated by military threats against the city in 1621 by Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy. The walls of Geneva were badly in need of repair in order to prevent a breach by the enemy. Benedict was commissioned to represent the cause of Geneva before the cities and churches of Holland. From November 1621 to June 1622, he preached and pleaded for loans to reinforce Geneva's battlements.

His diplomatic efforts were crowned with triumph; more than 30,000 (Dutch) florins were raised in defense of Geneva. On his return, Benedict was feted with honors and profuse expressions of gratitude by the Councils.

Benedict's final years were peaceful and quiet. Resuming the chair of theology, he served as Rector of the Academy until 1625. When he died on March 31, 1631, his own father had been dead but three years.

The most famous son of Benedict was Francis (François). Born October 17, 1623, Francis was the fourth of seven children born to Benedict and Louise. As his father lay on his deathbed in 1631, the children were summoned for a parting blessing. To Francis, he said, "This child is sealed with the seal of the living God."

Francis received his educational training in philosophy at the Academy. Advancing to the study of theology, he sat under John Diodati, Professor of Theology[50]; Frederic Spanheim, Professor of Theology; Alexander Morus, Professor of Greek[52]; and Theodore Tronchin, Professor of Theology. He completed his studies in Geneva in 1644 and prepared to go abroad.

Turretin would expose himself to the principal luminaries of Reformed theology in Leiden, Utrecht, Paris and Saumur. Remembering what he had gathered in this "postgraduate" sojourn, he would incorporate his reflections on Saumur in particular into his *Institutio*. Leiden was his first stop because Frederic Spanheim (his former professor) held the chair of theology there. Turretin was also introduced to Johann Polyander (1568–1646), Andre Rivet (1574–1651), Jacob Trigland (1583–1654), Claude Saumaise/Salmasius (1588–1653) and Daniel Heinsius (1585–1655) while in "Lugduni Batavorum."

Continuing his studies in Holland, he traveled to Utrecht, where he encountered Gisbert Voetius (1588/89–1676) and Johannes Hoornbeek (1617–1666). Here he also met the so-called "Tenth Muse," Anna Maria von Schurman (d. 1678), devout follower of the mystic John Labadie (Jean de la Badi, 1610–1674).

Ending his sojourn in the Lowlands, he turned next toward Paris, where he met the Reformed church historian David Blondel (1590–1655) in 1645 and became a guest in the home of Jean Daille (1594–1670). By now, the controversy over Amyraldianism and the Saumur Academy had created division within the French Reformed church. Turretin was to hear the Paris

Reformed side of the matter. Other notable personalities in Paris with whom he came in contact were Charles Drelincourt (1595–1669) and Jean Mestrezat (1592–1657). All three Parisian pastors (Daille, Drelincourt, Mestrezat) were Amyraldians embroiled in polemics with Samuel Des Marets (Desmarets/Maresius) (1599–1673) and Andre Rivet of Holland. Turretin was not affected by the pro-Salmurian advocacy of these pastors. However, he was well grounded for the next stage of his odyssey. Before leaving Paris, he also enjoyed lectures by Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), the opponent of Descartes.

After nine months in Paris, Turretin set his face toward Saumur. Here he listened to the "Triumvirate" of Amyraldianism: Moise Amyraut (1596–1664), Louis Cappel (1585–1658) and Josué de la Place (?–1655). Each of the triumvirs was the source of a position which would disturb the French Reformed church for much of the century. Amyraut taught the doctrine of hypothetical redemption, i.e., that Christ has purchased redemption for each and every human being provided they themselves do not reject this salvation. Louis Cappel argued that the Hebrew Masoretes had added the vowel points to the text of the Old Testament; hence, the pointing did not originate with Moses. La Place proposed the mediate imputation of Adam's transgression, i.e., that mankind is charged with guilt on the grounds of the native depravity mediated by their first parent; they are not guilty by the immediate reckoning of Adam's first sin to their account.

From Saumur, Francis went to Montauban, where he encountered Paul Charles/Carolus (1585–1649) and Antonius Garrisoles (1587–1651). Thence to Nîmes, where his father, Benedict, had been so well received in 1620. He returned to Geneva by the end of 1647 and was called as pastor by the Italian church in 1648. Francis Turretin was ordained to the gospel ministry in December 1649.

As Turretin embarked upon his career in Geneva, the Venerable Company was dealing with a matter which openly insinuated Amyraldianism—*l'affaire Alexander Morus*. Amyraldianism originated at Saumur with the students of John Cameron. Moise Amyraut began his studies at Saumur about the time Cameron arrived.[60] Succeeding Jean Daille as pastor of the Reformed church at Saumur in 1626, Amyraut simultaneously began lecturing on theology at his alma mater. What he had

learned from his Scottish mentor, he relayed to his pupils. The result was a convulsion and polarization of the French Reformed church.[62] Amyraut's colleagues (Louis Cappel and Josué de la Place) joined him in promoting the distinctive Salmurian doctrines, supplemented by additions of their own. Cappel was intimately aware of Cameron's positions, since he was Professor of Hebrew at Saumur during Cameron's stint. La Place was a student of Cameron from the latter's arrival in 1618.

The Protestant "Civil War" was launched in 1634 with the publication of Amyraut's *Brièf Traitté de la prédestination et de ses principales dépendances*. In this work, Amyraut revealed his distinctive doctrine of hypothetical redemption. The battle lines were drawn. Saumur and Paris were aligned against Geneva and most cities of the Netherlands. For the next fifty years, the Reformed constituency was divided, with synods, books and formulae hurled into the fray.

The course of the controversy is as follows. The Synod of Alez had adopted the Canons of Dort for the French Reformed church in 1620. The Synod of Charenton (1623) upheld this action. Thus, the Reformed churches of France were on record as repudiating Arminianism. Amyraut's treatise on predestination was published in 1634. His volume came on the heels of Paul Testard's *Eirenikon seu Synopsis Doctrinae de Natura et Gratia* (1633). Both Amyraut and Testard would be regarded as advocates of universal grace and thus deficient with respect to the previous acts of the Synods of the church. The National Synod of Alencon was convened in 1637 to determine the orthodoxy of Amyraut and Testard. While being mildly censured, they were not removed from their teaching positions.

Matters fermented until 1644, when another National Synod was convened at Charenton (1644–45). The first item of business was Amyraut's attempt to bring Calvin to his own defense. The Synod ruled that Amyraut was not to be censured.[71] La Place did not fare as well. His mediate view of imputation was roundly condemned. The Synod adjourned with two unhappy factions: those, like Andre Rivet, who felt that Amyraut should have been disciplined; and those, like Amyraut, who felt that La Place was unjustly condemned.[73]

The battle was joined in print with Frederic Spanheim's *Exercitationes de Gratia Universali* (1646) refuting Amyraut and Amyraut responding—

Specimen Animadversionum in Exercitationes de Gratia Universali (1648). Andre Rivet then entered the controversy by publishing his critique of Amyraut addressed to the 1637 Synod of Alencon (prepared in 1636 but unpublished through an agreement at that time not to inflame the controversy)—*Synopsis Doctrinae de Natura et Gratia excerpta ex Mosis Amyraldi* (1648). Pierre Du Moulin joined in with a revision of *Esclaircissement des Controverses Salmuriennes* (1648). Amyraut responded in 1649 with two works: *Adversus Epistolae Historicae Criminationes Defensio* and *Ad. G. Rivetti Epistulam Replicatio*.

Henri-Charles de la Tremoille, a Protestant prince of France, called a halt to the feuding in October 1649. Gathering Amyraut, P. Vincent, G. Rivet and others, Tremoille successfully negotiated the signing of the Acte de Thouars in which all parties agreed to discontinue the polemics. It should be noted that no doctrinal agreement was reached at Thouars, only the commitment to suspend the paper battle.

It was during this phase of the controversy (1641–49) that Turretin's predecessors in Geneva joined in writing to the pastors of Paris, expressing their concern about Salmurian Theology. Three letters—dated May 1646, July 1647 and May 1649—were forwarded by theologians from Basel, Bern, Schaffhausen, Zurich and Geneva. The Swiss concerns escalated to the demand that Amyraut be silenced, as the Salmurian Theology was, in fact, Arminian or worse.[78]

In Geneva, *l'affaire Alexander Morus* confirmed opinions of Theodore Tronchin and other members of the Venerable Company that Saumur promoted a deviant Calvinism. The result of Geneva's investigation of Morus was the drafting of the Theses of 1649. The thrust of the articles is Saumur's doctrine of hypothetical redemption. It was this doctrine that Geneva abhorred and Morus implied. When the Helvetic Consensus was completed in 1675, it added the other two dread Salmurian canons, i.e., mediate imputation and the Masoretic origin of the Hebrew vowel points. Geneva, among the other Reformed cities of Switzerland, came to realize that Saumur deflected Calvinism from the consensus at Dort. That deflection eroded the foundation of the French Reformed church and even finally undermined the Helvetic Consensus itself when the "liberal" Jean-

Alphonse Turretin repudiated it in 1706. Contrary to his hopes, Amyraut became "the gravedigger of the French Reformed church."

The final phase of the Amyraldian controversy in France reached its climax in 1659 at the Synod of Loudun. David Blondel (1590–1655) and Jean Daille (1594–1670) printed massive pro-Salmurian volumes. They were answered by Jacques Gautier and Louis Du Moulin (1606–80). Samuel Des Marets, one of Amyraut's old antagonists, also entered the lists.[85] At Loudun, Amyraut and Daille were called "orthodox" and La Place's views were accepted. Saumur was triumphant in France, and Geneva would attest the victory by acting to preserve orthodoxy in Switzerland.

In 1650, Francis Turretin was called to the chair of Philosophy at the Academy. Pleading his commitment to the Italian congregation, he declined, even as he had declined a call from the church in Lyons the year before. In 1652, Lyons renewed its call following the untimely death of their pastor, Aaron Morus (?1624–52). The Venerable Company agreed to loan Francis to the church from February to December of 1652.

On his return in January 1653, Turretin was appointed to succeed his mentor, Theodore Tronchin, in the chair of Theology. Together with his duties as pastor of the Italian church, he would hold this position until his death in 1687. His inaugural address was based on Hebrews 1:1. In addition to his other duties, he served two terms as Rector of the Academy: 1654–57 and 1668–70. His initial dogmatic works were produced from 1653 to 1661: *Disputatio theologica textualis de concordia Pauli et Jacobi in articulo justificationis*[90]; *Disputatio theologica de satisfactionis Christi veritate*; *Disputatio theologica de circulo pontifico*[92]; *Disputatio theologica prima de necessaria secessione nostra ab Ecclesia Romana et impossibili cum ea syncretismo*.

Like father, like son. In 1661, Francis Turretin was commissioned by the Venerable Company to raise money for the defense of Geneva, even as his father, Benedict, had been delegated forty years before. Since 1650, the Duke of Savoy had been threatening the city. Francis was sent to Holland in order to raise money for the repair and refortification of the walls. Following the method of his father, he preached and pleaded for funds for Geneva's security. In about a year of "fund raising," he received promises

of 75,000 (Dutch) florins. Once more, the republic of Geneva was indebted to *la maison Turrettini* for its temporal security.

The Morus affair was the beginning of sorrows for the high orthodox party in Geneva. Turretin himself would be the last of the great Reformed epigones of Calvin's city. The decline would arise from a broadening and temporizing strain in Calvinism. It would accommodate itself to the spirit of the times until it was itself devoured by the mediating monster. It would slowly realize that the political interests of the Council were essentially liberal/progressive and find itself betrayed by its own upper middle-class and bourgeois partisans. It would indulge the hostile children of Saumur and Descartes, not realizing that these sons would become the fathers of the *philosophes* and rationalists of the eighteenth century. In Turretin's lifetime, he was called to deal with irritations arising from matters involving Charles Maurice, Pierre Mussard, Louis Tronchin, Phillippe Mestrezat and Jean-Robert Chouet, all of whom had imbibed the spirit of tolerationism, rationalism and ecumenism.

Charles Maurice was a French student at the Academy of Geneva who submitted to examinations requisite to the pastorate in 1669. The question of his subscription to the 1649 Theses was pressed by Mestrezat and Tronchin, on the one hand, and Turretin on the other. Mestrezat and Tronchin argued that since Maurice was taking a church in France, he should be required to subscribe only to the Confession of Faith, the Liturgy and the Catechism. Turretin held that since the Venerable Company was examining Maurice, he was obliged to sign the 1649 Theses. Turretin prevailed, but the Venerable Company was visibly divided between "universalists" (Tronchin and Mestrezat) and "anti-universalists (Turretin).

This same year (1669), Turretin also pressed the signing of the 1649 Theses upon Louis Tronchin and Jean-Robert Chouet. Chouet had held the chair of philosophy at Saumur from 1664 to 1669. His election to the chair of philosophy at Geneva in 1669 was recognition of an avowed Cartesian to lead the Academy into the era of the "new learning." Turretin's insistence that he sign the 1649 Theses was retrograde and unnecessary in Chouet's view. He was a philosopher, not a theologian, and five points of Scholastic Calvinism were irrelevant to his field of responsibility. Exempted, at last, from signing the Theses, Chouet would direct the study of philosophy away from the sources which had previously anchored the Academy.

Pierre Mussard was born in Geneva in 1626. He was pastor in Lyons from 1656 to 1671. When national policy forced all non-French ministers to leave the country, several citizens of Geneva requested his pastoral services in his native city. The Venerable Company declined to receive him on the grounds of his refusal to sign the 1649 Theses. He eventually left Geneva for the French Reformed Church in London. Turretin was engaged once again in insisting that the standards of orthodoxy be upheld throughout this affair.

The triumph of orthodoxy was intended to be the adoption of the *Helvetic Consensus Formula* in 1678. The *Consensus* was a summary of anti-Salmurian doctrine. Canons I–III were directed against Louis Cappel; Canons IV–IX and XIII–XXV were opposed to Moise Amyraut; and Canons X–XII were directed against Josué de la Place. Turretin was the great advocate of adoption. Significantly, Mestrezat and Tronchin led the opposition.[104] The adoption of the *Consensus* was but a Pyrrhic victory. Already the pillars of orthodoxy had been compromised in the views of the pro-Saumur faction within Geneva—Mestrezat, Tronchin and Chouet. The *Consensus* would be repudiated by the son of the epigone who urged its adoption. Jean-Alphonse Turretin would lead the movement for abrogation in 1706.

Jean-Alphonse was born of the union between Francis and Isabelle de Masse Chauvet. Francis was a few weeks short of his forty-sixth birthday when he married, on September 23, 1669. Four children were born—only Jean-Alphonse survived infancy. Just sixteen at his father's death, the formative influence of his mind fell to Chouet and Louis Tronchin. By 1706, the memory of his father was merely that—a memory!

Francis Turretin died at *la maison Turrettini* on Wednesday, September 28, 1687. His last years were spent summing up his remarkable career by preparing what he had taught and defended for years—Genevan orthodoxy. The *Institutio* was published *seriatim*: volume one in 1679; volume two in 1682; and volume three in 1685. Turretin was planning a major revision of the whole when he died.

When Benedict Pictet delivered his uncle's funeral oration on November 3, 1687, he probably had no inkling that he was marking the end of an era. Turretin and his *Institutio* were the swan song of an orthodoxy which would

be decimated by the rationalists of the dawning Enlightenment. Turretin's orthodoxy would be regarded as a monument from a retrograde and restrictive past. Man was on the brink of freedom—the chains of orthodoxy were about to be ruptured. That freedom has proved to be more savage and totalitarian than any biblical orthodoxy. Men who will not have God as their Lord will only destroy themselves—and one another. Francis Turretin would concur—the greatest mass murderers of all time—Josef Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, Adolf Hitler, Pol Pot—were not children of orthodoxy—they were in fact true children of the Enlightenment!

Francis Turretin's *magnum opus* is his *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae*. This massive work of Reformed scholasticism extends to nearly 1800 pages in the Latin edition of 1847. Written in bulky Latin with sentences frequently lasting nearly half a page, Turretin's *Institutes* are at once familiar, profound, erudite, thorough and precise. Familiar because they contain the catholic, evangelical and Reformed theology of our tradition. Profound because they reflect a penetrating mind which tends frequently to philosophical theology. Erudite because Turretin's knowledge of the Christian tradition is encyclopedic. In the course of editing Giger's translation, I have extracted more than 3,200 quotations from classic, patristic, medieval, Jewish, Socinian, Lutheran, Arminian, Anabaptist and Reformed authors. Thorough because the twenty Loci or Topics of the *Institutio* cover systematic theology from natural theology to eschatology, from revelation to the sacraments, from predestination to ecclesiology. Precise because the *Institutio* is scholastic Calvinism and scholastic is a synonym for precision.

Francis Turretin was a Calvinistic Scholastic theologian in an age of Protestant, Catholic, Lutheran and Socinian Scholastics. Scholasticism, simply defined, is "school theology." Derived from theology done in medieval schools and universities, medieval scholasticism was the doing of theology in an academic context. Hence scholasticism is a method of approaching, thinking about and arranging theological thoughts in "school" fashion. Usually arranged in terms of *questiones*, propositions addressed to the *status questionis* ("statement of the question") were intended to bring understanding and resolution via the *fontes solutionum* ("sources of solution"). The dialectic of introducing opposing points of view was intended to focus discussion of the question.

Like his great Geneva predecessor, John Calvin, Turretin entitled his work an *Institutio*. This word suggests foundational or basic instruction. Hence the *Institutio theologiae* is a basic instruction in theology. However, the term *elencticae* or elenctic is not familiar to us. What did Turretin mean by dubbing his volume "Basic Instruction in Elenctic Theology"? Elenctics is derived from the Greek word for that which exposes error. Elenctic theology is thus polemic theology, since it is devoted to refutation of errors. But it should be noted that Turretin is not content only with refutation of error. He is positively concerned with the statement of the truth as well.

The first two of Turretin's twenty loci deal with the formal principle of the Reformation: the object and nature of theology and the doctrine of Scripture. The material element of the Reformation is dealt with in topics 3–20: theology, God's decrees, creation, providence, angels, man, sin, free will, the law, the covenant of grace, the person of Christ, the mediatorial office of Christ, calling and faith, justification, sanctification and good works, the church, sacraments and eschatology (last things). Turretin's *Institutio* is theocentric—he begins and ends with God.

Each of the twenty loci is subdivided into various questions. Turretin usually begins with the *status questionis*—attempting to formulate the precise point at issue. For instance, Locus 16 on Justification—do the words *tsadik, dikaio* and *justificare* only connote forensic imputation of righteousness; or do they also (in addition to the forensic sense) connote a moral change or renovation in the sinner via the infusion of righteousness? We (Protestants) affirm the former; Roman Catholic's affirm the latter. Having described the "state of the question," Turretin sets forth the orthodox answer by distinguishing two extremes: those who sin in excess and those who sin in defect. By this he means that there are those who err by going beyond or by adding to Scripture their traditions or church theology. On the other hand, there are those who err by minimizing the revelation of Scripture, hence relying on human reason alone. Proof of the orthodox (for Turretin, the Reformed) opinion follows. These proofs are drawn from Scripture and supported by patristic, medieval, Reformed and even Jewish authors. Finally, he summarizes the previous matter under each question by means of the *fontes solutionum*. Here he briefly states salient objections to the orthodox view while providing a source or basis (usually a Scripture text) for his answer to these objections. In sum, then, Turretin's

method is to: (1) state the question; (2) defend and prove the orthodox position from Scripture; and (3) answer objections to his orthodox position via the sources of solution.

Francis Turretin's *Institutio* was commended by his contemporaries and championed by later Reformed theologians.[110] It was particularly influential at Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey—nineteenth century bastion of Old School American Presbyterianism. Archibald Alexander launched Princeton Seminary in 1812. The course in didactic (systematic) theology which he taught used the *Institutio* as a basis of "recitation." Alexander's most famous student, Charles Hodge, imbibed Turretin from his mentor and, upon occupying the chair of systematic theology in 1840, continued the Turretin tradition until the completion of his own *Systematic Theology* in 1872. It was Hodge who asked George Musgrave Giger to provide an English translation of Turretin and to deposit it in the library for student reference.

It is estimated that in the course of Hodge's half-century career, more than three thousand ministerial students of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America were weaned on Turretin. But Turretin's impact was not restricted to the northern defender of "Old School" Presbyterianism. Robert L. Dabney, Professor of Systematic and Polemic Theology at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, also used Turretin as a textbook. W.G.T. Shedd of Union Theological Seminary, New York, also made use of Turretin.[114]

Even dissenting American Presbyterians looked favorably on Turretin during this era. The translation of portions of the *Institutio* in *The United Presbyterian Quarterly Review* and the *Evangelical Repository* testify to the interest in the great Genevan. I should also point out that Turretin was the textbook for Theology in the Associate Presbyterian Seminary of Rimersburg, Pennsylvania during the nineteenth century.

In Scotland, Principal William Cunningham of New College, Edinburgh, was a sponsor of the republication of the *Institutio* in 1847–48. Turretin has also had his detractors—notably Charles Augustus Briggs[118] and Jack Rogers and Donald McKim.

With the publication of Giger's translation, Turretin "being dead yet speaketh." And now, he may be judged by the English-speaking world for

what he was—an advocate of the Calvinism of the Synod of Dort, Calvinism which he regarded as traceable *ad fontes*—to John Calvin himself.

Funeral Oration of Benedict Pictet Concerning the Life and Death of Francis Turretin

Delivered on the Third day of November of the Year 1687

Translated by David Lillegard

Most distinguished nobles, lights and pillars of our republic; magnificent governor of this Athens; venerable and highly celebrated pastors and professors, splendid ornaments of the church and Academy of Geneva; most noble, most generous and most excellent visitors of all ranks; and you, holy Nazarenes to God, highly beloved sons of the prophets.

Words are not adequate for immeasurable things. "Great strength gives utterance: a greater holds it back. Light cares speak out; the heaviest stupefy" ("Phaedra," 2.603, 607 *Seneca: Tragedies* [Loeb, 8:366]). Intense sorrow does not show itself immediately but by its own force chokes the way by means of struggling words. After the death of a public father, each one, chilled, grows numb in the face of the consternation in his soul. Just as with the loss of the father of a family, a vast silence fills the whole house; and there is either a speechless shower of tears or a kind of troubled and confused lament. Until now, our Athens has been quiet and has sealed up her mourning in the awe of a holy silence. Unspeakable sorrow has suppressed speech and grief has denied it words. But our voices can no longer be held back, nor is the spirit strong enough to nourish the silent wound in the breast. The things that afflict me are too great for me to suffer delays; ardor consumes my heart and inmost parts. It pleases tears to mix with tears and gloomy sorrow to mingle with words. But what should I

declare? Where shall I begin to speak? Let me say with Jerome, "Great matters will not sustain scant genius, and, in having dared to go beyond their strength men succumb in the midst of the effort, and the greater the subject, the more one is overwhelmed, who is not able to unfold the greatness of the matter in words" (Letter 60.1, "To Heliodorus" [NPNF2, 6:123; PL 22.598]). The mind is stunned, the hand trembles, the tongue stammers, and as often as I labor to break forth into words, so often my eyes are filled; and, the sorrow having been renewed, I am wholly in ruins. He was our Turretin. Alas! "Speaking of such things, who can hold back tears?" (Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.4–7 [Loeb, 1:294–95]).

Truly if some have said that there is solace in a certain kind of mourning (if they have said this, they spoke of the rising of the dead and of the last day), let us seek the remedy for this grievous sorrow, whatever kind it may be, since to us, although we stammer, it comes to occupy the place of such a man. Let that man be the theme of our first post-holiday lectures. For truly the ancients have established well and wisely that the funerals of illustrious men, who had become famous either in deeds of war or by excellence in their application to learning, should not be held in silence, but that also a funereal honor of praise should follow. A custom flourished in India, a land glowing under another sun, that the magistrate himself would describe the life and manners of the dead in front of the doors of his house. And who does not know of the sanction of the Twelve Tables of the Law, of which Tullius (Cicero) reminds us ("De Domo sua ad Pontifices Oratio," 17[43] *Cicero: The Speeches* [Loeb, 11:186–87]), or of the Lament (*Ialemon*) of the Greeks? In fact, the barbarians build mausoleums with travail, the Phrygians erect tombstones, monuments constructed with rock or brass, which corrupting and invidious old age consumes; yet praise and the proclamation of virtue endure, rightly exempt from the circumstances of fortune.

But if it was customary, as in the testimony of Stridonensis (Jerome) "that gathered before the rostrum, the children would speak praises over the bodies of their parents, and in the likeness of songs of mourning, they would rouse the breasts of the hearers to weeping and lamentation" (Letter 60.1, "To Heliodorus" [NPNF2, 6:124; PL 22.590]), why should I not perform this very day the same duty for my most longed-for uncle, nay, for a revered father, which (Gregory) Nazianzus once performed for Caesar and

others, and Jerome for Nepotian, and even in this age, among us, the duty which the highly skillful Lectius, the most famous Fayus, the most learned Laurentius fulfilled for our "Marvellous One" (*Thaumasiō*), Beza, and which the celebrated (Theodore) Tronchin displayed for the venerable Goulart.

Let others proceed with praises of the deeds of great men performed by fate, and with imitations of pure sorrow, or let them flatter with the false boasting of eulogies, while I pay these honors eternally to a most worthy priest of the mysteries (*mystae*), and to the very sweet memory of my teacher.

Listen kindly, most distinguished nobles; hear of him, now dead, whom you heard alive and breathing with such great applause.

Listen kindly, you members of the church and Academy, radiant stars, of which he was no small part.

Listen kindly, all whom this sorrow makes mournful, and do not expect from me an empty display of words. The spring flowers of oratory are not suited for a funeral theme; in this most justified grief especially, when public bereavement pours itself as it were into the eyes of all. Allow me then to approach and grant me forbearance since I am more prepared to grieve than to speak.

"A hall filled with smoky ancestral images," as Seneca has said, "cannot make any man noble; because no one has lived for our glory, nor is anything ours which existed before our own time" (Epistle 44.5, *Epistles of Seneca* [Loeb, 1:288–89]). Nevertheless, if dignity of family is able to procure just veneration from lofty minds, it is known by all that our Turretin could have gloried in his noble stock. His ancestors held the highest ranks in the ancient republic of Lucca.

The first who landed on our shores and planted his foot in Geneva was named Francesco Turretin, the grandfather of our deceased, who, a century ago, having abandoned all the advantages of his sweet homeland, impelled by holy zeal to profess the true religion and to delight in the enjoyment of the highly desirable light of the gospel, after various hardships, finally came to rest here. He had lived in Antwerp for some years, where he had enjoyed the friendship of the most illustrious Marnix Santaldegond. But when that city was besieged by the Duke of Parma, he was forced to leave, not without great danger to his life. After he had first retreated to Geneva, and

then to Zurich (as it were an asylum and in a certain manner a refuge [*lararium*] for proscribed humanity from all places), where he spent five whole years, he returned again and embraced our Geneva, nor did he abandon her while life remained in him. He was a man, if ever there was, blameless in life and pure from sin, free of deceit, holding fast to a promise, and hostile towards the violation of an agreement; a lover of sincere piety. I may use, for example, the words of Claudian, "He did not set aside his riches in dark caves, nor condemn wealth to the darkness, but was glad to lift up abundantly the destitute with a shower of help" ("Pangyric on the Consuls Probinus and Olybrius," 42–44 *Claudian* [Loeb, 1:4–5]). And thus he laid up a glory for his descendants that survives after his death, more long-lived than the earth, and not liable to the teeth of corroding old age. Concerning this man it is suitable to say what the sacred prophet said, "He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor: his righteousness endureth forever" (Ps. 112:9).

From him was born Benedict Turretin, the parent of our "heavenly citizen" (*ouranopolitou*), once the love and great ornament of Geneva, the most splendid radiance of this church and Academy—"a great trumpet and the ardent protector of the truth" (*megalē salpinx, kai ho thermos tēs alētheias prostatēs*), to whom without a doubt may be applied that saying of Gregory Nazianzus, addressing praise to Athanasius, "In praising Athanasius, we praise virtue" (*Athanasion epainōn aretēn epainesomai*, Oration 21, "On the great Athanasius," 1 [NPNF2, 7:269; PG 35.1081]).

> "Inexhaustible was the milk of his fertile breast,
> A treasure of powerful doctrine,
> And the multitude of learned men marveled,
> And shall marvel, at the light of his mind,
> Which has immortalized its tokens in a continuous stream of books."

Among the foremost was that most learned work in reply to Pierre Cotton, that old Jesuit, who had attacked our version of the Bible, and concerning the preservation of Geneva, had set forth not to the Dodonian grove, but to the gloomy tripod of Pluto, and from these energies (*energumena*), as de Thou reports, with a curiosity worthy of a theologian, he had inquired at what time the heresy of Calvin would be extinguished,

and even other things which, in the observation of this highly celebrated historian, elsewhere (than, of course, from the father of lies) there was no hope of learning. Concerning this enemy, our Benedict won amazing victories and brought back abundant spoils: "gifts will not be hung up for father Romulus."

In the year 1620, he had attended the Synod of Alez, whose president was Pierre Dumoulin, about whom it is better to remain silent than to say only a little, since indeed France, Germany, Britain, Switzerland, Holland, all of Europe, the whole of the Christian world, knew how great he was. In this synod, the great Turretin earned the love and admiration of all. For lest you believe he had investigated the secrets of theology only, it was scarcely possible to say what the learned men admired more in him (which Jerome observes about some)—his secular erudition or his knowledge of the Scriptures, for which renown Tertullian, Arnobius, Victorinus, Ambrose, Boethius, Cassiodorus, Calvin, Beza, Danaeus and Junius became famous. He was a man whose blessed reputation, erudite piety, salutary eloquence, whose spirit toward both good fortune and weakness alike, that simple and Christ-praised prudence and holy tolerance, whose zeal for restoring peace everywhere, holiness worthy of heaven, integrity, whose benevolence poured out into everything, all men praised, which several virtues Erasmus (as I reckon is known to anyone) once had hoped for in vain in Leo X.

He seemed worthy of longevity, who had acquired for himself an immortal name; yet the fates let him appear such a very short time on our earth. Scarcely had the seventh week of his years arrived that, having been seized by a severe fever, premature death snatched him away, and he was, as it were, torn from the bowels of his country. However, he left behind living and distinct images of himself. In the year 1616, he had taken as his wife a most excellent and noble virgin, one furnished with the praise of all her sex, descended from the illustrious stock of the Micheli.

From her (besides daughters, who are still living, for which we thank God greatly, and concerning whom it will suffice to say just one thing, that none has been unworthy of either parent), he had many sons, of whom two are still with us today: men of integrity, piety, candor, of manifold skills, not of ordinary accomplishments, but distinguished.

Among them, our most longed-for Francis held the center. The day of his birth was October 17 of the year 1623. This was the year of the death of

Philippe Duplessis-Mornay and of Paul Sarpi of the Servite Order of Venice (illustrious men), and his virtue and renowned erudition surpassed the limits of genius and praise. Doubtless it is just as among the stars: when some are descending beneath our horizon, others are emerging in the opposite hemisphere. In the same year, Pope Gregory XV closed his last day by fate, and Francis Contarenus was elected to the place of Antonius Priolus, leader of the Venetians. In the same year, the Synod of Charenton was held, and the church of Geneva began to use leavened bread in the Eucharist, in accordance with the practice of the ancient Christians.

We admire the radiance of the morning sun, and from the stalk and growing grain we foretell the future harvest. From an early age our Turretin produced tokens of his genius. A prediction was easy from these starting places to the summits he would attain. In his case, the opinion of a most wise author when he extolled the first native disposition of Probus, the Emperor, was confirmed. "No one," he said, "ever attained unto virtue when mature, except as a child, having grown up in a more noble nursery of virtues, he has displayed something of greatness" (Letter of Valerian to Gallienus, cited in "Probus," 3.7 *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae* [Loeb, 3:340–41]). These little sparks of genius and this nursery of virtues, the venerable father of our Francis, in accordance with his own sagacity, perceived first of all. For when he was near death (and now, at the last moment, he fairly wandered in the presence of the spirits) and had our chosen one brought to his bed, it has been related to us concerning this holy man (shall I not say a prophet, I plead most earnestly that he was worthy), he proffered these words: "This one has been sealed with the seal of God." Thus it was the case with Athanasius—from his tender years he gave a presentiment to the Bishop of Alexandria that some day he would be a remarkable shepherd of the flock of the Lord. Also in the childhood of the great Basil, we read that in the same manner sparks of flowering piety and holy genius broke forth, so that some said he was a priest among Christians a long time before his priesthood existed.

Having passed through a number of years of boyhood as well as his first course of letters (which it was not his disposition to pursue by means of fastidious oratory), when he had successfully shaken off the dust of the study of rhetoric, he became an auditor of the public lectures as well as a practitioner (*askētēs*) of the philosophical arts. With what felicity of genius

he made progress at that time (which was a witness to the fortunate harvest to come), we have heard from those who, with him, were free from studies. We rejoice that they are still living for our church, among whom the venerable Carolus of Furno (Charles Dufour) stands out, a most vigilant and worthy clergyman, harmonious in reverence, in sincerity of heart, in patience of labors, in uncommon erudition, remarkable, whom we admire for his fluent speech—for his eloquence undiminished by old age in addressing the people, and for stirring us by means of our pulpit. Our "blessed one" (*makaritēs*) left no part of letters untouched or untried, but by diligent searching he pried into everything. This adolescent read books with the hands of a veteran. Thus with fervid ambition he rose toward the supreme heights of praise (the power of his mind surpassing by far the prayers of his family), demonstrating by his achievements that the ways of the mind are swifter than the day, which revolves at a rapid pace.

Having successfully completed his philosophical course, he surrendered himself wholly to theology. As preceptors, he had the greatest and most celebrated men in all the world. John Diodati, that great theologian, who in the Synod of Dort (than which none was more famous for many ages past) had as many witnesses and heralds of his erudition, discipline of mind and acute genius as hearers. In the convention of Saumur, he calmed those whose feelings were boiling over in such a manner that the queen of France herself ordered thanks to be given to him in her name more than once. The chief men and purpled eminences eagerly sought his friendship. His work on the sacred codex is a monument more lasting than bronze. Theodore Tronchin, who also among the fathers at Dort kindled such a great opinion about himself that he merited the name "great theologian." Nor is it the least of his praise that he pleased the most brave De Rohan or that he was a spirited defender of the truth—he who, writing against Cotton, unsheathed a vigorous pen; or that while a happy old man, Geneva rejoiced to see him live to an extreme old age in rare felicity (an illustrious ornament of our Company and a beacon for youth devoted to sacred studies) and whom we have venerated as reborn in our venerable (Louis) Tronchin, whose Athena we revere from that most splendid star. Frederic Spanheim, that most celebrated teacher whom the multitude of holy teachers will never cease to revere "until Titan will thrust out the lights and the fires of the stars will be rolled up by Olympus" (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.9–12 [Loeb, 1:2–3]).

"Great glory of the solemnizing mysteries" (*mystopolōn mega kudos*). He was a European "wonder and glory of the beloved one in the heavenly seats" (*thauma kai kleos philon ouranidessi*), whose untimely death the Reformed world would still lament, if he had not left behind him two sons, Ezekiel and Frederic. Such men, by the immortal God! Two luminaries of the republic of letters, miracles of our age, Phoenixes of our time, whom no succession of years will be able to "beat down in their advance, nor to expunge them from their mindful generation."

Alexander Morus, that most eloquent of men, whose speech would have been able to conquer the eloquent old man of Pylos (Nestor) and to soften the stern spirits of savage beasts; who so fondly cherished our Turretin that when under his guardianship the latter, in 1644, undertook to argue his theses *De Necessaria Dei Gratia* ("Concerning the Indispensable Grace of God"), as under him, in 1640, he had defended *De Foelicitate Morali et Politica* ("Concerning the Felicity of Morals and Civil Government"), he was by no means burdened to compose verses in his honor. Under such men how much he profited, let the world judge; I shall not decide. This one thing will be pleasing to recall. You may be sure that he learned with such powers of learning that he could have made probable what ought to be considered the amiable folly of the philosophers. What was no more than learned was recorded. Thus by the rare favor of heaven, he profited more in acquiring a thing (as though it were a game) than others through relentless and persevering labor. In the same way, he prepared a great store of erudition for himself.

Although he had settled keenly in his studies for some years at the Academy of his homeland, he marched onward in the desire to see other places famous throughout the world. The venerable fathers of our council accompanied the scholar with their glowing testimony. Without delay, he betook himself to Leyden, which city was at that time, and yet is now, the home of the Muses and the workshop of Pallas, the school of Wisdom (*Sophia*), sweet parent of the arts, rich field of the virtues and a fruitful nursery of good doctrine.

In this seat of teachers and sciences, he earned not only the private commendation of the theologians; truly he also had the whole academy for a witness of his erudition. For under the most celebrated Spanheim, he defended his public theses *De Verbo Dei scripto* ("Concerning the Written

Word of God") in a solemn assembly. He eagerly pursued all men in Holland (*Belgio*) who were to be esteemed for their rare erudition, famous as well for their eloquence and holiness of life: the venerable Polyander, "the excellent" (*ton pany*) Andre Rivet, the incomparable Salmasius, "the marvellous" (*thaumasion*) Heinsius, the most famous Trigland, the most celebrated Voetius, the most learned Hoornbeek, the most erudite Hotton, "the many-tongued" (*polyglōtton*) Golius, the most eloquent Aemillus and other men, shall I not say "heroes"—"pentatheletes in wisdom, both human and divine" (*en tē t' anthrōpinē kai theia sophia pentathlous*), founders of a society of learning, princes of erudition. He craved to be fed on their words, in public and private, and intimate companionship lacking in all this erudition and virtue he called solitude. In Utrecht, he saw (not without amazement) the most learned maiden, the tenth Muse, in her sex the greatest undertaking of nature, Anna Maria von Schurman. Not only was her vast genius enough to bring forth praise and capacious enough for all things, but especially for her piety, in which, if she did not transcend theirs, she at least equalled Laetas, Eustocium, the Furies, Paulas, Priscilla and Tellum, whose incredible holiness of life was yoked together with distinguished erudition, she deserved the eminent renown of her Christian name.

After he had wandered all through Holland (*Belgium*) in this way, having met with persons whom either erudition or integrity of character had made eminent, and gathering something everywhere which seemed useful for Christian principles, in 1645 he travelled into France, which has always been prominent by the splendor of her teachers, as the emperors recognized (namely, Valens, Gratian and Valentinian), nor has she ever been without the most brave and eloquent men (as Jerome testified, who gathered together the most prominent studies of France). He first went to Paris, almost the metropolis of Europe, which Francis I numbered among the provinces of France, and which Lipsius was accustomed to call the mother of the academies. In this flourishing city lived men great in every estimation, priests of literary matters, miracles of genius, marvels of erudition: Michael Falcair, Jean Mestrezat, Charles Drelincourt, Jean Daille, Edmund Albertinus, David Blondel, whose prodigious merits "will not silence lustrations to come, nor will posterity steal them away unrecognized under a cloud."

Our Turretin dwelt in the house of the great Daille, at whose name, as often as I mention it, I seem to see rising up before me a whole company of teachers. The love of that great man, as well as others, he procured for himself. All admired in this young man that greatness of soul, that stimulus, that felicity of judgment and memory and other good qualities of spirit joined together with sanctity of morals and "mildness" (*eukrasia*). He was very nearly unoccupied with theology in this august and powerful city, but under the guidance of Pierre Gassendi, he completed a course on the planets and cosmography, and he even understood from such a great philosopher "how diverse are the parts of the world, by which covenant the seeds of things draw together discord, what motion rules the times of light and shadow, what transforms summer with the cold of winter, what conceals the face of the sun and the moon with darkness" (George Buchanan, "De Sphaera," I, 1–4, *Opera Omnia* [1725], 2:427–8).

Having left Paris behind, he pressed on to Saumur, where he heard the teaching of her greatest theologians—Louis Cappel, Moise Amyraut, Josue de la Place. From there he proceeded on to Montauban, where the most famous men, (Paul) Carolus and Garrisoles, occupied the chair of theology when it was adorned with the highest praise of Reformed Europe. He next sought out Nimes, a city of venerable ancient monuments and admirable beauty, part in ruins and fragments, a most esteemed city in which Benedict Turretin had engaged in ministry. Here our "blessed one" (*makaritēs*) greeted the venerable Calvus, who embraced him most tightly, nor could he send him away, since indeed in him he gazed at the express image of his highly beloved father, as they say. Thus he passed through all of France, leaving behind everywhere a longing for his return, and sprinkling abroad the highly fragrant odor of his name. Finally, it happened that, having been made rich in ardor of learning and of piety, loaded with the learned spoils of France and Holland (*Belgarum*), "he saw again the home he longed for, and his joyful children."

The time had come that the talents entrusted to him should be used for the public. There was no long delay, for scarcely did he touch the threshold of the family home, that immediately in the year 1647, he (worthy of the honor) was set apart to the ministry, and, the venerable senators complying, he was appointed to office and made pastor of this church—indeed, he was dedicated to serve the Italian congregation (for whether in the French, Latin

or Italian idiom, he spoke with equal and astounding facility). As soon as his voice was first heard in the temples, all recognized his father revived in him and greatly admired Benedict in Francis. As often as he ascended the pulpit, as when another sun has risen, their spirits were restored and every eye and ear was turned toward him. By this flow of eloquence, by this draught of sweetness, he won his way into the ears of all so that you would have said that he was nourished and educated in Attic Athens. Everything on his lips was indeed constantly full of honey, full of nectar. He abounded with so much richness and copiousness of speech that if anything had escaped consideration, it would have been easily retrieved in that which followed. His majesty of eyes and expression was also equal to his refinement, so that no one could deny the attentiveness of his listeners. For you see, that pleasing conjunction of both the magnificent and the humane, which was observed in his countenance, constrained reverence and love from all those who were looking on. Thus he excited such a good reputation concerning himself among the Genevans in his first years that in the year 1650, the most distinguished leaders of our senate, on more than one occasion, offered him a chair in philosophy, which by virtue of his modesty he refused to embrace.

The fame of our "blessed one" (*makaritou*) was not constrained within the narrow boundaries of our Geneva. When the church of Lyons was lamenting, having been deprived of the ministry of Aaron Morus, who had died at that time, she invited our Turretin by letter, calling out in the words of the man of Macedonia, "Come to our aid!" (*boēthēson hēmin*, Acts 16:9). This call, having been approved by the senate on both sides, was embraced, and with an agreeable countenance, with pleasant words, and with frequent reiterations, he was accepted by the citizens of Lyons.

The congregation of Lyons had considered him by means of favorable omens. In fact, this church was running into factions, and there was even some kindling wood for dissension when our Turretin restrained the heat of their spirits and, having brought to rest all of their commotions, led them back to pristine tranquility. Throughout the space of a year, he was engaged in his ministry. Then with great applause the citizens of Lyons returned him. He could have tarried with them a very long time, if their prayers had been answered. But our Athens would not be deprived of this very illustrious man, and our churches gathered to revoke their loan of him. And so he

departed. He whom the citizens of Lyons had received with joyful applause, they sent away with tears.

He reached his native soil unharmed. It was purposed on the spot that he should be called to part of the labor of the Academy; in fact, to the place of the venerable (Theodore) Tronchin, whom white old age no longer allowed to lecture in public. And thus he ascended the chair of theology in 1653. In addition to the most celebrated Tronchin, "who is among the saints" (*ton en hagiois*), he had as colleagues the most famous Antony Leger, a great man, a spirit abounding in letters, disciplined in judgment, fervid in piety, consummate in erudition; the revered Philippe Mestrezat, most deserving Dean of the faculty of theology, very great as our public proclaimer, and whose praise his presence constrains me to suppress with the privilege of silence.

From this time he was made master of his allotted duties. He held an inaugural oration on the first verse of the epistle to the Hebrews with the whole audience applauding, and he gave himself over wholly to the things of the church and theology. Here a broad field offers itself for excursions into the praise of this theologian. But although, as (Gregory) Nazianzus says, consideration for equality is wounded if strangers are praised, while those nearest are buried in obscure silence (cf. Oration 21.5, "On the Great Athanasius" [NPNF2, 7:270]), I prefer to keep silent rather than speak, nor should praises (which would reach higher than could be grasped for a morsel of envy) for a most longed-for uncle become soiled in the mouth of his nephew. "For other men an encomium is put together out of an abundance of words, but for the righteous the truth of their labors is sufficient in order to prove the excellence of their virtue" (*Tois allois anthrōpois ek tēs tōn logōn auxēseōs synistatai ta enkōmia, tois dikaiois de arkei tōn pepragmenōn autois hē alētheia, pros to deixai autōn to hyperballon tēs aretēs*). Let others tell with what great zeal he jealously watched over the propagation of the kingdom of Christ and the overthrowing of the tyranny of Antichrist, and also with what great solicitude he watched closely over the safety of the church; how completely and eruditely he set forth the holy gospel of Christ: not with the mere enticements of words did he feed the souls of his listeners, but with solid doctrine, now historical and full, now unpolished and despised, shunning the noble kind of speaking, and anxiously on his guard lest his speech bring

forth only leaves through an excessive arrangement of words, as Jerome says, or rather that he should weigh foaming words, and for all that, not find the earth.

Let others relate with what great "outspokenness" (*parrēsia*) he inveighed against the morals of our age. He was entirely a stranger to that servile silence which, consistent with the divine oracles, Justinian himself prohibited in such men. With what great strength of spirit he thundered against public lapses into vice, exhorting individuals toward penitence with copious tears, so that the same matters would leave the faithful not without eager counsel, but with paternal affection toward those with whom he was angry and with longing that they be moved for the public good. With what great skill he performed the duties of a teacher in the chair of theology. With what swiftness of genius, with what perspicuity he set forth perplexing matters, distinguished intricate matters, explained obscure matters. He resolved knots worthy of a prosecutor, he exposed the lairs and recesses of the sophists, and where he labored he laid bare the enemy. The sons of the prophets speak, yea, of the prophets. For if three or four are excepted, scarcely is there a pastor among us who did not profit from this teacher, and who did not benefit from his instruction. Swiss, French, Genevans acknowledge their teacher with grateful hearts. I call all of you as witnesses, his posterity and future generations: declare what kind of teacher was our "blessed one" (*makaritēs*). Alas, would that he could instruct us today!

He was a sober theologian, if ever there was one. For he knew, of course, that when long ago the Jewish people were about to approach the foot of the mountain, bars, railings and obstacles were placed for their audacity. In like manner, fixed boundaries have been constituted for us, and for our knowledge many have been withdrawn, which the greatest judge of all wished to be disregarded at this time, to be expected, however, in the future place of the blessed. He used to track down the open things of Scripture with sedulous industry, but into the hidden things, "even those above the grasping of this world" (*kai anōterō tēs kosmikēs katalēpseōs*), he would not break with thoughtless audacity. He used to grieve because all was going utterly to ruin, the impious deed unto the worse by means of the forbidden; because the robe of Christ was being torn to pieces; because errors were being increased; because the faith of many was being shaken; because the mysteries of piety were being railed at by these scoffing times

in the affairs of men; and because (Paul of) Samosata, Photinus, Arius, names that were ominous and born unto the reproach of the Christian religion, once again existed as if brought back from the underworld. He used to weep with bloody tears because he heard that the wounds of the serpent, Atheism, were afflicting many, and that the infections of Socinianism and Pelagianism were spreading gradually. He marvelled at all the secret things of God; he would not ransack them. He said that it is not proper to inquire into that which earthly wisdom does not grasp, and that it is a work of foolish science to seek to know more than God wishes to teach.

Those who enjoyed his friendship in intimate acquaintance said that he was known to express in all things the image of Christian virtues in his morals and his life; for he was not of the number of those "who say the things which are of God, but do the things which are their own, for whom fine speeches are better than true wisdom"; "Of whatever sort were his words, such were his deeds, and of whatever sort were his works, such was his life" (*hopoioi hoi autou logoi, toiai kai hai praxeis, kai hopoia ta erga, toioutos ho bios*, Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* 12.95 [Loeb, 262–63]). That in which Gregory Nazianzus rendered praise to Athanasius suited our Turretin in the highest degree: "on the one hand, lofty in his works; on the other, lowly in his mind" (*hypsēlos men tois ergois, tapeinos de phronēmasi*, Oration 21, "On the great Athanasius" 9 [NPNF2, 7:272; PG 35.1092]). As much as he was humble in spirit, so was his life sublime. He did not seek the limelight, nor applause; he did not scorn an honest reputation with others, but by no means did he grasp at it; nor did he ever desire a monument erected for himself out of a belittling of others. He brought forward nothing for his own glory, all for the public welfare and for those to whose profit he had given himself wholly. Yea, if he heard fine things about himself from others, he disparaged himself more than this. He was not carried off by blind self-love, by which sometimes now and then many learned men are degraded, for whom one's own things are pleasing, one's own writings alone please, those of another are despised, yea who even love their wounds, and who cherish an opinion not because it is true, but because it is their own, and not according to charity, as Augustine (*Hipponensis*) says, not according to the rule of Christ our Lord, but according to their own disposition do they weigh and thus do they judge. Never did our Turretin please himself. Not knowing his own power, he saw

himself altogether modestly. No one saw presumption in his authority. He would always ask, never command; nor would he prescribe anything for anyone with dictatorial arrogance. Outbreaks of anger and easily provoked rages were absent from his most pure breast and from his mild temperament (nor did these natural qualities displease too little), in which fiery spirits indeed reside, so that a little flame is kindled easily and, having been inflamed, soon afterwards it breaks out and spreads far and wide. And yet they drew the more toward a desire for peace than they rushed eagerly toward war. He was given neither to biting, nor slandering, entirely different from Jerome, who labored under a weakness of the tongue so that he was severe with biting attacks, he played with sarcasm, he would not moderate his injuries, which from his writings he is to be joined together with Rufinus, the elder of Aquileia, with Vigilantius, the Bishop of Spain, with Jovinian, the monk, and with John, the Bishop of Jerusalem, in similar numerous and acerbic attacks. Our highly beloved was a man of peace. For he learned, you see, that it is not proper for ministers of peace and grace to become the sons of Bellona, nor for the trumpets of Zion to be transformed into the bugles of Mars; and he was moved with the greatest sorrow, when he perceived that brothers, while Hannibal was being scorned at the gates, rushed into dumb mischief.

He did not waste away over the successes of others; rather he admired these with the greatest delight. There was no one more humane in the duties of life than he; no one more prompt to further the interests of others. Whether widows, orphans, strangers or the needy, he was ready to be their defender, and a true "carer for orphans" (*orphanotrophos*), which duty "is fitting for priests" (*tois hiereusin harmozein*), some Bishop of Africa rightly observed. "He had the habit of being given to mercy and being a lover of the poor" (*eleēmonikēn kai philoptōchon hexin*), in the words of Olympiodorus. In fact, he assisted paupers with counsel and he also hastened to succor their want with a happy spirit since he well knew that "the greatness of one's mercy is not measured by the quantity of the goods, but by the zeal of the giver, and that God does not demand greater quantities of the things brought, but just measures of one's will" (*to tēs eleēmosynēs megethos ouk en tō plēthei tōn chrēmatōn krinesthai, all' en tē prothymia tōn didontōn, kai ou posotēta eisphoras apaitein ton theon, alla metra gnōmēs*, John Chrysostom, Sermon 23, "De Eleemosyna et Hospitalitate,"

Eclogae ex diversis homiliis [PG 63.721]). He regarded love for strangers equal with his own duties, and his own home was a sanctuary for foreigners. No one departed from his conversation downcast, and he reckoned that a day had been lost when he had done nothing good for anyone the whole day, which (Suetonius) Tranquillus narrates regarding Titus ("The Lives of the Caesars" 8.8 *Suetonius* [Loeb, 2:330–31]) and an author not unknown to us relates regarding Frederick I. He was a "lover of work" (*philergos*), most patient in labors, and it seemed that he was never tired but in perpetual motion, as though in the very struggle of the spirit men are restored and refreshed: "as an oak pruned with dreadful two-edged axes, through loss, through blows, he draws wealth and courage from the same iron" (Horace, "Carmen Liber" 4.4.57, 59–60 [Loeb, 298–99]).

I do not relate these things to extol "the blessed one" (*ton makaritēn*) with praises, for, you see, our herald has no need of such things, but so that you might still be able to gaze on the living image of the deceased. These things have also been offered for us to emulate.

As soon as he was made professor of theology, the highest office of Rector of the Academy was immediately entrusted to him in the year 1654. In this undertaking, in as far as he was faithfully safeguarding the faith of our Athens, with tenderness for our growing youth by means of his great spirit, there is the remembrance of many. For many years, he administered the rectorate, and more than once delivered a most renowned oration. Always worthy of a theologian, he selected subjects deserving of his splendid audience. *De hujus Scholae et Academiae natali die* ("Concerning the Birthday of our School and Academy"); *De Alexandri VII Tiberini Pontificis electione* ("Concerning the Election of Alexander VII Tiberias as Pope"); *De Virtutis ac Veritatis amico consortio, indivulsoque nexu* ("Concerning the Friendly Association and Inseparable Connection of Virtue and Truth"); *De Praejudiciis Evangelicorum Christianam concordiam impedientibus* ("Concerning the Prejudices Impeding Christian Concord in the Spread of the Gospel"): he treated all with great acclamations from his audience.

After this burden had been taken up, another no less weighty was imposed on him in the year 1661. For when the men of Geneva did not have the adequate means sufficient for the repair of the walls of our city, he was considered the most ready representative of our Geneva for a certain

delegation to the most powerful and highest ranks of the Dutch (*Belgii*) federation, and our senate decided that the most able man for this business would be the most worthy son of Benedict Turretin, who had himself been delegated for the same purpose forty years before. He set off in the month of May. At Basel, he was accepted with joyful shouts from those illustrious men, who made illustrious the Rauracum Athanaeum by its splendor: first, from the venerable (and for a greater time in our praises) Gernler, than whom there was none more intimate with us while he lived; from (Johann Rudolph) Wetstenius (II), most celebrated in the whole world; from the most learned Schonauwerus; from the most famous (Theodor) Wollebius and from the venerable (Peter) Werenfels, a most vigilant preacher, a most disciplined theologian, who now in the nurturing church of Basel and her sublime Academy holds the office of Overseer with the great applause of all; and from the most renowned (Johann) Buxtorf (the younger). From this place, he directed his path straight on to Holland. He was received with thanksgiving. The most illustrious senators of the Dutch (*Belgii*) federation received him most politely, by whom he was presented with a gold necklace along with coin of not inconsiderable value. With a mindful spirit, he would consider the pleasing words and kind face with which the most serene Prince of Orange (wonder of all the world, beloved and darling of the human race) was not at all scornful to receive him. He would call to mind the joy and how many "tokens" (*tekmēria*) of love the learned men showed him, who at that time were present in Holland. His embassy was successful toward its promise, and if we had been silent, our walls would have spoken. I will not relate, auditors, with how much exertion and great effort, with what supplications, and how much the churches of The Hague and Leyden strove with enviable seasonings to have the use and enjoyment of his ministry; how much and how often the University of Leyden earnestly entreated that teacher to be illumined with new light (and by the other lights, with whom he glittered, Turretin could have been set on fire). They marvelled at his pure soul and total devotion to heaven, at his teaching untouched by any ostentation, at his rare integrity, at his varied and recondite erudition, at his strictness for severity of judgment, at his vigilant and dauntless spirit in watching over and laying claim to the truth, "on the one hand, a champion of orthodoxy; on the other, an enemy of novelty" (*ton men orthodoxias hypermachon, tēs de kainodoxias antimachon*). These

great efforts were in vain; our "heavenly citizen" (*ouranopolitēs*) left Holland (*Belgium*), and in his departure he rendered his Batavian worshippers melancholy for his erudition and his virtues. Nevertheless, our theologian did not forget them. Hence we read among his "heirlooms" (*keimēlia*) many letters written to him from the most distinguished and skillful Burgersdicius, a man with the highest distinction not only in the city of Leyden, but in all of Holland (*Belgii*), a great son of great parents in his services to his elders, and in fact, he not seldom held the title of trustee of the illustrious and most noble academies of Leyden and of high magistrate of the magnificent republic of Leyden. Our Turretin had passed into Holland through Germany, but on his return he arranged another path. He earnestly desired to go through to Paris and to address his famous preceptors. Those who were still living, the one whom they had heard as a disciple, they were delighted to hear as a teacher. Our "blessed one" (*makaritēs*) did not dare to struggle against their solicitations, and twice spoke in Charenton to a most numerous assembly. While I remember this, my spirit shudders, my voice sticks in my throat, and my eyes swell with weeping. At that time, he first became acquainted with the incomparable John Claude, by the splendor and glory of whose name I am touched deeply and wholly overcome, and whom I do not attempt to praise or even to portray, since indeed the task is greater than our efforts, and at the first line our sharpness of vision becomes dull, the brush wavers, our industry is weakened, and trembling and wandering eyes are not able to fashion safely the thing by which they are fascinated.

Finally having returned safely to the most longed-for homes of his country, with great tumult among the most distinguished leading men, his colleagues and rejoicing friends, with the warmest affection of all the people, he was welcomed, and the Academy which was mourning, having been robbed of the great Leger, and having been shaken by the funeral of such a great teacher, at the sight of our Turretin began to put on a joyful face and seemed to exult.

He returned to his former labors with great vigor. In the year 1668, he again wore the purple stripe of our Athens, and he spoke on the solemn occasions of the Academy in accordance with custom and with the eloquence which was his habit: *De Geneva conservata* ("Concerning the

Preservation of Geneva"); *De Ecclesiae malis et scandalis* ("Concerning the Evils and Scandals of the Church").

It seemed nothing was lacking for him except the highest honor of marriage; and thus he began to think of taking a wife, and he made his wife the most noble virgin, Elizabeth de Masse, from whom he had a daughter and three sons, of whom one is still living: "walking towards the heights of great praises, we are following after with longing, and with prayers we are protected in our going."

At that time, he had transcribed some pledges of his genius for eternity, which no following days would permit to be pressed down into inglorious oblivion. In 1664, he had responded to a papal writing, and he had vindicated the truth of the Reformed religion from the cavils and calumnies of her adversaries. In 1666, he had published disputations *De Satisfactione Christe* ("Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ") against Socinus and his unfortunate offspring, and against the papists, to which things he added at other times: *De Circulo Pontifico* ("Concerning the Pontifical Circle") and *De Concordia Pauli et Jacobi in Justificationis articulo* ("Concerning the Harmony of Paul and James in the Article of Justification"). In 1674, he prepared his *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae* ("Institutes of Elenctic Theology"), in which he set forth clearly the status of controversies, without which one contends on the field in the manner of the blindfolded gladiators and of the hapless. For a long time indeed, he hesitated to publish that work, for you see, he knew long ago that the industry of theologians (some of old, some of late) had labored in this genre with great study, indeed that their great abundance so overwhelms a quarrelsome age, that if they do not attract a fastidious reader with some sort of enticement of novelty, they come upon him by producing that misfortune straightaway. But the *Institutes* were so much sought after with prayers that he was not able any longer to refuse, and he allowed it to break forth from the prison house of strife. Innumerable letters from the greatest theologians in all the world bear witness that it was not displeasing to learned men; since he had frequent correspondence with nearly all of them, whom he heard say that in a certain kind of extraordinary richness of teaching he excelled others, from which if anyone were to weigh out his Muse, he would learn that it was a compendium of all Europe.

At the same time, his public addresses appeared, which today are being worn out by use in the hands of all with such great fruit. In 1687, he reviewed and enlarged the arguments *De Necessaria Secessione nostra ab Ecclesia Romana, et Impossibili cum ea Syncretismo* ("Concerning our Necessary Secession from the Church of Rome and the Impossibility of Cooperation with Her"), to which he added *Miscellanearum Disputationum Decadem* ("Ten Miscellaneous Disputations"). Also he was beginning to examine anew his *Institutes*, even to add and illustrate many things, when he became an inhabitant of heaven, and a candidate for eternity.

For many years, this most pious man died daily on account of the extreme sorrow with which he was tortured for the sake of the most lamentable scattering and ruin of the churches. For "while all others" (what was said of Basil in his "encomium" [*enkōmiastēs*]) "see only so far as that which is before their own feet, and their own things, so that they labor to be in safety (if only it could be enough to be safe), neither do they proceed beyond, nor are they able either to accomplish or to grasp by reasoning anything great or strenuous. He on the contrary, although he was moderate in other things, in this he held to no limit whatever; indeed, having suffered deeply in his thoughts and the eyes of his mind having been cast about in every direction, he seized upon all the parts of the earth, where the saving teaching of Christ had spread; and when he heard that a vineyard of the Lord had been devastated, he did not allow sleep for his eyes, nor rest for his eyelids. Whatever flesh remained to him, he consumed it with cares" (Gregory Nazianzus, Oration 43, "Funeral Oration on the Great Basil, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia" 41, 42 (NPNF2, 7:409; PG 36.551]). How many times both in public and private did we see that pious man burst into tears when he heard of the unspeakable lot of the Piedmontese brothers, and when he contemplated those wretched remnants there, part escaped from the inaccessible heights of the mountains and hidden caves of the rocks, part from foul and dark prisons, as burning brands snatched from the fire. How often did he profane his cheeks with tears that had arisen when he learned of the sorrowful vicissitudes of our French brothers, whom it is better to cover with a curtain than to renew the unspeakable sorrow of their story. How many times he said groaning: "O king powerful in arms, what kind of wrath are you fixing, when will you acknowledge my humble prayers? I transported a vine from the Egyptian (*Pharia*) ditch: stripped of

usual defenses, why do you forsake us for booty to wandering strangers? Hear the weeping prisoners who faint away in chains; free the right hand of the strong from out of the jaws of death!" (George Buchanan, *Paraphrasis psalmorum Davidis poetica* [1580], pp. 177–78, 176 on Pss. 80 and 79).

Greatest God, hear these groanings, and these our sighs! You in the audience have heard him more than once bewailing these things with moistened eyes. I do not attempt to describe these things. In the manner of that shrewd artist, who though he excelled in his craft, and in spite of his great abundance of natural talent, he covered over with a veil what he despaired of equalling with a brush.

The Omnipotent heard his groans, he saw his tears and he wiped them away. Thus I descend gradually to that fatal moment in my oration in which our Turretin hastened toward the end of our common mortality. His health was strong enough and the exceptional moderation of his body always strengthened his stable spirit. Rarely did we see him sick. He was liable only to somewhat painful colics, and only three times did he suffer the misfortunes of gout in his limbs. We hoped that he would proceed right on to an extreme old age; but yet as it usually happens, the more one cultivates one's spirit magnificently with divine learning and with the adornments of wisdom, by this means one's mind is more swiftly disgusted with one's earthly home and considers more sublime things, and the body, now wholly exhausted and worn out by the spirit in such labors, dissolves into dust.

On September 26, the day on which he would confine himself to his bed, he had risen very early, even before the first light of the sun, and had written letters to various friends, and was still preparing others in his mind (as we have learned from him) to those greatest theologians, whose names, most famous in all the world, I am not able to pronounce without an introduction, the venerable Johann Heinrich Heidegger, "Most radiant light" (*phōs lamprotaton*) not only of Switzerland, but of all Europe, and the highly celebrated Pierre Jurieu, whom it is enough to name, a most vehement defender of the Reformed cause, a hammer of heretics, great men, between whom and our Turretin a close connection always existed most firmly. On the same day, he had conversed with certain persons right up to the tenth hour concerning various matters pertaining to the good of the church of Christ, when suddenly he felt himself tormented by deadly pains. O that happy one "whom the last day will thus have found waging war for

Christ." As soon as he perceived that he was seized by sickness, immediately his mind, as if foreknowing the future, imagined that the final end of his life was at hand, nor did he wish to conceal this from his most beloved sister. When advised of his illness, I ran to him hurriedly. He immediately said to me that he earnestly with ardent prayers desired to be freed soon from the workhouse of his body, that he suffered so greatly because of the torment of the colic with which he was oppressed, he was not able to address adequately his eternal Father by prayer with supplications. He said that nevertheless he knew his redeemer in whom he had believed, and while the gout turned back his spirits, he had been faithful, and that his soul panted only for Christ. He said that this one thing he strove for from God with humble prayers, that, his sins having been forgiven, he would supply him enough strength for the pains he was bearing, and that he would grant him a "peaceful death" (*euthanasian*).

The most experienced doctors were summoned, who administered all the remedies of Apollo for well-known disease, so that they might be able to at least lighten, if not drive away, these most grievous pains, while our Turretin addressed the eternal Arbiter of life and death in this way, with the prophet king (*Regio Vate*): "Hear my calling in perilous troubles and give a gentle ear to my prayers, Creator of all things. Do not weigh my life on the scales of severe judgment, on them there is no innocent man, so that he could come to your tribunal to freely acknowledge himself in his sin" (George Buchanan, *Paraphrasis psalmorum Davidis poetica* [1580], pp. 290–91). "Savior Christ, sprinkle my soul with your blood, I pray; hear, Father, the cries of this blood."

Now and then he would repeat the words from Psalm 38 which he had recently explained a few days before in the Italian congregation: "Do not betray me to the raging fire of your fury, Savior of the world: lest, deserving grievous punishments without limit, you hasten to punish me in your wrath, the arrows of your right hand cling deeply fixed in my marrow" (ibid., p. 82 on Ps. 38).

On the following day, our Aesculapians saw with the greatest sorrow that all their efforts were useless, and the disease was growing worse because "his bowels grew weak and his body was sickly" (*koilias narkōsin, kai sōmatos arrōstian*). Hence if they did not yet despair of the life of our "blessed one" (*makaritou*), nevertheless they were drawn by scant hope,

and fluctuating between hope and dread, they wavered by as much as that disease turned. But he, as if presaging the future, prepared himself for death. When he saw those present shedding tears, he said, “Why do you weep? The way of death is to be trodden by all; this life which we live is not life, but a booth of misfortune, a sea of cares, a school of sorrow, tinder for sorrow, pure death. The life which at length I shall enjoy is alone worthy of the name of life. O when shall I desert you, companionship with evil and workshop of sorrows; when shall I be free from this body of death, and become master of myself; and united with Christ I shall fully enjoy the blessedness to endure!”

On that day, he spoke many things to his beloved only son, and in addition to various things which he imposed on him, these four especially he prescribed: the care of the church of God, if ever he should be called to the sacred ministry, the love of the truth, humility and charity. When I stood beside his bed, he encouraged me in the work of the Lord with pregnant words, and he gave many things to me by injunctions which I shall reflect upon, recalling them in my mind as long as I shall draw breath, but which on account of my sorrow I have no strength to relate to you now.

Toward evening his strength seemed to waver; however, he informed us that he was not to die that night, but he would yet see the light of the following day. All of us marveled at his patience in bearing afflictions; for if ever he would complain of his pain rather harshly, with a querulous voice, presently he would all at once return to himself, and in the midst of his torments he would preach of the fatherly mercies of God.

At the first light of dawn, he recognized that the time of his “release” (*analyseōs*) was at hand. “Now is the time,” he said, “for me to part from you!” O harsh divorce! Do not expect to hear what I replied to these things —no voice, a shower of tears. At that time the magnificent Rector of this Athens entered, Michael Turretin, highly beloved relation of the deceased, a most worthy professor of Oriental languages, an adornment of the chair of Hebrew, a most worthy pastor of this church. To this man he testified with many words how much repentance for sins was reckoned to him; to which things he added, however, concerning their remission, that he had never doubted the mercy of his Savior, that he embraced this mercy with his whole heart, and that he sought after God as a suppliant, so that cleansed by the blood of his only Son, he would call him to his blessed home. He

commended to him the church, the Academy and his son. And he asked him to greet the Venerable Company in his name, and to return to these whom he had always preserved and taught publicly in a faithful manner, saying to them that he had believed, he believed now, and he would believe unto the end. He exhorted the brothers, who had stood fast in all animosities with calm dispositions, that they should continue the work of the Lord with an equal union of enthusiasm and zeal, as a single acceptable offering to the truth, and that they should be mindful of their common faith, name, rank, character, duty and finally of their common mortality, and mindful of that supreme God, to whom each one in the presence of the tribunal of Christ is to return an account of his stewardship. He commended the venerable master (Samuel) Bernard to be an exile for the cause of Christ, to be cultivated in all good things. The wretched remnants of his own church, the care of the church of Christ he commended to all of us, and he prayed heartily all favorable things for the most renowned Marc Micheli, most vigilant and most faithful pastor, his most intimate first cousin. He had the face not of a dying man, but of one triumphing. Alas it seemed to me that I saw breaking forth from his face torments not so much of faith or of hope, rather I should say just like those of that glory to be revealed in him, and my ears still ring with the last words he was breathing. Nothing could be more gentle.

The seventh hour began to withdraw, and his earthly tent seemed to tumble down. He gave us a last farewell, and from the deepest places in his heart he commended us to God. With our petitions, we broke through to heaven, and when the venerable pastor Bernard reminded him to be mindful of the congregation, whom he had preserved as the people of the holy assembly toward the last day, in these words of Paul: “Let us go to the throne of grace” (cf. Heb. 4:16), immediately our Turretin exclaimed, as if impatient of the delay, “Let us go. Let us go!” After he brought forth these words from within his soul, a tranquil death stole upon him like sleep, with no shaking of his body, no contortion of his face or eyes, no convulsions of his breast; then his neck sunk into an easy death, just as an oil lamp when it is exhausted, or as a poppy shaken by a heavy breeze softly lets fall its head.

Thus died this great man at 64 years of age; thus was reclaimed and returned to its heavenly homeland that noble pledge and deposit which God

had lent to our earth. O you fortunate one; O we unfortunate ones! Now free from the weight of your body you walk through celestial orbs. Enrolled in the blessed choir of the heavens, you disdain the whole human race, and beneath you see the circle of the earth; from the mourning field to eternal felicity, from the prison of mortality you have migrated to that life which is circumscribed neither by the limits of time, nor by the extent of its blessedness. We on this globe of the world wander in the distance from your supernal dwellings and celestial homeland. You repose in a stream of felicity, you have been discharged from the wandering of life, now you possess the haven you zealously desired so long with fervid invocations. We are tossed between shipwrecks and rocks by resounding tempests: now we are hanging down in fear, now we are swelling with hope. An enduring peace always blesses you, the stain of a life soon to end presses us down. Your death "is an end of labors, the consummation of a victory, the gate of life, an entrance for perfect security." It is not an exit, but a passage to eternity, "not to destruction, but to the starting point of life, not a disappearance, but a crossing over to honor and a race toward the garlands" (*ouk phthora alla zōēs aphormē, ouk aphanismos, alla metabasis pros timēn kai dromos epi tous stephanous*). The life which you now enjoy is "assured security, secure tranquility; tranquil blessedness, blessed eternity." But the life we still live "is a dubious life, a blind life, a wretched life which tears swell, sorrows diminish, ardors dry up, airs render sick, foods inflate, fastings weaken, jestings destroy, griefs consume, a life which anxiety shortens, security makes dull, riches make of it a show, poverty casts down, youth exalts, old age bends down, infirmity shatters it." You are beginning to live, for death is a day of birth. We die every day, and we do not cease to die. With God and the angels you exult, having laid aside all your cares and having driven away every sorrow; our tears fall across our faces, and they water our cheeks with unceasing rain. O father, father, the chariots of Israel! What can I do after having outlived your witness? Death exists and by every death it is worse to live when I miss you. Therefore I shall look upon your face no more, neither shall I enjoy your pleasing and learned conversations. Alas the best part of me has abandoned me!

Weep, church! You will not hear that voice, which disclosed to you the whole counsel of God, healed feeble souls, comforted the afflicted, led the wayward back into the way, strengthened those who were staggering, taught

the ignorant, confirmed the learned; that mouth whence flowed out the marrow of golden diction poured forth oracles not of this world!

Weep, ye sons of the prophets; these very walls will no more resonate with the echo of his voice! This seat has been robbed of its Turretin. Who am I, who should occupy this place and succeed such a man? Concerning some defunct general, whom another lesser than he had succeeded, says (Suetonius) Tranquillus, that he was more beloved than his successor (?'Tiberius' 21.2 "The Lives of the Caesars" *Suetonius* [Loeb, 1:324–25]). I fear greatly, lest the same be said of our Turretin, for whom now, although a child, I have been appointed as his successor. Support me with your prayers I beseech you. Most distinguished and most noble audience, join your prayers to mine, so that if I am not strong enough to press down these dear footprints with equal steps, I shall be able at least to follow them.

Let it not be wrought by the Omnipotent that the unfortunate fall of this star should portend anything for our church; turn away every adverse thing, highest God, Protector of this city. Let her always be safe and tranquil, an invincible theater of your power and virtue. May the fathers of the country live and endure; may the church and Academy live—"its pillars and foundations" (*stulai kai hedraiōmata*, cf. 1 Tim. 3:15). May this Academy be the seat of most sincere wisdom, an impregnable fortress of pure truth, a hall of state (*Prytanaeum*) for upright souls, a household of the learned, a compendium of the erudite of the whole world, and may her fame and glory extend to the ends of the earth. Finally, may this church be an unchangeable seat of your grace and of your Ark. You have borne away our Elijah; send Elisha. Call forth defenders of the truth, and whom you have called forth, confirm with your strength; illuminate with celestial light the minds of those teaching and those learning, inflame them with a love of wisdom and of piety.

Meanwhile since indeed we delight no longer in the beloved and noble countenance of Turretin, "our little page keeps singing of him; whom we cannot greet in the body, let us hold in memory, and with whom we are not able to speak, concerning him let us not cease to speak."

Farewell, most longed-for Turretin—"most beloved and marvelous person" (*philtaton kai thaumasion kara*). Farewell, soul received by heaven. We shall follow you by what order the fatal hour shall call each of us.

“Who, making haste to sail to his own people, would not prefer more zealously a favorable wind so that it might be granted him to embrace his loved ones more swiftly? We reckon Paradise to be our homeland; we begin to possess now the patriarchs as parents. Why do we not make ready and run to see our fatherland that we may greet our parents? A great number of our dear relations awaits us yonder: parents, brothers, sons, a numerous and abundant throng desires us” (Cyprian, “On the Mortality” 26 [ANF 5:475; PL 4.624]).

“Whose life delighted us on account of the consolations of friendship, whence it can come about that their death should inflict no sorrow upon us? He who would prohibit sorrow, let him prohibit if he can friendly conversation, let him forbid amicable society, or let him cut through every desire for human intimacy. Let him shatter the bonds of his spirit with brutal insensibility; or else let him resolve so to use them that no sweetness from them should besprinkle his soul. Now if this cannot in any way happen—nay, rather, it shall come to pass by this means, that his death should not be bitter to us—whose life is sweet?” (Augustine, CG 19.8 [FC 24:208; PL 41.635]).

George Musgrave Giger: A Biographical Sketch

by James T. Dennison, Jr.

In the January issue of the *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review* for 1845, the editor (Charles Hodge) wrote, "We understand that a gentleman in Princeton is engaged in a translation of Turretin, with a view to its publication" (p. 190). The "gentleman" was George Musgrave Giger, at the time Professor of Greek at Princeton University. Giger labored over his translation for more than sixteen years. The last dated sheet of his handwritten manuscript is the close of Topic Thirteen, February 26, 1861. Exactly when he completed the translation before his death in October 1865 is unknown.

Giger was the son of Absalom H. and Eliza Musgrave Giger. Born June 6, 1822, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, he moved to Baltimore, Maryland, at an early age, where he took up residence with his maternal uncle, Dr. George W. Musgrave. He received his early education at the Baltimore Academy under Mr. John Prentiss. In 1838, he enrolled in the College of New Jersey at Princeton, emerging with a Bachelor of Arts in 1841. In the same year, he matriculated at Princeton Theological Seminary, graduating in 1844.

Upon graduation, Giger found employment as a Tutor in the College of New Jersey (Princeton University) from 1844 to 1846. From 1846 to 1847, he was Assistant Professor of Mathematics at the College. In 1847, he was appointed Adjunct Professor of Greek. He served in this capacity until 1854. He was then appointed Professor of Latin Language and Literature and held this position from 1854 to 1865. For several years before his retirement, he also lectured in architecture. He was named Professor Emeritus of Latin and Lecturer Extraordinary in Architecture at the College

in 1865. Having retired because of ill health, he died of consumption on October 11, 1865, at the home of his uncle, Dr. Musgrave, in Philadelphia.

Thomas Wertenbaker describes Giger as a "small, delicate, dark man, with piercing eyes and long flowing hair, very neat in dress and polished in manner" (pp. 260–61). This judgment of sartorial polish is borne out by Giger's personal receipt book in the Presbyterian Historical Society—it contains numerous receipts for fine hats and coats as well as periodical payments for laundry service. His ecclesiastical experience began with his profession of faith in March 1841 at Third Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, Maryland. He was received as a candidate for the ministry on September 9, 1841, by the Presbytery of Baltimore (PCUSA). On June 13, 1843, he was licensed to preach the "everlasting gospel" by the same Presbytery. Giger appears to have attended Second Presbyterian Church, Princeton, for his receipt book contains pew rent payments for 1855 and 1856. In 1860, he was appointed Stated Supply of the Witherspoon Street Presbyterian Church of Princeton. This black congregation was composed of emancipated slaves and their families. Following a memorial petition by the members requesting his ordination, Giger was ordained an "evangelist" in the Witherspoon Church on February 15, 1860, by the Presbytery of New Brunswick. His uncle, Dr. Musgrave, preached the sermon and Dr. John Maclean, Emeritus President of Princeton College, propounded the ordination vows. (Maclean was also destined to officiate at Giger's funeral five years later.) Giger continued as Stated Supply until the summer of 1865. During the period of his pulpit ministrations, an awakening swept over the young people of the congregation, bringing more than fifteen of them to make profession of faith with admission to the Lord's Supper.

Giger also served as Librarian of Princeton University from 1849 to 1865. He was awarded the D.D. degree by Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania, in 1861. Alexander Leitch says that during the fire in Nassau Hall in 1855, Giger rescued the famous portrait of George Washington by Charles W. Peale.

In addition to the handwritten translation of Turretin's *Institutio*, Giger left more than seventy manuscript sermons, a Latin notebook, manuscript lectures on architecture and a "system of theology." The form of this "system" is question and answer. Frequent references to Turretin suggest that these may have been his classroom notes from the lectures of Charles

Hodge. These materials are deposited in the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Four photographic poses of Giger are included among these papers.

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Biographical Dictionary

This listing of historical and mythological names is in alphabetical order by last name. Each full entry includes last name, first name, alternate name(s) in [], and dates in (), followed by a biographical source (consult the key below) where further information may be found on each entry.

ADB *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*. Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1967–71.

BBK Friedrich W. Bautz, ed., *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*. Hamm: Bautz, 1970–.

BCJ Augustin de Backer, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Bruxelles: Schepens, 1890–1919.

BGSB Jean Francois, *Bibliothèque générale des écrivains de l'Ordre de Saint Benoit*. Bouillon: Société typographique, 1777–78.

BRPDT James Farge, *Biographical register of Paris Doctors of Theology*, 1500–1536. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1980.

BU *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*. Paris: Michaud, 1811–62.

Ba Pierre Bayle, *The dictionary historical and critical of Mr. Peter Bayle*. New York: Garland, 1984.

CE Andrew Macerlean, *The Catholic encyclopedia*. New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1917.

COE P.G. Bietenholz, ed., *Contemporaries of Erasmus*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, 1985–.

DBF J. Balteau et al., eds., *Dictionnaire de biographie francaise*. Paris: Letouzey ae Ane, 1933–.

DCaB J.J. Delaney, *Dictionary of Catholic biography*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961.

DCB William Smith and Henry Wace, eds., *A dictionary of Christian biography, literature, sects and doctrines*. New York: AMS

Press, 1974.
DGRBM William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman biography and mythology*. Boston: C.C. Little and J. Brown, 1849.
DHGE Alfred Baudrillart, *Dictionnaire d'historie et de géographie ecclésiastiques*. Paris: Letouzey at Ané, 1912–.
DMA Joseph R. Strayer, ed., *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*. New York: Scribner, 1982–.
DNB George Smith, *The dictionary of national biography*. London: Oxford University Press, 1882–.
DTC A. Vacant et al., *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1852–1901.
EB (1910) *The Encyclopaedia britannica*. New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1910–11.
EB (1980) *The new Encyclopedia britannica*. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1980.
EC *Enciclopedia cattolica*. Citta del Vaticano, 1948–54.
EDR Paul Kevin et al., eds., *Encyclopedic dictionary of religion*. Philadelphia: Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia, 1979.
EEC Angelo Di Berardino, ed., *Encyclopedia of the early church*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
EI *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1949–52.
EJ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Jerusalem: Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1972.
EU *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada Europeo-Americana*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1907–30.
GN Barend Glasius, *Godgeleerd Nederland: biographisch woordenboek van nedelandsche godgeleerden's* Hertogenbosch: Muller, 1851–56.
Haag Eugene Haag, *La France protestante*. Genève: J. Cherbuliez, 1846–59.
Heyer Henri Heyer, *L'Église de Genève*, 1535–1909. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graff, 1974.
LC E.L. Lueker, *Lutheran cyclopedia*. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia, 1975.
LS Alban Butler, *Butler's lives of the saints*. Westminster, Md.: Christian Classics, 1956.

LTK Josef Hofer and Karl Rahner, *Lexikon fur Theologie und Kirche*. Freiburg: Herder, 1957–65.

ME *The Mennonite encyclopedia*. Hillsboro, Kans.: Mennonite Brethren, 1955–59.

MEL *Meyers enzyklopadisches Lexikon*. Zurich: Bibliographisches Institute, 1971–79.

MtS John McClintock and James Strong, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, theological, and ecclesiatical literature*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1968–70.

MtS-S John McClintock and James Strong. *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, theological, and ecclesiastical literature: Supplement*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1968–70.

MUB J.G. Wackernagel, *Die Matrikel der Universitat Basel*. Basel: Verl. der Universitatsbibliothek, 1951–.

NBG J.C.F. Hoefer, *Nouvelle biographie générale*. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1855–66.

NCE *New Catholic encyclopedia*. Palatine, Ill.: J. Heraty, 1981.

NIDCC J.D. Douglas, ed., *New international dictionary of the Christian Church*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974.

NNBW P.C. Molyhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1911–37.

NSHERK S.M. Jackson, ed., *The new Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1949–55.

OCD2 N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard, eds., *The Oxford classical dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.

OCSL Philip Ward, ed., *Oxford companion to Spanish literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.

ODB Alexander P. Kazhdan, ed., *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

ODCC2 F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian Church*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974.

ODP J.N.D. Kelly, *Oxford dictionary of Popes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

RE Philip Schaff, ed., *A religious encyclopedia: or dictionary of Biblical, historical, doctrinal, and practical theology*. New York: Funk

& Wagnalls, 1891.
RR George H. Williams, *The radical Reformation*. Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992.
RSHMA Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age*. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1960.
Senebier Jean Senebier, *Histoire littéraire de Genève*. Genève: Barde, Magnet, 1786.
UPDBM Joseph Thomas, *Universal pronouncing dictionary of biography and mythology*. Detroit: Gale Research, 1976.

Aben Ezra [Abenezra/Ibn Ezra] (1092/93–1167) EB (1910)
Abrabanel, Isaac ben Judah (1437–1508) EJ
Abulensis. *See* Tostatus, Alphonso
Acephali (5th cent.) DCB
Acosta, Joseph [Jose de] (1539–1600) EB (1980)
Adelphius (4th cent.) DCB
Adrian I [Hadrian] (d. 795) ODP
Adrian VI [Hadrian] (1459–1523) ODP
Aeacus OCD2
Aedesius [Edesius] (4th cent.) CE
Aegidius Romanus. *See* Giles of Rome
Aemilius, Paulus [Paolo Emilio] (d. 1529) EB (1910)
Aemillus, Antonius [Aemilius] (1589–1660) NNBW
Aeneas OCD2
Aeneas Sylvius. *See* Pius II
Aesculapius [Asclepius] OCD2
Aesop (6th cent. B.C.) OCD2
Aetius, Archdeacon of Constantinople (5th cent.) R.V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon*. London: SPCK, 1961.
Africanus. *See* Julius Africanus
Agamemnon OCD2
Agapetus [Agapitus] (d. 536) ODP
Agellius. *See* Gellius, Aulus
Agesilaus (444–360 B.C.) OCD2
Agnoetae (ca. 370) MtS
Agobard (ca. 779–840) NIDCC

Agrippa, Heinrich Cornelius (1486–1535) MtS
Ailly, Peter [Petrus de Alliaco] (1350–1420) NIDCC
Albaspinaeus, Gabriel de l' [Aubespine/Gabriel Gallice] (1579–1630) MtS-S
Albert I of Austria (ca. 1250–1308) EB (1910)
Albert V, Duke of Bavaria (1528–79) NSHERK
Albertinus, Edmundus [Aubertin] (1595–1652) NBG
Albertus Magnus (1193–1280) NIDCC
Albigenses (3rd–12th cent.) NIDCC
Alciatus, Paul [Giovanni Paolo Alciati] (fl. 1564–65) NBG
Alcuin [Albinus Flaccus] (d. 804) NIDCC
Alensis, Alexander [Alesius/Aless/Alane] (1500–1565) DNB
Alexander VII [Fabio Chigi] (1599–1667) ODP
Alexander, Bp. of Alexandria (d. 328) NIDCC
Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma [Alessandro] (1546–92) NBG
Alexander of Hales (ca. 1170–1245) NIDCC
Alexander Severus, Marcus Aurelius (208/09–35) OCD2
Alexander the Great [Alexander III of Macedonia] (356–323 B.C.) OCD2
Alexius, Gaspard (1578–1626) NBG
Almayno, Jacques [Almain/Almaynus] (ca. 1480–1515) NCE
Alogoi (2nd cent.) ODCC2
Alsted, Johann Heinrich (1588–1638) NIDCC
Altenstaig, Johann [Altensteig] (ca. 1480–ca. 1525) NCE
Altissiodorensis [William of Auxerre/Autissiodorensis] (13th cent.) CE
Alvaresius, Francisco [Alvares] (d. ca. 1540) NCE
Alvarez, Didacus [Diego, Bp. of Trani] (d. 1631) NCE
Alvarez de Paz, Diego (1560–1620) NCE
Amalcario Fortunato [Amalarius of Treves] (fl. 9th cent.) NSHERK
Amamus, Sixtin [Amama] (1593–1639) MtS
Ambrose of Milan (ca. 339–97) NIDCC
Ambrosiaster [Pseudo-Ambrose] EEC
Ambrosius Catharinus. *See* Catarinus
Ames, William (1576–1633) NIDCC
Amicus, Bartolommeo [Amico/Amigo] (1562–1649) MtS-S
Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. 330–95) OCD2
Ammonius (4th cent.) DCB

Amurathes the Turk [Murad II] (1404–51) ODB
Amyrald, Moses [Moise Amyraut] (1596–1664) NSHERK
Anacletus [Cletus] (ca. 71–ca. 91) ODP
Anastasius [Bibliothecarius] (9th cent.) NCE
Anatolius (d. 458) NIDCC
Anchoranus, Joannes [Jacques de Teramo/d'Ancarano/Palladino] (1349–1417) DTC
Andradius, Diego [Diego Andrada de Payva] (1528–75) CE
Andreae, Jacobus [James] (1528–90) NIDCC
Andrew of Caesarea (6th cent.) CE
Andrews, Lancelot [Andrewes] (1555–1626) NIDCC
Angelici DCB
Angelus Sylvester Unable to identify
Anisius [Anysius] (ca. 383–ca. 406) DCB
Anselm of Canterbury (ca. 1033–1109) NIDCC
Anthemius (fl. 467–72) OCD2
Anthimus (6th cent.) EEC
Anthony (St.) [Antony] (?251–356) ODCC2
Anthropomorphites MtS
Antidicomarianites (ca. 4th cent.) MtS
Antiochus IV [Epiphanes] (ca. 215–163 B.C.) OCD2
Antiphanes (404–330 B.C.) OCD2
Antoninus of Florence (1389–1459) NCE
Antoninus Pius (86–161) OCD2
Antonis de Butrio [Antonius Bononiensis] (1338–1408) NCE
Aphraates (4th cent.) NSHERK
Aphthartodocetae (6th cent.) MtS
Apiarius (5th cent.) ODCC2
Apis OCD2
Apollinarianism [Apollinarus] (b. ca. 310) NIDCC
Apollo (the Interpreter) [Loxiou/Loxias] DGRBM
Apostolics [Apostolici] MtS
Apuleius (b. ca. 123) OCD2
Aquila of Pontus (fl. 2nd cent.) ODCC2
Aratus (315–240/39 B.C.) ODC2
Arboreus, Joannes/Jean [Jean d'Abres] (d. 1559) BRPDT

Arcadius, Flavius (fl. 383–408) OCD2
Archelaus (ca. 22 B.C.–ca. A.D. 6) OCD2
Aretas [Arethas of Caesarea] (ca. 850–ca. 944) NCE
Aretius (1505–74) NSHERK
Argentina, Thomas de [Thomas of Strasburg] (d. 1357) CE
Argentre, Charles du Plessis d' (1673–1740) CE
Ariadne OCD2
Arias Montanus, Benedictus (1527–98) LTK
Aristeas (?2nd or 3rd cent. B.C.) NSHERK
Aristides (2nd cent.) NIDCC
Aristippus OCD2
Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) OCD2
Arius (250–336) NIDCC
Arminius, James (1560–1609) NIDCC
Arnaldus, Antoine [Arnauld] (1612–94) NIDCC
Arnauld. *See* Arnaldus, Antoine
Arnisaeus, Henningus [Henningius Arnisoeus] (ca. 1580–1636) BU
Arnobius (the elder) (fl. ca. 304–10) NIDCC
Arnoux, Jean [Arnoldus] (1576–1636) NCE
Arrian [Flavius Arrianus] (2nd cent.) OCD2
Arsenius of Hypselis (fl. 4th cent.) EEC
Artaxerxes I Longimanus (d. 424 B.C.) OCD2
Asoto Unable to identify (?Asotus; ?Peter a Soto)
Athanasius (ca. 296–373) NIDCC
Athenaeus (fl. 200) ODC2
Athenagoras (2nd cent.) NIDCC
Attalus (the Martyr) (d. 577) MtS-S
Audomarus. *See* Omer of Therouanne
Auguste, Pierre [Agosto] (16th cent.)
Augustine of Hippo (354–430) NIDCC
Augustus [C. Octavius] (63 B.C.–A.D. 14) OCD2
Aurelius Antoninus, Marcus [Caracalla] (188–217) OCD2
Aurelius, Bp. of Carthage (d. ca. 430) NIDCC
Aurelius, Marcus (121–80) OCD2
Aurelius. *See* Barcos, Martin de and Duvergier de Hauranne, Jean
Ausonius, Decimus Magnus (d. ca. 395) OCD2

Auxentius (d. 374) NIDCC
Avenarius, Johannes (1520–90) MtS
Aventinus, Johannes [Turmair/Turmeir] (1477–1534) EB (1910)
Averroes [Ibn Rushd] (1126–98) NIDCC
Azorius, Joannes [Azor] (1533–1603) MtS

Baile, Guillaume [Bayli/Baylius] (1557–1620) BCJ
Baillie, Robert (1599/1602–1662) DNB
Balbani, Nicolo [Nicolas] (d. 1587) Senebier
Balbus, Lucilius (1st cent. B.C.) DGRBM
Baldwin, Francois [Balduinus/Baudouin] (1520–73/74) NCE
Bale, John [Balaeus] (1495–1563) NIDCC
Balsamo, Theodore [Balsamon] (d. ca. 1200) MtS
Bannes, Domingo [Banez] (1528–1604) CE
Barclay, William [Barklaium] (1546/47–1608) DNB
Barcos, Martin de [Peter Aurelius (pseud.)] (1600–1678) CE
Barnes, John (d. 1661) DNB
Baron, Robert [Baro] (?1593–1639) DNB
Baronius, Cesare (1538–1607) NIDCC
Barradas, Sebastian [Barradius] (1543–1615) CE
Basil (the Great) (ca. 329–79) NIDCC
Basil I (the Macedonian) (ca. 830–86) ODB
Basil, Bp. of Asturia [Basilides of Astorga/Leon-Astorga] (3rd cent.) EEC *sub* Martial
Basil of Seleucia (ca. 448–58) NIDCC
Basilides (2nd cent.) ODCC2
Basilides (3rd cent.). *See* Basil, Bp. of Asturia
Basilidians. *See* Basilides (2nd cent.)
Basso, Giovani (16th–17th cent.)
Bayus, Michel [Baius/de Bay] (1513–89) NIDCC
Becanus, Martin (1563–1624) NSHERK
Bechai Ben Ascher [Rabbi Bechai/Bahya ben Asher ben Hlava] (fl. 13th cent.) EJ
Bede [Baeda] (ca. 673–735) NIDCC
Bellarmine, Robert (1542–1621) NIDCC
Bellona OCD2

Ben Ascher, Moses [Ben-Asher] (9th cent.) EJ
Ben Gerson, Levi [Gershom] (1288–1344) EJ
Ben-Haiim, Jacob [Jacob ben Hayyim] (ca. 1470–1538) EJ
Ben Naphtali, Moses/Jacob ben David (9th cent.) EJ
Benedict IX (d. 1055/56) ODP
Benedict XIII [Pedro de Luna] (ca. 1328–1423) ODP
Benjamin of Tudela [Ben Jonah] (12th cent.) EJ
Bennio [Bennius] Unable to identify
Benno II (d. 1088) CE
Benzoni, Girolamo de (1517–70) NCE
Berengar of Tours (ca. 1000–1088) NIDCC
Bernard, Samuel (1631–1701) Heyer
Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) NIDCC
Beroaldus, Mathieu [Beroalde] (d. 1576) MtS-S
Berosus [Berossus] (fl. 290 B.C.) ODC2
Bertachinus, Joannes [Giovanni Bertachini] (ca. 1448–97) DHGE
Bertram. *See* Ratramnus
Bessarion, John [Basilius] (1403–72) NIDCC
Beverovicius, Joannes [John van Beverwyck] (1594–1647) NBG
Beza, Theodore [Beze] (1519–1605) NIDCC
Biel, Gabriel (1420–95) NIDCC
Billet, Johan [Jean/John Beleth] (fl. 1182) DNB
Binet, Etienne (1569–1639) CE
Blondel, David (1590–1655) NIDCC
Blondus, Flavius [Flavio Biondo] (1388–1463) CE
Bochart, Samuel (1599–1667) MtS
Bochellus, Laurentius [Bouchel] (1559–1629) NBG
Boderianus, Guido Fabricius [Guy Lefevre de la Boderie] (1541–98) CE
Bodius. *See* Boyd, Robert
Boethius, Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus (ca. 480–ca. 524) NIDCC
Bolsec, Jerome (d. 1585) NIDCC
Bonaventure [Bonaventura] (1221–74) NIDCC
Bonfrerius, Jacobus [Jacques Bonfrere] (1573–1642) CE
Boniface I (d. 422) ODP
Boniface III (d. 607) ODP
Boniface VIII [Benedetto Caetani] (ca. 1235–1303) ODP

Bonosus (d. ca. 400) NIDCC
Bootius, Arnold [Boate/Boot/de Boot] (?1600–?1653) DNB
Bossuet, Jacques Benigne [Condomensis] (1627–1704) NCE
Boyd, Robert [Bodius] (1578–1627) DNB
Bradwardine, Thomas (ca. 1290–1349) NIDCC
Brentius, Johann [Brenz] (1499–1570) NIDCC
Brerewood, Edward [Brerevvodio] (?1565–1613) DNB
Briconnet, Guillaume [Bishop of Meldensis/Meaux] (1470–1534) MtS
Brightus, Timothy [Bright] (?1551–1615) DNB
Brockmannus, Jesper R. [Brochmand/Brochmann] (1585–1652) NSHERK
Broughton, Hugh (1549–1612) DNB
Brugensis, Franciscus Lucas [Francois Luc de Bruges] (1549–1619) NBG
Bruno, Eusebius [Bp. of Angers/Anjou] (d. 1081) CE
Bucanus, William (d. 1603) BBK
Bucer, Martin [Butzer] (1491–1551) NIDCC
Buchanan, George (1506–82) NIDCC
Budaeus, Guillaume [Bude] (1467–1540) MtS-S
Bullinger, Johann Heinrich (1504–75) NIDCC
Burchard of Worms [Wormatiensis] (ca. 965–1025) NIDCC
Burgensis, Paulus [Paulus de Sancta Maria] (ca. 1352–1435) MtS
Burgersdijck, Pieter [Peter Burgersdici/Burgersdyck] (d. 1689) A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek den Nederlander*. Amsterdam: B.M. Israel, 1969.
Burlamachi, Fabrice (1629–93) Heyer
Busbequius, Ogier Ghislain de [Augerius Gislenius] (1522–92) EB (1910)
Butillerius, Louis [Bouthillier/Bouthilliez/Boutiller] (16th cent.)
Buxtorf (the elder), Johannes (1564–1629) MtS
Buxtorf (the younger), Johannes (1599–1664) MtS

Cabasilla. *See* Kabasilas, Nilus
Caecilian (311/12–ca. 340) NIDCC
Caecilius Natilis DCB
Caesar Aquilinus [Scipione Herrico] (1592–1670) BU
Caesenas, Michael [Michael de Cesena/Michele Fuschi] (ca. 1270–1342) CE
Cajetan [Gaetano Tommaso de Vio Gaetani] (1469–1534) CE

Calanus (4th cent. B.C.) DGRBM
Calarinnus Unable to identify
Caligula [Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus] (12–41) OCD2
Calisthenes [Callisthenes] (4th cent. B.C.) OCD2
Calixtus, George (1586–1656) NIDCC
Callimachus (ca. 305–ca. 240 B.C.) OCD2
Callisthenes [Pseudo-Callisthenes] (?100 B.C.) OCD2
Calvin, John (1509–64) NIDCC
Calvisius, Seth [Kallwitz] (1556–1615) EB (1910)
Calvus (at Nimes ca. 1645) Unable to identify
Calvus, Johannes [Johannes Calvinus/Kahl] (fl. 1598–1614) ADB
Cambyses (d. 522 B.C.) OCD2
Camden, William (1551–1623) DNB
Cameron, John (?1579–1625) DNB
Candidus, Vincentius [Vincenzo Candido] (1572/73–1654) NCE
Canisius, Peter (1521–79) NIDCC
Cano, Melchior [Canus] (1509–60) NIDCC
Capellus, Louis [Ludovicus Cappel] (1585–1658) MtS
Capito, Wolfgang Fabricius (1478–1541) NIDCC
Capreolus, John (ca. 1380–1444) CE
Caracalla. *See* Aurelius Antoninus, Marcus.
Caracciolo, Galeazzo (1517–86) MtS
Carbonarius, Louis [Carbone] (16th cent.) DTC
Cardinal San Angelus. *See* Farnese, Ranuccio
Cargius, Georges [Karg/Parsimonius] (1512–76) RE
Carlstadt, Andreas Bodenstein von [Karlstadt] (ca. 1477–1541) NIDCC
Carneades (214/13–129/28 B.C.) OCD2
Caroli, Pierre [Peter Carolus] (1481–1575?) EC
Carolus, Paul [Charles] (1585–1649) Haag
Carpensis. *See* Pio, Rodolfo
Carpocrates (2nd cent.) NIDCC
Carpocratians. *See* Carpocrates
Carthusianus. *See* Petavius, Dionysius
Carthusianus Politi. *See* Catarinus, Ambrosius
Casas, Bartolome de las [Bartolo de la Cazas] (?1474–1566) EB (1980)
Casaubon, Isaac (1559–1614) NIDCC

Cassander, Georg (1513–66) NIDCC
Cassiodorus [Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus] (ca. 485–ca. 580) ODCC2
Castellio, Sebastian [Castalion, Chateillon] (1515–63) NIDCC
Castor and Pollux OCD2
Castro, Alphonsus de [a Castro] (1495–1558) CE
Cataline [Lucius Sergius Catalina] (1st cent. B.C.) OCD2
Cataphrygians [Montanists] ODCC2
Catarinus/Catharinus, Ambrosius [Carthusianus Politi/Lancelot Politi/Catharinus Politus] (ca. 1484–1553) NCE
Catharine de Medici (1519–89) NIDCC
Catharists [Cathari] (3rd–14th cent.) NIDCC
Celestine I (d. 432) ODP
Celestine V [Pietro del Morrone] (1209/10–96) ODP
Celsus (2nd cent.) NIDCC
Ceres OCD2
Cerinthians. *See* Cerinthus
Cerinthus (ca. 100) NIDCC
Cesarini, Cardinal Julian [Giuliano Cesarini] (1398–1444) CE
Cevalerius, Antonius Rodolphus [Cevallarius/Chevalier] (1507–72) MtS-S
Chamier, Daniel (1565–1621) MtS
Chandieu, Antoine de la Roche [Sadeel] (1534–91) MtS
Charlemagne [Charles the Great] (742–814) NIDCC
Charles V (1500–1558) NIDCC
Charles IX (1550–74) EB (1910)
Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy (1562–1630) EB (1980)
Charles, Paul. *See* Carolus, Paul
Charles the Bald [Charles II] (823–77) EB (1910)
Cheffontaines. *See* Christopher a Capite Fontium
Chemnitz, Martin (1522–86) NIDCC
Chouet, Jean-Robert (1642–1731) NBG
Christianus Druthmarus [Christian of Stablo] (? d. 880) DMA
Christopher a Capite Fontium [Cheffontaines] (ca. 1532–95) MtS-S
Christophorus [Christophoros] (fl. 9th cent.) ODB *sub* Nikephoros, Caesar
Chrysippus (ca. 280–207 B.C.) OCD2
Chrysostom, John (ca. 344/54–407) NIDCC

Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106–43 B.C.) OCD2
Circumcellions (5th cent.) NIDCC
Claude, John (1619–87) NIDCC
Claudian [Claudius Claudianus] (d. ca. 404) OCD2
Claudius [Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus] (10 B.C.–A.D. 54) OCD2
Claudius of Turin [Clemens Claudius/Claudio] (d. 827) NCE
Clemangis, Nicolaus de [Clemanges] (ca. 1360–ca. 1440) MtS
Clement II [Suidger] (d. 1047) ODP
Clement VIII [Ippolito Aldobrandini] (1536–1605) ODP
Clement of Alexandria (ca. 155–ca. 220) NIDCC
Clement of Rome (fl. ca. 90–100) NIDCC
Clericus, Jean [Leclerc/Le Clerc] (1657–1736) NIDCC
Clicthovaeus, Josse van [Clichtove] (d. 1543) EB (1910)
Cocceius, Johannes [Koch] (1603–69) NIDCC
Cochlaeus, Johannes (1479–1552) NIDCC
Codrus (11th cent. B.C.) OCD2
Collyridians (4th cent.) MtS
Comicus. *See* Plato Comicus
Commodus, Lucius Aelius Aurelius (161–193) ODC2
Condomiensis. *See* Bossuet, Jacques
Conink, Giles de [Connik/Conick/Regius] (1571–1633) CE
Conringius, Hermann (1606–81) MtS
Constans I (d. 350) EEC
Constantine V [Caballinus/Copronymus] (718–75) ODB
Constantine, Secretary of the Council of Chalcedon (5th cent.) Unable to identify
Constantine the Great (ca. 274/80–337) NIDCC
Constantius II (337–61) NIDCC
Contarenus, Gasparo [Contarini] (1483–1542) CE
Contarini, Francesco [Contarenus] (d. 1624) EI
Cornelius (d. 253) ODP
Cornelius a Lapide [van den Steen] (1567–1637) NIDCC
Corvinus, Anthonius [Rabener] (1501–53) MtS
Corvinus, Johannes Arnoldus [Arnoldus] (d. 1650) MtS-S
Costerus, Francis [de Coster] (1531–1619) CE
Cotton, Pierre [Coton] (1564–1626) CE

Covarrubias y Leyva, Diego de [Covurruvias] (1512–1577) NCE
Crantzius. *See* Krantz, Albert
Crasseti, Jean [Crasset] (1618–92) NCE
Crellius, Johann (1590–1633) NSHERK
Cresconius (4th–5th cent.) EEC
Ctesiphon (ca. 5th cent.) DCB
Cujacius, Jacques [Cujacio/Cujas] (1520–90) EB (1910)
Cumel. *See* Zumel, Francisco
Cunaeus, Petrus [Van der Cun] (1586–1638) EJ
Curcellaeus, Stephanus [Etienne de Courcelles] (1586–1659) MtS
Curtius [Quintius Curtius Rufus] (fl. ?43) OCD2
Curtius, M. OCD2
Cusanus. *See* Nicholas of Cusa
Cyprian (ca. 200/10–58) NIDCC
Cyrenaics (ca. 275 B.C.) OCD2
Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) NIDCC
Cyril of Jerusalem (ca. 310–86) NIDCC
Cyrus the Great (d. 529 B.C.) OCD2

D'Ailly. *See* Ailly, Peter
D'Espieres, Johannes [Despierres] (?1597–1664) BGSB
Daille, Jean [Dallaeus] (1594–1670) NIDCC
Damascene. *See* John of Damascus
Damasus I (ca. 305–84) ODP
Damon OCD2
Danaeus, Lambert (1530–95) MtS
Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) NIDCC
Darius II Nothus (d. 405 B.C.) OCD2
David Jurieu. *See* Joris, David
Davidis, Franciscus (?1510–79) NSHERK
De Dieu, Louis [Lodowijk] (1590–1642) MtS
De Dominis, Marcus Antonius (1566–1624) CE
De Tena, Ludovicus [Bp. of Tortosa] (d. 1622) EU
Decius, Gaius Messius Quintus [Decius I] (d. 251) NIDCC
Decius, Publius [Publius Decius Mus] (4th cent. B.C.) OCD2
Delphinus Unable to identify

Delrio, Martinus Antonius [Del Rio] (1551–1608) CE
Des Marets. *See* Maresius, Samuel
Descartes, Rene (1596–1650) NIDCC
Diocletian [Gaius Aurelius Valerius] (d. 316) OCD2
Diodati, John [Giovanni] (1576–1649) NIDCC
Diodorus Siculus (d. ca. 21 B.C.) OCD2
Diogenes Laertius (ca. 3rd cent.) EB (1910)
Dionysius I or II [not clear which] (5th–4th cent. B.C.) OCD2
Dionysius Carthusianus [Dionysius de Leuwis de Rickel] (1402/03–71) NIDCC
Dionysius Exiguus (d. ca. 525–44) NIDCC
Dionysius Gothofredus [Denis Godefroy] (1549–1622) EB (1910)
Dionysius of Alexandria [the Great] (d. ca. 264) NIDCC
Dionysius of Corinth (ca. 180) NIDCC
Dionysius of Rome (d. 268) ODP
Dionysius the Areopagite [Pseudo-Areopagite] (5th/6th cent.) NIDCC
Diotimas [Diotima] OCD2
Dola, Louis de [Ludovicus a Dola] (d. 1636) DTC
Dominic, St. (1170–1221) NIDCC
Dominicans NIDCC
Domitian, Titus Flavius (51–96) NIDCC
Donatism (4th cent.) NIDCC
Donatus (d. 355) EEC
Donatus of Casa Nigrae (fl. 4th cent.) MtS
Downame, George [Downham] (d. 1634) DNB
Draskowich, Georgius, Bp.of Pecs/Funfkirchen in Hungary [Quinquecclesensis] (d. 1565)
Drelincourt, Charles (1595–1669) NSHERK
Driedo, Jan [Dridoens] (d. 1535) MtS
Drusius (the elder), Johannes [Jan van den Driesche] (1550–1616) MtS
Du Duc, Fronton [Fronto Ducaeus Burdegalensis] (1558–1624) CE
Ducaeus. *See* Du Duc, Fronto
Dufour, Charles [Carolus a Furno] (1622–98) Stelling-Michaud, *Le Livre du Recteur de l'Academie de Genève* (1579–1878). Genève: Libraire Droz, 1972.
Dumoulin, Charles/Carolus [Molinaeus] (1500–1566) EB (1910)

Dumoulin, Louis [Lewis Molinaeus] (1606–80) DNB
Dumoulin, Peter [Pierre] (1568–1658) MtS
Duns Scotus, John (1266–1308) NIDCC
Durand, William [Duranti/Durandus/Bp. of Mimatum] (ca. 1237–96) CE
Durandus. *See* Saint-Pourcain de Durand
Duval, Andrew [Andre Duvallius] (1564–1638) MtS
Duval, Pierre [Bp. Sagiensis/Sagium/Seez] (d. 1564) Haag
Duvergier de Hauranne, Jean [Saint-Cyran/Peter Aurelius (pseud.)] (1581–1643) NCE

Eber, Paul [Eberus] (1511–69) LC
Ebionites NIDCC
Eck, Johann (1486–1543) NIDCC
Eckardus, Heinrich [Eckhardi] (1582–1624) MtS-S
Egeria [Aegeria] OCD2
Elizabeth I (1533–1603) DNB
Elkesaites (2nd cent.) ODCC2
Emissenus. *See* Nemesius
Encratites (3rd cent.) NIDCC
Ennius, Quintus (239–169 B.C.) OCD2
Epictetus (ca. 55–ca. 135) OCD2
Epicurus (341–270 B.C.) OCD2
Epimenides (7th or 6th Cent. B.C.) ODC2
Epiphanius (ca. 315–403) NIDCC
Episcopius, Simon (1583–1643) NIDCC
Eradius [Eraclius/Heraclius] (5th cent.) DCB
Erasmus, Desiderius (ca. 1466–1536) NIDCC
Erastus, Thomas (1524–83) NIDCC
Erigena, John Scotus (ca. 810–ca. 877) NIDCC
Escobar y Mendoza, Antonio (1589–1669) MtS
Espensaeus, Claude d' [Espence/Espencaeus] (1511–71) CE
Essenes NIDCC
Estius [Willem Hessels van Est/Hesselius] (1542–1613) NIDCC
Euaristius. *See* Evaristus
Euchetians [Euchites] (4th cent.) NIDCC
Eudaemon, John Andrew [Eudaemon-Joannes] (ca. 1560–1625) MtS

Eudoxus of Cnidos (ca. 390–ca. 340 B.C.) OCD2
Eugenius IV [Eugene IV/Gabriele Condulmaro] (ca. 1383–1447) ODP
Eugubinus. *See* Steuco, Agostino
Eunomius (d. 394) ODCC2
Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 265–ca. 339) NIDCC
Eusebius of Emessa [Emesenus/Nemesis] (d. ca. 359) ODCC2
Eustathius (12th cent.) OCD2
Eustathius of Sebaste (ca. 300–377) ODCC2
Eustochium [Eustocium] (370–ca. 419) ODCC2
Eutyches (ca. 378–454) NIDCC
Evagrius (ca. 536–600) NIDCC
Evaristus [The Martyr] (ca. 100–109) ODP
Evodius (d. ca. 430) MtS
Evodius of Antioch (ca. 44) EEC

Faber, Nicholas [Fabrum, Le Fevre] (1544–1611) UPDBM
Fabricius [Gaius Fabricius Luscinus] (3rd cent. B.C.) OCD2
Facundus of Hermiane (6th cent.) NCE
Fagius, Paulus [Paul Buechelin] (1504–49) EJ
Falcair, Michael [Michel La Faucheur] (ca. 1585–1657) BU
Farel, William (1489–1565) NIDCC
Farnese, Ranuccio [Cardinal Sant' Angelo/Cardinal San/St. Angelus] (d. 1565) EC
Faustus Reiensis [Faustinus Rhegiensis] (d. 485) MtS
Faustus Manichaeus (4th cent.) EEC
Favorinus [Varinus/Guarino/Phavorinus] (ca. 1450–1537) EB (1910)
Fayus, Antoine de la [Faye/Lafaye] (d. 1615) MtS
Felicissimus (3rd cent.) CE
Ferdinand I (of Spain) (1503–64) EB (1980)
Ferus, Johannes [Johann Wild] (d. 1554) MtS
Festus, Sextus Pompeius (2nd cent.) OCD2
Feuardentius, Francois [Feu-Ardent] (1539–1610) MtS-S
Ficinum, Marsiglio/Marsilius [Ficino/Ficinus] (1433–94) EB (1910)
Firmus (3rd cent.) CE
Fisher, John [Roffensius/Velenus] (?1459–1535) DNB
Flaccilla (d. ca. 385) DCB

Flacius Illyricus, Matthias (1520–75) MtS
Flavian (d. 404) NIDCC
Flavian of Constantinople (d. 449) NIDCC
Flodoard [Frodoard] (894–966) CE
Florus (1st cent.) OCD2
Fonseca, Pedro da (1528–99) Mts
Forbes, John (1593–1648) DNB
Forerius, Franciscus [Foreiro/Forerio] (1523–87) MtS
Forget, Jean [Forgetus] (1539–1611) DBF *sub* Forget de Fresnes (Pierre)
Formosus (ca. 815–896) ODP
Fortunatian of Sicca Veneria (5th cent.) EEC
Fortunatus (3rd cent.) CE
Fox, John [Foxe] (1516–87) NIDCC
Francis, Cardinal [Francesco Condulmaro/Condulmer] (d. 1453) EC
Francis I (1494–1547) MtS
Francis of Assisi (1182–1226) NIDCC
Francis of Vittoria [Francis of Victor] (ca. 1480–1546) CE
Frantzius, Wolfgang [Franz/Franzius] (1564–1628) MtS
Frederick I [Barbarossa] (ca. 1122–90) NIDCC
Frederick II (1194–1250) NIDCC
Freher, Marquand [Freherus] (1565–1614) MEL
Fretela (3rd–4th cent.) DCB
Frumentius (4th cent.) NIDCC
Fulgentius (the African) (468–533) NIDCC

Gagnae, Jean de [Gagnaeus/Gagnee/Gagni] (d. 1549) MtS
Galatin, Peter [Pietro Galatino] (d. ca. 1539) CE
Gallasius, Nicolas [Nicolas des Gellars] (1520–84) EC
Gallienus, Publius Licinius (d. 268) OCD2
Gamacheus, Philippe de [Gamaches] (1568–1625) DTC
Gandavensis. *See* Henry of Ghent
Garissolius, Antonius [Garrisoles] (1587–1651) NSHERK
Garnett, Henry [Garneto] (1555–1606) DNB
Gassendi, Pierre (1592–1655) EB (1980)
Gautier, Jacques [Gaulthier] (fl. 1658)
Gaverus. *See* Vroye, Joost

Gelasius I (Pope) (d. 496) ODP
Gelasius Cyzicenus [Gelazius Cyzicaenus/Cyzicus] (fl. 476) MtS
Gellius, Aulus [Agellius] (ca. 130–ca. 180) OCD2
Genebrardus, Gilbert (1537–97) MtS
Gennadius of Marseille (d. 496) NIDCC
Gentilis, Valentine [Giovanni Valentino] (ca. 1520–66) MtS
Gerhard, Johann [Gherardus] (1582–1637) MtS
Gernler, Lukas (1625–1675) NSHERK
Gerson, Jean Charlier de (1363–1429) NIDCC
Giles of Rome [Aegidius Romanus] (ca. 1243–1316) ODCC2
Glassius, Salomo [Glass] (1593–1656) EB (1910)
Glorius (5th cent.) DCB
Gnosimachians (4th cent.) MtS
Godellus, William [Godell] (fl. 1173) DNB
Godigno, Nicolas [Godinho] (1573–1616) BCJ
Goldastus, Melchoir [Goldast ab Haiminsfeld] (1576–1635) EB (1910)
Golius, Jacob (1596–1667) MtS
Gontery, Jean [Gunterius] (1562–1616) DTC
Gordon, James (1541–1620) DNB
Gorgonia (ca. 326–ca. 370) DCB
Gorranus, Nicolas de (ca. 1230–95) MtS-S
Gottschalk [Godescalus] (ca. 805–69) NIDCC
Goulart, Simon [Goulard] (1543–1628) NSHERK
Gouveanus, Antoine de [Gouvea] (1505–65) BU
Gratian (fl. 12th cent.) NIDCC
Gratian, Flavius (359–383) OCD2
Graverus, Albert [Graver] (1575–1617) MtS-S
Gregory (Bishop of Nazianzus) (d. 374) DCB
Gregory I [the Great] (540–604) NIDCC
Gregory III (d. 741) ODP
Gregory VI (d. 1047) ODP
Gregory VII [Hildebrand] (ca. 1020–85) ODP
Gregory IX [Ugo/Ugolino] (ca. 1155–1241) ODP
Gregory XIII [Ugo Boncampagni] (1502–1585) ODP
Gregory XIV [Niccolo Sfondrati] (1535–91) ODP
Gregory XV [Alessandro Ludovisi] (1554–1623) ODP

Gregory Ariminum [Gregory of Rimini] (d. 1358) NIDCC
Gregory of Nazianzus [Nazianzus] (330–89) NIDCC
Gregory of Nyssa (330–ca. 395) NIDCC
Gregory of Tours (ca. 538–94) NIDCC
Gregory of Valencia [Valentia] (?1549–1603) NCE
Gretser, Jacob (1561–1625) MtS
Grevinchovius, Nikolaas (d. 1632) BBK
Gropper, Johann (1503–59) NIDCC
Grotius, Hugo (1583–1645) NIDCC
Gruet, Jacques (d. 1547) NCE
Gruterus, Janus [Jan Gruytere] (1560–1627) EB (1910)
Gualterus, Rudolphus [Walther] (1519–86) MtS
Guicciardini, Francesco (1483–1540) EB (1910)
Guimenius, Amadeus [Matthaeus de Moya] (17th cent.) MtS
Guitmund (d. ca. 1090–95) CE
Gyges (ca. 685–57 B.C.) OCD2
Gyraldus, Lilius [Giglio Gregorio Giraldi] (1479–1552) EB (1910)

Hadrian [Publius Aelius Hadrianus] (76–138) NIDCC
Hadrian (Pope). *See* Adrian
Haffenreffer, Matthias [Hafenreffer] (1561–1619) MtS
Hannibal (247–183/82 B.C.) OCD2
Harding, Thomas (1516–72) DNB
Hart, John (d. 1586) DNB
Hegesippus (2nd cent.) NIDCC
Heidegger, Johann Heinrich (1633–98) MtS
Heinsius, Daniel (1580–1655) MtS
Helen [St. Helena] (ca. 255–ca. 330) ODCC2
Helen of Troy OCD2
Heliodorus (ca. 220–50) OCD2
Helvicus, Christoph [Helwig] (1581–1617) MtS
Helvidius (fl. 4th cent.) NIDCC
Hemerobaptists ODCC2
Henry III (of France) (1551–89) EB (1980)
Henry III (of Germany) (ca. 1017–56) NIDCC
Henry IV (of France) (1553–1610) NIDCC

Henry IV (of Germany) (1050–1106) NIDCC
Henry VIII (of England) (1491–1547) NIDCC
Henry of Ghent [Goethals/Henricus de Gandavo/Gandavensis] (d. 1293) NIDCC
Heracleonites (2nd cent.) NIDCC
Hercules OCD2
Herebald [Heribald] (d. 857?) DCaB
Hermes Trismegistus OCD2
Hermogenes Africanus (2nd cent.) MtS
Herodotus (ca. 484–ca. 420 B.C.) OCD2
Herrico. *See* Caesar Aquilinus
Hervaeus Burgidolensis [Herve de Bourg-Dieu] (d. ca. 1150) NSHERK
Heshius, Tilemann [Hesshusen/Hesshusius] (1527–88) MtS
Hesiod (?700 B.C.) OCD2
Hesperides OCD2
Hesselius. *See* Estius, Willem Hessels
Hesychius (3rd cent.) NIDCC
Hesychius of Jerusalem (5th cent.) NIDCC
Hilary (Pope) (d. 468) ODP
Hilary (Presbyter) (5th cent.) DCB
Hilary of Arles (401–49) NIDCC
Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315–68) NIDCC
Hillel the Elder (1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D.) EJ
Hincmar of Reims (ca. 806–82) NIDCC
Hobbes, Thomas (1588–1679) NIDCC
Holchotus, Robert [Holcot/Holkot] (ca. 1290–1349) NIDCC
Homer (?700 B.C.) OCD2
Honorius, Flavius (384–423) OCD2
Honorius I (d. 638) ODP
Hoornbeek, Johannes (1617–66) MtS
Horace [Quintus Horatius Flaccus] (65–68 B.C.) OCD2
Horantius, Franciscus (d. 1584) DTC
Hosius, Stanislaus [Hos/Hosz] (1504–79) NIDCC
Hospinian, Rudolph (1547–1626) MtS
Hottinger, Johann Heinrich (1620–67) MtS
Hotton, Godfrid [Godefroy] (1596–1656) Haag

Huberus, Samuel (1547–1624) NIDCC
Hugo St. Victor [Hugh of St. Victor] (ca. 1096–1141) NIDCC
Huldericus, Augustensis Episcopus (fl. 860) MtS
Humbert (d. 1061) NIDCC
Hunnius, Giles/Aegidius (1550–1603) MtS
Hus, Jan [John Huss] (1373–1415) NIDCC
Hutterus, Leonhard [Hutter] (1563–1616) MtS
Hybernus. *See* Malone, William
Hypatius of Ephesus (d. ca. 537) EDR
Hyperius, Andrew Gerhard (1511–64) MtS

Iamblicus [Jamblicus] (ca. 250–ca. 325) ODC2
Ignatius Martyr (d. 98/117) NIDCC
Ignatius of Loyola [Inigo Lopez de Loyola] (1491–1556) NIDCC
Innocent I (d. 417) ODP
Innocent III [Lotario] (ca. 1160/61–1216) ODP
Innocent IV [Sinibaldo Fieschi] (d. 1254) ODP
Innocent X [Giambattista Pamfili] (1574–1655) ODP
Insulanus [Andre Guillart II] (d. 1568) Roland Mousnier, *Le Conseil du Roi de Louis XII a la Revolution*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1970.
Irenaeus (fl. ca. 175–ca. 195) NIDCC
Irene (ca. 752–803) MtS
Isaacus, Joannes [Johann Isaac Levi/Levita] (16th cent.) MtS
Isidore Clarius [Isidorus Clario] (1495–1555) MtS
Isidore Mercator [Peccator] (fl. 9th cent.) MtS
Isidore of Pelusium [Isidore of Egypt] (ca. 360–ca. 440) NIDCC
Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) NIDCC
Isidorus Clarius [Clario] (1495–1555) MtS
Ivo of Chartres [Juon] (1040–1116) NIDCC

Jamblicus. *See* Iamblicus
James I (1566–1625) NIDCC
James, Thomas (?1573–1629) DNB
Jansen, Cornelius (1585–1638) NIDCC
Januarius (3rd cent.) DCB

Jarchi, Solomon [Rashi/Iarchi, Solomon ben Isaac] (1040–1105) EJ
Jason (the Cyrenian) (ca. 160 B.C.) MtS
Jeremiah II [Hieremiae, Bp. of Constantinople] (ca. 1530–95) NSHERK
Jerome [Hieronymous/Stridonensis] (ca. 345–ca. 419) NIDCC
Jerome of Oleastro [Geronimo Oleaster/Oleastrius] (d. 1563) MtS
Jerome of Prague (ca. 1371–1416) NIDCC
Jesuits [Society of Jesus] NIDCC
Jewel, John (1522–71) NIDCC
John I (Pope) of Constantinople [The Cappadocian] (d. 526) ODP
John III, Bp. of Constantinople [Scholasticus] (d. 577) DCB
John IV of Constantinople (d. 595) NCE
John VIII (d. 882) ODP
John IX (d. 900) ODP
John XII [Octavian] (ca. 937–64) ODP
John XIII (d. 972) ODP
John XXII [Jacques Duese] (ca. 1244–1334) ODP
John XXIII [Baldassare Cossa] (d. 1419) ODP
John of Damascus [Damascene] (ca. 675–ca. 749) NIDCC
John of Jerusalem [John II, Bp. of Jerusalem] (d. 417) EEC
Jonas of Orleans (d. 842) MtS
Jonathan Ben Uzziel (1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D.) EJ
Joris, David [Joriszoon/Georgii] (1501/02–56) MtS
Josephus Flavius (37–ca. 100) NIDCC
Jovian [Jovianus] (ca. 332–64) ODCC2
Jovinian (d. ca. 405) NIDCC
Jubaianus (3rd cent.) DCB
Julian of Eclanum (380–ca. 455) NIDCC
Julian the Apostate [Flavius Claudius Julianus] (ca. 331–63) NIDCC
Julius I (d. 352) ODP
Julius II [Giuliano della Rovere] (1443–1513) ODP
Julius Africanus, Sextus [Africanus] (fl. 220) NIDCC
Julius Caesar [Gaius Julius Caesar] (100–44 B.C.) OCD2
Junius, Francis [Francois du Jon] (1545–1602) MtS
Juon. *See* Ivo of Chartres
Jupiter [Jove] OCD2
Jurieu, Pierre (1637–1713) NIDCC

Justellus, Christopher [Justel] (1580–1649) MtS
Justellus, Henry [Justel] (1620–93) MtS
Justin Martyr (ca. 100–165) NIDCC
Justinian [Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justianus] (ca. 482–565) OCD2
Justiniani, Benedetto [Giustiniani] (ca. 1550–1622) CE
Juvenal [Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis] (ca. 50–65–ca. 127) ODC2

Kabasilas, Nicholas (d. 1371) NSHERK
Kabasilas, Nilus [Nilos Cabasilas/Metropolitan of Thessalonica] (14th cent.) NSHERK
Kimchi, David [Kimhi] (ca. 1160–ca. 1235) EJ
Kimedoncius, Jacobus [Chimedontius/Kiemdonck] (d. 1596/97) BU
Krantz, Albert [Crantzius] (d. 1517) MtS

L'Empereur, Constantin [Van Oppyck] (1591–1648) EJ
La Faucheur. *See* Falcair, Michael
La Place. *See* Placaeus, Joshua
La Tremoille, Henri-Charles de [Tremouille] (1599–1674) BU
Labadie, Jean de (1610–74) NSHERK
Lactantius (ca. 240–ca. 320) NIDCC
Laertius Diogenes. *See* Diogenes Laertius
Laetas [Laeta] (4th–5th cent.) LS
Lancelot Politi. *See* Catarinus
Lanfranc (ca. 1005–89) NIDCC
LansbergheLansbergius, Philippe [Lansberghe] (1561–1632) ADB
Lapide. *See* Cornelius a Lapide
Larroque, Matthieu de (1619–84) MtS
Launaeus, Peter [Pierre Launay] (1573–1661) MtS
Launoyus, Jean [Jean de Launoi] (1603–78) MtS
Laurent, Gaspard (fl. 1597–1632) Haag
Lect, Jacques (1560–1611) Senebier
Leger, Antony [Antoine] (1594–1661) MtS
Legerus, John [Jean Leger] (1615–70) MtS
Lentulus Crus, Lucius Cornelius (d. 49 B.C.) OCD2
Leo I (Emperor) (400–74) EEC
Leo I (Pope) [the Great] (d. 461) ODP

Leo III (the Isaurian) [Flavius Leo Isaurus] (d. 741) MtS
Leo IV (Emperor) [Chozar] (d. 780) EB (1910)
Leo IV (Pope) (d. 855) ODP
Leo V (Emporer) [the Armenian] (d. 820) EB (1910)
Leo VIII (d. 965) ODP
Leo IX [Bruno of Egisheim] (1002–54) ODP
Leo X (Pope) [Giovanni de' Medici] (1475–1521) NIDCC
Lery, Jean de [John Lerius] (1534–1611) BU
Lessius, Leonardus [Leys] (1554–1623) NSHERK
Levita, Elijah (1468/69–1549) EJ
Leydecker, Melchoir [Leydekker] (1642–1721) MtS
Libanius (314–ca. 393) OCD2
Liber Pater OCD2
Liberius (d. 366) ODP
Lightfoot, John (1602–75) NIDCC
Lilith EJ
Lindanus, William [William Damasus van Linda] (1525–88) CE
Linus OCD2
Linus (Pope) (fl. ca. 66–ca. 78) ODP
Lipsius, Justus [Joost Lips] (1547–1606) NCE
Livy, Titus [Titus Livius] (64/59 B.C.–A.D. 17) EB (1980)
Lollards (14th–16th cent.) NIDCC
Lorinus, Jean [Jean Lorin] (1559–1634) MtS
Lorraine, Cardinal of. *See* Lotharingus
Loth, Louis B. [Lots] (d. 1652) DTC
Lothair I [Lotharius] (795–855) EB (1910)
Lotharingus [Charles Guise/Cardinal of Lorraine] (1524–74) CE
Lots. *See* Loth, Louis B.
Louis I (the Pious) (778–840) NIDCC
Louis II [The Stammerer] (846–79) EB (1910)
Louis IV (the Bavarian) (ca. 1287–1347) EB (1910)
Louis IX [St. Louis] (1214–70) NIDCC
Louis XII (1462–1515) EB (1980)
Lubbertus, Sibrandus (1556/57–1625) NSHERK
Lucas, Franciscus [Brugensis] (1549–1619) MtS
Lucian of Antioch [the Martyr] (ca. 240–312) NIDCC

Lucian of Samosata (ca. 125–ca. 190) NIDCC
Lucifer, Bp. of Cagliari (d. 370/71) NIDCC
Luciferians. *See* Lucifer, Bp. of Cagliari
Lucius I (d. 254) ODP
Lucius Verus (130–169) OCD2
Lucretius [Titus Lucretius Carus] (?94–55 B.C.) OCD2
Lukar, Cyril [Cyril Lucar/Cyrillos Lucaris] (1572–1638) NIDCC
Lupus (d. 479) MtS
Luther, Martin (1483–1546) NIDCC
Lyranus. *See* Nicholas of Lyra

Macarius Aegyptus [Macarius of Egypt] (d. ca. 390) NIDCC
Macedonius (4th cent.) EEC
Macrobius, Ambrosius Theodosius OCD2
Maevius (1st cent. B.C.) OCD2
Maimburgius, Louis [Maimbourg] (1610–1686) EB (1910)
Maimonides, Moses [Rambam] (1135–1204) EJ
Major, John [Mair] (1469–1550) DNB
Majorian [Julius Valerius Majorianus] (d. 461) EB (1910)
Malderus, Joannes (1563–1633) NCE
Maldonatus, Juan (1534–83) MtS
Malone, William [Hybernus] (1586–1656) DNB
Malvenda, Thomas (1566–1628) CE
Manasseh Ben Israel [Menasse] (1604–57) DNB
Mani [Manichaeus] (216–76/77) NIDCC
Manichaeans. *See* Mani
Manilius, Marcus (1st cent.) OCD2
Mantuanus, Giovanni Baptiste [Spagnoli] (1447–1516) UPDBM
Marcella (4th–5th cent.) DCB
Marcellinus (d. 304) ODP
Marcian (396–457) EEC
Marcion (2nd cent.) NIDCC
Marcionites. *See* Marcion
Marcosians. *See* Marcus
Marcus (2nd cent.) NIDCC
Maresius, Samuel [Des Marets] (1599–1673) MtS

Mariana, Juan de (1536–1623/24) NIDCC
Marinarus, Antonius [Antonio Marinario] (d. 1570) DTC
Marinus, Marcus [Marco Marini] (1542/43–94) EC
Mark Eugenikos [Markus Eugenicus, Metropolitan of Ephesus] (ca. 1394–1445) ODB
Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus (cf. Mark Eugenicus)
Marnix, Philippe [Philippe van Marnix de Ste. Aldegonde/Santaldegond] (1538–98) MtS
Mars OCD2
Marsilius of Padua [Marsiglio of Padua/Patavinus] (ca. 1275–1342) NIDCC
Martial of Melita (3rd cent.) EEC
Martin V [Oddo Colonna] (1368–1431) ODP
Martini, Raymond [Raimundi] (1220–85) EJ
Martinian (4th cent.) DGRBM
Martinius, Jacob [Martini] (1570–1649) MtS-S
Martinius, Matthias [Matthia Martini/Martinio] (1572–1630) MtS
Marturianus [Martinianus/Martinian] (ca. 458) LS
Masius, And. [du Maes] (1515–73) EDR
Mason, Henry (?1573–1647) DNB
Maulbronn Conference (1564) MtS
Mauricius, Flavius Tiberius [Maurice/Mauritius] (ca. 539–602) EB (1910)
Maximian [Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus] (ca. 240–310) OCD2
Maximilian II (1527–76) EB (1910)
Maximus the Confessor [Maximus Monachus] (ca. 580–662) NIDCC
Mede, Joseph [Mead] (1586–1638) DNB
Medea OCD2
Medina, Bartholomew (1527–81) CE
Medina, Joannes [Juan Medina] (1490–ca. 1546) NCE
Medina, Michael de [Miguel] (1489–1578) CE
Meisner, Balthasar (1587–1626) NSHERK
Melanchthon, Philip (1497–1560) NIDCC
Melchizedekians (3rd cent.) MtS
Meldensis. *See* Briconnet, Guillaume
Meletius (4th cent.) MtS
Melito of Sardis (2nd cent.) NIDCC

Menander (342/41–293/89 B.C.) OCD2
Menasse. *See* Manasseh ben Israel
Menenius Agrippa (ca. 503 B.C.) OCD2
Menochius, Giovanni [Menochio] (1576–1655) MtS
Mentzer, Balthasar [the Elder] (1565–1627) NSHERK
Mercator, Gerhard [Gerard de Cremer] (1512–94) EB (1910)
Mercerus, Joannes [Jean Mercier] (d. 1570) EJ
Messalinus Corvinus, Marcus Valerius [Messalla] (64 B.C.–A.D. 8) OCD2
Mestrezat, Jean (1592–1657) MtS
Mestrezat, Philippe (1618–1690) MtS
Meton (5th cent. B.C.) OCD2
Metrophanes Critopoulos (1589–1639) NCE
Meyer, Ludwig [Lodewijk Meijer] (1629–81) NNBW
Michael II (d. 829) ODB
Michael III (840–67) ODB
Micheli, Marc [Marco Michaelio] (1639–1704) Heyer
Millitiere, Theophilus Brachet de la [Lamiletiere/Brachet] (ca. 1596–1665) MtS
Miltiades [Melchiades] (d. 314) ODP
Minerva OCD2
Minos OCD2
Minucius Felix, Marcus (fl. 200–240) OCD2
Mirandola. *See* Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni
Molina, Luis (1535–1600) NSHERK
Molinaeus. *See* Dumoulin
Mompelgard Colloquy (1586) LTK
Monophysites (5th cent.) NIDCC
Monothelitism (7th cent.) ODCC2
Montanism (2nd–3rd cent.) NIDCC
Montanus. *See* Montanism
More, Aaron [Morus] (?1624–52) *See Bulletin de la Societe de l'histoire du Protestantisme francais* 12 (1863): 486.
More, Alexandre [Alexander Morus] (1616–70) DNB
Morinus, Jean [Morin] (1591–1659) MtS
Mornac, Antoine (1554–1619) UPDBM
Mornay, Philip [Philippe Duplessis-Mornay] (1549–1623) MtS

Morton, Thomas (1564–1659) DNB
Morus. *See* More, Aaron and More, Alexandre
Moya. *See* Guimenius, Amadeus
Muhammad [Mohammed] (ca. 570–632) MtS
Muis, Simeon Marotte de (1587–1644) MtS
Munster, Sebastian (1489–1552) NIDCC
Musculus, Wolfgang (1497–1563) NIDCC
Mussard, Pierre (1626–81) Heyer

Nabonassar [Nabu-nasir] (d. 734 B.C.) EB (1980)
Nachman Gerundensis [Solomon ben Isaac Gerondi] (13th cent.) EJ
Nahmanides [Moses ben Nahman/Ramban] (1194–1270) EJ
Nauclerus, Johannes [Johannes Vergenhans/Verge] (ca. 1425/30–1510) NCE
Navarrus [Martin Aspilaneta/Aspilcueta] (1493–1586) NCE
Nazarenes (4th cent.) ODCC2
Nemesis OCD2
Nemesius [Emesenus/Emissenus] (fl. ca. 400) EEC
Nepotian [Nepotianus] (d. 396) DCB
Nero [Nero Claudius Caesar] (37–68) OCD2
Nestor OCD2
Nestorians. *See* Nestorius
Nestorius (d. 451) NIDCC
Nicephorus (ca. 758–829) NIDCC
Nicephorus I (d. 811) EB (1910)
Nicephorus (Caesar) [Nikephoros (Caesar)] (d. ca. 812) ODB
Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus (ca. 1256–ca. 1335) MtS
Nicholas II [Gerard] (ca. 1010–61) ODP
Nicholas V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397–1455) ODP
Nicholas of Cusa (1401–64) NIDCC
Nicholas of Lyra [Lyranus] (ca. 1265–1349) NIDCC
Nilus. *See* Kabasilas, Nilus
Novatian. *See* Novatianism
Novatianism (3rd cent.) NIDCC
Novatorians (17th cent.) NSHERK *sub* Syncretism; see also George Calixtus

Novatus (3rd cent.) NIDCC
Nudipedalians [Nudipedes/Excalceati] MtS
Nugno, Diego [Diego Nuno Cabezudo] (d. 1614) EU
Numa Pompilius [Numa] (715–673 B.C.) OCD2

Ochinus, Bernard [Bernardino Ochino] (1487–1564) NIDCC
Odo of Cambrai [Cameracensis] (d. 1113) NCE
Oecolampadius, Johannes [Hussgen/Hauschein] (1482–1531) NIDCC
Oecumenius (6th cent.) NIDCC
Oleaster. *See* Jerome of Oleastro
Olympia. *See* Olympias
Olympias (4th cent. B.C.) OCD2
Olympiodorus OCD2
Omer of Therouanne [Audomarus] (d. 670) NCE
Onkelos (2nd cent.) EJ
Onuphrius, Panvinius (1529–68) MtS
Ophion OCD2
Ophites NIDCC
Optatus (4th cent.) NIDCC
Orestes OCD2
Origen (ca. 185–ca. 254) NIDCC
Orosius, Paul (5th cent.) NIDCC
Orpheus OCD2
Osiander, Andreas (1498–1565) NIDCC
Osiander, Lucas [the Younger] (1571–1638) MtS
Osorio, Geronimo [Jerome Osorius] (1506–80) MtS
Ostorodt, Christopher [Ostorodorus] (d. 1611) ME
Otho Freisingen [Otto Frisingensis] (ca. 1114–58) EB (1910)
Otto I (the Great) (912–73) NIDCC
Otto IV [Otto of Brunswick] (ca. 1175–1218) EB (1980)
Ovid [Publius Ovidius Naso] (43 B.C.–A.D. 17) OCD2
Owen, John (1560–1622) DNB

Pagninus, Santos (1470–1536) NIDCC
Palladini/Palladino. *See* Anchoranus, Joannes
Palladium OCD2

Pallas. *See* Palladium
Pallavicinus, Pietro Sforza [Pallavicino] (1607–67) MtS
Paludanus. *See* Peter Paludanus
Pamelius, James [Pamele] (1536–87) MtS
Pammachius (d. 410) NIDCC
Pan OCD2
Panormitanus, Nicolaus de [Nicolo de' Tudeschi] (1386–1445) CE
Paphnutius (d. ca. 360) NIDCC
Papias (ca. 60–ca. 130) NIDCC
Paponus, Iohannes [Jean Papon] (?1505–90) DTC
Paraeus, David [Pareus] (1548–1622) MtS
Parmenian [Parmenianus] (fl. 362–91/92) EEC
Parsons, Robert [Persons] (1546–1610) DNB
Pascal, Blaise (1623–62) NIDCC
Paschasinus [Bishop of Lilybaeum] (fl. 440–51) DCB
Paschasius Radbertus (ca. 785–860) NIDCC
Pasquierio, Etienne [Pasquier] (1529–1615) EB (1910)
Passius Valentinus Unable to identify
Paul II [Pietro Barbo] (1417–71) ODP
Paul III [Alessandro Farnese] (1468–1549) ODP
Paul of Samosata [Samosatus] (fl. 260–272) NIDCC
Paul of Thebes (d. ca. 340) ODCC2
Paulas [Paula] (347–404) CE
Paulinus of Nola [Paulinus Afrus] (353/54–431) NIDCC
Paulus, Julius (fl. ca. 210) OCD2
Pausanius [of Lydia?] (fl. ca. 150) OCD2
Pelagius (?370–ca. 424) NIDCC
Pelagius, Alvarus (14th cent.) MtS
Pelagius II (d. 590) ODP
Pepin III [The Short] (714/15–68) NIDCC
Pepusians [Pepuzians] (3rd cent.) MtS
Pererius, Benedictus [Perara/Pereira] (ca. 1535–1610) CE
Peripatetics OCD2
Perkins, William (1558–1602) NIDCC
Perrin, Jean Paul (16th cent.) BU

Perronius, Jacques [Jacques Davy du Perron/DuPerron] (1556–1618) NIDCC
Petavius, Dionysius [Denis Petau] (1583–1652) NIDCC
Peter a Marca [Pierre de Marca] (1594–1662) EDR
Peter de Vinea [de Vineis] (ca. 1190–1249) NCE
Peter Lombard (ca. 1095–1169) NIDCC
Peter Martyr Vermigli (1500–1562) NIDCC
Peter Paludanus [Petrus de Palude] (ca. 1275–1342) CE
Peter the Papal Messiah [Pedro Mexia/Pedro Mejia] (?1496–?1552) OCSL
Peter Waldo [Valdes] (?1173–?1205/18) ODCC2
Petilian [Petilianus] (fl. 395/400–412) DCB
Petrarch (1304–74) NIDCC
Peyrere, Isaac de la (1592–1676) MtS
Phaedrus (ca. 15 B.C.–ca. 50 A.D.) OCD2
Phavorinus. *See* Favorinus
Pherecydes (fl. 550 B.C.) OCD2
Phidias (fl. 5th cent. B.C.) OCD2
Philip IV (the Fair) (1268–1314) NIDCC
Philo Judaeus [Philo of Alexandria] (20 B.C.–A.D. 40) NIDCC
Philoponus, Joannes [Philoponos] (ca. 490–ca. 567/74) ODB
Philostratus OCD2
Phocas (d. 610) EB (1910)
Photinus (4th cent.) NIDCC
Photius (ca. 820–ca. 895) NIDCC
Picherellus, Pierre [Picherel] (d. 1590) Haag
Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni (1463–94) NIDCC
Pictet, Benedict (1655–1724) MtS
Pierius, Urban (1546–1616) MtS-S
Pighius, Albert (ca. 1490–1542) NIDCC
Pindar (518–438 B.C.) OCD2
Pio, Rodolfo [di Carpi/Carpensis] (1500–1564) EC
Piscator, Johannes (1546–1625) MtS
Pithaeus, Pierre [Pithou] (1539–96) EB (1910)
Pius II [Aeneas Sylvius] (1405–64) ODP
Pius IV [Gian Angelo de Medici] (1499–1565) ODP
Pius V [Michele Ghislieri] (1504–72) ODP

Placaeus, Joshua [Josue de la Place] (d. 1655) MtS
Platina, Bartholomaeus de [Sacchi] (1421–81) CE
Plato (ca. 429–347 B.C.) OCD2
Plato Comicus (5th–4th cent. B.C.) OCD2
Plautus, Titus Maccius (1st cent. B.C.) OCD2
Plesseus. *See* Mornay, Philip
Pliny the Elder [Gaius Plinius Secundus] (23/24–79) OCD2
Pliny the Younger [Plinius Caecilius Secundus] (ca. 61–ca. 112) OCD2
Plutarch [Mestrius Plutarchus] (?50–?120) OCD2
Polanus, Amandus (1561–1610) MtS-S
Pollux. *See* Castor and
Polyander, Johann (1568–1646) MtS-S
Polybius (2nd cent. B.C.) OCD2
Polycarp (ca. 70–155/60) NIDCC
Polycrates (fl. ca. 190) NIDCC
Polydore Virgil. *See* Virgil, Polydore
Pompeius, Gnaeus [Pompey] (106–48 B.C.) OCD2
Poplinerius [Lancelot Voisin] (1541–1608) Haag
Porphyry (232–ca. 305) NIDCC
Possevinus, Antonio [Possevino] (1533/34–1611) MtS
Praxeas (fl. ca. 200) NIDCC
Prideaux, John (1578–1650) DNB
Primasius (6th cent.) NIDCC
Priolus, Antonio. *See* Priuli, Antonio
Priscianus (6th cent.) OCD2
Priscilla ODCC2
Priscillian (d. 385) NIDCC
Priscillianism. *See* Priscillian
Priuli, Antonio [Priolus] (1583–1624) EI
Probus, Marcus Aurelius (232–82) OCD2
Proclus (410/12–85) OCD2
Procopius (Officer of the Imperial Court) (fl. 382) DCB
Procopius of Gaza (ca. 475–538) NIDCC
Prosper of Aquitania (ca. 390–ca. 463) NIDCC
Proteus OCD2
Prudentius Aurelius Clemens (348–ca. 410) NIDCC

Pseudo-Alcuin (ca. 900) DMA
Ptolemy I Soter (ca. 367/66–283/82 B.C.) OCD2
Ptolemy II Philadelphus (308–246 B.C.) OCD2
Puccius, Francesco [Pucci] (1540–ca. 1593) DNB
Pylades (1st cent. B.C.) OCD2
Pyrrhon (ca. 365/60–275/70 B.C.) OCD2
Pyrrhus (319–272 B.C.) OCD2
Pythagoras (6th cent. B.C.) OCD2
Pythias (actually Phintias) OCD2

Quinquecclesensis. *See* Draskowich, Georgius
Quintilian, Marcus Fabius [Quintilianus] (ca. 30/35–ca. 100) ODC2
Quintus (3rd cent.) DCB
Quodvultdeus (Bp. of Carthage) (5th cent.) DCB

Rabanus Maurus (Archbishop of Mentz) (ca. 776–856) NIDCC
Rada, Johannes de (d. 1608) CE
Radbertus. *See* Paschasius Radbertus
Radecki, Matthew [Radecke] (d. 1603?) RR
Raimundi. *See* Martini, Raymond
Rainold, John [Rainolds/Reynolds] (1549–1607) DNB
Rambam. *See* Maimonides, Moses
Ramban. *See* Nahmanides
Rashi. *See* Jarchi, Solomon
Ratramnus [Bertram] (d. ca. 868) NIDCC
Reeland, Adrian [Reland, Relant] (1676–1718) NSHERK
Regulus, Marcus Atilius (fl. 267–255 B.C.) OCD2
Remaclus (fl. 637–71) DCB
Remigius of Auxerre (ca. 841–908) NIDCC
Remigius of Lyons (d. 875) NSHERK
Reuchlin, Johannes [Capnio] (1455–1522) NIDCC
Reynerius, William [Reyner] (fl. 1619) DNB
Rhadmanthus [Rhadamanthys] OCD2
Rhamnusian Goddess. *See* Nemesis
Rhegius, Urbanus [Regius] (1490–1541) MtS
Rhenanus, Beatus (1485–1547) NIDCC

Rhodiginus, Ludovicus Caelius [Lodovico Ricchieri/Richerius] (1469–1525) COE
Ribera, Francisco (1537–91) MtS
Richard of Middleton (d. ca. 1300) NIDCC
Richelieu, Armand-Jean Duplessis Duc de (1585–1642) NIDCC
Rigaltius, Nicolas [Rigault] (1577–1654) DTC
Ripa, Jean de [Jean de Marchia] (14th cent.) DTC
Rivet, Andre [Rivetus] (1573–1651) MtS
Rivet, Guillaume (1581–1651) MtS
Robert of Flamborough [St. Victor of Paris] (fl. 1135–1233) NCE
Roffensius. *See* Fisher, John
Rohan, Henri de (1579–1638) NSHERK
Rollocus, Robert [Rollock] (?1555–99) DNB
Romulus (?4th cent. B.C.) OCD2
Roscius, Sextus (ca. 80 B.C.) OCD2
Rota, Giovanni [Jean-Baptiste] (d. 1598) Heyer
Rudolf of Liebegg [Rodolphe de Liebegg] (d. 1332) Marcel Viller et al., *Dictionnaire de Spiritualite Ascetique et Mystique Doctrine et Histoire*. Paris: G. Beauchesne, 1932–.
Rudolph of Swabia (d. 1080) EB (1910)
Rufinus Tyrannius [of Aquileia] (345–410) NIDCC
Ruiz, Didacus [Diego Ruiz de Montoya] (1562–1623) CE
Rupert of Deutz (ca. 1075–1129) NIDCC

Sa, Manoel de [Saa] (1530–96) CE
Saadia a Gaon [Saadiah ben Joseph Gaon] (882–942) EJ
Sabellianism. *See* Sabellius
Sabellicus, Marcantonio [Coccius] (1436–1506) COE
Sabellius (fl. 230) NIDCC
Sabinus (Bp. of Emerita/Merida) (3rd cent.) DCB
Sadeel. *See* Chandieu, Antoine de la Roche
Sagiensis. *See* Duval, Pierre
Sainctes. *See* Sanctesius, Claude
Saint-Pourcain de Durand [Durandus a Sancto Portiano] (ca. 1270–1332) NIDCC

Salden, William (1627–94) G. van den End, *Guiljelmus Saldenus* (1627–1694). Leiden: Uitgeverij J.J. Groen en Zoon, 1991.
Salianus, Jacques [Salian] (1557–1640) MtS
Salmasius, Claudius [Claude de Saumaise] (1588–1653) NIDCC
Salmeron, Alphonso (1515–85) MtS
Salvian (ca. 400–ca. 470) NIDCC
Salvianus. *See* Salvian
Samosatenianism. *See* Paul of Samosata
Sampsaens. *See* Elkesaites
San/St. Angelus. *See* Farnese, Ranuccio
Sanchez, Thomas (1550–1610) CE
Sanctesius, Claude [Sainctes/de Sainctes] (1525–91) CE
Sanctius, Gaspar [Sanchez/Centumputeolanus] (1553–1628) MtS
Sanctus (5th cent.) DCB
Sanders, Nicholas [Sanderus] (?1530–81) DNB
Santaldegond. *See* Marnix, Philippe
Sarpi, Paul [Fra Paolo Sarpi/Soave] (1552–1623) NIDCC
Saturianus (ca. 458) LS *sub* Martinian
Saturn [Saturnus] OCD2
Saturninus (2nd cent.) NIDCC
Saumaise. *See* Salmasius, Claudius
Savonarola, Girolamo (1452–98) NIDCC
Scaliger, Joseph Justus (1540–1609) NIDCC
Schlichting, Jonas [Schlichtingius] (1592–1661) NSHERK
Schonauwerus, Joannes [Schenawerus] (1615–1671) MUB
Schurman, Anna Maria von [Schuermann] (1607–1678) NSHERK
Schwenkfeld, Johann Caspar (1489–1561) ME
Scipio Africanus Major, Publius Cornelius (236–184/83 B.C.) OCD2
Scoto, Count Julius Clement [Jules Clement Scotti] (1602–69) BCJ
Scultetus, Abraham [Schultz] (1556–1625) MtS
Sebastian of Mainz [Heusenstaam von Heissenstein] (16th cent.) CE
Selden, John (1584–1654) NIDCC
Semi-Pelagianism NIDCC
Semo [Semo Sancus] OCD2
Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (4 B.C.–A.D. 65) OCD2
Senensis, Sixtus [Sisto/Sixtus de Siena] (1520–69) EJ

Sepulveda, Juan Gines de (1490/91–1572) MtS
Serapion (3rd cent.) DCB
Serarius, Nicolaus [Serrurier] (1555–1610) MtS
Serenus (d. 600) DCB
Servator Unable to identify
Servetus, Michael (1511–53) NIDCC
Servius [Maurius/Maurus Servius Honoratus] (4th cent.) OCD2
Sesselius, Claudius [Claude de Seyssel] (ca. 1450–1520) RSHMA
Severus Sulpicius (Bp. of Bituricensis/Bourges) (4th–5th cent.) NIDCC
Sexto [Sextus/Sixtus III/Xythus III] (d. 440) ODP
Sibrandus. *See* Lubbertus, Sibrandus
Sibyl (Cumaean) [Sibylla] OCD2
Sidonius Apollinaris, Gaius Sollius (ca. 431–ca. 482) NIDCC
Sigismund (1361–1437) NIDCC
Sigonius, Carolus [Carlo Sigonio] (ca. 1524–84) EB (1910)
Silius Italicus [Tiberius Catius Asconius Silius Italicus] (ca. 26–ca. 101) OCD2
Silverius (d. 537) ODP
Simancas, Jacobus [Didacus de Simancas] (d. 1583) DTC
Simeon Ben Gemaliel I (1st cent.) EJ
Simon Magus (1st cent.) NIDCC
Simonians. *See* Simon Magus
Simplicianus (d. 400) ODCC2
Siricius [Syricius] (d. 399) ODP
Sirmondus, Jacques (1559–1651) NIDCC
Sixtus IV [Francesco della Rovere] (1414–84) ODP
Sixtus V [Felice Peretti] (1520–90) ODP
Sleidan, Johannes [Sleidanus] (1505–56) ODCC2
Smaltzius, Valentine [Schmalz, Smalc, Smalcius] (1572–1622) ME
Soave. *See* Sarpi, Paul
Socinus, Faustus [Fausto Sozzini] (1539–1604) NIDCC
Socrates of Athens (469–399 B.C.) OCD2
Socrates Scholasticus (ca. 380–450) OCDD2
Solomon Ben Judah [Rabbi Solomon] (d. 1051) EJ
Soto, Dominic de (1494–1560) NIDCC
Soto, Pedro de [Peter a Sota] (1500–1563) NCE

Sozomen [Salaminius Hermias Sozomenus] (5th cent.) NIDCC
Spangenberg, Cyriacus (1528–1604) NSHERK
Spanheim, Ezekiel (1629–1710) NSHERK
Spanheim, Friedrich [Fredericus Spanhemius, the Elder] (1600–1649) MtS
Spanheim, Frederick [the Younger] (1632–1701) NSHERK
Spiridion [Spyridon] (4th cent.) DCB
St. Victor of Paris. *See* Robert of Flamborough
Stancaro, Francesco [Stancarus] (1501–74) MtS
Stapleton, Thomas (1535–98) NIDCC
Stapulensis, Faber [Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples] (ca. 1455–1536) ODCC2
Stauratius [Stauracius/Staurakios] (d. 812) ODB
Staurolatri CE
Stegmann, Josua [Joshua Stegmanus] (1588–1632) MtS
Stella, Thomas (d. 1566) DTC
Stephanus, Henry [Henricus Stephens/Estienne] (1531–98) EB (1910)
Stephanus, Robert [Stephens/Estienne] (1503–59) EB (1910)
Stephen I (d. 257) ODP
Stephen VI (VII) (d. 897) ODP
Stephen, Bp. of Autun (d. 1139/40) CE
Stephens. *See* Stephanus
Steuco, Augustinus/Agostino [Eugubinus/Steuchus] (1496–1549) CE
Stillingfleet, Edward (1635–99) DNB
Stobae, Joannes [John Stobaeus] (ca. 5th cent.] EB (1910)
Stoics [Stoa] (ca. 300 B.C.) OCD2
Strigelius, Victor [Strigel] (1524–69) NSHERK
Suarez, Francisco de (1548–1617) NIDCC
Suetonius Tranquillus, Gaius (ca. 69–ca. 121/22) OCD2
Suidas [Suda] (10th cent.) OCD2
Sunnias (5th cent.) DCB
Surius, Lawrence [Laurentius Surius (the Monk)] (1522–78) NCE
Sutcliffe, Matthew [Sutlivius] (?1550–1629) DNB
Sylvester I (d. 335) ODP
Sylvius, Paul (?Francis) [Francois du Bois] (1581–1649) NCE
Symmachus (fl. 2nd cent.) NIDCC
Symmachus, Quintus Aurelius (ca. 340–ca. 402) OCD2
Syrus (d. ca. 406) DCB

Syrus [Publilius Syrus] (fl. 1st cent. B.C.) OCD2

Tacitus, Cornelius (ca. 56–ca. 112/13) OCD2
Tapper, Ruard (1487–1559) NCE
Tatian (ca. 110–72) NIDCC
Taylor, Francis [Tailer/Tayler] (fl. 17th cent.) MtS
Tellus OCD2
Tertullian (ca. 160/70–ca. 215/20) NIDCC
Testard, Paul (d. 1660) Haag
Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350–428) NIDCC
Theodoret of Cyrrhus (ca. 393–ca. 458) NIDCC
Theodoric (ca. 455–526) ODCC2
Theodoricus a Niem [Theodericus de Nyem/Theodoric of Nieheim] (1340–1418) EDR
Theodosius I (the Great) (ca. 346–95) NIDCC
Theodosius II (the Younger) (401–50) NIDCC
Theodotion (fl. 2nd cent.) NIDCC
Theognis (fl. 544–541 B.C.) OCD2
Theophilus (Emperor) (812/13–42) ODB
Theophilus Antecessor (6th cent.) ODB
Theophilus of Alexandria (d. 412) NIDCC
Theophilus of Antioch (2nd cent.) NIDCC
Theophylact (fl. 1070–81) NIDCC
Theramenes (d. 404/3 B.C.) OCD2
Theseus OCD2
Thomas Aquinas (1224–74) NIDCC
Thou, Jacques Auguste de [Thuanus] (1553–1617) EB (1910)
Tiberius [Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus] (42 B.C.–A.D. 37) OCD2
Tibullus, Albius (55/48–19 B.C.) OCD2
Tilenus, Daniel (1563–1633) MtS
Tilius, Jean [Tylius/Jean du Tillet] (d. 1570) MtS
Tirinus, Jacob [Le Thiry] (1580–1636) MtS
Titelmann, Francis (1497–1537) MtS-S
Titus [Titus Flavius Vespasianus] (39–81) OCD2
Toletus, Franciscus [Francisco Toledo] (1532–96) CE
Torniellus, Augustin [Tornielli] (1543–1622) LTK

Torquemada, Juan de [Joannes de Turrecremata] (1388–1468) NIDCC
Torrensis. *See* Turrianus, Franciscus
Tostatus, Alphonso [Abulensis/Tostado] (1400–1455) MtS
Trajan [Marcus Ulpius Traianus] (53–117) OCD2
Tranquillinus (4th cent.) DCB
Trelcatius, Lucas (1542–1602) Haag
Tremellius, John Immanuel (1510–80) NIDCC
Tremoille, Henri. *See* La Tremoille
Trigland, Jacob (1583–1654) NSHERK
Trismegistus. *See* Hermes Trismegistus
Tronchin, Louis (1629–1705) NSHERK
Tronchin, Theodore (1582–1657) NSHERK
Tullius. *See* Cicero
Turrecremata. *See* Torquemada, Juan de
Turretin, Benedict [Benedetto Turretini/Turretino/Turettine] (1588–1631) MtS
Turretin, Francis [Francois] (1623–87) MtS
Turretin, Jean-Alphonse (1671–1737) NSHERK
Turretin, Michael [Michel] (1646–1721) BU
Turrianus, Franciscus [Francisco Torres/Torrensis] (ca. 1509–84) CE
Twisse, William (?1578–1646) DNB
Tyconius (fl. ca. 370–ca. 390) NIDCC

Uladislaus [Wladislaus III] (1424–44) EB (1910)
Ulpianus, Domitius (fl. ca. 222) OCD2
Urban II [Odo of Lagery] (ca. 1035–99) ODP
Urban IV [Jacques Pantaleon] (ca. 1200–1264) ODP
Urban V [Guillaume de Grimoard] (1310–70) ODP
Urban VIII [Maffeo Barberini] (1568–1644) ODP
Ursinus, Zacharias (1534–83) NIDCC
Ussher, James (1581–1656) NIDCC

Valens (ca. 328–78) NIDCC
Valentia. *See* Gregory of Valencia
Valentine of Padua (5th cent.) Unable to identify
Valentinian (419–55) NIDCC

Valentinus (2nd cent.) NIDCC
Valentinus, Jean de [Jean de Montluc, Bp. of Valence] (1508–79) DTC
Valerianus, Publius Licinius (d. 260) OCD2
Valerius Maximus (1st cent.) OCD2
Valesius, Henri [de Valois] (1603–76) EB (1910)
Valla, Lorenzo (1407–57) NIDCC
Vanino, Lucilio [Giulio Cesare Vaninus/Vanini] (1585–1619) EB (1910)
Varro, Marcus Terentius (fl. 116–27 B.C.) OCD2
Vasquez, Gabriel [Bellomontanus] (1549–1604) NIDCC
Vatablus, Francois [Vatable] (d. 1547) MtS
Vega, Andreas de (d. 1560) CE
Velenus. *See* Fisher, John
Venator, Adolphus [Adolf de Jager] (d. 1619) GN
Venus OCD2
Vernantius, Jacques de [Vernant] (?1606–67) DTC
Veron, Francois [Veronus] (1575–1625) CE
Vespasian, Titus Flavius (9–79) OCD2
Victor I (d. 198) ODP
Victor of Utica [Victor of Vita/Vitensis] (fl. 5th cent.) MtS
Victorinus Afer, Caius/Fabius (4th cent.) ODCC2
Viegas, Blas/Braz (1554–99) EU
Vigilantius (4th cent.) NIDCC
Vigilius (d. 555) ODP
Villagudus, Alphonse [Alfonso Villagut/Villagutti] (d. 1623) BU
Vincent, Philippe (1600–1651) Haag
Vincent of Lerins [Vincentius Lyrinensis] (5th cent.) NIDCC
Viret, Pierre (1511–71) NIDCC
Virgil [Publius Vergilius Maro] (70–19 B.C.) OCD2
Virgil, Polydore [Vergil] (ca. 1470–1555) EB (1910)
Vitalis (4th cent.) DCB
Vitellius, Aulus (15–69) OCD2
Vives, Joannes Ludovicus (1492–1540) DNB
Voetius, Gisbertus (1588/89–1676) NIDCC
Volanus, Andreas (1530–1610) MtS
Volaterranus, Raphael [Raffaelo Maffei/Maffejus] (1451–1522) CE
Volkelius, Johann [Vokel] (d. 1618) MtS

Volusian [Volusianus] (5th cent.) EEC
Vorstius, Conradus [Konrad von der Vorst] (1569–1622) NIDCC
Vossius [Gerard Jan Voss] (1577–1649) NIDCC
Vossius, Isaac (1618–88) DNB
Vroye, Joost [Gaverius/Gaverus/Vroye/Vroeye] (d. 1533) COE

Walaeus, Antonius (1573–1639) MtS
Walafridus Strabo (ca. 808–49) NIDCC
Waldensis, Thomas [Thomas Netter of Walden] (1367–1430) DNB
Waldo. *See* Peter Waldo
Wallenburgian Brethren [Adrien and Pierre van Walenburch] (17th cent.) DTC
Walrom [Wolfhelm of Brauweiler/Walramo] (?1020–91) DCaB
Walther. *See* Gualterus, Rudolphus
Walton, Brian (1600–1661) NIDCC
Weigel, Valentin (1533–88) NIDCC
Werenfels, Peter (1627–1703) MUB
Wessel, Johann (of Groningen) (ca. 1400–1420–1489) MtS
Wetstenius II, Johann Rudolph [Wetstein/Wettstein] (1614–84) BU
Whitaker, William [Whittaker] (1548–95) DNB
Wild, Johann. *See* Ferus, Johann
William of Auxerre. *See* Altissiodorensis
William of Occam [Ockham] (ca. 1280–ca. 1349) NIDCC
Wilson, Thomas (?1525–81) DNB
Wolphius, Johann [Vuolphii] (d. 1571) NSHERK
Wollebius, Johannes [Vollebius] (1586–1629) NSHERK
Wollebius, Theodorus (1625–1667) MUB
Wolphius, Johann [Johann Wolf] (1521–71) MtS
Wouverus, Johannes [Joannes a Wouwer/Wouwerius/Wowern] (1574–1612) Ba
Wujek, Jacob [Viekum/Vuiekus] (?1540–97) LTK
Wycliffe, John [Wiclif/Wicklif] (ca. 1329–84) NIDCC

Ximenes de Cisneros, Francisco [Jimenes/Cisneros/Ximenez] (ca. 1436–1517) NIDCC

Zanchius, Jerome [Hieronymus Zanchi] (1516–90) NSHERK

Zeus OCD2
Zonaras, Johannes (12th cent.) NIDCC
Zoroaster [Zarathustra] (6th–5th cent. B.C.) NIDCC
Zozimus (Pope) [Zosimus] (d. 418) ODP
Zumel, Francisco [Cumel] (1540/41–1607) LTK
Zwingli, Ulrich [Huldrych] (1484–1531) NIDCC

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